RELIGION AND DIPLOMACY:

The Role of the *Disputatio* in Byzantine-Latin Relations after 1204

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the development and evolution of Byzantine diplomacy through a crucial and previously overlooked period of the empire's history. Current scholarship has neglected the analysis of Byzantine diplomacy from 1204, when the capital of Constantinople was seized by the Fourth Crusade, to 1261, when the city was returned to Byzantine control. During these years the institutions of the Byzantine state were preserved at Nicaea, which continued the complex relationship between Greeks and Latins and adapted the tested methods of diplomacy to meet new challenges.

Of central concern is the frequency of church-union negotiation, or *disputatio*, during the period in question. Attempts to heal the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches were a frequently used tool of Byzantine diplomacy even before 1204, but the sources, problems and implications surrounding this aspect of foreign relations, although taken up by those pursuing theological analysis, have been neglected by historians. The emperors in Nicaea repeatedly opened talks with the papacy to end the schism before 1261, most notably in 1234, a meeting which carried profound implications for Byzantine foreign policy. By placing the *disputatio* in the context of Byzantine-Latin relations after 1204, we gain a more complete understanding of Byzantine diplomacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No one can deny that writing a PhD dissertation represents a considerable challenge. Its completion would not have been possible without the help of numerous colleagues, friends and loved ones to whom I am forever grateful. The few words I offer here only scratch the surface of their contributions.

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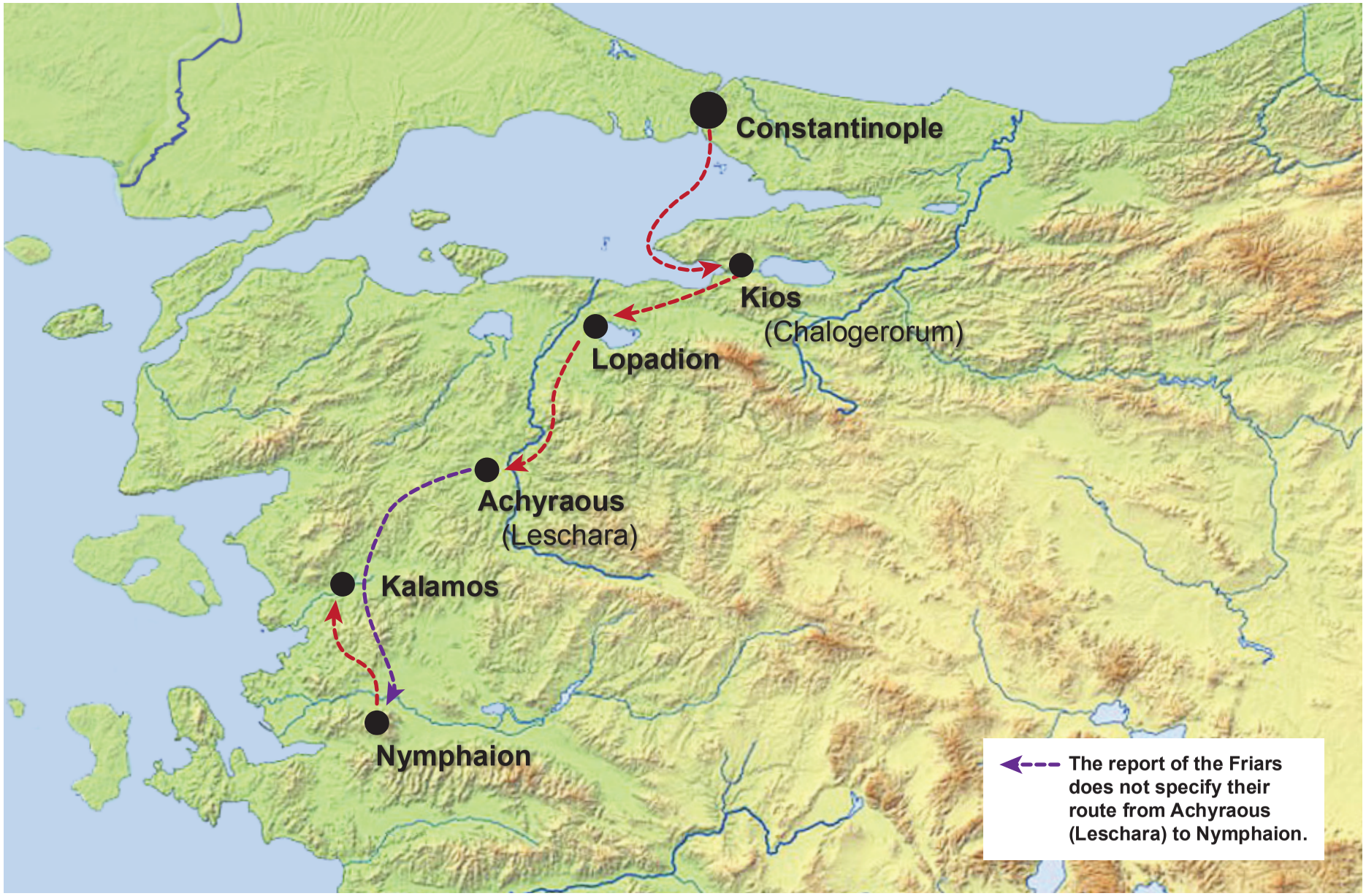
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FIGURE 1: NICAEA
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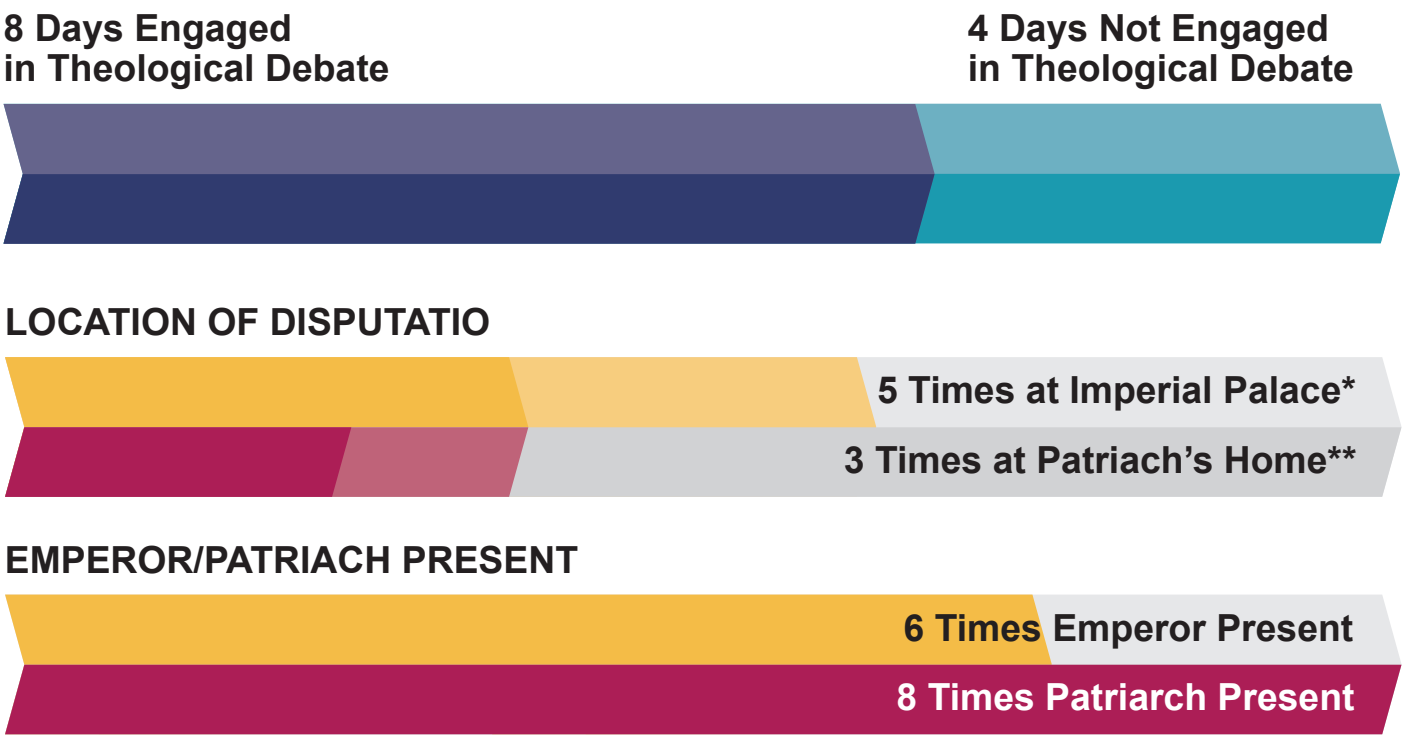
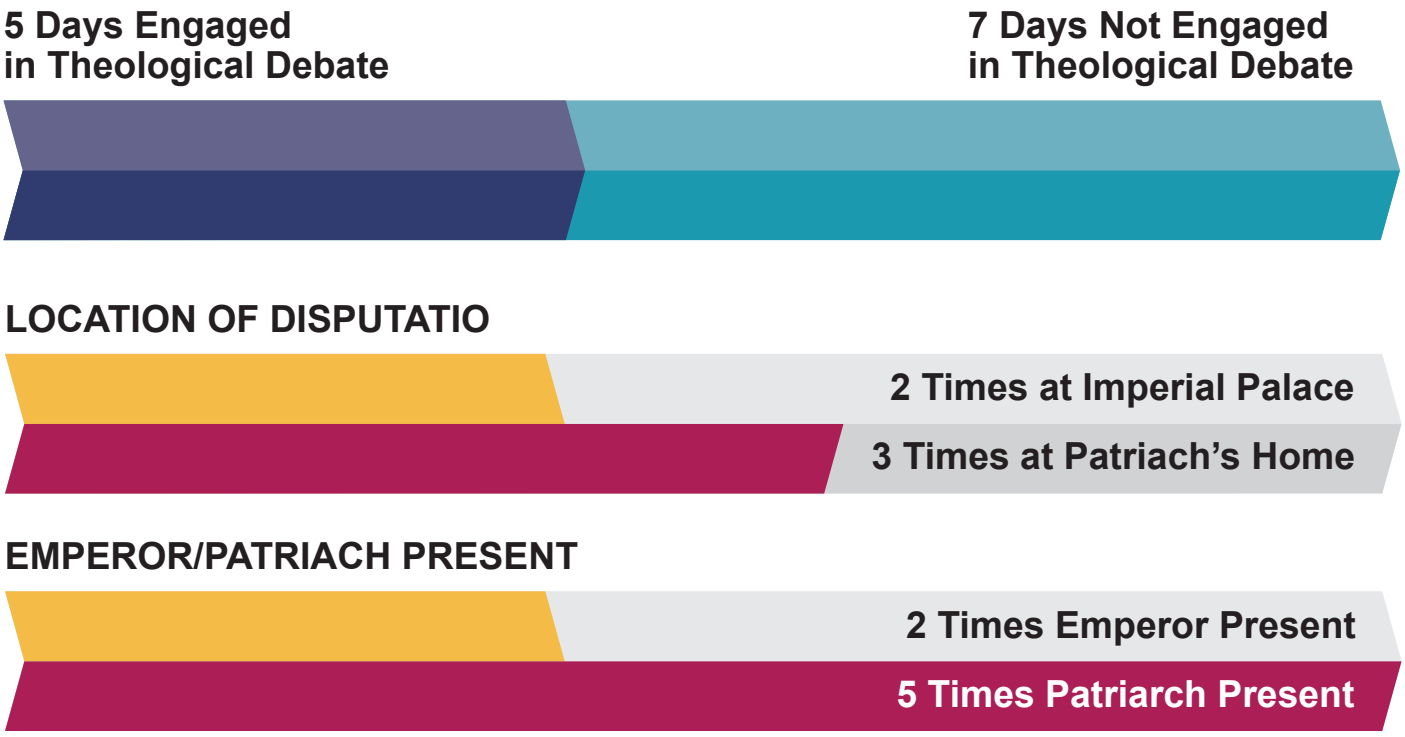


FIGURE 2: NYMPHAION
24 April — 5 May 1234



*The Friars did not specify a location for the *disputatio* on 20-21 January 1234, but we can surmise that it was the Imperial residence. See ch. 3, 238 note 452.
**Again, a location is not specified for 26 January 1234, but we can conclude that it was the Patriarch's home from the context of the report. See ch. 3, 238 note 453.

INTRODUCTION

In *Byzantine Diplomacy*, the volume produced from the papers of the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held at Cambridge in 1990, Nicholas Oikonomides published an article analyzing the diplomatic goals and methods in late Byzantium, 1204 to 1261. In fact, his article was entitled 'Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 1204-1453: means and ends.' Despite the title of his paper, Oikonomides began his analysis with the year 1261, not 1204, giving no reason for his omission of the greater half of the thirteenth century.[1] This thesis attempts to fill the gap left by Oikonomides and other historians.

The period of 1204 to 1261, beginning with the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade and ending with the return of the city to Byzantine control under Michael VIII Palaiologos, is no less important for the study of Byzantine diplomacy than the other thousand-plus years of the history of the empire.[2] By omitting this period from their analyses, historians have left out of the narrative a crucial element that further reveals the extent and capabilities of Byzantine diplomacy.

The objective of the present study is to include the period between 1204 and 1261 in the larger discussion of Byzantine diplomacy with the Latin West. This effort will rectify the oversight of previous research into the topic, which tends to end with conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade[3] or, as with Oikonomides, to begin with the recovery of the capital in 1261. Although substantial research, especially in

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[1] N. Oikonomides, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 1204-1453: means and ends,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 76.

[2] R. Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History. Introduction, translation and commentary* (Oxford, 2007), 4, remarks that most English-speaking Byzantinists prefer to ignore the thirteenth century, treating it as something separate and different from Byzantine history.

[3] An example of this tendency is C. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

recent years, has examined the evolution of Byzantine government,[4] political ideology[5] and identity[6] during this period, no study has integrated the evidence from the years 1204 to 1261 into an analysis of Byzantine diplomacy.[7] Enormous consequences stem from this omission. One of the most notable is a dearth of commentary and investigation of the important alliance between the western emperor, Frederick II Hohenstaufen, and John III Vatatzes.[8]

Perhaps an even more serious consequence of leaving 1204-1261 out of the discussion of relations with the Latin West is an underestimation of the importance of religious dialogue as a tool of Byzantine diplomacy. The methods of Byzantine diplomacy were numerous and complex, developed over many centuries, and adapted to meet new challenges. Those who have studied Byzantine foreign policy have noted a variety of methods – including gift giving,[9] commercial incentives[10] and marriage

[4] M. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* (Oxford, 1975).
[5] D. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge, 2007).
[6] A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: the transformation of Greek identity and the reception of the classical tradition* (Cambridge, 2007).
[7] The lone exception is an unpublished doctoral thesis, A. Papayianni, *Aspects of the relationship between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latins, 1204-1254*, DPhil thesis (London, 2000). Although exceptionally detailed and well researched, this work does little to explain how evidence from the period in question enhances our understanding of the longer narrative of Byzantine diplomacy.
[8] Two of the most well-regarded monographs on Frederick II, D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: a medieval emperor* (New York and Oxford, 1988), and T. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Immutator Mundi* (Oxford, 1972), devote almost no attention to his alliance with Vatatzes. The massive tome, A. Sommerlechner, *Stupor Mundi?: Kaiser Friedrich II. und die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna, 1999), 149-50, 392, mentions Vatatzes only twice, and one of those times is in a quote from a primary source. The most notable discussions of the alliance between Frederick II and Vatatzes remain S. Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' *Rivista Storica Italiana* 63 (1951), 279-91; J. Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault and siege of Constantinople, 1235-1236, and the breakup of the *entente cordiale* between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as background to the genesis of the Hohenstaufen-Vatatzes alliance of 1242,' in *Byzantina kai metabyzantinia*, vol. 4, *Byzantine studies in honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, 1985), 105-35; E. Merendino, 'Federico II e Giovanni III Vatatzes,' in *Byzantino-sicula, II: Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi* (Palermo, 1975), 371-83. See also S. Brezeanu, 'Notice sur les rapports de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen avec Jean III Vatatzès,' *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 12 (1974), 583-85.
[9] A. Muthesius, 'Silken diplomacy,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 237-48; K. Maxwell, *Between Constantinople and Rome: an illuminated Byzantine gospel book* (Aldershot, 2014), 195-98; J. Lowden, 'The luxury book as diplomatic gift,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 249-60; A. Eastmond, 'Diplomatic gifts: women and art as imperial commodities in the 13th century,' in *Liquid and multiple: Individuals and identities in the*

alliances[11] – that all fall under the category of tools of Byzantine diplomacy. Alexander Kazhdan identifies nine methods, what he calls 'techniques,' of Byzantine diplomacy,[12] but even this list is not complete. Kazhdan's inventory acknowledges no role for church-union negotiation as an aspect of Byzantine diplomacy.

The goal of the current study is not to give a narrative of every diplomatic encounter between 1204 and 1261, but to highlight church-union negotiation as a tool of Byzantine diplomacy. Although various scholars have noted the importance of attempts to end the schism of the western and eastern churches, religious dialogue has not been widely regarded as a legitimate tool for achieving Byzantium's foreign policy goals. Such negotiations have usually been relegated to the periphery of the discussion on Byzantine-Latin relations. Offers to end the schism of the churches in exchange for political concessions were an important theme in Byzantine diplomacy before 1204, but were even more so under the Laskarid emperors of the early thirteenth century. Thus, two major considerations are absent, to varying degrees, from the current historical model of Byzantine-Latin relations – first an adequate

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thirteenth-century Aegean, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 105-133; M. Mango, 'Hierarchies of rank and materials: diplomatic gifts sent by Romanus I in 935 and 938,' *Deltion tes Christianikes Archeologikes Etaireias* 24 (2003), 365-73.

[10] D. Jacoby, 'Italian privileges and trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: a reconsideration,' *Anuario de estudios medeivales* 24 (1994), 349-68; D. Jacoby, 'Diplomacy, trade, shipping and espionage between Byzantium and Egypt in the twelfth century,' in *ΠΟΛΥΠΑΕΥΡΟΣ. Miscellanea fur Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 19 (Munich and Leipzig, 2000), 83-102; A. Laiou, 'Byzantine trade with Christians and Muslims and the crusades,' in *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 106-119.

[11] A. Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 17-18, calls marriages 'a fundamental instrument of Byzantine diplomacy.' Eastmond, 'Diplomatic gifts: women and art as imperial commodities in the 13th century,' 107, argues that the needs, desires, and ambitions of individual Byzantine brides sent to marry foreign husbands were subordinated to the demands of imperial diplomacy, thus he categorizes them with the diplomatic gift, i.e. relics, art, gold, etc. See also R. Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 263-80; Muthesius, 'Silken diplomacy,' 244.

[12] These include diplomatic correspondence and documents, organization of missions, rights of ambassadors, etiquette of reception, forms of alliances, status of foreigners, the frontier, extradiplomatic activity, and cultural exchange, Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' 6.

analysis of diplomacy in the years after the Fourth Crusade, and second, a full acknowledgement of church-union negotiation as a tool of Byzantine diplomacy. This study will address both issues.

A common means of church-union negotiation was the *disputatio*. The Latin term denotes an 'argument' or 'discussion,' often in the form of debate or dialogue, but does not necessarily indicate hostility between the parties involved.[13] For this reason, I have not always translated the word,[14] but have preferred to maintain the wording used by Latin participants in such meetings. Naturally, Byzantine authors of the early thirteenth century did not use the Latin term *disputatio* to refer to these meetings, but employed a varied vocabulary to describe such discussions. Nicholas Mesarites described the discussions in late 1204 as *διαλαλία*, 'discourse,'[15] and *διάλεξις*, 'conversation.'[16] However, Mesarites, in discussing the meetings in 1206 and 1214, identified them as *ἆθλος*, meaning 'contests' or 'spiritual struggles.'[17] Patriarch Germanos II referred to the Latin arguments made in 1234 as *ὁμολογία*, 'confession.'[18] The most enigmatic identification is that of Nikephoros Blemmydes. He described the 1234 meeting as a *κοινὸν ἀθροισμόν*, 'public assembly.'[19] In describing the *disputatio* with John of Parma in 1249/50, Blemmydes stated that

[13] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. Glare (Oxford, 2012), 2nd edn, 609-610.
[14] For more on the problem of translating this word, see A. Novikoff, 'Towards a cultural history of scholastic disputation,' *American Historical Review* 117(2) (2012), 339-41; O. Weijers, *In search of the truth: a history of disputation techniques from antiquity to early modern times* (Turnhout, 2013), 100.
[15] Nicholas Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes,' *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, ed. A. Heisenberg (1922), I, 48 line 22.
[16] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 69 line 23. Nicholas of Otranto also used the term *διάλεξις* to describe church-union negotiations in 1206, *Nikolaia Hidruntskago tri ealici*, ed. Archimandrite Arsenij (Novgorod, 1896), 4.
[17] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 51 line 12, and 'Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214,' *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, ed. A. Heisenberg (1923), III, 19 line 15.
[18] Germanos II, *Απάντησις*, ed. F. Alter, *Chronikon Georgiou Phrantze tou protovestiariou eis tessara vivlia diairethen* (Vienna, 1796), 139.
[19] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae* , ed. J. A. Munitiz (Turnhout, 1984), Book 2, ch. 25, 57 line 5; trans. J. A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes: A partial account*, (Louvain, 1988), 107. It should be noted that Munitiz in this instance translates *ἀθροισμόν* as 'debate.'

representatives of the Roman Church came to a *σύλλογος*, 'meeting,' in order to 'defend their definition of faith.'[20] The lack of uniformity among the Byzantine disputants has led me to prefer the Latin terminology.

Outside of the universities of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Latin West, the word *disputatio* did not necessarily carry a technical meaning.[21] However, the exercise of disputation was becoming formalized in the Latin West during the period under consideration. Alex Novikoff and Olga Weijers have examined the resurgence of disputation in western scholasticism in the twelfth century.[22] Novikoff credits Anselm of Canterbury with reviving the practice in the Latin West.[23] Although instances of dialogue and disputation had their roots in ancient and late antique periods, it was not until the late twelfth and early thirteenth century that the practice became fully explored in western education. By about 1200, the *disputatio* had become a central component of medieval university education.[24] Novikoff argues that the influence of this style of debate did not remain confined to academic circles, but influenced various facets of medieval culture – namely poetry, polyphonic music, and Christian confrontations with Judaism.[25] The current study will show that disputation also influenced relations between the Greek and Roman Churches. It will seek to understand how a practice that emerged in the scholastic circles of the West influenced Byzantine diplomacy with the Latins.[26] Thus, we will define the *disputatio*

[20] *ἐπὶ συστάσει τοῦ οἰκείου δόγματος*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 lines 1-4; trans. Munitiz, 119.
[21] Weijers, *In search of the truth*, 100.
[22] Weijers, *In search of the truth*; O. Weijers, *La 'disputatio' dans les Facultés des arts au moyen âge* (Turnhout, 2002); O. Weijers, 'The medieval *disputatio*,' in *Traditions of controversy*, ed. M. Dascal and H. Chang (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2007), 141-49; A. Novikoff, *The medieval culture of disputation: pedagogy, practice, and performance* (Philadelphia, 2013).
[23] Novikoff, *The medieval culture of disputation*, 34-61; A. Novikoff, 'Anselm, dialogue, and the rise of disputation,' *Speculum* 86 (2011), 387-418.
[24] Novikoff, *The medieval culture of disputation*, 133-47; Weijers, 'The medieval *disputatio*,' 141-49.
[25] Novikoff, 'Towards a cultural history of scholastic disputation,' 335-64.
[26] The fact that current scholarship has not included Byzantine-Latin interactions and interfaith dialogue in its analysis of medieval disputation is most unfortunate. Weijers, *In search of the truth*,

as theological dialogue between representatives of the two churches, with the ostensible goal of resolving dogmatic and practical matters that divided the Greek and Roman Churches. These meetings always carried political implications, thus we must understand them in diplomatic as well as theological terms. This study will consider briefly the evolution of the *disputatio* in east-west diplomacy in attempts to end the schism between the two churches over time, but the primary focus will be on the early thirteenth century.

Identifying the first *disputatio* between representatives of the Greek and Roman Churches is almost as difficult a task as pinpointing the origin of the schism. The problem quickly becomes one of criteria. What qualifies as a *disputatio*? Parameters are required before we can engage in an analysis, but a quick survey reveals that almost every meeting of eastern and western ecclesiastics was unique in one way or another. The method of the *disputatio* may have become regimented and solidified in the western universities of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[27] but, for much of the history of the schism, theological debate between the churches was not uniform and did not follow a specific set of rules. A particularly troubling example is the famous conflict in Constantinople between Michael Keroularios and

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remarks only slightly on the use of the *disputatio* in countering divergent doctrines between Christians, but makes no reference to discussions between the Greek and Roman Churches. The silence on the subject is particularly unusual when one considers the emphasis given to Anselm of Canterbury as a pioneer in reintroducing the method. His treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, a dialogue written to refute Greek doctrine at Bari in 1098, is viewed as a pivotal step in western scholasticism, Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera omnia,* ed. F. Schmitt (Rome, 1940), vol. 2, 175-219; translated by B. Davies and G. Evans, *Anselm of Canterbury. The major works* (Oxford, 1998), 390-434. Yet modern scholars of the *disputatio*, while praising the work for its influence in western logic, have failed to trace its impact on the narrative of the schism of the churches. See C. Martin, 'Disputing about disputing: The medieval procedure of *positio* and its role in a dispute over the nature of logic and the foundations of metaphysics,' in *Traditions of controversy*, ed. M. Dascal and H. Chang (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2007), 151-64, who says only that Anselm's treatise had little impact on Greek theological thought, and then proceeds to trace a long history of Anselm's influence in western academic circles.

[27] Weijers, 'The medieval *disputatio*,' 141-42, notes the *disputatio* as one of three teaching methods in western universities, which included the *lectio* and *questio*. She even differentiates between the 'dialectical disputation' and the 'scholastic disputation.' In another work, Weijers, *In search of the truth*, 67-70, clarifies the differences between dialogue and *disputatio*. Still, these efforts only serve to clarify 'what the *disputatio* is *not*,' rather than 'what the *disputatio* is.'

the legates of Pope Leo IX, namely Humbert of Silva Candida, in 1054. The two men were almost never in the same room together, and it is unclear whether any theological discussion took place, yet the meeting had clear diplomatic implications.[28] We should also consider whether the disputants of the two churches needed to be sanctioned as champions of their cause by the church hierarchies in order for their meeting to be considered a *disputatio*, or whether any meeting of Greek and Latin clergy in which the different doctrines and practices were discussed should be included in our discussion. For example, when George Bardanes, metropolitan of Corfu, engaged in a *disputatio* with a Franciscan over the issue of purgatory in 1235/6 at Otranto, it is uncertain whether he was carrying on part of a longer tradition of religious dialogue as a representative of the Greek Church, or simply passing the time.[29] Peter the Deacon recorded that a Byzantine layman, serving as an ambassador from the court at Constantinople, engaged in a *disputatio* at Monte Cassino in 1136.[30] Does the fact that he was a layman, and not a priest or bishop, disqualify this meeting from our consideration? What do we make of Anselm of Canterbury's arguments

[28] In his account of the embassy of 1054, Humbert of Silva Candida described an encounter with Niketas Stethatos, who had previously condemned the *filioque*, Niketas Stethatos, *Against the Armenians and Latins*, ed. J. Hergenroether, *Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia* (Ratisbon, 1869), 139-54. Stethatos was made to recant his position in dramatic fashion, but the description of events by Humbert does not state whether the issue was debated to any extent, C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composite extant* (Leipzig, 1861), 150-51. J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 133, and T. Kolbaba, '1054 revisited: response to Ryder,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2011), 39, have suggested that theological debates did take place in 1054, but A. Kaldellis, 'Keroularios in 1054,' forthcoming, argues that this conclusion is not supported by the sources. A. Louth, *Greek East and Latin West: the Church AD 681-1071* (New York, 2007). 312-14, gives a thorough discussion of the polemic Stethatos wrote against the use of unleavened bread, but does not say if he thinks such arguments were debated with the papal legates in 1054.

[29] J. Hoeck and R. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole: Beitrage zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.,* (Ettal, 1965), 155; M. Roncaglia, *Georges Bardanes, Métropolite de Corfou et Barthélemy de l'Ordre franciscain* (Rome, 1953), 56-71; J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198-1400* (New Brunswick, 1979), 64; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 282; A. Longo, 'Per la storia di Corfu nel XIII secolo,' *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 22-23 (1985-6), 209-29.

[30] Peter the Deacon *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH SS 34 (Hanover, 1980), 590 line 7 – 591 line 9; S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), 118.

about the Holy Spirit at Bari in 1098?[31] It would be wrong to leave such influential comments out of the narrative of ecclesiastical dialogue, but there is no evidence that Anselm himself argued or communicated directly with the Patriarch of Constantinople or his representative.

Because this study intends to focus on the foreign policy of the Empire of Nicaea, meetings which did not involve either the emperor or patriarch, in some shape or form – be it an invitation to participate, the presence of their representative, reference to their interests, or their personal attendance at the *disputatio* – will not be considered. The *disputatio* which took place in Constantinople almost immediately following the Fourth Crusade in 1204, for example, involved neither the person nor the representative of a Byzantine emperor or patriarch,[32] yet the proceedings had clear ramifications for how church-union negotiations evolved in the early thirteenth century. It must also be noted that the history of such dialogues has yet to be written, and a greater analysis of the *disputatio* between Greeks and Latins is necessary for a better understanding of the topic.

Based on these criteria mentioned above, we find that between 1204 and 1261, representatives of the Greek and Roman Churches engaged in the *disputatio* on at least five separate occasions – in Constantinople in 1204 and again in 1206, in Constantinople and Herakleia Pontike in 1214/15, in Nicaea and Nymphaion in 1234, and in Nymphaion in 1249/50. The most important of these meetings was that which took place at Nicaea and Nymphaion over the first five months of 1234. The approach

[31] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera omnia,* ed. Schmitt, vol. 2, 175-219; translated in Davies and Evans, *Anselm of Canterbury. The major works*, 390-434; A. Siecienski, *The* Filioque, *history of a doctrinal controversy* (Oxford, 2010), 117-18; L. Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches,' in *Cambridge Medieval History* 4, ed. J. Bury (1923), 600; H. Chadwick, *East and West: the making of a rift in the Church, from apostolic times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 2005), 224; K. Ciggaar, *Western travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: cultural and political relations* (Leiden, 1996), 262.
[32] See ch. 2.

of the Roman Church to previous church-union negotiations (1204, 1206 and 1214/15) was dictated by their recent success in military and political spheres. The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and subsequent consolidation of the Latin position meant that their prelates entered these talks with a sense of superiority, intending to end the schism of the churches on their terms. This was less so in 1214/15, but by 1234 the balance of power in the regions around Constantinople had begun to shift, requiring a new approach from both sides. The Roman Church, represented for the first time in such meetings by the mendicant orders of Franciscan and Dominican friars, entered negotiations in 1234 fully prepared to compromise on theological terms, rather than simply demanding the submission of the Greek Church. The Byzantines, for their part, approached the talks of 1234 with advantages in the political sphere never before enjoyed during previous meetings. The eventual failure of the *disputatio* of 1234 to end the schism had direct political consequences, and the emperor in Nicaea pressed those advantages to make alliances, expand his control into Europe, and cripple the Latin empire of Constantinople.

Clarifying the crucial importance of the *disputatio* of 1234 for Byzantine-Latin relations in the thirteenth century – and identifying the larger role of the church-union negotiation as a method of Byzantine diplomacy – is difficult because, as a field, Byzantine diplomacy continues to defy quantification. The subject has remained ephemeral and expansive.[33] This is hardly surprising, since a theory of diplomatic history as a whole also remains elusive.[34] Although future cooperation between

[33] T. Lounghis, 'Byzantine diplomacy,' in *Byzantine diplomacy: a seminar*, trans. N. Russell, (Athens, 2007), 15-82; Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' 3-21.
[34] Although disdainful of historians and their methodology, P. Sharp, *Diplomatic theory of international relations* (Cambridge, 2009), 3, presents a useful analogy, referring to diplomacy as a fog. 'It cannot properly be said to exist in the way it appears from a distance.'

political scientists and historians may eventually offer a solution,[35] such an effort is not the purpose of the present research. For the demands of this study, it is sufficient to understand diplomacy as the means by which states related to one another. It is important, however, to differentiate between diplomacy and foreign policy. The latter is the objective, the stance adopted and promoted to Byzantium's neighbours. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is the method by which foreign policy is achieved.[36] The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* explains that the objective of Byzantine foreign policy was 'to unite all the world under one Christian Roman emperor,' while simultaneously providing for the empire's defense.[37] This definition, imbued with concerns over religion and Roman identity – both issues that dominate Byzantine studies today – is somewhat simplistic, but serves as a useful starting point to begin our discussion. Especially important is the issue of defense. Throughout its history, Byzantium was surrounded by potential enemies, and thus depended on diplomacy to avoid the catastrophe of simultaneous wars on multiple fronts.[38]

This definition of Byzantine foreign policy, however, requires some modification, especially when considering the early thirteenth century. In this period, a Latin regime occupied Constantinople, while the Byzantine state was preserved in

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[35] C. Elman and M. Elman, 'Diplomatic history and international relations theory: respecting difference and crossing boundaries,' *International Security* 22:1 (1997), 5-21, describes the differing methodologies of the two groups, and suggests ways in which the two might inform each other.
[36] A. Cooper, J. Heine, and R. Thakur, 'The challenges of 21st-century diplomacy,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, A. Cooper, J. Heine, and R. Thakur (Oxford, 2013), 2.
[37] A. Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), 634.
[38] J. Haldon, '"Blood and ink": some observations on Byzantine attitudes towards warfare and diplomacy,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 282-83; W. Kaegi, *Some thoughts on Byzantine military strategy* (Brookline, Mass, 1983), 9-10. A corollary to this is that Byzantium also sought to extend its political and cultural influence beyond its borders, pacifying foreign threats before they materialized, Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' 4-7. D. Obolensky, 'The principles and methods of Byzantine diplomacy,' in *Actes du XII Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* I (Belgrade, 1963), 52, credits Justinian I as the founder of the principles of Byzantine diplomacy. T. Lounghis, 'The adaptability of Byzantine political ideology to western realities as a diplomatic message (476-1096),' *Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 52 (2005), 335-61, describes the success of Byzantine foreign policy for much of the empire's history.

exile. Moreover, it may be impossible to identify a single purpose for the diplomacy of a state that endured for over one thousand years. Foreign policy goals were not rigid and static, but continuously changing and adapting to meet new challenges. From 1204 to 1261, therefore, recognition of the Byzantine emperor may have been a priority in an ideological sense,[39] but more practical problems certainly garnered most attention from diplomatic efforts.

A possible pitfall in this research is the concept of the 'medieval state' in Byzantium. Current scholarship is divided on the appellation of 'state' for medieval polities. The term tends to carry modern connotations that are anachronistic to the period under consideration. However, recent research has shown that we can refer to Byzantine and Latin 'states' in the thirteenth century, and earlier, as long as we are aware of the problems posed by the term, and take care to avoid the assumptions that come along with it.[40]

Another problem of terminology in this study relates to identity and the existence of the Byzantine state after 1204. It has become increasingly popular to argue that the history of the Byzantine empire ended after the Fourth Crusade captured Constantinople, and that the so-called 'successor states' that emerged in the years following 1204 were new entities.[41] This concept is unfounded. A group of

[39] Oikonomides, 'Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 1204-1453: means and ends,' 74, comments that goals such as widespread recognition of the emperor in Byzantine diplomacy after 1204 were based on an 'unrealistic tradition' and a 'glorified past.'

[40] R. Davies, 'The Medieval state: the tyranny of a concept?,' in *Twenty years of the Journal of Historical Sociology*, ed. Y. Wong and D. Sayer (Oxford, 2008), 294-314; S. Reynolds, 'There were states in medieval Europe: a response to Rees Davies,' in *Twenty years of the Journal of Historical Sociology*, ed. Y. Wong and D. Sayer (Oxford, 2008), 315-20; Reynolds, 'The historiography of the medieval state,' in *A companion to historiography*, ed. M. Bentley, (London, 1997), 117-38; S. Hindle, *The state and social change in early modern England 1550-1640*, (Basingstoke, 2000), 18-19.

[41] D. Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania: continuity and change,' in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (London, 1989), 32, calls 1204 a definitive rupture. See also P. Magdalino, 'Byzantium = Constantinople,' in *A companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester, 2010), 43-54; P. Alexander, 'The strength of empire and capital as seen through Byzantine eyes,' *Speculum* 37 (1962), 339-57; D. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century* (Oxford, 2014), 40; A. Simpson, 'Change in Byzantine historical self-awareness in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,' in *Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and*

people, or a political body, especially one as old and diverse as Byzantium, cannot be solely identified by a city and its political circumstances. New York City does not denote the whole of the United States. Moscow does not embody Russia. London does not represent all of the United Kingdom. Constantinople was the dominant centre of authority in medieval Byzantium, but the idea that 1204 marked some sort of end point in the history of a people is a modern invention.[42] Furthermore, it is impossible to identify the 'end' of Byzantium before we have properly defined Byzantium itself. Until we know what made this particular state 'Byzantine' before 1204, we cannot pinpoint the cessation of that trait after 1204. In any event, the purpose of this study is not to prove the existence of Byzantium or clarify Byzantine identity after the Fourth Crusade.[43] Anthony Kaldellis has emphasized that the people we refer to as 'Byzantine' boasted ancient Roman origins. They called themselves 'Romans,' and continued to do so after 1204.[44] For this reason, I have adopted a fluid

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thirteenth centuries (2010), 63; D. Queller and T. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: the conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia, 1997), 2nd edn, 172-203.

[42] H. Ahrweiler, 'L'Expérience nicéenne,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), 28, argues that the Empire of Nicaea was not a new state, but was the continuation and preservation of the Byzantine empire.

[43] For more on Byzantine identity and the Byzantine state after 1204 see G. Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), 94-137; C. Roueché, 'Defining identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 1-5; C. Morrison, 'Thirteenth-century Byzantine "metallic" identities,' in *Liquid and multiple: Individuals and identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 133-64; D. Smythe, 'Byzantine identity and labeling theory,' in *Byzantium, identity, image, influence: XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, University of Copenhagen, 18-24 August, 1996,* ed. K. Fledelius and P. Schreiner (Copenhagen, 1996), 26-36; P. Magdalino, 'Hellenism and nationalism in Byzantium,' in P. Magdalino, *Tradition and transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1991), 1-29; T. Shawcross, 'The lost generation (*c*. 1204-*c*. 1222): political allegiance and local interests under the impact of the Fourth Crusade,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 9-37; A. Bryer, 'The late Byzantine identity,' in *Byzantium, identity, image, influence: XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, University of Copenhagen, 18-24 August, 1996,* ed. K. Fledelius and P. Schreiner (Copenhagen, 1996), 49-50; E. Mitsiou, 'Networks of Nicaea: 13th-century socio-economic ties, structures and prosopography,' in *Liquid and multiple: Individuals and identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 91-104.

[44] Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 344-52. For the discussion of the designation of 'Hellene,' see R. Macrides, 'The thirteenth century in Byzantine historical writing,' in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. C. Dendrinos, *et al.* (Aldershot, 2003), 63-76; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 30-31; P. Gounaridis, 'Grecs, Hellènes et Romains dans l'état de Nicée,' in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορώνο*, ed. B.

position regarding the adjectives I will employ. At times the subjects of the Empire of Nicaea will be referred to interchangeably as 'Byzantine' or 'Nicaean.' Likewise the emperor in Nicaea will be referred to as 'Byzantine' or 'Nicaean.'

The current focus on the Empire of Nicaea for an analysis of Byzantine diplomacy and foreign policy after 1204 requires some explanation, as it was not the sole state to emerge after the Fourth Crusade, but was one of several successor states. These included, but were not limited to, the Empire of Trebizond and the Despotate of Epiros. The emphasis on the Empire of Nicaea in this study is not a comment about the success or viability of these other successor states. Instead, Nicaea is chosen as the focal point of my research simply because it was the first to reestablish both the imperial title and the patriarchate after 1204. Although some rulers of the various successor states held imperial ambitions, none gained recognition as widespread as that of the emperor in Nicaea. The patriarchate, reestablished in exile in Nicaea in 1208, was also a singular achievement not matched by any other successor state. Thus, the Empire of Nicaea offers the best example of the continuity of Byzantine institutions following the Fourth Crusade.

The chief goal of Nicaea's interactions with the Latins, and other powers, from 1204 to 1261 was the return of Constantinople to Byzantine control.[45] This is evident

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Kremmydas, C. Maltezou, and N. Panglotakes, vol. 1 (Rethymno, 1986), 248-57; Magdalino, 'Hellenism and nationalism in Byzantium,' 1-29; T. Papadopoulou, 'The terms *Ῥωμαῖος, Ἕλλην, Γραικὸς* the Byzantine texts of the first half of the 13th century,' *Byzantina Symmeikta* 24 (Athens, 2014), 157-76.

[45] Magdalino, 'Hellenism and nationalism in Byzantium,' 18, remarks on the need of the various Byzantine states after 1204 to regain Constantinople. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 367, states that the Empire of Nicaea was founded by refugees from Constantinople who put all their efforts towards regaining their capital. J. Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor* (New Rochelle, 1992), 5, maintains that all other foreign policy issues were subordinated to the recovery of Constantinople for the Byzantine *oikoumene*. See also Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 14, 29; R. Macrides, 'Saints and sainthood in the early Palaiologan period,' in *The Byzantine Saint, University of Birmingham, Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), 68; L. Ciolfi, 'John III Vatatzes: history, myth and propaganda,' in *Landscapes of power, Selected Papers from the XV Oxford University Byzantine Society International Graduate Conference*, ed. C. Franchi and M. di Rodi (Bern, 2014), 273; A. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217-1233)* (Thessalonike, 1973), 9; H.

in both the ideology and the actions of the Byzantine state in exile. The most noted inspiration for the empire's drive towards Constantinople was the Old Testament, from which the imperial court rhetoric at Nicaea borrowed a 'Jewish providential destiny.' Constantinople took the form of a 'new Jerusalem' to which 'God's chosen people' were to return.[46] In addition, the Byzantine emperor in Nicaea was idealized by comparisons to Old Testament heroes. Niketas Choniates depicted Theodore I Laskaris as a new Zorobabel – the Jewish leader in the book of Ezra who was chosen by God to return his people to Jerusalem.[47] Jacob of Ochrid later used the same comparison for John III Vatatzes.[48] The diplomatic and military activity of Nicaea was also clearly preoccupied with Constantinople. Vatatzes launched numerous attacks intended to gain control of the city, and as this study will show, almost every alliance and episode of negotiation pursued by the Empire of Nicaea pivoted on the fate of Constantinople.

Another possible theoretical problem that must be addressed in an analysis such as this is the differentiation between 'political' and 'ecclesiastical' matters. Can we discern secular versus sacred interests and initiatives without implying an anachronistic form of separation between church and state? Our task would be greatly simplified if all secular matters were confined to the 'political' sphere of the emperor, and all religious issues to that of the patriarch, but such a description may misrepresent medieval Byzantium. Without doubt, Byzantium was an empire in which church and state frequently overlapped, as the authority and responsibilities of the

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Ahrweiler, *L'ideologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 108-112; Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 99.

[46] Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 99; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 29.

[47] Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin,1972), 128, 147, and 175. See also Theodore Skoutariotes, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1894), 466 line 28 – 467 line 26.

[48] Jacob of Ochrid, *Collectanea byzantina*, ed. S. G., Mercati, vol. 1 (Bari, 1970), 83-84.

Byzantine emperor extended into ecclesiastical matters, and the patriarch maintained a persistent influence and obligations in the political life of the empire.[49]

Still, we can, and should, conceive of Byzantium as a complex society with an advanced and distinct 'theory of politics,' capable of being understood apart from religious matters.[50] Anthony Kaldellis has ardently argued that Byzantium maintained a Roman legacy that definitely included legal concepts of political structures. The affiliation and relationship between the Byzantine state and Christianity are, according to Kaldellis, 'accidents of history.'[51] More recently, Kaldellis has criticized a twentieth century trend in historical circles to embrace, without question, the 'imperial idea' of Byzantium, which dictates that the emperor was divinely appointed to rule a Christian people.[52] He goes on to establish that Byzantines were capable of differentiating between political and religious matters.[53] Even Gilbert Dagron, whose work definitively demonstrates the ecclesiastical role of the Byzantine emperor, did not completely rule out a distinction between temporal and spiritual authority.[54] Therefore, this study will largely refer to political matters as the purview of the emperor, and ecclesiastical matters as belonging to that of the patriarch. However, as the intention of this research is to demonstrate the role of religious dialogue in the diplomacy of the Byzantine state, a certain degree of blurred lines between sacred and

[49] M. Angold, 'The Byzantine political process at crisis point,' in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 5-21, and Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile*, 37-59, shows that emperor and patriarch were not respectively confined to political and ecclesiastical spheres, but routinely crossed over into each other's domain.
[50] Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 8-15, argues that modern scholarship has unfairly rejected the existence of a 'theory of politics' in Byzantium.
[51] Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 42-119. No Byzantine, Kaldellis explains, would have self-identified without some concept of civic obligations to the Roman state.
[52] A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: people and power in New Rome*, (Cambridge, Mass., 2015), 165-66, comments that 'there is an unwritten rule that scholars must offer it [the 'imperial idea'] homage before moving on to the particular topic of their books and articles.' Kaldellis traces this trend to Alexander, 'The strength of empire and capital as seen through Byzantine eyes,' 339-57.
[53] Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, 185-98.
[54] G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: the imperial office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), 293. See also the discussion in P. Price, 'Precedence and papal primacy,' in *Sylvester Syropoulos on politics and culture in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean: themes and problems in the memoirs*, ed. F. Kondyli, *et al.* (Aldershot, 2014), 38-39.

secular spheres will have to be understood.[55] It will become clear that, just as they did in the political life of the empire, the roles of emperor and patriarch frequently overlapped in matters of diplomacy. Thus, we should not consider the two categories as entirely distinct and separate, but constantly acting and reacting with each other.

Historians have been very keen to point out the effect of politics on dialogue toward religious union, but less often have they considered the effect of such negotiations on politics, or diplomacy. Several studies discuss the *disputatio* in a theological context,[56] or have given detailed examinations of diplomacy in a political framework,[57] but what is required is an integration of the two. Politics and *disputatio* were not separate phenomena; rather they interacted with each other as aspects of Byzantine diplomacy. We might separate them in examination for the sake of simplicity, but viewing them in isolation is a product of modern analysis. Any conclusions reached on the *disputatio* in Byzantine-Latin relations must reconcile the

[55] Even Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, 190, does not categorically insist that affairs of church and state were kept strictly separate.

[56] Chadwick, *East and West*; J. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs: the Latin mission to Nicaea, 1234,' *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996), 131-44; T. Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, (New York and London, 1993), 44; C. Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology, 1234-1439,' in *Greeks, Latins, and intellectual history, 1204-1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, (Leuven, 2011), 85-127. Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 113-72, devotes barely a single page to the early thirteenth century. M. Smith, *And taking bread… Cerularius and the azyme controversy of 1054*, (Paris, 1978), and J. Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970), 155-76, discuss the theological problems to great extent. A more recent example, M. Cunningham and E. Theokritoff, eds., *The The Cambridge companion to Orthodox Christian Theology* (Cambridge, 2008), is primarily concerned with modern issues, and thus relegates historical developments to the periphery of its analysis.

[57] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 595-626; J. Langdon, 'Byzantium in Anatolian exile: imperial vicegerency reaffirmed during Byzantino-Papal discussions at Nicaea and Nymphaion, 1234,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994), 197-233; J. Zizioulas, 'Efforts toward the union of the churches after the Fourth Crusade,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 346; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: two worlds of Christendom in the Middle Ages and Renaissance; studies in ecclesiastical and cultural history* (Oxford, 1966), 6; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 15-16. N. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece: a study of Byzantine-Western relations and attitudes, 1204-1282* (Turnhout, 2012), references each instance of church-union negotiation from 1204-1261, but his focus is on developments in western crusading in that period, and not in theological debate. In his study of the schism in the eleventh century, B. Whalen, 'Rethinking the schism of 1054: authority, heresy, and the Latin rite,' *Traditio* 62 (2007), 3-4, note 10, has noted that secular historians often express disbelief that the pope would allow an ecclesiastical squabble (1054) to block a political alliance.

demands of both the secular and the sacred. To examine them as entirely separate and detached from one another inevitably leads one to faulty conclusions.[58]

Tia Kolbaba addresses the dichotomy between those who view the schism of the churches as 'irreducibly theological,' and those who treat ecclesiastical issues as 'trivial or even nonexistent,' and thus subservient to political concerns. Her conclusion places her own views somewhere in the middle, insisting that religious matters were central to the conflict between east and west, although not in the way theologians might suspect.[59] Coming from the other end of the question from Kolbaba, Anthony Kaldellis remarks that too close a reading of sources describing ecclesiastical debate can give the wrong impression – that the Byzantines understood themselves only as a religious community, and not a secular one.[60] Thus, many of those who have attempted to unite political and theological matters in their examination of Byzantine diplomacy, or at least expressed a desire to do so, have missed the mark, usually by adopting too much the methodology of a theologian. Indeed, many of these scholars have theological backgrounds. Francis Dvornik, for example, expressed his belief that the schism of the churches was as much political as it was ecclesiastical, but his own conclusions betrayed his Catholic background.[61]

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[58] T. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists: errors of the Latins* (Chicago, 2000), 1-2, explains that while we may separate religion from other issues in order to simplify our analysis, 'the separation is always arbitrary and unreal.' A. Cameron, *Byzantine matters* (Princeton, 2014), 16-18, 121 note 22, has commented on the tendency to 'write theology out' of Byzantine history.

[59] Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists*, 2-3, adds that negating theological differences 'reflects a very modern and very intellectual bias.' Others have commented on the tendency of historians to de-emphasize theological matters, especially in diplomacy with the Latin West. See J. Pelikan *The Christian tradition: a history of the development of doctrine*, vol. 2, *The spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* (Chicago, 1974), 170; A. Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy: points for reflection, 1204-1453,' in *Greeks, Latins, and intellectual history, 1204-1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel (Leuven, 2011), 28.

[60] Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 352.

[61] F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966), 6-27. Other examples of works that have sought to unite political concerns and theological debate with Byzantine diplomacy include W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), and Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*. Both, however, rely too much on Latin sources.

Neglecting theological evidence certainly has its own consequences. Several scholars whose focus is on the political implications of the *disputatio* tend to conclude that such meetings were always 'doomed to fail,' insisting that political realities overruled desire for ecclesiastical unity.[62] The most famous condemnation is that of Steven Runciman, who stated that 'amongst the unhappy delusions of mankind is the belief that a dispute can be settled by a debate. The contrary is true; for neither side will admit defeat but instead will assemble more and more arguments to confound its opponents.'[63] The interpretation that the inevitable end of every *disputatio* was failure is clearly a faulty premise. It does not explain why the two churches repeatedly entered into such negotiations, and it projects the eventual end of such encounters onto the beginning of the narrative. Clearly, some degree of balance is needed.[64]

The narrative of perpetual and unavoidable failure to end the schism maintained by modern scholarship may stem from a lack of emphasis on the sources that emerged from such proceedings – what we might refer to as the '*disputatio* genre.'[65] Alex Novikoff has noted that textual evidence of disputations, although

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[62] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 594, describes the history of attempts at church union as 'one of continued mortification, repeated checks, perpetual failures.' M. Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome: a survey of the relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches,' in *Aspects of the mind of Byzantium: political theory, theology, and ecclesiastical relations with the See of Rome*, ed. S. Vryonis and N. Goodhue (Aldershot, 2001), 60, argues that all efforts toward church union were doomed due to the 'devotion to Byzantine orthodoxy and a proud nationalism' which limited the ability of the emperors to submit to compromise. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 131, says that 'there was no prospect of a union of the Churches because each had a fundamentally different conception of the nature of ecclesiastical authority.' Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 199, remarks that theological debate 'only served to exacerbate the seemingly irreconcilable difference between the Roman Catholic and Byzantine Greek Orthodox churches.' Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 15, says that union negotiations were 'doomed to fail.'

[63] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108.

[64] Some recent examples of works that achieve this balance between theological and political concerns in Byzantine-Latin relations are C. Dendrinos, 'Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400-1402): theology, diplomacy and politics,' in *Greeks, Latins, and intellectual history, 1204-1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, (Leuven, 2011), 397-422, which considers the profound interaction between the religious traditions of east and west during the emperor's time abroad, and C. Holmes, 'Religious identities – a question of evidence,' in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. J. Harris, C. Holmes and E. Russell (Oxford, 2012), 31-56, which considers alternatives for the anti-Latin attitudes of Eustathios of Thessalonike beyond those of dogma.

[65] The *disputatio* may be considered a sub-genre of polemic. Weijers, *In search of the truth*, 175, notes that the authors of texts describing disputation 'often had a polemic purpose.'

avidly studied by theologians, have been largely neglected by historians.[66] A comment by Louis Bréhier demonstrates this point perfectly. Bréhier said of the literature that emerged from the *disputatio* that 'nothing can surpass the monotony of these erudite treatises on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, of these dialogues and contradictory debates, which repeat over and over again the same arguments and appeal continually to the same authorities.'[67] It is true that such works tended to be repetitive, and this may be why they are often overlooked. Other historians, such as Alexander Vasiliev, have mined documents that describe religious dialogue for information on political developments, and completely disregarded any evidence that might shed light on Byzantine society, culture, or for our purposes, diplomacy.[68]

De-emphasizing the *disputatio* genre inherently distorts the historical narrative of Byzantine-Latin interaction. It is impossible to build a complete paradigm, especially of a topic as complex as Byzantine diplomacy, without including all pertinent material. Sources describing theological debate have been largely overlooked as a method of Byzantine diplomacy. Alexander Kazhdan's nine techniques of Byzantine diplomacy, for example, include no mention of ecclesiastical dialogue. However, even scholars that promote a balanced approach – political and theological concerns in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy – have failed to take into account the instances of church-union negotiations that took place during the period of exile from 1204-1261. Aristeides Papadakis suggests that theological debate returned to east-west relations only under Michael VIII Palaiologos with the union proclaimed at

[66] Novikoff, 'Towards a cultural history of scholastic disputation,' 331-34, points out that evidence of the *disputatio* are utilized by philosophers and theologians interested in specific points of doctrine or logical studies in the medieval period, but rarely is such material properly considered by historians.
[67] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 595.
[68] In his comments on the historical value of the works of Nicholas Mesarites, A. Vasiliev, 'Mesarites as a source,' *Speculum* 13 (1938), 181, expressed his disregard for the numerous descriptions of church-union negotiations in the text, referring to them as 'mere rhetorical ejaculations on church troubles.'

Lyons in 1274.[69] This assertion completely disregards the union dialogue that took place under the Laskarids, which formed a precedent for later talks.[70] In this way, Papadakis fails to properly address the theological encounters of the early thirteenth century and their role in Byzantine diplomacy. Thus, we see the full extent of the ambitions of the current study. Historians of Byzantine diplomacy have avoided the thirteenth century as anomalous, and even fewer historians of the subject have been willing to embrace religious dialogue as a method of that diplomacy. At a time when scholars such as Anthony Kaldellis are calling into question our understanding of the roles of church and state in Byzantium, it is more important than ever that the part of the *disputatio* in Byzantine diplomacy with the Latin West be fully explored.

This study will integrate the *disputatio* into the standard analysis of Byzantine-Latin relations in the thirteenth century with a thorough examination of the sources describing those meetings, explained in the context of the foreign policy advocated by the Empire of Nicaea. Unfortunately, our source material for this dialogue in the first half of the thirteenth century is incomplete. Often we have testimony from the Greek side of a *disputatio*, but not the Latin, or vice-versa. The earliest written evidence of the *disputatio*, from 1204-1215, survives almost entirely from the Greek side through Nicholas Mesarites.[71] Only one of these meetings is corroborated by a second source, Nicholas of Otranto, who appears to describe some discussions in the 1206 meeting not mentioned by Mesarites.[72] For the series of union negotiations from 1250-1254,

[69] A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: the filioque controversy in the patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (Crestwood, 1997), 2nd edn, 1-2.
[70] George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1999), vol. 2, 479.
[71] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48-63, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen vom 30. August 1206; Patriarchenwahl und Kaiserkrönung in Nikaia 1208,' *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, ed. A. Heisenberg (1923), II, 15-25, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19-33.
[72] Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij.

we have not one single report of the matters discussed.[73] Most of what we know about this *disputatio* is derived from a letter of Pope Alexander IV in 1256, which describes previous meetings, but provides few clues regarding the sequence of events.[74]

The *disputatio* that took place in Nicaea and Nymphaion in 1234 is the best documented such meeting from the period under consideration. A detailed report by the four friars who represented the Roman Church during the proceedings is our best source for church-union negotiation in the early thirteenth century.[75] They gave a daily record of the proceedings, including what was discussed, and who was present. As this source is vital to our understanding of these negotiations, a full translation is provided in the appendix. In addition to this report, we have a wealth of other material describing the attempted union in 1234. A full set of correspondence between the pope and patriarch leading up to the meeting,[76] commentary from Nikephoros Blemmydes,[77] who participated in the first phase of the *disputatio*, and a response to the Latin arguments from Patriarch Germanos II,[78] have all come down to us. The existence of so much source material is fortunate since, as this analysis will show, the

[73] George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 2, 471 lines 9-22, referred to these meetings some years later, with few details.Theodore II Laskaris may have referred to the *disputatio* of 1250 in a panegyric for his father, *Theodorus II Ducas Lascaris opuscula rhetorica*, ed. A. Tartaglia (Munich, 2000), 56. Unfortunately, it is unclear if he was describing the later meetings of the 1250s, or the earlier *disputatio* of 1234. For more on this problem, see Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 66 note 134. The best indication of what was actually discussed at the *disputatio* of 1250 comes from Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 – ch. 60, 73; trans. Munitiz, 119-125. Unfortunately, he is solely interested in his own contributions, and gives little additional information.

[74] *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV (1254-1261)*, ed. T. T. Haluscynskyj and M. M. Wojnar (Vatican, 1966), no. 28, 39-44.

[75] G. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum seu Relatio apocrisiarorum Gregorii IX de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia (1234,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1919), 428-65.

[76] *Acta Honorii III (1216-1227) et Gregorii IX (1227-1241)*, ed. A. Tautu (Vatican, 1950), no. 179, 235-39; no. 179a, 240-49; no. 179b, 249-52.

[77] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57-64; trans. Munitiz, 106-114.

[78] The only edition of this work, the *Απάντησις*, is preserved in the appendix of *Chronikon Georgiou Phrantze tou protovestiariou eis tessara vivlia diairethen*, ed. F. Alter (Vienna, 1796), 140-49.

disputatio of 1234 proved to be pivotal for Byzantine-Latin relations in the early thirteenth century.

Because our aim is to illustrate the role of religious dialogue in the context of Byzantine diplomacy, this thesis will include other types of diplomatic source material. Treaties between states and letters of popes and emperors are available in various collections and editions. Treaties and other documents can be found in the *Urkunden* of G. Tafel and G. Thomas[79] and the *Acta et Diplomata graeca* of F. Miklosich and J. Müller,[80] but where possible reference will be made to newer editions. The 1219 agreement between Venice and Nicaea, for example, has recently been edited by L. Pieralli.[81] For papal correspondence, I have preferred to rely on the editions found in the Fontes Series acts of the popes. For Pope Innocent III, reference has been made to the newer editions produced by O. Hageneder.[82] When necessary, I have made use of older editions of these letters. We are fortunate that the letters of Germanos II leading up to the *disputatio* of 1234 are preserved in the *Acta Gregorii IX*. His letter to the pope in 1232 is preserved in Greek as well as Latin,[83] while only the Latin translation of his letter to the Roman Cardinals has survived.[84] Both of these letters were copied into the history of Matthew Paris, but with some significant differences.[85] The letters of Frederick II, published by J. Huillard-Bréholles,[86] have

[79] G. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur alteren Handles- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderen Beziehungen auf Byzanz und die Levante* (Vienna, 1856, 1857), 3 vols.
[80] *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1860-1890), 6 vols.
[81] L. Pieralli, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore byzantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204-1282). Studio storicodiplomatistico ed edizione critica* (Vatican, 2006), no. 1, 116-18.
[82] O. Hageneder, *et al.*, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III* (Graz-Cologne, Rome, Vienna, 1964-2015), 13 vols.
[83] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 240-49. See also the editions preserved in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), vol. 23, 48-56, and K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice and Paris, 1872-1894), vol. 2, 39-46.
[84] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 249-52.
[85] For the letter to Gregory IX, see Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. Luard (London, 1872-1883), vol. 3, 448-455; trans. J. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History from the year 1235 to 1273*

been employed to great extent, as well as the editions of that emperor's Greeks letters. Although each edition of these Greek letters have been consulted, I have preferred to rely on the newest version put forth by E. Merendino.[87] The correspondence of the Latin emperors of Constantinople will also be referenced, especially the letter of 1212 from Henry I, edited by G. Prinzing.[88] Only one letter from John III Vatatzes has come down to us, edited by Pieralli.[89] This study will also make use of the letters of Theodore II Laskaris, preserved by N. Festa,[90] as well as those of Michael Choniates, presented in a new edition by F. Kolovou.[91] In addition to this material, narrative sources from both Latin and Greek positions, as well as some French and Italian, will also be examined. The most important of these is George Akropolites.[92] Akropolites almost completely omitted important details in the area of diplomacy and ecclesiastical dialogue, but his work is still the best overall source for the years 1204-1261.[93]

Chapter one of this study will provide a brief overview of the political situation that prevailed after the Fourth Crusade, and the diplomatic interaction between Latins and Byzantines following 1204. This will include a summary discussion the Empire of Nicaea, and its neighbours. Chapter two examines the role of the *disputatio* in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy up to 1234. Because no study exists that examines each instance of inter-church dialogue, a brief discussion of these meetings

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(London, 1852-1854), vol. 1, 98-104. For the letter to the Cardinals, see ed. Luard, vol. 3, 455-60; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 104-108.

[86] *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1852-1861), 6 vols.

[87] E. Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' in *Atti della Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, vol. 34, series 4, part 2 (Palermo, 1974-1975), 293-343.

[88] G. Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212,' *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 395-431.

[89] Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 121-26.

[90] N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII* (Florence, 1898).

[91] Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou (Berlin and New York, 2001).

[92] George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, (Stuttgart, 1978), vol. 1; trans. R. Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History. Introduction, translation and commentary* (Oxford, 2007).

[93] Macrides, 'The thirteenth century in Byzantine historical writing,' 65, remarks that, despite his silence on legislative or theological matters, the history by Akropolites represents the 'backbone for any modern account of the Empire of Nicaea.'

will be included. Special emphasis will be placed on instances of *disputatio* that took place immediately following the Fourth Crusade, as they shed light on the expectations of the papacy, their justification for the events of 1204, and their approach to the prospect of church union. Chapter three shows that the approach by both sides changes drastically with the *disputatio* of 1234. The more serious attempt by the Roman Church to address theological differences, as well as the pivotal moment manifested for Byzantine foreign policy in 1234, as contextualized in chapter one, will be discussed and explained, primarily through examination of the report of the papal representatives at that meeting, which forms the centerpiece of this study. Chapter four will describe the consequences of the *disputatio* of 1234 for diplomacy between Byzantines and Latins, mainly in the form of alliance between Nicaea and Bulgaria, and between John III Vatatzes and Frederick II Hohenstaufen. The chapter ends with a thorough analysis of renewed church-union negotiations in 1249/50, which again became the focal point of Byzantine diplomacy with the Latin West.

CHAPTER ONE: NICAEA AND THE LATINS, 1204-1234

Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade

In order to gain a fuller appreciation for the role of ecclesiastical discussions in diplomacy and foreign policy in the Empire of Nicaea, we must engage in an analysis of the events leading up to those discussions. The years following the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade were chaotic, violent, and uncertain.[1] The almost constant state of warfare between Greeks and Latins was punctuated by short periods of truce and diplomatic dialogue.[2] The continuing conflict with Latin Constantinople was complicated by the emergence of various local Byzantine rulers in Anatolia, as well as the threat posed by the Empire's neighbours – namely Epiros, Bulgaria, Trebizond and the Seljuk Sultanate of Iconium. A dearth of source material makes it difficult to reconstruct the political picture in the early thirteenth century, even for a state as well documented as the Empire of Nicaea. More material has survived for Nicaea than for any of the other so-called successor states which emerged after 1204, and yet these sources still leave us with considerable gaps in the narrative, particularly regarding the issue of the foundations and early years of the Byzantine state after 1204.

One aspect of the problem posed for historians is the relationship of Nicaea to the central authority of Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade. Nicaea was not the obvious choice for organized resistance to the new Latin regime. The possibility exists that the Anatolian city was outside of imperial control when the crusaders

[1] S. Reinert, 'Fragmentation (1204-1453),' in *The expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. J. Shepard (Aldershot, 2007), 308, refers to an 'orgy of violence' which dramatically dismembered the once unified Byzantine landscape.
[2] S. Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium, 1204-1453* (Leiden, 2011), 13.

captured the capital in 1204.[3] Niketas Choniates described the Byzantine provinces as restless and repressed by imperial elites. 'What good was not absent, and what evil was not present? Confiscation of monies, deportations of the native-born, and massacres and flights abounded, with countless other horrors, most of which were inflicted by the Roman tyrants.'[4] Such disaffection could easily have caused Nicaea, like other cities, to have broken from the central control before 1204. Nor would such a situation be unprecedented. Contemporary sources indicate numerous examples of cities, regions and provincial elites that behaved in an autonomous manner in the years leading up to the Fourth Crusade, and shortly afterward. Perhaps the most notable example was Leo Sgouros, who ruled a large part of central Greece from 1200 to 1208.[5] An important example from the eastern regions of the empire was Theodore

[3] N. Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origins de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la *Partitio Romaniae*,' in *XVe Congrès International des Études byzantines,* (Athens, 1976), 3-28, describes the fragmentation in areas of Greece, Anatolia, and various islands before 1204. The years 1180 to 1204 saw a sharp increase in challenges to the imperial authority of Constantinople, J. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris, 1990), 427-40, and Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 117. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 9, 97-98, has pointed to a 'deep disaffection' felt among the Byzantine population of Anatolia toward the ruling elite of Constantinople, leading them to support numerous rebels and pretenders. He even goes so far as to refer to 'anarchy in the provinces' under the Angeloi emperors. A. Laiou, 'Political-historical survey, 1204-1453,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, *et al.*, (Oxford, 2008), 280-82, and Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania: continuity and change,' 2, agree that the fragmentation of the Byzantine world began before 1204, but was greatly increased by the Fourth Crusade. A. Bryer, 'Cultural relations between east and west in the twelfth century,' in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), 87-88, argues that the disintegration of the Byzantine empire would have happened regardless of the Fourth Crusade. A. Eastmond, '"Local" saints, art, and regional identity in the Orthodox world after the Fourth Crusade,' *Speculum* 78, no. 3 (July, 2003), 707-749, esp. 742, makes the case that the rise of new local saint cults in various parts of the Orthodox world in the early thirteenth century was a reflection of the 'radically altered political and conceptual structures' brought about by the Fourth Crusade.

[4] *τί δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐ παρῆν; χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις, τῶν θρεψαμένων ἐκτοπίσεις, σφαγαὶ καὶ φυγαί, καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα δεινά, ὧν τὰ πλείω οἱ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐπετόλμων τύραννοι*, Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 638 lines 53-55; trans. H. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984), 350. M. Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 19 (1993), 127, identifies Choniates as part of a reactionary movement, attempting to maintain unity in response to increasingly independent provinces of the empire.

[5] The domain of Sgouros was centred on Corinth, Nauplion and Thebes, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 638 lines 1-2; trans. Magoulias, 350. The brothers Niketas and Michael Choniates presented no good opinion of Sgouros. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 605 lines 65-76; trans. Magoulias, 332, referred to him as a tyrant who maintained his rule through force rather than praiseworthy leadership, using violence to enforce his commands and authority. In a letter from 1208, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 100, 139 lines 192-208; translated in D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium:*

Mankaphas. He was noted for provoking a rebellion centered on the city of Philadelphia in 1188, during which he proclaimed himself as emperor and even had silver coins struck with his own name.[6] Temporarily subdued, by 1204 Mankaphas had once again established himself as an independent ruler in the region around Philadelphia.[7] The *Partitio Romaniae*, the agreement by which the crusaders divided the Byzantine Empire, has caused some to question the status of Nicaea before 1204.[8] Because there is no mention of Nicaea in the *Partitio*, it has been suggested that the city was autonomous before the Fourth Crusade.[9] We may never be able to prove that

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church, society, and civilization seen through contemporary eyes (Chicago, 1984), 372-73, suggested that many of his fellow Greeks deserted to the Latins to avoid the cruelty of Sgouros. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 13 lines 15-19; trans. Macrides, 8.123-24, referred to Sgouros as a usurper seizing control of Corinth and the surrounding lands. Perhaps the peak of his career came when he expanded his authority northwards into Thessaly and encountered the fleeing Alexios III Angelos at Larissa. There he married the emperor's daughter, Eudokia, and received the title of despot. See Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 608 lines 47-51; trans. Magoulias, 333; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 453 lines 25-28. Macrides argues that bestowing the title of despot on Sgouros was Alexios III's way of 'asserting his present and future imperial status,' as well as sanctioning Sgouros' rule in mainland Greece, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 81, 95. E. Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' in *Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (2010), 201, explains that the actions of Sgouros proved him to be an enemy of the Byzantine fatherland. For more on Sgouros, see Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 11, 244; P. Magdalino, 'A neglected authority for the history of the Peloponnese in the early thirteenth century: Demetrios Chomatianos, archbishop of Bulgaria,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70 (1977), 321; R. Macrides, '1204: The Greek sources,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 147.

[6] Once again, contemporary Byzantine sources were unkind in their descriptions. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 399 line 54 – 400 line 80; trans. Magoulias, 219-20, related that Mankaphas gained the nickname 'Morotheodoros,' or 'Foolish Theodore,' as his schemes to claim the imperial title came to nothing. He continued by pointing out that many noble Byzantines were killed as a result of his ambition. See also Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. O. Lampsidis (Athens, 1990), vv. 5931-34. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 11, 85; A. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, A.D. c. 1192-1237* (Thessalonike, 1981), 60-63; J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)* (Munich, 1974), 66-68; J. Cheynet, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206,' *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris, 1984), 45-54.

[7] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 400 line 74 – 401 line 18; trans. Magoulias, 220, related that Mankaphas was pursued by Basil Vatatzes, fled to the Seljuk Turks, was imprisoned, and apparently eventually released. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 12 lines 10-21; trans. Macrides, 7.120, was sparing in his details, but it appears that Philadelphia was soon absorbed into the fledgling Empire of Nicaea, along with other parts of Byzantine Anatolia. See V. Puech, 'The aristocracy and the Empire of Nicaea,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 71.

[8] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 1, 444-52. For a more recent edition, see Carile, '*Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*,' 217-22.

[9] Why Nicaea, and other locations, are absent from the *Partitio Romaniae* is a matter of continuing debate. See Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,' 3-28; A. Carile, '*Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*,' *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125-305; J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), 44; R. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of

Nicaea had fallen victim to the disintegration of power to local magnates before 1204, but we know for certain that it soon after became a stronghold of Byzantine imperial authority. This is largely owing to the career of Theodore Laskaris.

Much of our knowledge of his career and the foundation of the Empire of Nicaea is gathered from the history of George Akropolites. He reported that the leaders of the Fourth Crusade offered the inhabitants of Constantinople the option to remain under the new Latin regime or to leave the city. Many notables of the city decided to depart, but Akropolites recorded that Theodore Laskaris had already left.[10] Theodore is an intriguing figure. He rose to prominence and title through his marriage to Anna, the daughter of Alexios III Angelos.[11] It was after this union that Theodore was given the title of despot. The title designated Theodore as imperial heir,[12] but there was no precedent for a son-in-law of the previous emperor rising to the imperial title, nor did marriage to an imperial daughter guarantee one access to imperial office.[13]

Constantinople, 1204-1261,' in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1962), 90; P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204-1500* (Harlow, 1995), 40-43; T. Madden, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople's fractured foundation: the rift between Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders,' in *The Fourth Crusade: event, aftermath, and perceptions*, ed. T. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), 45-52; F. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204-1228)*, English translation by P. Longbottom (Leiden and Boston, Mass., 2011), 48-53; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 52 note 84.

[10] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 10 lines 10-21; trans. Macrides, 6.117-18. See also Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. P. Noble, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Edinburgh, 2005), LXXIX-LXXX.96-99; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 591-94; trans. Magoulias, 325-27.

[11] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 9 lines 3-4; trans. Macrides, 5.118; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 508 lines 81-82; trans. Magoulias, 280.

[12] Puech, 'The aristocracy and the empire of Nicaea,' 70; P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 184.

[13] In 1169, Manuel I Komnenos broke off the engagement between his daughter Maria and Béla - Alexios of Hungary, whom he had already invested with the title of despot, John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), 287 lines 2-4; trans C. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York, 1976), 214; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 169 lines 6-8; trans. Magoulias, 96; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 81. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 8 lines 17-25; trans. Macrides, 5.114, related that Alexios V Mourtzouphlos sought to secure his claim to the imperial title through marriage to Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III Angelos. See also Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 608 lines 53-56; trans. Magoulias, 333-34. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 115 note 4, points out that Akropolites never referred to Alexios V Mourtzouphlos as emperor.

Our understanding of Theodore's situation in 1204 is complicated by a comment by Nicholas Mesarites in a later letter to then emperor Theodore I Laskaris.[14] Mesarites referred to a period in which Theodore, 'despite being a commander, [was] imprisoned in the church of the commander-in-chief of the heavenly hosts.'[15] It is unfortunate that part of this text is missing, and that Mesarites does not expand on how or why Theodore was imprisoned. He only commented on the spectacular transformation of Theodore from prisoner to 'God-elected emperor.'[16] A speech preserved by Niketas Choniates refers in passing to Theodore's escape from prison, but gives few details.[17] We might wonder if Theodore, despot and son-in-law to Alexios III, posed a threat to imperial challengers who arose in Constantinople between 1203 and 1204, namely Isaac II Angelos, his son Alexios IV, or Alexios V Mourtzouphlos. They would surely have had cause to imprison Theodore if they saw him as a partisan of the regime they had replaced.[18]

Identifying the position and title of Theodore Laskaris before 1204 is important for understanding how he came to establish himself in Anatolia following the Fourth Crusade. Complicating our picture of his rise to power in Nicaea is a story, related by both Greek and Latin sources, which suggests that it was not Theodore, but his brother Constantine, who was proclaimed emperor following the Fourth Crusade. Robert of Clari reported that – after Alexios V fled Constantinople in April 1204 – the

[14] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25-29.
[15] *σοῦ τοῦ στρατιάρχου τῷ τότε συντηρουμένου ὑπὸ φρουρῷ τε καὶ φύλακι τῷ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν ἄνω στρατευμάτων νεῷ*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 29-31.
[16] *βασιλέως θεοψηφίστου*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 26 line 31. See also Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsidis, vv. 7146-55.
[17] Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 126 lines 33-34. Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,' 23, dates this speech to 1208.
[18] Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,' 23-24, notes that other partisans of Alexios III were imprisoned after he fled Constantinople in 1203. He concludes that Theodore Laskaris was imprisoned by Alexios IV. Theodore's loyalty to his father-in-law, Alexios III, is further indicated by his actions in 1204. Michael Angold has argued that when he fled Constantinople and began organizing control in Bithynia, Theodore did so in the name of his father-in-law, M. Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* V, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), 544; M. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500-1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), 734.

inhabitants took 'a leading man of the city' and made him emperor.[19] Robert identified this 'leading man' only as 'Laskaris,' without giving a first name, thus it is unclear if this was Theodore or his brother Constantine. The account of Niketas Choniates tells us that the magnates of the city gathered to choose a new emperor from two candidates. Both had 'the same name as the first emperor of our faith,' i.e. Constantine, one with the family name Doukas, and the other Laskaris.[20] Thus, Choniates indicated that it was Constantine Laskaris who was elected emperor. Moreover, the abovementioned evidence by Nicholas Mesarites and Niketas Choniates indicating that Theodore was in prison and then fled to Anatolia should lead us to conclude that he was not present in Constantinople for this impromptu appointment.

Before accepting Constantine as the first of the Laskarid emperors, however, it should be noted that no material evidence has survived to indicate that he ever claimed the imperial title. No seal or manuscript refers to him as emperor.[21] It has previously been thought that a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, Baroc. ms. 235, f. 478v, referred to Constantine as *βασιλεύς*, but closer examination shows that this is not the case.[22] While the story of Constantine's elevation in Constantinople may bear some truth,[23] it seems likely that he promptly gave up any claims to the

[19] *un haut home de le chité*, Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, LXXIX.96-97.
[20] *ἀμφοῖν δ' ἡ κλῆσις ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς πίστεως βασιλεῖ*, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 571 lines 57-58; trans. Magoulias, 314.
[21] For seals, which say only *Σκέποις Κομνηνὸν Λάσκαριν Κωνστατῖνον οὗ καὶ γραφὰς σφράγιζε, μα[ρτ]ύρων κλέ[ο]ς*, see M. Campagnolo-Pothitou, and J. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la Collection George Zacos au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (Geneva, 2016), 39.
[22] The text in question refers to Constantine as 'my wholly noble Lord Constantine Komnenos Laskaris' – *παρὰ τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου δεσπότου μου Κωνστατίνου Κομνήνου τοῦ Λασκάρου*. H. Coxe misrepresented this text, mistaking *μου* for an abbreviation of *βασιλέως*. Thus, his reading would be understood as 'the wholly noble Lord Emperor Constantine Komnenos Laskaris.' Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford, 1853), vol. 1, no. 235, 404. I must thank Michael Angold and Joseph Munitiz for their help in identifying and clarifying this error.
[23] B. Sinogowitz, 'Über das Byzantinische Kaisertum nach dem vierten Kreuzzuge (1204-1205),' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 45 (1952), 345-56; A. Savvides, 'Constantine XI Lascaris uncrowned and ephemeral "Basileus of the Rhomaioi" after the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade,' *Byzantiniaka* 7 (1987), 141-74; C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises* (Brookline, Mass.,

imperial office, deciding instead to support his brother.[24] This conclusion is supported by Niketas Choniates, who stated that the individual proclaimed as emperor in Constantinople 'refused the imperial insignia,' and instead called on those assembled, with little success, to resist the crusaders.[25]

Whatever the fate of his brother Constantine,[26] by 1205, Theodore Laskaris had consolidated his position in Nicaea as a focal point of resistance against the Latins.[27] George Akropolites recorded that the citizens of Nicaea at first refused to admit Theodore into their city, but this reluctance was apparently soon overcome.[28] Geoffrey of Villehardouin commented that the Greeks along the coast of Anatolia were consolidated under the authority of Theodore by the autumn of 1204.[29] Niketas

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1996), 57, all argue that it was Constantine who fled to Anatolia, taking the Byzantine imperial tradition with him.

[24] A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London, 1912), 55-56, wonders whether the two men put forward for emperor were named Theodore, thus Theodore Komnenos Doukas, the later ruler of Epiros, and Theodore Laskaris. She concludes, however, that it was Constantine who was elected emperor that last night in Constantinople, and that he must have dropped his claim in deference to his brother. Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,' 23, agrees that Constantine was a major supporter of his brother Theodore after 1204. Michael Angold, on the other hand, gives almost no consideration to Constantine Laskaris, Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 544, and Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 734. Puech, 'The aristocracy and the empire of Nicaea,' 70-71, describes Constantine Laskaris as simply another Byzantine aristocrat fighting against the Latins.

[25] *ὁ Λάσκαρις τὰ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας οὐ προσίεται σύμβολα*, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 571 line 55 – 572 line 2; trans. Magoulias, 314.

[26] The most likely scenario is that Constantine Laskaris died fighting against Latins in March 1205, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1909), ch. 323, 121; Sinogowitz, 'Über das Byzantinische Kaisertum,' 355-56; Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 58; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile*, 61.

[27] Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,' 22-28, has put forward the possibility that Theodore Laskaris had already established Nicaea as a centre of Byzantine authority before the Fourth Crusade seized Constantinople, and that this is why Nicaea was left out of the *Partitio Romaniae*. R. Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline and exile,' in *New Constantines: The rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 280, remarks that the foundation of the Empire of Nicaea was the expression of a 'deliberate wish to renew the tradition which the Latins had interrupted.' See also Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 18; Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 128.

[28] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 10 lines 17-27; trans. Macrides, 6.118. It is curious that the people of Nicaea, as related by Akropolites, refused to admit Theodore Laskaris, but welcomed his wife Anna. It may be that they remembered gratefully Anna's father, Isaac II Angelos, who, before he became emperor, was one of the leaders of a rebellion in Bithynia against Andronikos I Komnenos in 1183. For a narrative of this rebellion, see Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 280-86; trans. Magoulias, 155-59. See also Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 52-53.

[29] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 313, 117.

Choniates corroborated this by stating that important centres such as Nicaea, Smyrna and Ephesos all acknowledged Theodore as emperor before 1206.[30]

The details surrounding how Theodore came to be proclaimed emperor have caused some debate among historians. According to George Akropolites, Theodore was referred to as despot for two years before his proclamation as emperor, but a coronation required the participation of a patriarch. [31] The Patriarch of Constantinople in 1204 was John X Kamateros. Niketas Choniates commented on the flight of Kamateros from Constantinople after the Latin takeover, describing the patriarch as 'a perfect evangelical apostle, or rather, a true imitator of Christ.'[32] This exalted cleric did not, however, find refuge in Anatolia, but in Thrace, making his way to Didymoteichon.[33] This presented Theodore with a tremendous obstacle. It was necessary for the patriarch to be present before any coronation could take place. Theodore Laskaris invited the patriarch to join him in Nicaea, but Kamateros refused. According to Akropolites, the patriarch sent a written resignation along with his refusal of the summons.[34] Kamateros died in Didymoteichon in June 1206,[35]

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[30] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 638; trans. Magoulias, 350; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 18; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 734.

[31] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 5-9; trans. Macrides, 7.119. For more on the significance of the patriarch to the coronation ceremony, see P. Charanis, 'Coronation and its constitutional significance in the later Roman Empire,' *Byzantion* 15 (1940-41), 61.

[32] *ἐντελὴς εὐαγγελικὸς ἀπόστολος, ἢ μᾶλλον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀντίμιμος*, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 593 lines 8-9; trans. Magoulias, 326.

[33] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 9-13; trans. Macrides, 7.119; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 633 lines 57-59; trans. Magoulias, 347; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 19, maintains that John X Kamateros fled not to Didymoteichon, but to Adrianople, where he died in 1206.

[34] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 5-15; trans. Macrides, 7.119. See also F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Munich and Berlin, 1924-1965), vol. 3, no. 1671, 2; Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 544; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 67. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 19 note 18, argues that the idea of Kamateros sending a written resignation of his office is based on a misunderstanding of the text, and that what the patriarch sent was only a refusal to Theodore's invitation to join him in Nicaea. For the patriarch's resignation, see Xanthopoulos, *Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli enarratio de episcopis Byzantinii et de patriarchis omnibus Constantinopolitanis*, *PG* 147, *PG* 147, col. 464 D; V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* I/2, 3: *715 à 1206* (Paris, 1989), vol. 1, no. 1202, 611-12.

[35] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 633 lines 57-59; trans. Magoulias, 347; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 34.

removing the obstacle then facing Theodore. Akropolites explained that the notables of Nicaea assembled and appointed Michael IV Autoreianos the new Patriarch of Constantinople on 20 March 1208. One of the first tasks for the new patriarch was the coronation of Theodore Laskaris as emperor on Easter Sunday, 6 April 1208.[36]

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the coronation of a new Byzantine emperor in exile. The event effectively restored the twin pillars of Byzantium – the patriarch and the emperor – in exile.[37] This restoration sent a clear message to the new Latin regime in Constantinople. As soon as the crusaders gained control of the city in 1204, they had set about appointing a new emperor in the person of the count of Flanders and Hainaut, Baldwin I.[38] This presented a crisis for Byzantine political ideology.[39] The Latin coronation was a threat to Byzantine

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[36] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 15-18; trans. Macrides, 7.119, gave the impression that these events – the death of John X Kamateros, the proclamation of Theodore Laskaris as emperor, the appointment of Michael IV Autoreianos, and the coronation of Theodore as emperor – all happened in quick succession. Sinogowitz, 'Über das Byzantinische Kaisertum,' 348-51, puts the proclamation in 1205. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 21 note 23, points out three letters from Nicholas Mesarites in which Theodore is referred to as *basileus* and *autocrator*, and his wife as *augusta*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25, 28, 29.While it is entirely possible that Theodore was proclaimed emperor in 1205/6, other events – such as the appointment of a new patriarch and the emperor's coronation – would certainly have moved more slowly than Akropolites indicates. For more on the date of patriarchal appointment and coronation, see Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 22-23; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 735.

[37] Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 734-35; M. Angold, 'Byzantine "nationalism" and the Nicaean Empire,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 1 (1975), 50; Reinert, 'Fragmentation (1204-1453),' 309; Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to Palaiologoi,' 280. For the opposing view, see Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 23, who argues that the coronation of Theodore I carried 'little constitutional significance,' as he had already possessed the symbols of power since his proclamation in 1205. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 626 lines 53-56; trans. Magoulias, 343, wrote that Theodore Laskaris was proclaimed emperor and took up the emblems of authority after defeating his rival, Manuel Maurozomes, in 1205.

[38] The only contemporary description of the coronation of Baldwin I on 16 May 1204 is that of Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, XCVI.114-XCVII.17. His description shows that the ceremony was at least partially modeled on the Byzantine example, see Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 82-84; D. Jacoby, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Frankish states in Greece,' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* V, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), 530-31; K. Ciggaar, 'Flemish counts and emperors, Friends and foreigners in Byzantium,' in *The Latin Empire: some contributions*, ed. V. van Aalst and K. N. Ciggaar (1990), 43; Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 58-59; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, 202.

[39] P. Lock, 'The Latin emperors as heirs to Byzantium,' in *New Constantines: The rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 295, refers to Baldwin I's coronation as 'revolutionary,' comparing it to that of Charlemagne on Christmas Day, 800. He goes on to argue that the tremendous implications of a Latin coronation in Constantinople have been overlooked in both contemporary and modern analysis. Both Lock and Van Tricht, *The Latin*

imperial claims, as manifested in the Empire of Nicaea, and required a response from the ruling elite. Although it may be a step too far to argue that the coronation of Theodore I was solely a reaction to the coronation of a Latin emperor in Constantinople, the existence of the two emperors clearly indicates an ideological challenge. The Latins in Constantinople and the Byzantines in Nicaea effectively laid claim to the same imperial heritage.[40] Furthermore, it seemed that the Latins viewed Theodore I as a usurper. The authors Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Henri of Valenciennes never referred to him by title,[41] and neither did the pope. Although he had been proclaimed as emperor at least two years before, in a letter to Theodore Laskaris, dated 17 March 1208, Pope Innocent III addressed the recipient as *nobili viro Theodore Lascaro*,[42] unequivocally denying him the imperial title. Innocent III continued by urging Theodore to make peace with the Latin empire and recognize the imperial claims of Henry of Hainaut,[43] who took over the imperial office in Constantinople following the death of his brother, Baldwin I, in 1205.[44] In this light, the coronation of Theodore I Laskaris was not solely a measure of domestic politics or squabbling over titles, but was a definitive statement of Byzantine foreign policy in response to Latin imperial claims.

Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 61, suggest that the ruling elite of the Latin empire did not consider Byzantium to have been destroyed in 1204, but rather 'simply overtaken and continued.'

[40] D. Angelov, 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 293-94, demonstrates that the official imperial image of Nicaea in the years following 1204 was not one of change or transformation, but one of continuity with past ideals of authority. Maintaining traditional ideological views of the imperial office was a priority for a Byzantine state which found itself in Anatolian exile.

[41] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 310.117; *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1909), ch. 551-54.215-16.

[42] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, 41 note 4, points out that Pope Gregory IX applied the same title to Richard, count of Cornwall, in a letter in 1238.

[43] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63, line 20-25.

[44] Baldwin I was captured by the Bulgarians at Adrianople in April 1205. He died in captivity, see below, 55 note 139. Henry I spoke of the death of Baldwin I in a letter of September 1206, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 41 lines 5-8.

It is ironic that the first challenge to Theodore Laskaris came not from the Latins, but from his fellow Byzantines. Numerous prominent elites emerged as local rulers in Byzantine Anatolia in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. Theodore Mankaphas took control in Philadelphia, a landowner by the name of Sabbas Asidenos came to power in Sampson, and Manuel Maurozomes, the father-in-law of the Seljuk Sultan, held sway over a large area of the Meander Valley.[45] George Akropolites remarked that these men 'made the land they had under their control their personal realm, having set out to do this either by their own initiative or because they had been summoned by the defence of the land by its inhabitants.'[46] Theodore I and the rulers in Nicaea who followed him would be forced to tolerate powerful local elites, often incorporating them into a new hierarchy by giving them high court titles.[47]

The struggle with powerful local elites greatly influenced how the Empire of Nicaea approached its relations with other powers. Conflict between two opponents did not exist in a vacuum. It is necessary to consider how the interaction between two parties determined, or was determined by, interaction with a third. This is most evident with Manuel Maurozomes, whose relationship to the Seljuk Sultan presented a serious challenge to Theodore Laskaris.[48] In regards to the Latins, it is Theodore Mankaphas who best illustrates the impact of these local rulers on Byzantine-Latin

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[45] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 12 lines 4-21; trans. Macrides, 7.119-20, described the numerous 'Roman' leaders who opposed Theodore I.

[46] *ἐν γὰρ τῇ συγχύσει τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἁλώσεως ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἡγεμόνες εἶναι τυγόντες ἢ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων προύχοντες ὡς οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐποιοῦντο χώραν, ἢ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὁρμήσαντες ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων μετακληθέντες εἰς τὴν τῆς χώρας δεφένδευσιν*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 12 lines 5-10; trans. Macrides, 7.120.

[47] This was the case with Sabbas Asidenos, who is referred to in a 1214 document as *sebastokrator*, N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion,' *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968), 14. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile*, 61, remarks on the status this title afforded Sabbas in the Nicaea regime. For more on the policy of subduing enemies with the bestowal of titles, see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 57-58.

[48] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 626; trans. Magoulias, 343, related that Theodore Laskaris defeated Maurozomes in battle. For more on Manuel Maurozomes, see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 130-48; Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 59-62; S. Metivier, 'Byzantium in question in 13th century Seljuk Anatolia,' in *Liquid and multiple: Individuals and identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 236-37.

relations. The history of Niketas Choniates tells us that Mankaphas attacked a Latin army near Atramyttion in March 1205, and was badly defeated.[49] Choniates described this action in the context of a larger Latin offensive into Anatolia.[50] In another engagement near Poimanenon at the end of 1204, the Latins had defeated an army under Theodore Laskaris, but were repulsed when they tried to seize the city of Prusa.[51] Although he was defeated, Choniates gave some indication of the expectations of Mankaphas before the engagement at Atramyttion. He explained that Mankaphas had hoped to repeat the success enjoyed by the Byzantines at Prusa,[52] but we should also recall the Laskarid defeat that took place a short time before. Mankaphas may well have considered this moment an opportunity to advance his prestige over that of Theodore Laskaris. If he could succeed in repelling the Latins, weakened by their setback at Prusa, Mankaphas would emerge as a Byzantine champion against the foreign invasion of Anatolia, which Theodore Laskaris had already proven himself incapable of halting.

The complex political situation that arose following the Fourth Crusade was made more complicated by ambitious local rulers who vied against each other in the vacuum that followed the loss of Constantinople. The presence of multiple challengers for imperial authority was certainly not a situation unprecedented in Byzantine history,[53] but the circumstances that developed after 1204 were unique in

[49] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 603 line 31 – 604 line 48; trans. Magoulias, 331. His description of the Latin army on that occasion is particularly dramatic – depicting their ranks as a terrifying dragon. Sinogowitz, 'Über das Byzantinische Kaisertum,' 355, and Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile*, 61, argue that Mankaphas had allied with Constantine Laskaris, brother of Theodore, before the battle.
[50] On this campaign, see also Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 321, 120 – ch. 323, 121.
[51] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 602 line 91 – 603 line 30; trans. Magoulias, 330-31.
[52] *Ἴσα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Φιλαδελφεὺς Θεόδωρος προθέμενος διαπράξασθαι διὰ μάχης χωρεῖ τῷ Ἐρρῇ περὶ τὸ Ἀτραμύττιον διατρίβοντι*, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 603 lines 31-33; trans. Magoulias, 331.
[53] See A. Kaldellis, 'How to usurp the throne of Byzantium: The role of public opinion in sedition and rebellion,' in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium, Papers from the Forty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 2010*, ed. D. Angelov and M. Saxby (Aldershot, 2013), 43-56; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance*.

the scale and complexity of the problem. Moreover, the presence of a foreign element, the Latin empire, presented a new element to internal conflicts. Although they had shared some sense of allegiance before 1204, fellow Byzantines could no longer be counted on to unite against the new threat. This situation persisted throughout much of the early thirteenth century. The result was that emperors in Nicaea were somewhat less able to act independently in foreign policy, and were required to be more adaptable than Byzantine emperors of the past.

The Empire of Nicaea and its Neighbours

From the turmoil of the Fourth Crusade emerged six new Frankish states, a dozen minor lordships, and a scattering of Venetian and Genoese colonies by 1210.[54] Just as with local elites in Anatolia, third parties continued to play major roles influencing the course of Nicaea's foreign policy, especially with the Latins. While some of these new regimes would have little or no diplomatic contact with the Empire of Nicaea, a few exerted a constant pressure on the Byzantine state, compelling them either to make peace with Latin Constantinople, or to engage in conflict against them. The recovery of Constantinople remained the objective of Byzantine diplomacy, and how these states regarded Nicaea, the Latin empire, or each other, greatly influenced the outcome of that diplomacy.

As the primary focus of this study is to explain the role of Christian religious dialogue in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy of the early thirteenth century, an in-depth analysis of Nicaean-Seljuk relations remains outside our scope.[55] Nevertheless, the Seljuk Sultanate of Iconium played an active role in the dynamic between the Empire

[54] Reinert, 'Fragmentation (1204-1453),' 308.
[55] For a full discussion of the Byzantine relationship with their Turkish neighbours in the thirteenth century, see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 40-159.

of Nicaea and the Latin empire of Constantinople. Their chief mode of intervention was through alliance with the Latins. George Pachymeres made it clear that Nicaea was always vulnerable to a two-sided attack – the 'Italians' from the west and the 'Persians' from the east.[56] The Latins and the Seljuk Turks were certainly aware of the advantage presented to them, and they cooperated frequently against their mutual Byzantine foe.[57] Two types of evidence, written and circumstantial, attest to cooperation between the Latins and Seljuk Turks.

The first episode indicating coordinated efforts between the Latins and Seljuk Turks occurred in 1211. Henry I clearly stated in a letter of 1212 to western rulers that the Seljuk Sultan had made oaths of alliance with the Latin empire and had provided assistance against Theodore I Laskaris.[58] Subsequent events suggest that the two allies planned a simultaneous offensive against Nicaea. Henry's letter explained that he was delayed crossing over to Anatolia by business in the Balkans, especially around Thessalonike.[59] Thus, it may have been his intention to cross earlier, and in that way join forces with his eastern ally. In any event, George Akropolites recorded that the Sultan sent an embassy to Theodore I in 1211, informing him that his father-in-law,

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[56] George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, ch. 3, 27-29.

[57] This interpretation is in contrast to that found in Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 126-54, who argues that Theodore I Laskaris gained vital support from the Seljuk Turks, especially in the years immediately following 1204, which allowed him to consolidate power at Nicaea and prevented the Byzantine state from disappearing completely.

[58] *Soldanus Yconii, qui nobiscum amiciciam iuramento firmaverat et auxilium contra ipsum Lascarum pepigerat,* Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 414 lines 83-85; B. Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204-1261/1272)* (Thessalonike, 1988), no. 121, 85-86; E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel* (Hamburg, 1905), 210-12, argues that Henry I undertook negotiations toward an alliance with the Seljuk Turks in secret, using Venetian merchants as cover, because he feared western condemnation of such an alliance. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 373, disagrees, pointing out that Henry I spoke openly of his arrangement with the Sultan of Iconium in his letter. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 148-49, puts the Seljuk alliance with Latin Constantinople in 1210/11. See also Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople,* 123-24; M. Martin, 'The Venetian-Seljuk treaty of 1220,' *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), 326; Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East,* 94.

[59] Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 412-14.

Alexios III Angelos, had arrived at the Seljuk court[60] and that he intended to take back the imperial office.[61] With Alexios III in the company of the Seljuk army, the two forces clashed at Antioch-on-the-Meander in the spring of 1211,[62] a battle that resulted in a Nicaean victory.[63] Expectations ran high for the prospects of the Empire of Nicaea following the battle.[64] Henry I reported that Theodore I had became 'more bold and exalted, sending letters to all the provinces of the Greeks, describing the

[60] Following his flight from Constantinople, Alexios III Angelos travelled extensively. As we have seen, he spent some time in Corinth with Leo Sgouros. Later, he appears to have been seized by Boniface of Montferrat, who sent the emperor to Italy. Alexios III was ransomed by Michael I of Epiros, and from there travelled to Attaleia, see George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 12-14; trans. Macrides 8.123-24; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 608, 612, 620; trans. Magoulias, 333-34, 335, 339; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1829-1855), vol. 1, 16 lines 13-18; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 309.116; Anonymous of Gaeta, *Qualiter caput beati Theodori martyris de Constantinopolitana urbe ad Caietam translatum est*, ed. P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877), vol. 1, 153-54; *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. L. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Genova and Rome, 1890-1923), vol. 2, 95 lines 15-19. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 148, estimates that Alexios III arrived at the Seljuk court in 1210.

[61] George Akropolites made clear his belief that the sultan was using Alexios III as an opportunity to justify his attack on the Empire of Nicaea. 'For the sultan had the emperor Alexios as an excuse; his aim in truth was to overrun and plunder or even subjugate the entire territory of the Romans' – *ὁ μὲν γὰρ σουλτὰν πρόφασιν εἶχε τὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξιον, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ σκοπὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταδραμεῖν καὶ καταληΐσασθαι ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιήσασθαι*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 15 lines 9-11; trans. Macrides, 9.129. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 148, maintains that Sultan Kay-Khusraw I was always loyal to the Angeloi family. When Alexios III Angelos was absent following his flight from Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, this meant allegiance to his daughter Anna, and his son-in-law Theodore I Laskaris. According to Korobeinikov, the arrival of Alexios III in Anatolia, however, forced Kay-Khusraw I to withdraw his support and regard Theodore I as a usurper.

[62] There is a lack of consensus regarding the exact date of this battle. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 361, places it between April and May 1212. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 149, gives the date of 15-17 June 1211. Here I follow the dating by Metivier, 'Byzantium in question in 13th century Seljuk Anatolia,' 243-45, who puts the battle in the spring of 1211.

[63] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 16-17; trans. Macrides, 10.131; Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 170-75; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 17-21. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 61, argues that Theodore I's victory ensured peace along Nicaea's eastern frontier for the next half century. Alexios III Angelos, who was in the company of the Seljuk army, was captured and taken back to Nicaea where he ended his days as a monk in the monastery of Hyakinthos, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 17 lines 19-25; trans. Macrides, 10.131.

The Seljuk Sultan was killed at this battle, but much debate surrounds the circumstances of his death and the identity of his killer. The Latin Emperor Henry I, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 414 lines 89-90, was not specific about his fate. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 16 line 24 – 17 line 16; trans. Macrides, 10.131, described close, personal combat between Theodore and the sultan himself, stating that the emperor unhorsed the Sultan, who was later beheaded, although no one could recall who performed the deed. Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 170-71, praised Theodore for personally slaying the Sultan. Ibn Bibi, *Die Seltschukengechichte des Ibn Bibi*, ed. H. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), 49, recorded that it was the sultan who was victorious, but who mercifully spared Theodore's life. As the battle ended, however, the sultan was impaled by a lone Latin fighting for the Nicaeans.

[64] Optimism following the Byzantine victory at Antioch-on-the-Meander can be found in Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 179, 284-86; Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 10-11.

honour and profit of his victory, revealing also that if they wished to aid him he would quickly liberate the whole of Greece from the Latin dogs.'[65] The Latin emperor conveyed a sense of resentment at Theodore I's boasting, as he indicated that his Greek subjects began to entertain the idea of openly supporting the emperor in Nicaea.[66] It soon became apparent, however, that Theodore I had lost too many men to press forward, including the bulk of his Latin mercenaries.[67] Although Theodore I had defeated the Seljuk Turks, their battle had taken its toll on the Nicaean military. On 15 October 1211, only a few months after Antioch-on-the-Meander, Henry I attacked the Empire of Nicaea and gained a complete victory over the Nicaean forces.[68] George Akropolites suggested that Henry I was aware of the weakened state of the Nicaean army, even putting into the Latin emperor's words after Antioch-on-the-Meander that 'Laskaris was vanquished, not victorious.'[69] Whether intentional or not, the Seljuk attack into the Meander Valley earlier in 1211 had paved the way for the Latin victory.[70]

Other episodes suggest a possible Latin-Seljuk alliance directed against Nicaea. The Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes crossed over into Europe in 1224/5,

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[65] *Qua de causa Lascarus acrior et clatior factus misit lit[te]ras ad omnes Grecorum provincias, continentes honorem et lucrum sue victorie, significans etiam, quod si eum vellent adiuvare, cito Greciam totam de latinis canibus liberaret,* Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 414 line 90 – 415 line 94.

[66] 'Everyone began to murmur against us, promising him [Theodore I] aid if he would come to attack Constantinople' – *ob hoc omnes submurmurare contra nos incipientes, ei promittebant auxilium, si veniret Constantinopoli pugnaturus*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 415 lines 94-96.

[67] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 16 lines 16-22; trans. Macrides, 10.131. Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 547, refers to Antioch-on-the-Meander as a 'Pyrrhic victory.' For more on Latin mercenaries serving the Empire of Nicaea, see P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Notes sur le *ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΟΝ* dans l'armée et les historiens de Nicée,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (1972), 142-50.

[68] Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 415-17; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 line 4 – 28 line 11; trans. Macrides, 15.148.

[69] *ὁ Ἐρῆς 'νενίκηται' ἔφη 'ὁ Λάσκαρις, οὐ νενίκηκεν'*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 line 14; trans. Macrides, 15.148.

[70] Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 149-53, again argues that a spirit of cooperation existed between Nicaea and the Seljuk Sultanate after Antioch-on-the-Meander, suggesting that the two formed an alliance against the Empire of Trebizond.

temporarily occupying the city of Adrianople and threatening Latin Constantinople.[71] His offensive was cut short, however, when war erupted again with the Seljuk Turks, forcing Vatatzes to return to Anatolia.[72] The renewal of the conflict between the Byzantines and Seljuk Turks in Anatolia, coming at a time of supreme crisis for Latin Constantinople, is extremely suspicious, and indicates that the Latins and Seljuk Turks were working in tandem.[73] In 1228, the regent of the Latin empire, Narjot of Toucy, accompanied a Venetian envoy on a diplomatic mission to the Seljuk court in Iconium.[74] While we do not know what was discussed, we can speculate that the two were maintaining diplomatic ties.[75] It may even be the case that the Latin regent wanted to ensure that the Seljuk Turks continued to occupy the Nicaean military and keep Vatatzes from crossing over again into Europe.

There is also some written evidence that a Seljuk-Latin alliance continued for some time, further straining Nicaea's military resources, as well as its diplomatic skill. As early as 1209, the Seljuk Turks concluded an agreement with Venice allowing their merchants to do business in Anatolia.[76] This agreement appears particularly important when one takes into consideration the Seljuk conquest of the

[71] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 38 lines 12-21; trans. Macrides, 24.171-72, reported that the citizens of Adrianople invited Vatatzes to liberate them from Latin rule.
[72] Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 15-24, by compiling evidence from both sides of the issue, demonstrates conclusively that a long conflict between Nicaea and the Seljuk Turks began at this time, and continued long after. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 155-59, disagrees, arguing that the Byzantines and Seljuk Turks in Anatolia continued to enjoy a 'special relationship,' and that any conflict between the two from 1225-1231 amounted to little more than a border conflict.
[73] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 377, notes the convenience of this new campaign in Anatolia for the Latin empire, as it forced Vatatzes to give up his European schemes for a number of years. Van Tricht suspects that the Seljuk offensive came about as the result of a request from the Latin empire, and even if it did not, it suited the Seljuk Sultan to gain territory while his enemy was distracted elsewhere.
[74] R. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* (Bologna, 1931-1950), vol. 1, no. 134, 208; Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 165, 112; D. Jacoby, 'The economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204-1261,' in *Urbs Capta, the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 205; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 169.
[75] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 377.
[76] An agreement from 1209 has not survived, but its existence is surmised by Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 204; Martin, 'The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220,' 325-26. The treaty that has survived – negotiated by Jacopo Tiepolo, Venetian podestà in Constantinople – dates from 1220, and appears to be a renewal of previous agreements, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 221-25.

important trading ports such as Attaleia in 1209 and Sinope in 1214.[77] While we cannot infer from this treaty the exclusion of Nicaean-Venetian trade,[78] the agreement does show that the Seljuk Turks had interests in cooperating with the Latin powers in Constantinople. The only other written evidence of cooperation between Latin Constantinople and the Seljuk Turks came much later, and is found in a letter dated to 1243 from Baldwin II to the mother of the King of France, asking for a bride from her family to marry the Seljuk Sultan.[79] Clearly, the Latin empire viewed the cooperation of the Seljuk Turks as a possible means of salvation. The situation in Anatolia by that time had changed, however, and Seljuk Turkish help against the Empire of Nicaea became unviable. For years immediately following the Fourth Crusade, however, we can surmise enough cooperation between the Latins and Seljuk Turks to conclude that the two enjoyed a fruitful alliance.

Another obstacle to Nicaean foreign policy was presented by the Empire of Trebizond, founded by the brothers Alexios and David Komnenos, grandsons of Andronikos I Komnenos.[80] George Akropolites and Niketas Choniates wrote that David – apparently in the name of his brother – pushed Trebizontine control westward into Paphlagonia in 1205.[81] The expansion of his authority put David Komnenos in conflict with the Empire of Nicaea, but also presented an opportunity for Henry I and

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[77] Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 204, suspects that the Venetians sealed a new commercial agreement with the Seljuk Turks after they seized each of these ports.

[78] D. Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and a treaty that never was,' in *Καθηγήτρια: Essays presented to Joan Hussey* (Camberley, 1988), 383, notes that Venice signed a similar agreement with Theodore I Laskaris only two years later. On this later agreement, see Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-18; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 205-207; Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1703, 7, and see below, 62-65.

[79] The letter is dated 5 August 1243, Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 221, 143; O. Vredius, *Genealogia comitum Flandriae a Balduino Ferreo usque ad Philippum IV Hisp. Regem* (Kerchovios, 1642-1643), vol. 1, 218-19; A. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores* (Paris, 1639-1649), vol. 5, 424-26. For more on this exchange between the Latins and Seljuk Turks under Baldwin II, see ch. 4, 294-96.

[80] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 638-39; trans. Magoulias, 350-51; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11-12; trans. Macrides, 7.120; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 734, suggests that the Komnenoi brothers and the Empire of Trebizond were Theodore I's most dangerous rival.

[81] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 626; trans. Magoulias, 343.

the Latin empire. Niketas Choniates recorded at least one episode in which the David Komnenos enjoyed the support of the Latin empire, when the two engaged in joint manoeuvres in 1206.[82] Although Theodore I eventually claimed Herakleia and the region of Paphlagonia,[83] David Komnenos exemplified a local ruler, independent of the authority now established at Nicaea, who preferred cooperation with the Latins against his co-religionists.[84] The cooperation between David and Henry I has even caused some to speculate that the two entered into an agreement of vassalage.[85] Any alleged alliance between the two ended with the death of David Komnenos in 1212.[86] Although there is some indication that Latin Constantinople and Trebizond considered cooperation again, it came much later and never amounted to an agreement.[87]

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[82] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 640 line 13 – 641 line 40; trans. Magoulias, 351-52, recorded that Theodore Laskaris advanced against David at Herakleia Pontike in 1206, and that he would have taken the city had it not been for the Latins encamped nearby at Nikomedeia. The Latins were in that location, as Choniates explained, to support David Komnenos, their ally. Their efforts bore quick fruit, as Choniates emphasized the difficult position in which Theodore found himself. If he advanced against Herakleia, he would be attacked from Nikomedeia. After Theodore withdrew, David and Henry I organized a joint offensive against Nicaea.

[83] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 134 note 1, for a good discussion of the date for Theodore I's annexation of the region.

[84] J. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile, 1222-54. The legacy of his diplomatic, military and internal program for the "Restitutio Orbis,"* Ph.D. Thesis, University of California Los Angeles (1978), 50; Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 90; A. Vasiliev, 'The foundation of the Empire of Trebizond,' *Speculum* 11 (1936), 24.

[85] Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 53, suspects that Henry I's actions were those of a lord protecting his vassal. He even suggests that Henry I's campaign into Anatolia following Theodore I's victory against the Seljuk Turks in 1211 was in response to the potential danger then facing David Komnenos. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 353-55, agrees that Henry I did much to preserve David Komnenos in Paphlagonia. While a relationship of vassalage is entirely plausible, in his letter to the West, Henry I list not list the interests of his David Komnenos in Paphlagonia as a reason for his campaign against Nicaea in 1211, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 411-18.

[86] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 547, argues that Paphlagonia was not able to resist annexation from Nicaea without David Komnenos. He goes so far as to argue that Nicaea's victory in Paphlagonia effectively cut Trebizond off from the mainstream of Byzantine history. In Angold's words, the Empire of Trebizond became a 'Greek emirate,' whose history 'belongs with that of Anatolia and the Black Sea rather than with the later Byzantine empire.'

[87] John of Joinville related that a delegation from Manuel I of Trebizond approached Louis IX of France in 1253, who was then at Sidon, asking for a bride for their emperor. Louis IX refused their offer, suggesting instead that they find a bride from the family of his cousin, Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople. Joinville made clear that the king of France did this so that Baldwin II might gain an 'alliance with this great, rich man,' against John III Vatatzes and the Empire of Nicaea, *Et ce fist-il, pour ce que li emperieres eust aliance à cestui grant riche home contre Vatache, qui lors estoit emperieres des Griex*, John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), ch. 116, 212, lines 396 A-E; trans. M. Shaw, *Joinville & Villehardouin: Chronicles of the crusades* (London, 1963), 313. Louis IX's hopes that Baldwin II 'would gain an alliance' suggests that no such

Another Greek state to emerge in the years following the Fourth Crusade was Epiros,[88] founded by Michael Doukas.[89] The state in Epiros quickly emerged as a serious rival to Nicaea's imperial claims.[90] Their mutual political ambition meant that the rulers in Epiros and Nicaea could never cooperate against the Latin empire, as each sought to claim the liberation of Constantinople for themselves. Indeed, one Greek state often dictated the policies of the other, especially in the area of church union. Henry I depicted Michael Doukas as opportunistic, saying that the Epirot ruler

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arrangement then existed, and that cooperation between the two powers had ceased with the death of David Komnenos.

[88] Often referred to as the Despotate of Epiros, i.e. D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957). It is important to point out, however, that the term despotate is inaccurate, as the ruler of Epiros was never officially referred to as despot until Michael II Doukas accepted the title from John III Vatatzes in 1249, see ch. 4, 292. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 13, 31, refers to Epiros as a 'principality.'

[89] The origin and background of Michael is debated, and contemporary sources give conflicting accounts. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 529, 638; trans. Magoulias, 290, 350, identified Michael as the illegitimate son of the *sevastokrator* John Doukas, who rebelled against Constantinople in Anatolia in 1200, and after which sought refuge with the Seljuk Turks. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 22, rejects this story, arguing that Niketas Choniates was speaking of a different son of John Komnenos. L. Stiernon, 'Les origines du Despotat d'Épire: A propos d'un livre recent,' *Revue des études byzantines* 17 (1959), 114-26, shows that this was not the case, and verifies the connection made by Niketas Choniates. Another origin story is found in the *Vita* of St Theodora of Arta, *PG* 127, col. 904 C, in which Michael was described as a Byzantine governor in the Peloponnese before 1204 who travelled north to deliver aid to his relative, the governor of Nicopolis. While he was gone his lands were annexed by the Latins, and he was forced to make a new place for himself in Arta. There his new position is ratified by Alexios III Angelos, who arrived after fleeing Constantinople, and granted Michael the title of despot. This story is favoured by Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 33-34. However, the origin of Michael Doukas as described by the *Vita* is much too convenient. It removes from Michael any stigma associated with his actions in Anatolia, and presents as the source of his title the last universally recognized Byzantine emperor to rule in Constantinople. Moreover, Karpozilos seems to be ignoring the fact that Michael referred to himself as the son of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, just as Choniates did, in a 1210 agreement with Venice, *Ego Michael Comnanus Dux, filius quondam Seuastocratoris Joannis Ducis*, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 119 lines 1-2. Like the *Vita* of St Theodora, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 13 line 13 – 14 line 7; trans. Macrides, 8.124, recorded that Alexios III stayed with Michael for a time, but he does not mention anything about the bestowal of a title. Perhaps the most widely accepted story for the background of Michael Doukas is that of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 301.113, who put Michael in the company of Boniface of Montferrat as he marched west in 1204. He stated that Michael deserted the marquis to go to Arta, where he established himself by marrying the daughter of a rich citizen. G. Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: historical outline – sources – prosopography,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 82, identifies the bride as the daughter of the last Byzantine governor of Arta. Furthermore, he suspects that his father had possessed large estates in the region of Epiros. For more on the origins of Michael Doukas, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 127 note 12.

[90] J. Herrin, 'Thirteenth-century prosopography and refugees,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 303; Angold, 'Nationalism and the Nicaean Empire,' 55-56; Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to Palaiologoi,' 270, comments that each new Byzantine ruler after 1204 sought to identify themselves with an idealized and 'glorious' past.

frequently made oaths of friendship with the Latin empire, which he never hesitated to break.[91] Indeed, Michael is summed up as 'a most powerful traitor.'[92] Such a picture suggests that Michael had a keen eye for the advantage. The willingness to compromise for temporary advantage is evident in the 1209/10 marriage between Michael's daughter and Eustace of Hainaut, the brother of Henry I and regent of Thessalonike.[93] That various Byzantine rulers of the thirteenth century would contract marriage alliances with the Latin rulers of Constantinople is not entirely unusual, but this was the first Byzantine-Latin marriage after 1204, and came relatively soon after the Fourth Crusade, indicating that Michael was most eager to settle his position vis-à-vis the Latin empire.[94] In addition, Henry I would certainly have supported the union, as it held the potential of turning the troublesome ruler of Epiros into a friend and ally.[95]

Another example of Michael Doukas' alleged opportunism is the contract of fiefdom with Venice, dated 20 June 1210.[96] The agreement confirmed Venetian dominance in the region.[97] Michael stated that he held his territories from the Doge of

[91] Henry I stated that Michael Doukas broke his word on no less than four occasions, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 412 lines 30-31.
[92] *traditor potentissimus*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 411 line 19.
[93] Henri de Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly, ch. 693.120-694.121.
[94] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 91, comments that the union was an easy way for Michael to achieve recognition of his state from Latin Constantinople.
[95] Ciggaar, 'Flemish Counts and Emperors,' 45, comments that this is a tactic Henry I often pursued with past enemies. M. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 50, comments that Henry I may well have complained that Michael was not the most reliable of friends, but his support for the Latin cause, when offered, was considerable.
[96] For the two documents making the agreement, the *Privilegium* and the *Promissio*, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 119-20, and 120-23; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 12, part 1 (Bologna, 1938), 284 lines 12-14; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 179, notes that Michael I employed no imperial court title in this document. He simply referred to himself as the son of the *sebastokrator*, John Doukas.
[97] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 30-32, 37-39, discusses the interests of Venice in the agreement, pointing out that the region of Epiros was originally assigned to Venice in the *Partitio Romaniae*, and that their continued cooperation with Michael Doukas benefited both states. While the Venetians had occupied Durazzo and Corfu, Nicol suggests that they simply decided to delegate to Michael as their vassal rather than conquer the entire region.

Venice,[98] and promised to protect the interests of the republic.[99] It appears that Michael was more than satisfied to be the vassal of one or another Latin power. This agreement, coming at roughly the same time as the marriage between his daughter and the brother of Henry I, consolidated Michael's position with his most powerful Latin neighbours.[100] Moreover, by supplicating both Venice and the Latin empire, Michael was aptly playing two allies against one another and advancing his own security and control.[101]

Missing from this political manoeuvring, however, is any sense of imperial claims on the part of Epiros. While Theodore I Laskaris was relatively quick to claim the imperial title after 1204, Michael Doukas seemed more concerned with ensuring the survival of his fledgling state than with making claims he would be hard pressed to support. An imperial proclamation on his part would only have served to alienate Henry I,[102] the ruler to whom Michael had paid homage. Making imperial claims would have alarmed Henry I – and made Michael a chief threat, a position Michael was very adept at avoiding. This does not suggest that the Empire of Nicaea was any more determined than Epiros to claim Byzantium's imperial heritage.[103] Rather, it serves to highlight the differences in the priorities of Michael's foreign policy versus Theodore I's.

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[98] *et nomine feudi dedistis terras, que vestri juris sunt, quas ego tenebam*, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 121 lines 1-2.
[99] This included free passage for Venetian merchants, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 122 lines 12-17. These concessions have led Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 37, to consider the agreement between Michael and Venice merely a commercial pact.
[100] Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: Historical Outline,' 82, comments that agreement allowed Michael to legalize his position with Venice, even if he did not intend to observe all the terms of the document.
[101] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 31-32; Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 378, argues that Michael Doukas never had any intention of upholding the agreement, pointing out that by 1215 the Venetians had been driven from both Durazzo and Corfu.
[102] Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 37, suggests that Michael Doukas shunned the imperial title in order to avoid contradicting the claims of the Byzantine rulers in Nicaea.
[103] Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: Historical Outline,' 81.

Michael Doukas was killed some time before February 1215,[104] and was succeeded as ruler of Epiros by his brother, Theodore Komnenos Doukas.[105] Theodore's background was as enigmatic as his brother's. According to George Akropolites, after 1204 Theodore had been in the service of Nicaea. The story explains that Michael, fearing an untimely death and without an appropriate heir, asked Theodore I to send his brother to Epiros. Theodore I consented, but only after extracting explicit oaths requiring Theodore to continue his service to the emperor in Nicaea.[106] Despite these oaths, the new ruler of Epiros did not make close relations with the Laskarid emperors a priority, but neither did he favour cooperation with the Latin empire. Whereas his brother had been willing to placate the Latins with empty promises, Theodore took a more consistently hostile approach in his actions and foreign policy towards Latin Constantinople, and in the process dramatically altered the balance of power in the Balkans.

Two events from the reign of Theodore Doukas stand out in determining the course of Nicaean foreign policy – the capture of Peter of Courtenay and the conquest of Thessalonike. Peter of Courtenay succeeded his brother as Latin emperor of Constantinople after the sudden death of Henry I in 1216.[107] After being crowned by

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[104] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 25 lines 2-7; trans. Macrides, 14.144, related a story that Michael Doukas was murdered in bed by one of his servants named Romaios. There is some disagreement, however, as to when this occurred, Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: Historical Outline,' 82, suggests that Michael was murdered in 1213. Other argue for a date in 1215, Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 39; Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 378. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 91, gives the later date of 1216. For more on the sources around Michael's assassination, and the date, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 146-47 note 7.

[105] Referred to as Theodore Doukas after this point.

[106] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 24 line 12 – 25 line 2; trans. Macrides, 14.145. For more on the alleged oath of service to Theodore I Laskaris, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 146 note 6, who explains that the story is corroborated by a later letter of George Bardanes, R. Loenertz, 'Lettre de Georges Bardanès, métropolite de Corcyre, au patriarche oecumenique Germain II, 1226-1227c,' in *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (Rome, 1970), 499-500.

[107] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 193-95. For suggestions on Henry I's cause of death, see Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 150-51; Jacoby, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople,' 529; Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 377.

the pope in Rome,[108] Peter sailed to Durazzo, planning to march on to Constantinople.[109] During this march, Peter's army was ambushed by Theodore, who took the Latin emperor captive, and then presumably executed him.[110] The death of Peter of Courtenay, and the destruction of his army, was a tremendous blow to Latin interests in the East. Pope Honorius III responded by sending severe threats to Theodore, hinting that the army assembling for the Fifth Crusade could soon be diverted to Epiros.[111] He even took the step of calling on clergy in France to begin

[108] The coronation took place at the basilica of San Lorenzo, in order that it not take place at the traditional site for the coronation of western emperors, the basilica of St Peter. Numerous contemporaries commented on the coronation of Peter of Courtenay, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 287 lines 6-11; Conrad of Fabaria, *D. Casuum S. Galli continuation III. Auctore Conrado de Fabaria*, MGH SS 2 (Stuttgart, 1829), 171 lines 18-39. Pope Honorius III defended the location of the coronation in a letter to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, *Honorii III Romani Pontificis opera omnia*, ed. C. Horoy (Paris, 1879-1882), vol. 2, Epistolae 294, 361; C. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici denuo excusa et ad nostra tempora perducti ab Augustino Theiner*, vol. 20, *1198-1229* (Paris, 1870), anno 1, par 6, 365-66. See also Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 85; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 93; D. Jacoby, 'After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish states,' in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500-1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), 764; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 147 note 13.

[109] Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 287 lines 12-13, stated that Peter's wife, Yolanda of Courtenay, sailed directly to Constantinople. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 737, and Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 378, comment that the Doge of Venice, Pietro Ziani, agreed to transport Peter and his army across the Adriatic only if the new emperor agreed to storm Durazzo, which Michael Doukas had recently taken from Venetian control. According to George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 25 12-14; trans. Macrides, 14.145, Peter was successful in occupying Durazzo.

[110] The fate of Peter of Courtenay is in question. Greek sources such as George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 2-9; trans. Macrides, 14.145; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 461 lines 8-25; and Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsidis, v. 7714, described an ambush for the Latin emperor in Epiros. See also a letter from George Bardanes to Patriarch Germanos II, Loenertz, 'Lettre de Georges Bardanès, métropolite de Corcyre,' 484-501. At least one Latin source, the Aragonese version of *The Chronicle of the Morea*, recorded that Peter was killed by his jailor, *Libro de los Fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea,* ed. A Morel-Fatio, 18-19. Other contemporaries who discuss the capture of Peter include Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Berard le Trésorier*, ed. M. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 391-93; Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. Le Baron de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1836, 1838), vol. 2, 403 vv. 23013-23031; Robert of Auxerre, *Roberti canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 26 (Hannover, 1882), 281-82 ; Aubry of Three Fountains, *Alberici monachi Triumfontium Chronica*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 23 (Hanover, 1874), 906 lines 27-31. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 62, notes that many Latin authors – Ernoul, Philippe Mouskes, and Robert of Auxerre – accused Theodore Doukas of trickery in the capture of Peter. See also Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 379-80

[111] Honorius III called on Andrew II, king of Hungary, to threaten Theodore Doukas with attack by his crusader army, P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii papae III* (Rome, 1888, 1895), no. 684, 119; A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia* (Rome 1863), vol. 1, no. 14, 8. For the pope's letters to other rulers in the region on the matter of the incarceration of Peter of Courtenay, see *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 685, 119, nos. 688-91, 120. Honorius III wrote to Theodore Doukas directly, urging him to release the Latin emperor and the papal legate, John Colonna, *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 687, 120; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 20, anno

preaching a crusade against Epiros.[112] Theodore deflected this crisis by granting some of the pope's demands. He released the papal legate, declared himself a loyal subject of the Roman See, and promised tithes to aid the crusade in the Holy Land. Honorius III reacted favourably, explicitly forbidding crusaders to attack Epiros.[113] The end result of the episode was a complete success for Theodore. He had removed the ruler of his Latin neighbour without any cost to himself.[114]

This was not the first time that religious concerns had come into play for the foreign policy of Epiros. Theodore's predecessor, Michael Doukas, had already recognized the spiritual authority of the papacy and placed himself under papal protection. The measure had proven useful in pacifying various Latin enemies.[115] Already the rulers of Epiros had proven quite adept at using the prospect of submission to the Roman Church as a tool for political and diplomatic profit – employing it to put off an attack that might very well have placed Epiros under Latin domination. It seems likely that Theodore I Laskaris observed the remarkable results

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1, par 13, 367. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 378; M. Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece in the thirteenth century,' *Mediterranean historical review* 4 (1989), 113; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 61-67; R. Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople: the crusade for the union of the Latin and Greek churches,' *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), 167, and Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 380, suggests that Honorius III appeared less upset by the capture of the Latin emperor than he did about the confinement of his legate, John Colonna.

[112] On 4 November 1217, *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 859, 146; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 20, anno 1, par 16, 368. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 64-66, notes that Honorius III emphasized the fate of their fellow countryman, Peter of Courtenay, and the insult to the papacy, rather than appealing to aid for the Holy Land. Still, Chrissis doubts whether Honorius III would have been willing to give up support for the Holy Land in order to attack Epiros.

[113] *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, nos. 1023-24, 174, nos. 1029-31, 174-75; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 23, 41-43, no. 25, 44. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 378, suggests that Honorius III's quick reversal highlighted the pope's true goal – victory in Jerusalem. See also Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 379; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 67.

[114] The continuous push by Theodore Doukas against the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonike did not endear him further to the papacy. Honorius III excommunicated him in December 1220, *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 2858, 471; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 73, 101-102.

[115] Innocent III discussed the submission of Michael Doukas in a letter to Henry I, dated 7 December 1210, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 13, no. 182(184), 273-75. See also Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 26; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 55; A. Meliarakes, *Ιστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου (1204-1261)* (Athens, 1898), 57-59, 127.

of these efforts from Nicaea, and that he contemplated a similar diplomatic manoeuvre.

The apogee of the career of Theodore Doukas came when he expelled the Latins from Thessalonike, the second city of the Byzantine empire, in 1224.[116] Following this achievement, Theodore promptly had himself crowned as emperor.[117] According to George Akropolites, Theodore wasted no time in claiming the supreme imperial title. He wrote that Theodore 'appropriated the insignia of imperial office' and 'donned the purple and put on red shoes,' the traditional trappings of the emperor.[118] It was this act which most separated the policies of Michael Doukas from his brother. Whereas the former never made imperial claims, Theodore presented what was perhaps the strongest Byzantine claim to the imperial title since 1204. The account of Akropolites tells us that conflict soon erupted between John III Vatatzes and the emperor in Thessalonike,[119] as Theodore's coronation immediately put him at odds with Nicaea's imperial claims.[120]

The victory at Thessalonike had made Theodore Doukas the leading contender for the claim to the Byzantine heritage, and paved the way for Epiros to attack

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[116] The date of Theodore's conquest of Thessalonike has been in dispute, but is now widely agreed to be late 1224, Richard of San Germano, *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica*, ed. C. Garufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 7, part 2 (Bologna, 1937), 119-20. For a full discussion of the debate, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 163 note 2.

[117] The date of Theodore's coronation is uncertain. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 33 lines 14-16; trans. Macrides, 21.162, gives the impression that the coronation immediately followed the conquest of Thessalonike. He seems to have been crowned emperor at some time in late 1224 or early 1225. For more, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 163 note 2.

[118] *τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σφετερισάμενος*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 33 lines 15-16; trans. Macrides, 21.162; *πορφυρίδα τε ὑπενδύεται καὶ ἐρυθρὰ περιβάλλεται πέδιλα*, 33 lines 19-20; trans. Macrides 21.162.

[119] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 12-16; trans. Macrides, 21.163.

[120] This conflict became immediately apparent in the refusal of Constantine Mesopotamites, metropolitan of Thessalonike, to crown Theodore Doukas as emperor. The coronation was eventually undertaken by Demetrios Chomatenos, the archbishop of Ochrid, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 33 line 14 – 34 line 5; trans. Macrides, 21.162. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 738, notes that Theodore's coronation in Thessalonike created two claimants to the exiled Byzantine throne. See also Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 72-73.

Constantinople. By 1226, the Epirot army was beneath its walls.[121] The dramatic advance against the Latin empire meant that the competing imperial claims of Epiros and Nicaea were no longer ideological, but practical, and the armies of the two sides soon met for the first time. John III Vatatzes had sent forces to occupy Adrianople in 1225,[122] but their position was promptly challenged by Theodore, who forced their withdrawal.[123] The two sides almost certainly sensed the opportunity of the day, expecting that Latin Constantinople would soon fall and that a Byzantine emperor was destined to return to the capital. The competition to do so was driving their military endeavours, as well as their diplomatic initiatives.[124]

Theodore Doukas increasingly styled himself as the Byzantine champion against the Latin invaders as his armies marched eastward toward Constantinople.[125] This persona created pressure for Theodore I Laskaris in Nicaea, who pursued a

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[121] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 40 line 20 – 41 line 4; trans. Macrides, 24.173; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 738; Jacoby, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople,' 529.

[122] See above, 40-41.

[123] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 40 lines 12-20; trans. Macrides, 24.172, related a story that one of the Nicaean commanders, John Kammytzes happened upon Theodore Doukas upon his withdrawal from Adrianople, but that he refused to pay him the respect as due an emperor. The offended Theodore 'poured abuse on the man and all but struck him' – *ὕβρεις τε κατέχεε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ μικροῦ ἂν καὶ πληγὰς τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς*, because he wished all Byzantines to address him as emperor. Akropolites related that Kammytzes was rewarded by the emperor in Nicaea for his faithfulness.

[124] Indeed, it was not just with violence that Theodore Doukas threatened the Latin empire and Nicaea's foreign policy goals, but also with complex marriage alliances. One marriage that served the interests of Epiros was the union between Maio, count of Kephalonia, and a sister of Theodore Doukas, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 938 line 44; it seems that the marriage took place some time before 1228; A. Kiesewetter, 'Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185-1250),' in *Quarta Crociata, Venezio – Bizanzio – Impero Latino*, ed. G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani and P. Schreiner, vol. 1 (Venice, 2006), 238; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 58-59, puts the marriage in 1222, and points out that this is the Epirot ruler's only marriage alliance with a Latin, although he often endorsed such arrangements with Serbs and Bulgarians. Unlike the Nicaean emperors who, as we shall see, frequently intermarried with the rulers and elite of the Latin empire, Theodore avoided any marital links with Constantinople. Perhaps the most important marriage alliance under Theodore was the 1225 union between his brother Manuel Doukas and Maria, the illegitimate daughter of John II Asen, ruler of Bulgaria, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 41 lines 11-18; trans. Macrides, 25.178, stated that Maria was born to John II Asen by a concubine. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 179 note 2, points out that Akropolites is the only source for the marriage. This marriage sealed a treaty between the two rulers, and was almost certainly part of a wider plan by Theodore Doukas to protect his interests as he set his focus towards Latin Constantinople.

[125] The ideal of Theodore Doukas as 'champion against the Latins' is best exemplified by letters from john Apokaukos, V. Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 3 (1896), nos. 2-4, 243-48. See also Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 113; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 61.

policy with the Latins that featured negotiations and marriages rather than swords.[126] One solution to this problem was to bring Epiros into the fold of negotiation with the Latin powers. To this end Theodore I proposed a council that would discuss renewal of church-union overtures toward Rome. In December 1219, the patriarch in Nicaea, Manuel I Sarantenos,[127] dispatched letters inviting the Epirot clergy to participate in an upcoming council at Nicaea.[128] Possibly at the instigation of Theodore Doukas, the clergy of Epiros refused the invitation.[129] They made it clear that any overtures towards Rome or Latin Constantinople were considered treachery, and that their ruler, 'the wondrous Komnenos,' would not assist in an initiative that would so clearly serve the ends of Nicaea.[130] The reply emphasized the ongoing conflict between Epiros and the Latin empire, stating that any agreement toward church union would come at the expense of the Greeks of Epiros.[131]

That Theodore Doukas would reject measures toward a union of the churches is not entirely surprising. One might expect that a ruler who had already submitted to the pope in 1218 would be more open to negotiations with Rome, but what saved Epiros one day clearly became inconvenient the next. Theodore Doukas had been encroaching on the important Latin stronghold at Thessalonike, and an Epirot attack

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[126] See below, 61-72.

[127] Patriarch Manuel I also went by the name Karantenos, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 161 note 6; V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* I/4: *1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), 38-39.

[128] Laurent, *Regestes*, nos. 1222-24, 29-31; Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 14, 264. In the letter, addressed to John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1224, 30-31, the patriarch announced his intention to invite the patriarchs from Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem to join him to discuss a new embassy to be sent to Rome. Their mission would be to renew negotiations with the papacy toward ending the schism and bringing peace to the churches of East and West, Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 14, 264, lines 10-17.

[129] In January 1220, Apokaukos replied to the patriarch, making clear that it was impossible for Epiros to cooperate in such a gathering, Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 15, 265-67.

[130] *μεγαλουργοῦ Κομνηνοῦ*, Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 15, 267 lines 10-20.

[131] The violence between the two was even used as an excuse for Apokaukos to refuse to attend. He noted that the region between Epiros and Nicaea, both land and sea, was controlled by the Latins, thus clergy from Epiros could not expect to travel to Anatolia unmolested, Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 15, 266 lines 26-33. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 86-87, suggests that pointing out the agreements between the Empire of Nicaea and Latin powers is a way for John Apokaukos to express indignation at such peace treaties, accusing the Nicaeans of collaborating with the enemy.

on Constantinople would soon be possible. Church-union negotiations at that point were therefore unwanted.[132] This episode exhibits the complexity of the foreign policy situation present in the early thirteenth century. The emperor in Nicaea was unable to execute the plan he thought best because of matters outside his control. Laskarid policy, seeking church union with the west, had been compromised by the military designs of Epiros.

It was only after Theodore Doukas was removed from the scene as a powerful champion of the Greek cause that religious dialogue could begin again in earnest. This came about following Theodore's defeat at the hands of John II Asen, the Bulgarian tsar, at Klokotnitza on 9 March 1230.[133] Manuel Doukas, Theodore's brother, came to power in Thessalonike, and no longer challenged Nicaea's claim to the Byzantine imperial heritage.[134] Manuel's weakened rule required that he find friends quickly, thus at some time before April 1232 he offered his spiritual and political subjection to Pope Gregory IX.[135] In so doing he was repeating a ploy perfected by his predecessors – appealing to the Roman Church to protect him during a time of weakness.

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[132] Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 56 note 41.

[133] Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 166; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 927 lines 5-7; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 41 line 11 – 42 line 15; trans. Macrides, 25.178, recorded that the would-be emperor's army was crushed and he himself captured, along with several of his officials. Theodore was blinded and held captive for some time, before eventually being released. See also Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 109-111; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 738; D. Angelov, 'Prosopography of the Byzantine world (1204-1261) in the light of Bulgarian sources,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 104; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 386-87.

[134] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 43 line 19 – 44 line 5; trans. Macrides, 26.182, explained that Manuel opted for the title of despot rather than emperor. Yet he noted that Manuel still made his signatures with red ink, and added that he was not bothered by the Bulgarians due to his marriage to John II Asen's daughter. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 87-88, notes that ecclesiastical unity between Epiros and Nicaea was reestablished following the defeat of Theodore Doukas.

[135] L. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* (Paris, 1896), vol. 1, no. 786, 493. Gregory IX's response, dated 1 April 1232, asked for a delay before accepting the offer so that he could consult with the Latin emperor and patriarch in Constantinople, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 176, 232-33. When Gregory IX did not immediately respond positively to his overtures, Manuel altered his plans and wrote to the patriarch in Nicaea, offering to accept his ecclesiastical authority in exchange for the goodwill of the emperor Vatatzes, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 13, 59-62. See also E. Kurtz, 'Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos

The victory at Klokotnitza created a dramatic shift in power in the Balkans, as Bulgaria now emerged as the strongest political-military force in the region. Long before their victory in 1230, the Bulgarian rulers expressed a keen interest in developments in and around Constantinople. Before the Fourth Crusade, John I Asen, also known as Kalojan, offered his obedience to Pope Innocent III in exchange for a royal crown.[136] Robert of Clari took note of Kalojan's coronation in 1204, commenting that he offered his goodwill to the leaders of the crusade, his co-religionists, but was refused.[137] Kalojan was certainly offended by the rejection of his offer, and in a letter to Innocent III in November 1204 he urged the pope to ensure that the crusaders keep their distance from his territory.[138]

II,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 (1907), 131-34. The patriarch promptly replied with acceptance, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 13, 62-65.

[136] See the letter from Kalojan to Innocent III, dated 1202, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 5, no. 114(115), 224-26; translated by J. Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an anonymous author* (Washington D.C., 2004), 96-97. As part of the negotiations, in September 1203 Kalojan requested that the archbishop of Trnovo be made a patriarch, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 4, 14-15; translated by Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 102-103. The same request would be made later, in 1234/5, by John II Asen in his negotiations with John III Vatatzes and Patriarch Germanos II, see ch. 4, 284-85. B. Hamilton, 'The Albigensian Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 336, traces the overtures between Bulgaria and Innocent III to 1199. Innocent III granted his request, and welcoming Bulgaria into the Roman Church. On 8 November 1204, Kalojan was crowned *Rex Bulgarorum et Vlachorum*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 1, 3-6; translated by Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 107-110. See also *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, ed. T. T. Haluscynskyj (Vatican, 1944), no. 50, 253-56; A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV* (Berlin, 1874-1875), no. 2135, 185. Angelov, 'Prosopography of the Byzantine world in Bulgarian sources,' 103, argues that the submission of the Bulgarian Church to Rome likely lasted until 1232, but did not lead to a 'true separation of the Bulgarians from Orthodoxy.'

[137] Kalojan had offered to help the crusaders capture Constantinople, even offering to supply an army, if the crusaders would recognize him as king. Describing the offer with the benefit of hindsight, Robert of Clari was clearly saddened to relate the insulting rejection to Kalojan's offer by the crusade leaders, Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, LXV.78-81. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 388, accepts Robert of Clari's account about Bulgarian emissaries in the crusader camp, but he doubts his report on the encounter. Furthermore, he interprets the crusader response to Kalojan's offer as a continuation of Byzantine policy, regarding Kalojan as a rebellious potentate. Bulgarian designs on the throne in Constantinople have a long history, see P. Karlin-Hayter, 'The homily on the peace with Bulgaria of 927 and the 'coronation' of 913,' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974). 29-39.

[138] Kalojan added that he wished the crusaders no harm, but that he would defend himself should they attack Bulgaria. He even asked that Innocent III not hold him responsible should any crusaders be killed – *De Latinis quoque, qui Constantinopolim introierunt, scribo sanctitati vestre, ut eis scribatis, quatinus distent ab imperio meo et sic imperium meum nullum malum eis facit neque ipsi nobis parvipendant. Si forte ipsi conati fuerint contra imperium meum et parvipenderint eum et occident ex eis, non habeat sanctitae vestra imperium meum suspectum, sed sint universa libera*, *Die Register*

One is struck by how little diplomatic interaction is presented in the sources between Nicaea and Bulgaria in the early thirteenth century. Circumstantial evidence, however, points to unrecorded communications, cooperation, and perhaps even an alliance between the two powers in the years immediately following 1204. It was in their mutual interest, despite the union of Bulgaria to the Roman Church, to keep the new Latin empire weakened and off balance. Events suggest that Kalojan and Theodore I Laskaris began working in tandem, forcing the Latin empire to spread its forces to address multiple threats at once. Kalojan's most definitive blow against the Latin regime came at Adrianople on 14 April 1205, where he captured Baldwin I along with much of the crusader army. What became of Baldwin I is uncertain, but he almost certainly died in Bulgarian custody.[139] From that point on, the Latins were constantly moving from east to west responding to threats. Geoffrey of Villehardouin made clear that Henry I's reign was one of almost constant travel between Thrace and Anatolia, fighting either Nicaeans or Bulgarians.[140] It seemed that, whenever the Latin emperor was on one side of the Bosporus addressing a threat, another one developed on the other side. This was almost certainly a strategy developed by two allies.[141] In 1210, Nicaea and Bulgaria even joined forces for an attack on Constantinople.[142]

Innocenz' III, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 230, 409-11, here 410 line 30 – 411 line 3; translated by Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 127-28.

[139] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 9-14; trans. Macrides, 13.139-140, commented on the fate of Baldwin I, stating that he was taken captive by Kalojan at Adrianople, but adding the story that his head served as a goblet for the barbarian ruler. The story of the emperor's skull used as a drinking cup is remarkably similar to an identical story told of the Bulgar khan Krum, who defeated Nikephoros I in 811, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 491 lines 17-22; trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford, 1997), 673-74. Other contemporaries discussed the capture and death of Baldwin I, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 642 lines 73-95; trans. Magoulias, 352-53; Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, CXII.128-31; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 439, 167; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 885 lines 25-42. See also Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel*, 91; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 142 note 10.

[140] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 461-63.176-77.

[141] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 77-79; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 389-90.

[142] Henry I reported that the allies attacked simultaneously, the Bulgarians by land and Nicaeans by sea. 'Two other enemies of our empire, Boril and Laskaris, much more severely pressed down on Constantinople, one by land, and the other by sea, and already Laskaris had seized one of our more

The alleged Bulgarian-Nicaean alliance was certainly a severe threat to the security of the Latin empire. This situation continued after the death of Kalojan in 1207, who was succeeded by his nephew Boril.[143] To address the threat, Henry I married a member of the Bulgarian royal family, perhaps Boril's sister, in 1213/14.[144] This union proved Henry I to be a master diplomat, ending any cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaea against the Latin empire for two decades.[145] By uniting in marriage with the Bulgarian rulers, Henry I had removed an immediate threat and enhanced the security of Latin Constantinople. Indeed, the Bulgarian victory at Klokotnitza preserved the Latin empire from the threat posed by Epiros.[146] Still, the

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important men, lord Peter of Bracheux, and had gathered the largest number of galleys, so that he might assault Constantinople' – *Sed alii duo nostri hostes imperii, Burillus videlicet et Lascarus, nimis graviter opprimebant Constantinopolim, unus per terram, alius per mare, et iam Lascarus unum de maioribus nostris hominibus ceperat, dominum Petrum videlicet de Bracello, et maximum galiarum numerum coadunaverat, ut Constantinopolim expugnaret*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 412 lines 37-42.

[143] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 24 lines 4-11; trans. Macrides, 13.140; Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, CXVI.130-31; Henri of Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly, ch. 506, 197. Henry I himself commented on the threat Boril posed to Latin Constantinople, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 411, 413.

[144] According to Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, CXVI.130-33, Henry I enquired with his barons about how to bring about peace with Bulgaria. They responded that he should seek to marry Boril's daughter. At first, Henry I refused, pointing out her low lineage; but his barons soon convinced him, stating the need for peace with such a powerful enemy, and he consented. The identity of the bride is in dispute. J. Fine, *The late medieval Balkans: a critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1987), 81-82, suggests that she was Maria, the daughter of Kalojan, and stepdaughter of Boril. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 50, suspects that she may have been an adoptive daughter of Boril. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 79, is unwilling to commit to her being a daughter of either Kalojan or Boril. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 392-93, is certain that the bride was an eldest daughter of Boril. This Bulgarian bride has been implicated as a suspect in the mysterious death of Henry I in 1216, Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 150-51.

[145] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 393, argues that the marriage 'safeguarded the Latin emperor's universalist aspirations,' as the Bulgarians seem to have given up any claim to the Byzantine throne. In 1221, the Bulgarian tsar John II Asen even showed special favour to the new Latin emperor, Robert of Courtenay, escorting him from Hungary to Constantinople, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 404 v. 23039 – 405 v. 23074. However, it does seem that the amicable relationship between Bulgaria and Latin Constantinople was not always ideal. Some time after 1228, John II Asen offered his daughter Helen to the young Latin emperor Baldwin II, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 292 lines 23-24. The barons of the Latin empire, however, rejected the proposal, opting instead to make an approach to John of Brienne, who eventually became co-emperor with Baldwin II, see ch. 4, 284. For more on the proposed union between Bulgaria and Latin Constantinople, see Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 138-39; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 54; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 294-96.

[146] On a 1230 inscription on a column in Trnovo, John II Asen boasted that it was only thanks to his victory over Theodore Doukas that the Latins of Constantinople had survived, V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija*

career of Kalojan had shown that Bulgaria was instrumental for the survival of the Latins, a fact not lost on the Byzantine emperors in Nicaea.

Nicaean Militarism under Theodore I Laskaris

Considering the weakened and confused situation which prevailed in the Byzantine space following the Fourth Crusade, we are forced to wonder if the Empire of Nicaea truly posed a considerable threat to Latin Constantinople in the early years of the thirteenth century. There is little doubt that Theodore Laskaris and other Byzantine magnates at the time viewed recovering Constantinople as their ultimate goal, but was such a goal possible? When and how did such a goal become attainable, or at least, did they think it attainable?

One obstacle facing Nicaean emperors in any attempt to recover Constantinople was the lack of a capable navy.[147] A strong fleet was necessary to challenge Venetian supremacy in the Aegean and to mount an assault on Latin Constantinople. Niketas Choniates reported that Theodore Laskaris built a fleet of warships, and in 1205/6, subdued a number of Aegean islands.[148] It is probable that this fleet was too small to challenge the Latin empire on a grand scale, and that it would not have been able to sustain Nicaean military efforts in Europe for the long term. Geoffrey of Villehardouin described two naval encounters in the year 1207 between the Latins and Nicaea, revealing that the Nicaean fleet was unwilling to test

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na Bulgarskata durzhava, vol. 3 (Sofia, 1940), 341; G. Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175-1237* (Cambridge, 2013), 170-71.

[147] The Byzantine navy had been radically reduced by the emperors of the late twelfth century, H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), 188-92; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 140. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 540 line 26 – 541 line 42; trans. Magoulias, 296, related that Alexios III Angelos greatly neglected the fleet before the Fourth Crusade. According to Choniates, Alexios III ignored advice to construct new warships, and even punished those who attempted to cut timber for ship construction. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, 105-106, discuss the poor state of the navy before 1204.

[148] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 638; trans. Magoulias, 350.

itself against proven Latin warships.[149] The only other mention of the naval power of the Empire of Nicaea under Theodore Laskaris is from Henry I himself, in his 1212 letter to the west. He stated that, in their joint attack in 1210, Boril attacked Constantinople by land, while Theodore gathered 'the largest number of galleys' to attack the city by sea.[150] As no Byzantine source of the early thirteenth century recorded a Nicaean victory against a Latin fleet, it seems that the Nicaean fleet was dispersed after inflicting little or no damage to the city. This being the only evidence that the plans of Theodore Laskaris included an actual attempt on Constantinople itself, we must conclude that he never commanded the naval resources necessary for threatening the capital directly.

Still, confronting the Latin enemy was a political necessity in the years following the Fourth Crusade. This necessity was reflected in Nicaean court rhetoric,[151] and in ecclesiastical circles. Shortly after rising to the patriarchate in Nicaea in 1208, Michael IV Autoreianos offered spiritual rewards to those who died fighting against the Latins.[152] Although this measure ran counter to Byzantine

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[149] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, chs. 469-70.179, recorded that the first was a response to Theodore's attack on Kibotos. A Nicaean fleet of sixty ships promptly withdrew rather than face the seventeen ships under Henry I. Villehardouin went on to explain that all Nicaean forces fled the area around Kibotos rather than risk a larger engagement. When they realized they were to abandon their fleet, the Nicaeans burned all sixty ships before breaking camp.

The second encounter came when Theodore attacked the city of Kyzikos by both land and sea with seventeen galleys, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 476.181-82. It is noteworthy that Villehardouin described Henry I as preparing to leave for Adrianople to meet the threat from Kalojan when news reached him of the attack on Kyzikos. He explained that the plans for Adrianople were put on hold as a result, ch. 478.183. According to Villehardouin, the Nicaean admiral had advance warning of the approaching Latin fleet and promptly withdrew, adding that the Latin fleet chased the seventeen Nicaean ships for two days and two nights before returning to Kyzikos, chs. 477-79.182-83.

[150] *maximum galiarum numerum coadunaverat*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 412 lines 40-41. While Henry I described, in some detail, how he disposed of the Bulgarian threat, he made no reference to how the Nicaean naval attack was overcome.

[151] Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 123, 133, praises the military prowess of Theodore I Laskaris.

[152] N. Oikonomides, 'Cinq Actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos,' *Revue des études byzantines* 25 (1967), 117-19; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1205, 3-5; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 464, suspects that this action by the patriarch reveals the influence of the crusading ideal on Byzantium. For the opposing view, see P. Lemerle, 'Byzance et la croisade,' in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienza Storiche (Roma, 1955), III: Storia del Medio Evo,* Biblioteca Storica Sansoni. Nuova Serie, vol. XXIV, (Firenze, 1955), 614-20.

ecclesiastical doctrine, it also shows that Autoreianos was aware of crusader indulgences and western concepts of holy war.[153] In his letter of 1212, Henry I twice mentioned that Latin mercenaries who fought against the Latin empire were under the excommunication of the pope.[154] It is possible, therefore, that the patriarch was responding to the needs of those Latin mercenaries serving Nicaea.

The military ideal in Nicaea was not just elevated and praised in opposition to the Latins, but also against other Byzantine rulers. We have seen that several local elites, especially in Anatolia, claimed authority for themselves both before and after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. For these ambitious Byzantine leaders, victory against the Latin foe was a paramount method for gaining prestige and adding to their following. Such was the case for Theodore Mankaphas, the ruler of Philadelphia, who was willing to risk battle with the Latin army[155] because the potential benefits of victory were so impressive – recognition and prominence over his fellow Byzantines who challenged him for leadership in the turmoil after the Fourth Crusade. By defeating the army under Mankaphas, the Latins were inadvertently doing Theodore Laskaris a great service.

The defeat of Mankaphas would not be enough, however, to ensure Theodore Laskaris sole exercise of Byzantine authority after 1204. It was also necessary for Theodore to show that he could bring victory against the invaders. This is evident from the testimony of Henry I, who wrote that the Byzantines of Anatolia grew

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[153] Oikonomides, 'Cinq Actes,' 113-45; Angelov, 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople,' 298; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 464; Lemerle, 'Byzance et la croisade,' 614-20; Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 16-17, comments on the similarity of this measure to a proposal from Nikephoros II Phokas that all soldiers who fall in combat be considered martyrs.

[154] Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel, 414, 416. In 1210, Innocent III wrote to Latin Constantinople of the need to provide adequate pay to their troops, lest Latin soldiers take up service with Greeks rulers out of necessity – *ut ipsis congrua stipendia subministret, ne forte ad Grecos se transferre pre inopia compellantur*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 13, no. 182(184), 273-75, here 274 lines 16-18.

[155] Mankaphas was defeated near Atramyttion in March 1205, see above, 36.

impatient with the Nicaean ruler's reluctance to commit to battle in 1211. Henry I remarked that, as the Latin army advanced, Theodore I withdrew to nearby mountains, where the local inhabitants were people he trusted.[156] Henry I continued, however, explaining that the people inhabiting these mountains became increasingly dissatisfied as the Latin army advanced and the Nicaean army withdrew.[157] By refusing to give battle, Theodore I was following a time-honoured tactic. Avoiding unnecessary and risky battles was a hallmark of Byzantine military strategy.[158] It also seems that his army was greatly weakened by losses sustained at Antioch-on-the-Meander, fought only a few months before.[159] Furthermore, he may have hoped for a new crisis in the West to demand Henry I's attention, and force him to leave for Europe, as so often happened. Despite the wisdom of avoiding battle, Theodore I had other priorities to consider. If he was seen as unable to defend against the Latins, then someone else would certainly arise to protect the interests of the Greeks of Anatolia. Pressure from the Byzantine population – as well as powerful elites in the mould of

[156] 'And we, although still with the smallest number, yet with much courage and spirit, offered battle to him outside the city. But at once he took flight to certain nearby mountains, from the neighborhood which he trusted, which took him in' – *Et nos, licet adhuc paucissimi numero multi tamen virtute et animo essemus, ei extra civitatem ad pagnam nos obtulimus, sed ipse statim fugam arripiens in quibusdam montibus vicinis, de quorum vicinitate confidebat, se recepit*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 415 lines 102-106. George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, ch. 3, 27 – ch. 4, 31, verified that the mountainous regions of Anatolia served as safe havens for the Byzantines when the coastal regions were attacked by Latins. He added that the rulers of Nicaea fortified their positions in the region and provided incentives for Greeks to settle there. This sheds light on Henry I's comment – that Theodore I 'trusted' the people with whom he sought refuge.

[157] 'The people on the land saw this, that we rode at our pleasure through the land, and going to meet Laskaris they said collectively to him that they no longer wished nor were they able to endure this, saying that either he himself should fight us or they would not hesitate to submit to us' – *Sed tandem videns terre populus, quod nos ad libitum nostrum per terram equitaremus, congregatus est ad Lascarum dicens ei com[mu]niter, quod hoc diutus sustinere nolebant vel poterant, sed aut ipse nobiscum pugnaret aut ipsi nobis se reddere non different*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 415 lines 113-17.

[158] Haldon, 'Blood and ink,' 281-83, explains that the Byzantines were keen to avoid the costs of numerous and costly wars, thus 'they preferred to use craft, intelligence, wiles, bribery, ideological and countless other devices, rather than commit themselves to set battles.' See also Kaegi, *Some thoughts on Byzantine military strategy*, 9-10.

[159] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 16 lines 16-21, 17 lines 14-16, 27 lines 4-14; trans. Macrides, 10.131, 15.148, attested to the weakened state of the Nicaean army following their slim victory over the Seljuk Turks earlier that same year. He remarked that nearly all the Latin mercenaries serving under Theodore I at Antioch-on-the-Meander fell in battle.

Theodore Mankaphas – forced Theodore I to engage the Latin army, leading to a remarkable defeat.[160] Henry I stated after the battle that the Empire of Nicaea 'was left utterly devoid of strength,' adding that from that time on Theodore I 'did not dare to appear to us elsewhere, but from then he began to concede land to us.'[161] The defeat appears to have been complete, and Theodore never again attempted to regain Constantinople by military means.[162]

Nicaean Diplomacy under Theodore I Laskaris

Following the Latin victory in 1211, Theodore I Laskaris was forced to agree to a peace treaty with Henry I,[163] the so-called Treaty of Nymphaion.[164] The date of this agreement has been the subject of much discussion.[165] The treaty was renewed in

[160] Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 52 and Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 152 notes 12, have noted that George Akropolites gives few details about Henry I's victory over Theodore I. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 lines 16-19; trans. Macrides, 149, simply stated that Henry I marched south as far as Nymphaion without meeting further resistance, and then turned back.

[161] *Ab illo vero die Lascarus penitus destitutus fuit viribus nec ausus fuit nobis alicubi apparere, sed ex tunc terra se nobis cepit reddere*, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 417 lines 153-55.

[162] In fact, one finds few examples of warfare between the Latins and Byzantines in Nicaea from this point until after the death of Theodore I. For possible exceptions, see Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 405 v. 23075 – 406 v. 23116.

[163] This was the first treaty between the Empire of Nicaea and Latin Constantinople. There had been one, perhaps two short truces established beforehand. The first was in 1205/6. Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 135 lines 26-31, claimed that the Latins 'begged' Theodore for a truce, *περὶς πονδῶν καθικέτευσαν*, likely as a result of the death of Baldwin I after his capture at Adrianople. When fighting erupted in Anatolia again in 1206, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 453.172, wrote that it was the result of Theodore violating a truce. Another truce came in 1207, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 487.186. The possibility of a third truce in 1207/8 can be found in a letter from Theodore to Innocent III, asking that the pope mediate a new agreement. Theodore's original letter does not survive, but Innocent III's response, dated 17 March 1208, indicates the contents of the letter, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61-64; other editions of the letter can be found in *Acta Innocentii Papae III,* ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 114, 345-48.

[164] Not to be confused with the later Treaty of Nymphaion of 1261 between Michael VIII Palaiologos and Genoa.

[165] Dating of this agreement varies between 1211 and 1214. We know for certain that the peace came about as a result of Henry I's victory of Theodore I Laskaris in 1211, suggesting a date in late 1211 or early 1212. Both Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople,' 209, and T. Venning, *A chronology of the Byzantine Empire* (New York, 2006), 559, suggest that the treaty came immediately after Henry I's victory over Theodore, placing it in 1211. Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1684, 4, gives the date of 13 January 1212. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 61, and Angold, *A Byzantine*

1222 and remained in effect until 1224.[166] The agreement was a pivotal point in Nicaea's foreign policy approach towards the Latin empire. Although the text of the agreement has not survived, we are fortunate that George Akropolites discussed it at length. He described how concessions to the Latins essentially divided the territory of the Empire of Nicaea into two groups – a northern group centered on Nicaea, and a southwestern group around Nymphaion.[167] Akropolites went on to explain that Henry I sought the peace because 'the Latin race does not have great endurance in battle.'[168] This statement, denoting the author's anti-Latin attitude, also indicates that the two sides had been exhausted by almost constant warfare, and that both required a respite.[169] His defeat and the subsequent 1212/4 agreement meant that Theodore I could no longer rely on military methods to oppose the Latins and pursue his objective of recovering Constantinople. It was necessary for him to find another means of exerting his influence and furthering his foreign policy goals.[170]

With military options no longer viable, Theodore I shifted his focus to diplomatic methods – namely negotiation and marriage alliances – to further his

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government in exile , 111, both suggest 1212. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 353, writes in favour of a treaty concluded some time in 1213. Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 145-46, placed it between January 1212 and December 1214. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 84, put it at 1214. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 152 notes 12, points to a comment in the account of Nicholas Mesarites, suggesting that the finalized agreement coincided with church-union negotiations in 1214, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 lines 9-12. Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 129, 90, more specifically suggests December 1214. D. Nicol, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires,' in *Cambridge Medieval History* IV/1, ed. J. Hussey (1966), 300, suggests December 1214 as the latest possible date.

[166] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 line 16 – 28 line 11; trans. Macrides, 15.149. On the renewal of the agreement, see Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1706, 7; Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 158, 107; Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 406-407 vv. 23117-23146, 409 vv. 23195-23206.

[167] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 line 21 – 28 line 11; trans. Macrides, 15.149. See also Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 111-12.

[168] *οὐ γὰρ ἄγαν καρτερικὸν τὸ Λατινικὸν φῦλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καθέστηκεν*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27 lines 20-21; trans. Macrides, 15.149.

[169] G. Ostrogorsky*, History of the Byzantine state*, English translation by J. Hussey (Oxford, 1956), 430. The fact that the agreement was renewed before 1222 would support this conclusion. Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 406 v. 23117 – 407 v. 23146.

[170] Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 5, 42 note 2, emphasizes that strategic realities under Theodore I required him to pursue peaceful relations with the Latins.

agenda. The first example of this new programme was the 1219 treaty with Venice.[171] The agreement with the Venetian podestà in Constantinople, Jacopo Tiepolo, appeared very favourable to the Venetian position. It provided for a five-year period in which the safety of Venetian merchants and their property in the Empire of Nicaea was guaranteed. In addition, Venetians would be allowed free-trade in the Empire of Nicaea, whereas Nicaean merchants in Venetian territory were still required to pay taxes and customs.[172] The treaty goes on to state that neither side should employ the coinage of the other, without express permission.[173] Some aspects of the agreement are difficult to explain. For example, the *intitulatio* of the treaty refers to Theodore I as 'emperor and moderator of the Romans,' whereas the end of the document describes him as 'emperor and moderator of the Greeks.'[174] The most perplexing aspect of the treaty, however, is a clause that restricts the movement of Nicaean ships: 'And this is agreed: My empire promises, that for the duration of the five years peace, neither galley nor any sailing ship of my empire ought to have liberty to travel to

[171] Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-18. For an older edition of the agreement, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 205-207. Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 288 lines 23-25; Dölger, *Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1703, 7. Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 207, identifies Jacopo Tiepolo – who served twice as Venetian podestà, in 1218-1220 and 1223-1224 before becoming doge – as a 'vigorous' proponent of agreements with Nicaea to facilitate trade. Most historians agree that the 1219 treaty is the renewal of an earlier agreement reached between Nicaea and Venice, probably in 1214. Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 206, suggests that the 1214 agreement was more of a truce, whereas the 1219 treaty 'signals a firmer commitment between the two parties.' See also S. Brezeanu, 'Le premier traité économique entre Venise et Nicée,' in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 12 (1974), 143-46; Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 199.

[172] Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-17. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 114, finds it strange that Theodore I would agree to such a requirement.

[173] *Conventum est inter hec, quod nec imperium meum neque tuus dispotatus habeat licentiam formare yperperos vel manulatos aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 117 lines 46-48. A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine economy: an overview,' in *The economic history of Byzantium, from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 2002), 1156-57, comments that foreign coins became increasingly common in the Aegean, a natural result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. See also Morrison, 'Thirteenth-century Byzantine 'metallic' identities,' 163.

[174] *Teodorus, in Cristo Deo fidelis imperator et moderator Romeon*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116 line 1, *Theodorus, in Cristo Deo fidelis imperator et moderator Grecorum*, 118 lines 60-61, this may be a scribal error. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 257 note 15, suspects that the discrepancy in titles for Theodore results from the fact that the treaty only survives in its Latin form. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 44-45, agrees, insisting that the designation of 'emperor of the Romans' for Theodore I Laskaris does not reflect the official position of Venice at the time.

Constantinople, unless this is the desire of your domain.'[175] Theodore I would not have agreed to restrict the movement of his ships unless he was determined to have the goodwill of the Venetian republic.[176] Indeed, the very structure of the agreement is unique in the Byzantine diplomatic experience. Before 1204, commercial agreements such as this had been issued as unilateral agreements, chrysobulls that emphasized the superiority of the emperor in Constantinople. The 1219 treaty, by contrast, appears worded in the manner of an agreement between two equals.[177] Such language was in keeping with Theodore I's overall conciliatory attitude toward the Venetians. He needed their goodwill to protect the sovereignty of the Empire of Nicaea, but also to complement his own efforts in trying to increase his influence in Constantinople. The fact that the 1219 agreement was only one of many such agreements is indicative of two key issues; the Venetians were interested in commerce in Anatolia,[178] and

[175] *Convenit et hoc: imperium meum promisit, quod usque ad complimentum quinque annorum pacis nec galee neque currentia ligna imperii mei debeant habere licentiam transire de Costantinopoli, nisi hoc fuerit de voluntate tue dominationis*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 117 lines 49-52. Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' argues that this clause was intended to prevent Nicaean ships from entering the Black Sea, and thus protect Venetian commerce and the interests of the Latin empire; Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 206, suspects that the measure to was reduce the risk of Theodore I staging a pincer maneuver against Constantinople. It also had the added benefit of forcing any Nicaean commercial traffic in the Black Sea to go through the Venetian quarter in Constantinople.

[176] Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 206, argues that the Venetians, negotiating from a position of strength, were able to force Theodore I to agree to these terms.

[177] Basil II's chrysobull to Venice in 992, for example, included lofty statements about his 'gracious piety,' and spoke of how it is the emperor who answers the petition of the outsiders. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 1, 36-39. The agreement of 1219, however, is an agreement of peace and friendship made between two leaders. The treaty of 1219 never makes reference to Theodore I's 'gracious' attitude, and speaks frequently of the commitments he has agreed to fulfil. Theodore I promises, for example, 'to maintain the peace, pure and firm and without scandal' – *Convenio pacem puram firmamque et sine scandalo habere tecum*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116 lines 3-4. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 41, and Angelov, 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople,' 296, suggests that the 1219 agreement between Venice and Theodore I is a mutual treaty rather than an imperial decree.

[178] Shortly after their agreement with Theodore I in 1219, the Venetians reached a similar agreement with the Seljuk Turks; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 211-25; see above, 41-42. Considering Venetian interest in trade in Anatolia, it is strange that so few commercial contracts indicate the presence of Venetian merchants in the region at this time. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 114, explains that there is 'absolutely no evidence that the Venetians took advantage of this treaty' with Theodore I to trade with the Empire of Nicaea. Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 202-204, concedes that no documents covering trade in the area survive, but he still maintains that Venetians commercial interests in the region are 'beyond doubt.' Any such documents, Jacoby points out, would

Theodore I desired to keep the Venetians in a favourable, or at least indifferent, position regarding Nicaea.

Diplomatic marriages complemented negotiations intended to place pressure on Latin Constantinople. We have already seen how both Latin and Byzantine rulers used marriages to pacify enemies, and even turn them into allies.[179] Theodore I would do this to the extreme, following in a great tradition of Byzantine masters of diplomacy.[180] Under his direction, instances of marriage alliance between the Byzantine and Latin ruling houses developed into one of the most dynamic modes of diplomacy conducted by the Byzantine emperors in Nicaea.

The first possible example of a marriage between the Laskarids and a Latin ruler was the 1212 union of Marco I Sanudo, first Duke of the Archipelago, and a sister of Theodore I Laskaris. According to a Venetian source,[181] Sanudo attacked the Empire of Nicaea at Smyrna in 1212, possibly in conjunction with Henry I's offensive. The Duke of the Archipelago was quickly defeated and captured, but Theodore I Laskaris was said to be so impressed that he offered Sanudo his sister in marriage.[182] If the story is true it marks an abrupt change in Byzantine foreign policy.

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have been housed in Constantinople, where they were undoubtedly lost after the Byzantine recovery of the city in 1261.

[179] This is a common aim in Byzantine diplomatic marriages, J. Shepard, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 800-1204: means and ends,' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 44; Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' 263-64.

[180] Theodore I especially followed the example of Manuel I Komnenos. P. Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850-c. 1200, Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March – 1st April 1984*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 190, comments that before Manuel I became emperor, the number of proposed unions with western ruling families could be counted on one hand. Magdalino identifies ten Byzantine-Latin diplomatic marriages under Manuel I, and more that were proposed but not achieved.

[181] Marino Sanudo the Younger, *Vite de' duchi di Venezia*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 22 (Milan, 1733), col. 545 D-E.

[182] Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 59-60, finds Sanudo's story 'just conceivably possible,' largely because of the chronicler's use of earlier material. See also J. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915), 65-66; G. 'Les conquérants de l'archipel: l'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades,' in *Quarta Crociata, Venezio – Bizanzio – Impero Latino*, ed. G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani and P. Schreiner, vol. 1 (Venice, 2006), 150-51, 219-221; J. Langdon, 'John III Ducas Vatatzes and the Venetians: the episode of his anti-Venetian Cretan campaigns, 1230 and 1234,' in *Novum millennium:*

Bringing the Latin ruler into his household by marriage allowed Theodore I to avert a dangerous threat, and perhaps even take support away from Latin Constantinople.[183] The Nicaean navy had already proven ineffective against its Latin enemies. Perhaps Theodore I envisioned a future in which he would enlist his brother-in-law in his plans to threaten Constantinople, or simply take over his fleet all together.

Another marriage with wide-ranging diplomatic implications is the union between Theodore I Laskaris and Philippa, the niece of Leo I of Cilician Armenia, in 1213/4.[184] What the parties hoped to achieve through this union is not entirely clear,[185] especially since the marriage was so short-lived. A plausible explanation is that Theodore I was attempting to ingratiate himself with the pope. Innocent III favoured the Armenian king, and Theodore I may have sought to use the marriage to fit himself into Rome's foreign policy.[186] Having suffered defeat at the hands of Henry I, Theodore I would have been looking for friends wherever he might find

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studies in Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck, ed. C. Sode and S. Takacs (Aldershot, 2001), 236.

[183] Historians note that the marriage has interesting implications for the relationship of future rulers. Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 236, points out that Sanudo's future son, Angelo, would have been the cousin of John III Vatatzes' wife, Eirene Laskarina. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 59, notes that Angelo took the name Doukas, one of the family names of the Laskarids.

[184] Theodore I's first wife, Anna, the daughter of Alexios III Angelos, had died in 1212. On Theodore's second marriage, see Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1214, 16-18. Find the marriage certificate in A. Pavlov, 'Sinodal'naia gramota 1213 goda o brake grecheskago imperatora s docheriu armianskago kniazia,' *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 4 (1897), 164-66.

[185] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 87, and Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 58, have argued that the union was part of a larger plan by Theodore I to organize an alliance against the Seljuk Turks. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 151-52, rejects this interpretation, arguing for cooperation between the Nicaeans and Seljuk Turks in the early part of the thirteenth century. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 359, has pointed out that the Armenians of Cilicia were one of the few former Byzantine commonwealth groups to acknowledge the imperial claims of the Laskarids early on after 1204, and thus the marriage was an expression of gratitude from Theodore I. Neither of these suggestions coincide with what we know to have been Theodore I's ultimate foreign policy goal – the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins. It is impossible to consider that he himself would seek a marriage alliance with such a far off power with interests so dissimilar to his own without some greater plan.

[186] Innocent III had just arranged the union of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and Leo I's daughter, Rita-Stephanie, Ernoul, *Chronique*, ed. Mas Latrie, 411. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 51, argues that this marriage was part of an ongoing attempt to isolate Bohemond IV of Antioch, who was in dispute with the pope.

them – in this case Rome more than Cilicia. When the desired result of closer ties with the papacy did not materialize, Theodore I merely discarded the bride.[187]

Eirene, the eldest daughter of Theodore I, presented opportunities in the field of diplomatic marriage. She was the widow of the despot Andronikos Palaiologos[188] and would certainly have been a highly sought-after match in diplomatic schemes. The possibilities for an eligible bride of noble birth – the granddaughter of Alexios III Angelos – would certainly have been a valuable component of any diplomatic formula. It seems strange, therefore, that Theodore I should marry her to one of his own subjects, John Doukas Vatatzes, the future John III,[189] at some point between 1212 and 1216.[190] Eirene would have made a very advantageous match for Henry I,

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[187] Speculation varies on why Theodore I repudiated the union with Philippa. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 87-88, suggests that Theodore thought he was marrying Leo's daughter, and was duped into marrying his niece, sending her home when he learned the truth. This explanation is in accordance with most Greeks sources for the marriage. The decree of the Greek synod on the marriage frequently refers to the bride as the 'daughter' – *θυγατέρα*, Pavlov, 'Sinodal'naia gramota 1213 goda o brake grecheskago imperatora s docheriu armianskago kniazia,' 164 line 8, 165 lines 1 and 16. Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 462 lines 5-6, also referred to her as 'daughter,' but George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 line 23 – 27 line 1, described her simply as 'a woman from Armenia' – *ἐξ 'Αρμενίων γυναῖκα*; trans. Macrides, 15.148. Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 47 line 23, described her as a 'maiden' – *νύμφη*. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 58, 347 note 105, disagrees with Gardner's interpretation, commenting that Theodore was frightened of Seljuk aggression as a result of the union. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 52, suggests that Theodore ended the marriage when he decided on a different diplomatic path, one which required him to be eligible to marry again. For more on this marriage, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 150-51 note 5.

[188] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 16-19; trans. Macrides, 15.148. Andronikos Palaiologos was captured by the Latins but returned as a result of the Treaty of Nymphaion, only to die shortly afterward, Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 57; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 149-50 note 3.

[189] Unlike Eirene's first husband, Vatatzes was not promoted to the rank of despot upon his marriage to Theodore I's daughter, and thus was not designated as his heir. It may be the case that Theodore I's son by his Armenian bride was considered his heir at the time of his daughter's marriage to Vatatzes. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 20-22; trans. Macrides, 15.148, identified Vatatzes' rank upon his marriage as *protovestiarites*, while Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 462 lines 2-4, applied to Vatatzes the higher rank of *protovestiarios*. The similarity in the title may be an explanation for the discrepancy, but neither source indicated that the groom was made the heir to the Empire of Nicaea upon his marriage to Theodore I's daughter. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 41; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 150 note 4; Puech, 'The aristocracy and the empire of Nicaea,' 72. On Theodore I's son by Philippa, possibly named Constantine, see George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 31 lines 15-16; trans. Macrides, 18.157; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 115 note 2; Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 59; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 159 note 7; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 52.

[190] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 19-22; trans. Macrides, 15.148; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 462 lines 1-4; George of Pelagonia, *Life of Vatatzes*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 'Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige. Ein mittelgriechische Legened,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905), 211;

who was eligible before his marriage to a Bulgarian princess in 1213/4. Such a union would have greatly increased Theodore I's influence over the Latin empire. We can conclude, therefore, that Eirene was still married to her first husband, Andronikos, at the time of Henry I's marriage in 1213/4. Still, the fact that Theodore I did not seek some foreign alliance through the marriage of his daughter is remarkable.[191] The choice of Vatatzes as her husband speaks to Theodore I's continued need to consolidate his position in Anatolia. The Vatatzai enjoyed strong connections in the Thrakesion theme, a region in which Theodore I had only slim control, but which was crucial for the prosperity of the Empire of Nicaea. Marriage between Eirene and Vatatzes ensured his family's support for the Laskarid ruler, and in that way furthered Theodore I's overall efforts to regain Constantinople.[192]

Another marriage with foreign policy implications was the 1218 union of Maria, the second daughter of Theodore I, and Béla , future Béla IV, the son of Andrew II, king of Hungary.[193] Andrew II was returning from the Fifth Crusade,[194]

Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 24 lines 1-6; Nicodemus Hagiorites, *Βίος του αγίου βασιλέως Ιωάννου του Βατάτση του Ελεήμονος,* ed. C. Agathangelus (Constantinople, 1872), 35-38; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 911 lines 35-39.

There is a lack of consensus on the date of this marriage. George of Pelagonia, ed. Heisenberg, 211, puts the union in 1212. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26-28; trans. Macrides, 15.148, sequentially puts the death of Andronikos and the marriage to Vatatzes before Henry I's 1212 campaign in Anatolia. Modern dating of the events are even more convoluted. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 57, insists that the marriage of Eirene and Vatatzes could not have been before 1216. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 150 note 3, appears to agree with a date after 1216. Venning, *Chronology of Byzantine Empire*, 562, who mistakenly identifies Eirene as Theodore I's widowed niece, puts the marriage in 1215.

[191] There is at least one story, albeit fanciful, that Theodore I considered a Latin husband for Eirene. Nicodemus Hagiorites, ed. Agathangelus, 35-38, records that Theodore I had originally intended his daughter for Conrad, the leader of his Latin mercenaries. Eirene, having fallen in love with Vatatzes, convinced her father otherwise by threatening suicide. Theodore required Conrad and Vatatzes fight to determine the issue, and Vatatzes emerged victorious.

[192] Puech, 'The aristocracy and the empire of Nicaea,' 72.

[193] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 13-15; trans. Macrides, 15.148; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 911 lines 39-40. Andrew II informed the pope of the union shortly after returning from the crusade, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 32, 21 lines 2-4. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 61, argues that the marriage was negotiated in 1217/8, but did not actually take place until 1220.

[194] Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 905 lines 37-41; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 149 note 2; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 52; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), 96.

and his journey through Anatolia presented Theodore I with a unique opportunity. A marriage alliance with the powerful ruling family of Hungary[195] allowed Theodore I to endear himself to the Latin world, and specifically to play the part of a friend to crusading armies.[196] Such an image deprived the Latin empire of much of their raison d'être. It was well understood that part of the rationale behind the crusader's seizure of Constantinople in 1204 was to help secure the fortunes of the Holy Land. Western rulers and popes had long viewed the participation of the Byzantine empire as crucial for crusading success.[197] By befriending the Hungarian king by means of the marriage between Maria and Béla , Theodore I was seeking to demonstrate that support for the crusade did not necessarily translate to support for Latin Constantinople.[198]

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[195] Henry I also sought closer ties to the Hungarian ruling family through marriage. In 1215, he married his niece – Yolanda of Courtenay, the daughter of the future Latin emperor Peter of Courtenay – to Andrew II. Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 906 line 33; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 52; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 54 note 32. In this way it is possible to view Theodore I's marriage of his daughter to Andrew II's son and heir as a countermove to Henry I's efforts.

Other powers in the region sought marriage ties with Hungary. John II Asen married a daughter of Andrew II, the youngest son of Andrew II married a princess of Cilician Armenia, and even the Seljuk Turks sought a marriage with Hungary, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 32, 21-22.

[196] We should not overlook the irony that the last group of crusaders to come through the Byzantine world seized the capital of Constantinople, but less than two decades later they are imperial guests and partners for marriage. Indeed, the marriage of Béla IV and Maria Laskarina was apparently a very successful union. They were married over fifty years and had ten children; Z. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the thirteenth century* (New York, 1996), 68, 86-87; M. Dabrowska, 'A Byzantine lady's daughters in Poland,' in *Byzantium and east central Europe*, ed. G. Prinzing and M. Salamon (Cracow, 2001), 197-202; Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 61, states that theirs was the only union between a Byzantine and a Latin which achieved 'successful symbiosis.'

[197] A desire to enlist the Byzantine empire in the crusading endeavour is evident in Odo of Deuil, *De profetione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. V. Berry (New York, 1948), 86-87. Pope Innocent III himself, in a letter to Alexios III Angelos, dated 13 November 1199, expressed his wish that the Byzantine empire should aid the crusader cause in the Holy Land, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 2, no. 202(211), 394-97; trans. Powell, 77-81. See also Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana, seu De expugnatione urbis Constantinopolitane, unde, inter alias reliquias, magna pars sancte crucis in Allemanniam est allata*, ed. P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1877), 84-87; A. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, (Philadelphia, 1997), 90-92; N. Chrissis, 'The city and the cross: the image of Constantinople and the Latin empire,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2012), 21-23; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 165.

[198] This was a tactic Byzantine emperors had adopted before. Manuel I Komnenos and other members of his dynasty had pursued Byzantine-Latin marriage alliances in the crusader states, thus enhancing their prestige in the west and disrupting possible crusading attacks against Constantinople, A. Laiou, 'Byzantium and the crusades in the twelfth century: Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?,' in *Urbs Capta, the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 17; Magdalino, 'The

Theodore I Laskaris took a more direct approach to marriage alliances as a tool of his designs on Latin Constantinople in his 1218/19 marriage to Mary of Courtenay.[199] Mary was the daughter of the Latin emperor Peter of Courtenay and his wife Yolanda of Flanders, who ruled as regent of Latin Constantinople after her husband's death.[200] As the Latin empire was, at that time, severely threatened by Epiros in the west, Yolanda may well have been hoping to reaffirm the peace recently settled with Theodore I Laskaris in the east.[201] Theodore I's intentions were perhaps much more ambitious. By uniting himself with the ruling family of Latin Constantinople, Theodore I was inserting himself into a tense political situation. Peter of Courtenay's disappearance and death had created a crisis in the Latin empire. This presented Theodore I with an opportunity, as the marriage to a Latin bride who had been both the niece and the daughter of a Latin emperor[202] allowed him to make marital claims on Constantinople.[203] Unfortunately for Theodore I, the barons of Latin Constantinople refused to accept a Greek as regent. They had always viewed

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phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 189; Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' 271; J. Harris, *Byzantium and the crusades* (London, 2002), 93.

[199] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 1-2; trans. Macrides, 14.145; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 906 lines 35-36; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 21 lines 19-25; Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 403 v. 23025 – 404 v. 23033.

[200] See above, 47-48.

[201] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 364, 365 note 46, argues that the marriage of Mary and Theodore I was 'without doubt… to strengthen the bonds of peace with the empire of Nicaea.' He suggests that Mary's dowry included any remaining Latin claims to the region of Paphlagonia. Nicol, 'The fate of Peter of Courtenay,' 383, notes that this marriage alliance with Nicaea was Yolanda's only diplomatic act as regent. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 52, suspects that the marriage negotiations concerning Mary were initiated by her uncle, Henry I, but were delayed by his mysterious death in 1216.

[202] Mary's brother, Robert of Courtenay, would become emperor in Constantinople in 1221.

[203] Van Tricht, *The Latin* renovatio *of Byzantium*, 365, and Jacoby, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Latin empire of Constantinople and the Frankish states,' 764-65, pinpoint the capture and death of Peter of Courtenay as the beginning of spiraling events for the Latin Empire. For Theodore I's designs on control of Constantinople through this marriage, see Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 342; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 607; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 160; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 94-95; Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 60-61.

Theodore I as a would-be usurper,[204] and refused to allow him such a powerful position in the Latin empire,[205] despite his marriage to the regent's daughter.[206]

Theodore I remained undeterred. His attempts to gain effective control of Constantinople through direct marriage with the rulers of Constantinople continued. In 1220/1, he offered his youngest daughter, Eudokia, in marriage to the new Latin emperor, Robert of Courtenay.[207] Despite their concerns about Theodore I's designs on Constantinople, the Latin barons appear to have been well disposed to this marriage proposal as the emperor in Nicaea held out the prospect of generous territorial concessions.[208] Unfortunately for Theodore I's schemes, the union between Robert and Eudokia never happened. George Akropolites reported that the patriarch in Nicaea, Manuel I Sarantenos, could not give his consent due to the relationship which already existed between Robert and Theodore I. By his previous marriage to Robert's sister Mary, Theodore I and the Latin emperor were already brothers-in-law. Thus the marriage of Robert and Eudokia was considered incestuous, which made the union

[204] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 313.117-18.
[205] Henri de Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly, ch. 551-54.215-16; Van Tricht, *The Latin* renovatio *of Byzantium*, 356-57; Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 42 note 2; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 15.
[206] Ciggaar, 'Flemish Counts and Emperors,' 48, explains that, following the death of Theodore I, Mary found her way back to Latin Constantinople where she served as regent after the death of her brother, Robert of Courtenay, who died in mysterious circumstances. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 44 lines 7-10; trans. Macrides, 27.184, stated only that Robert died while travelling away from Constantinople. For more on Robert's death, see Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 291 lines 9-13; Ernoul, *Chronique*, ed. Mas Latrie, 393-95; Baudouin d'Avesnes, ed. N. de Wailly, *Geoffroi de Ville-hardouin, Conquête de Constantinople* (Paris, 1874), 42; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 303; Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 167-68; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 177.
[207] Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 406 v. 23117 – 407 v. 23152.; Baudouin d'Avesnes, ed. de Wailly, 425-26; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 31 lines 2-7; trans. Macrides, 18.157; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 465 lines 16-22.
[208] *Petit apriés çou, si ot fait, Pour amender tot le mesfait, D'entre Lascre et l'emperéour, Trestout li baron de l'ounour, Comme preudome et fort et sage, Et par laitres et par message, Tant que Liascres, tot sans gille, Promist l'emperéour sa fille Et grant tière pour acordance, K'il n'i ot point d'outrequidance*, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 406 v. 23117 – 407 v. 23127. See also Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 365-66.

abhorrent.[209] Theodore I's designs for a peaceful recovery of Constantinople had once again fallen short.[210]

The Early Reign of John III Vatatzes

John III Vatatzes became emperor in Nicaea following the death of Theodore I in 1221.[211] His career shows that he had been an apt student of his father-in-law's policies. Vatatzes proved to be a skilled diplomat who found an ideal balance between diplomatic dialogue and military force to coerce his opponents into giving him what he desired. One is struck, however, at the stark absence of source material denoting diplomatic contact between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latin powers for almost the entire first decade of Vatatzes' reign. The only interaction with the Latin empire before 1234 was very soon after Vatatzes became emperor, at the battle of Poimanenon in 1224. According to George Akropolites, Vatatzes was challenged by

[209] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 31 lines 1-11; trans. Macrides, 18.157; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 113, suggests that the patriarch only used the relationship of the two men as an excuse. She suspects that he was persuaded by arguments – especially those of the clergy in Eprios – that Theodore I was pursuing too close a relationship with the Latins. See also Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 158 note 4; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 366.

[210] Despite the failure of marriage negotiations with Robert of Courtenay in 1221, Eudokia would go on to marry not one, but two Latins. Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 911, note 29, erroneously remarked that Theodore I had a fourth daughter who married Frederick II Babenberg, duke of Austria. I. Giarenis, *Η συγκρότηση και η εδραίωση της αυτοκρατορίας της Νίκαιας : ο αυτοκράτορας Θεόδωρος Α' Κομνηνός Λάσκαρις* (Athens, 2008), 162, suggests that this alleged 'fourth daughter' was the offspring of Theodore I's union with his Armenian wife. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 53, disagrees, suggesting that the fourth daughter is in fact Eudokia, whom Aubry of Three Fountains mistakenly identifies with the name Sophia, and who had made her way to the Hungarian court to be with her sister, Maria, following the death of their father in 1221. Angold suspects that it was Maria who orchestrated the union of Eudokia to the house of Babenberg. When this marriage was annulled in 1229, Eudokia returned to Nicaea, where her other sister, Eirene, then the consort to John III Vatatzes, arranged her marriage to Anselm of Cahieu, who became regent of the Latin empire in 1237, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 85 lines 7-11; trans. Macrides, 47.245, stated that the marriage between Eudokia and Anselm of Cahieu was the wish of Empress Eirene. The only problem with Angold's conclusions is that it leaves Eudokia married in Austria until 1229, when George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 21-26; trans. Macrides, 22.166, described her as present in Nicaea in 1224/5. Vatatzes even offered her as a prospective bride to Robert of Courtenay, meaning her marriage must have ended and she returned to Nicaea no later than 1225.

[211] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 32 lines 12-14; trans. Macrides, 19.159. For the date of his accession, 15 December 1221, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 160 note 1.

the brothers of his predecessor, the *sebastokratores* Alexios and Isaac Laskaris. Seeking to claim the throne in Nicaea for themselves, they fled to Constantinople after the death of their brother, returning to Anatolia with a strong army of Latins.[212] Vatatzes is described as defeating the enemy with only a few men, taking the field himself with his spear, and 'displaying in that war a brave spirit that had not gone unnoticed by people before that time.'[213] After the Laskarid brothers were captured and blinded,[214] Vatatzes took the opportunity to fall upon Latin strongholds in Anatolia that could no longer count on relief from Constantinople. The territorial losses suffered at the hands of Henry I in 1212 were all reversed.[215]

It was in this context that Vatatzes renewed the offers of marriage between Theodore I's daughter, Eudokia, and the Latin emperor, Robert of Courtenay. George Akropolites related that the brothers of Theodore I took Eudokia with them to Constantinople.[216] They likely attempted to use her in their bid to gain the support of the Latin emperor.[217] Her whereabouts following the Nicaean victory at Poimanenon, and how Vatatzes came to use her as an element of his diplomatic schemes with the Latins, is unclear. Even more uncertain is what the emperor in Nicaea hoped to gain

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[212] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 17-23; trans. Macrides 22.166. Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 25 lines 4-5, depicted the brothers as 'commanded by jealousy and long rivalry' – *φθόνῳ στρατηγούμενοι καὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ μακρᾷ*. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 369, suspects there were a number of Latins who were unhappy at the prospect of fighting with the Laskarid brothers.

[213] *καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πολέμῳ φρόνημα ἐνεδείξατο*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 35 lines 2-7; trans. Macrides 22.166. See his comments about Vatatzes' military prowess in his epitaph for the emperor, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 2, 18 lines 8-9.

[214] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 35 lines 10-12; trans. Macrides 22.166. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 741, discusses the role of Patriarch Germanos II in helping Vatatzes to disrupt the conspiracy of the Laskarid brothers.

[215] According to George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 35 line 18 – 36 line 15; trans. Macrides 22.166, the cities in question surrendered or were captured quite quickly, leaving only a few places left to the Latin empire. Other sources that describe the battle of Poimanenon include Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 469-70; George of Pelagonia, *Life of Vatatzes*, ed. Heisenberg, 164, 221-24; Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsidis, vv.. 7933-7973; Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 409 vv. 23195-23206. See also Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 158, 107-108; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 111-12; Jacoby, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople,' 529; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 368-71.

[216] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 23-25; trans. Macrides 22.166.

[217] On the role of Eudokia in the plans of the Laskarid brothers, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 168 note 2; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 118; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 53.

through the proposed union. Vatatzes may have offered to approve the union as a means to gain time to consolidate his gains in Anatolia,[218] or he may have genuinely wished to return to peaceful relations with the Latins.[219] It is also possible that Vatatzes was determined to have Eudokia off his hands. She had already proven to be a focal point for elements unhappy with his rise to power. Removing her from the Nicaean court could well have been Vatatzes' way of limiting the options of his enemies at home, as well as placating his enemies abroad.

In any event, the marriage of Eudokia and Robert of Courtenay would never be realized.[220] According to George Akropolites, their defeat in Anatolia forced the Latins to pull back from their campaigns in Europe, allowing Theodore Doukas to advance.[221] Vatatzes too continued his offensive into Europe. Akropolites related that the residents of Adrianople invited Vatatzes to 'free them from the hands of the Italians.'[222] Vatatzes responded by sending an army into Thrace, the first Nicaean army in Europe. When his troops were confronted by the armies of Epiros, however,

[218] Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine imperium in Anatolian exile*, 77, argues that the Nicaean emperor sought to follow his victory at Poimanenon with a push into Thrace, but he was delayed by domestic turmoil. He therefore feigned acceptance of Latin requests for an armistice, offering Eudokia as a bride to the Latin emperor merely to cloud his true intentions and provide a delay as he arranged military units in a position to cross into Europe.

[219] Van Tricht, *The Latin* renovatio *of Byzantium*, 300-301, 369-71, argues that Vatatzes genuinely wanted to return to the positive relations with the Latin empire previously pursued by Theodore I, and thus offered the marriage alliance in order to renew diplomatic dialogue. He changed his mind, however, after the Epirots defeated the Latins at Serres. The double defeat of the Latin Empire meant that they could offer little resistance to John III, and thus he continued his offensive into Thrace.

[220] Robert of Courtenay did eventually marry in 1228. For the sad outcome of that union, see Ernoul, *Chronique*, ed. Mas Latrie, 393-95; *Chronicon Turonense*, ed. M. Brial, RHGF 18 (Paris, 1822), 310-11; *Libro de los Fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea,* ed. A Morel-Fatio, 19; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 167-68; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 177; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 301-303, suggests that Robert's bride was a Greek, which upset a faction of the Latin barons who forced Robert to flee Constantinople.

[221] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 35 lines 13-15; trans. Macrides, 22.166, states that the Latins gave up their siege of Serres when they heard about the defeat at Poimanenon. See also Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 408 v. 23155 – 409 v. 23180.

[222] *τῆς Ἰταλῶν ἐλευθερώσῃ χειρός*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 38 lines 12-15; trans. Macrides, 24.171.

Vatatzes opted to withdraw, and come to terms with the Latins.[223] A new treaty, ending hostilities between Nicaea and Latin Constantinople was sealed in 1225[224] with the union of Eudokia to a high ranking Latin baron, Anselm of Cahieu.[225] George Akropolites reported that the union was arranged by her sister, the empress Eirene.[226]

Following his treaty with Robert of Courtenay in 1225, Vatatzes initiated no diplomatic contact with the Latin empire until 1234.[227] In fact, after this agreement,

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[223] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 38 line 6 – 40 line 20; trans. Macrides, 24.172, recorded that Theodore Doukas confronted the Nicaean commander in Adrianople, who then withdrew from Europe altogether.

[224] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 38 lines 6-8; trans. Macrides, 24.171, stated that the Latins surrendered the important Anatolian city of Pegai in exchange for peace. This left the Latin empire with only Nikomedeia and a small strip of land opposite Constantinople. See also Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 158, 107-108.

[225] The name of Anselm of Cahieu, or Anseau de Cayeux, presents something of a problem for historians. J. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin* (Geneva, 1978), 200-201, identifies three generations with the name Anselm of Cahieu. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 54, suspects that the Anselm of Cahieu who was in the service of Charles of Anjou in 1269 was Eudokia's son. For more on the identity of this Anselm see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 178 note 20.

[226] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 85 lines 7-11; trans. Macrides, 47.245.

[227] Historians have pointed to some possible exceptions. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 54, puts the marriage of Eudokia Laskarina and Anselm of Cahieu after the death of Robert of Courtenay, in 1228/9.

Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 196, argues that the diplomatic communication between Vatatzes and Frederick II began in 1229; Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1721, 10. However, the evidence for this early contact is highly suspect. Mitsiou points to a letter from Frederick II to Vatatzes that is dated to the late 1240s, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 921-22. Other evidence, found in Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 164 lines 13-14, states that Matthew Orsini, count of Kephalonia, arrived at the court of Frederick II in November 1229 as a '*nuntius de Romania ex parte Commiano*.' We can safely conclude that this refers to an embassy from Theodore Doukas, and not from Vatatzes. Moreover, Matthew Orsini was the brother-in-law of Theodore, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 938, line 44. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, Marriage Strategies,' 58, suspects Orsini married into the Epirot ruling family in 1222. See also Kiesewetter, 'Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185-1250),' 238; N. Bees, 'Ein politisches Treubekenntnis von Benedictus, dem romischkatholischen Bischof von Kefalonia (1228),' *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3 (1922), 165-76.

Some historians, M. Balard, 'The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566),' in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (London, 1989), 158-59, and Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 200, have argued for negotiations between Nicaea and Genoa dated to 1231; Belgrano and Sant'Angelo, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi Continuatori*, vol. 3, 57 lines 13-18. Balard notes that the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade was a disaster for Genoa, who lost their quarter in the city and were excluded from the *Partitio*. Mitsiou comments that the Genoese had enjoyed a number of diplomatic successes with Venice, reaching new agreements in 1212, 1218, 1228 and 1232, but they were unable to reach an agreement with Vatatzes in 1231. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 115, explains that, before the generous commercial privileges granted to Genoa by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261, the Italian maritime city had almost no contact with the Empire of Nicaea. He adds that Genoa does not seem to have done much business with the Latin empire either, save for a single transaction in 1251.

there is no evidence that the emperor in Nicaea agreed to another truce or treaty with a foreign power until 1235/6. There is no evidence of a single embassy going from Nicaea to Constantinople or any other Latin power. The absence of diplomatic communication between Nicaea and the Latin West in this period is astounding and difficult to explain.[228]

One possible reason for the temporary cessation of diplomatic communication with the Latins may be the actions of local Byzantine rulers. Just as the challenges posed by Theodore Mankaphas, Manuel Maurozomes and others had forced Theodore I Laskaris to engage in frequent warfare with the Latin empire, prominent semi-autonomous rulers continued to influence Byzantine-Latin relations under Vatatzes. This was the case with Leo Gabalas, caesar and ruler of Rhodes.[229] George Akropolites referred to Gabalas as a 'renegade' or a 'deserter' from Nicaean authority.[230] However, it is unclear exactly how and why this came to be the case. Nikephoros Blemmydes, who visited Rhodes in 1233 and spoke highly of Gabalas and his hospitality, remarked that the caesar's authority 'did not derive from the [imperial] power, but had come to him by right of succession from his ancestors.'[231]

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[228] Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 1, and Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 231, argues that from 1225 to 1231, Vatatzes was engrossed in a large-scale conflict against the Seljuk Turks spanning the entire length of the eastern frontier of the Empire of Nicaea. He concludes that Vatatzes advanced as far as Laodikea on the Lycus river. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 370-71, suggests that the Seljuk Turks invaded the Empire of Nicaea in 1225 at the request of the Latin empire, but he argues that this particular conflict only lasted one year. Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 4, explains that these campaigns are ignored in the history of George Akropolites because he wrote under Palaiologan patronage, did not want to anger his patron by extolling the success and virtue of his popular predecessor. Langdon looks to the Epitaphios for Vatatzes by George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 2, 12-29, and the biography by George of Pelagonia, *Life of Vatatzes*, ed. Heisenberg, 193-233, for information on this conflict.

[229] Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 129; A. Savvides, 'Η Ρόδος καὶ ἡ δυναστεία τῶν Γαβαλάδων τὴν περίοδο 1204-1250,' *Δελτίο της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 24 (1981), 358-76.

[230] *ἀποστάτῃ*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 46 line 2; trans. Macrides, 28.187.

[231] *Ἐπεί δε τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κράτους ἦν, ἀλλὰ πατρικὸν κληροδότημα, κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκ προγόνων ἐς αὐτὸν διαβεβηκός*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 23, 56 lines 1-3; trans. Munitiz, 105. He added that Gabalas could cooperate with the emperor should he chose, but that he was not obligated to do so, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 23, 56 lines 6-7; trans. Munitiz, 106. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 188 note 3, has pointed out that Rhodes was not mentioned in the *Partitio*, and thus it may already have been

The autonomy or semi-independence of Rhodes represented a serious challenge to Vatatzes and his foreign policy goals. In August 1234, Gabalas accepted the Doge of Venice as his overlord, thus aligning himself with the Latins.[232] The move came after Vatatzes had sought to bring Rhodes back under a centralized Byzantine authority in 1233-1234. Blemmydes wrote that Vatatzes was 'displeased with the state of affairs' with regard to Rhodes, and therefore sent a large army and fleet to arrest Gabalas.[233] Akropolites stated only that Vatatzes sent an army to Rhodes because of the caesar's rebellion,[234] implying that island had at one time been incorporated into the Empire of Nicaea, and had now broken away. It is not entirely clear how successful were the efforts of Vatatzes to impose his authority over Gabalas,[235] but the agreement with Venice, coming immediately after the attack, seems to have been a reaction to the Nicaean campaign.

It is important, however, that we understand this agreement not as involving just Rhodes and Venice, but Rhodes, Venice, *and* Nicaea. At the time the agreement

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ruled independently by Gabalas before 1204, as Niketas Choniates attests, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 639 line 76; trans. Magoulias, 351.

[232] For the agreement between Gabalas and Venice, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 319-22. Andrea Dandolo remarked that the ruler of Rhodes became a 'faithful and tributary' to Venice – *Dux, per legatum suum Marsilium Georgio, Leonem Gavala dominum Rodi sibi fidelem et tributarium fecit*, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 295 lines 21-22. See also Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 114.

[233] *ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπαίνων ὁ βασιλεύς*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 23, 56 line 8; trans. Munitiz, 106.

[234] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 45 lines 19-21; trans. Macrides, 27.185.

[235] The testimony of Akropolites is noticeably scant in the details of this campaign. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 45 line 22 – 46 line 3; trans. Macrides, 28.187, stated that the emperor placed the mission under the command of Andronikos Palaiologos, the *megas domestikos*, with sufficient troops and ships. As for the result of the expedition, Akropolites and Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 476. lines 14-23, reported only that everything went according to plan for Vatatzes, but said little else. Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 232, finds this to be evidence enough for Nicaea's success in pacifying the 'rebellious' caesar, but such a conclusion is not verified by Blemmydes, who was an eyewitness to the fighting on the island of Rhodes. He stated that Vatatzes' troops besieged Gabalas and ravaged the countryside. He even defended the interests of Leo Gabalas and opposed the attempts by Vatatzes to reassert his authority over the island of Rhodes, but Blemmydes never revealed whether the Nicaean troops were successful in finding the caesar, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 23, 56 lines 10-14; trans. Munitiz, 106. One would expect that the capture of a heretofore independent Greek ruler – one who had been a good host and had the sympathy of Blemmydes – would have elicited some mention, but on this Blemmydes is silent. Because of his comments about Gabalas, Angold, 'Nationalism and the Nicaean Empire,' 61, views Blemmydes as the only Nicaean to understand the new reality of Byzantine power and unity in the region.

was made Venice and Nicaea were at war over control of the island of Crete, after Vatatzes had accepted an invitation to intervene in a Greek rebellion against Venetian rule.[236] The situation on Crete, the island which served as the Venetians' chief base in the Aegean, clearly influenced the agreement with Leo Gabalas in 1234. According to their agreement, Gabalas promised to give 'reinforcements, auxiliaries and support against Vatatzes and against his troops' on Crete.[237] Although there is no evidence that the Venetians ever took full advantage of this agreement,[238] such an arrangement was a tremendous threat to the Empire of Nicaea. Not only would the Latins in Constantinople be able to threaten the Byzantine position in Anatolia at will, but now the Venetians could participate in such an incursion with a pincer movement from the south.[239] The 'rebellion' of Gabalas, and the subsequent alliance with Venice, represented a dire threat to Nicaean security and foreign policy goals, and may be the reason Vatatzes declined to continue his support of the Cretan rebellion. The brief

[236] This was not the first time the Greeks of Crete had rebelled against Venice, but it was the first time they sought outside assistance, Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 236-37. Although Byzantine sources are strangely silent on Vatatzes' initiatives in Crete, many Latin sources remarked that the Greeks of Crete promised to recognize him as their ruler if he would expel the Venetians, Andrea Navagiero, *Historia Veneta ab origine urbis usque ad annum MCDXCVIII*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 8 (Milan, 1783), col. 991 B-C; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 292 lines 5-15; F. Cornelius, *Creta sacra sive de Episcopis utriusque ritus, Graeci et Latini in insula Cretae* (Venice, 1755), vol. 2, 263; Lorenzo de Monacis, *Historiae Venetae*, ed. F. Cornelius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 8 (Venice, 1758), 156; Marino Sanudo the Younger, ed. Muratori, *RIS*, vol. 22, col. 549B. In response, the Nicaean ruler dispatched a fleet under the *megas dux* Auxentius to aid the rebels. Andrea Dandolo put the fleet at thirty-three ships, whereas Marino Sanudo the Younger numbered the Nicaean fleet at twenty-three. Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 245, comments that the Nicaean fleet was reinforced by Hohenstaufen ships sent by Frederick II, but he gives no reference. While the Nicaean and rebel troops enjoyed tremendous initial success, their advance was soon halted and the war devolved to a stalemate, until a final Nicaean withdrawal in the summer of 1236, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 333-35; Andrea Navagiero, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 911D; Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 238, 244. The Nicaean effort was hampered when all but three of the Nicaean fleet wrecked in a storm south of the Peloponnesus, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 292 lines 10-15.

[237] *Dando ego eidem Duci Crete et omnibus yllis, qui fuerint [in] dicta insula, subsidium, auxilium et juvamentum contra Vatattium et contra suam gentem*, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 321 lines 3-6.

[238] Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 114.

[239] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 47-48; trans. Macrides, 30.190, reported that such coordination was undertaken by the Latins when Vatatzes sent the bulk of his forces to deal with the caesar's initial rebellion. He stated that the Latin army crossed over from Constantinople and that Vatatzes was left with only a few men to oppose them. The Nicaean emperor was able to contain the Latin assault on this occasion – Akropolites commented that the Latins were only able to capture one fortress and that they were confined to the coast.

alliance between Venice and Rhodes, therefore, had a dramatic effect on the course of events in the region. It was fortunate for Vatatzes that Gabalas appears to have abandoned his subservience to Venice almost immediately.[240]

Given the frequent conflicts with Venice over Crete and Rhodes, as already discussed, it seems unlikely that Vatatzes should have had any interest in renewing Theodore I's 1219 concessions. His reluctance to settle with the Italian maritime states may have contributed to the unique economic policies under Vatatzes. At some point during his reign, the emperor in Nicaea passed an edict requiring the use and purchase of domestically produced cloth in order to combat the importation of expensive foreign garments.[241] Contemporary sources give two stories indicating his adherence to this austere policy. George Pachymeres related that Vatatzes scolded his son for wearing luxurious gold garments while hunting. The emperor made clear that such garments were only for special occasions, specifically the reception of foreign dignitaries.[242] The other widely noted example is that of the famous 'egg-crown.' According to Nikephoros Gregoras, the production of eggs on the imperial estate was so profitable, that the emperor had enough revenue left over from their sale to gift his

[240] Leo Gabalas appeared fighting against the Latins alongside Nicaean forces in 1235, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 295 line 10; Martin de Canale, *La chronique des Veniciens de maistre Martin da Canal*, ed. F. Galvani, Archivio storico italiano, series 1, VIII (1845), 364-64. Sources give no reason to explain the change of heart by Gabalas. Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 244, suspects that Gabalas was intimidated into capitulation to Vatatzes by the new Byzantine-Bulgarian alliance of 1235.

[241] Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 43 lines 15-24; translated in Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: church, society, and civilization,* 309-10; Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1777, 19. Numerous historians have commented on the self-sufficient ideal promoted by this legislation. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 182, suspects that Vatatzes was annoyed to see his subjects wearing the products of their enemies and other foreigners, and thus issued the edict to stimulate Nicaean production and pass sanctions on the business of Italian merchants. Laiou, 'Political-historical survey, 1204-1453,' 282, suggests that this law on cloth was only part of a larger policy that discouraged imports, suggesting that Vatatzes and the other emperors in Nicaea sought to establish a state with no need of foreign goods. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 116, remarks that the idea of self-sufficiency was one which Vatatzes promoted by example, ensuring the productivity of his personal estate, and strictly using those profits for his personal expenses.

[242] George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, ch. 14, 61 line 25 – 62 line 11. See also Macrides, 'The thirteenth century in Byzantine historical writing,' 72.

wife Eirene with a new crown.[243] This is seen as indicative of the success of Vatatzes' economic policies and perhaps the prosperity of the Empire of Nicaea as a whole.[244]

Successful or not, this economic stance certainly had an impact on diplomacy between Nicaea and the Latins. Part of the problem in assessing this impact is determining when Vatatzes' self-sufficiency edict went into effect. Nikephoros Gregoras did not specify a date, leading historians to ponder the issue with no obvious solution.[245] Still more difficult is attempting to understand how long the policy was enforced. Without knowing more, the most we can say is that this shrewd economic stance probably added to the sense of isolation which certainly grew around the Empire of Nicaea after 1225, and its neighbours took notice.

There is evidence that this absence of any diplomatic communication between the Latin empire and the Empire of Nicaea caused some anxiety in Constantinople. The four friars who represented the Roman Church in talks toward ecclesiastical union 1234 in Nicaea and Nymphaion testified to the increasingly desperate situation in the Latin empire. Recent setbacks had left Latin Constantinople surrounded by enemies and devoid of friends.

> The land of Constantinople was as if abandoned by all protection: The lord emperor *John*[246] was poor. All mercenary soldiers had departed. Ships of the Venetians, Pisans, Anconians and other nations were preparing to withdraw, and indeed some had already departed. Considering, therefore, the desolate land, we feared danger, because that land was situated in the middle of its

[243] Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 43 lines1-15. See also D. Constantelos, 'Emperor John Vatatzes' social concern. Basis of canonization,' *Kleronomia* 4 (1972), 100.
[244] Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 119-120, argues that the lack of wide scale commercial contacts after 1204 indicates that the Byzantine economy was based more on agricultural sustenance and less on international trade. S. Cağaptay, 'How Western is it? The palace at Nymphaion and its architectural setting,' in *Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (2010), 361, expands on this, referring to western Anatolia during the reign of Vatatzes as primarily a middle-class, agricultural society.
[245] Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 196, points out that Gregoras mentions the issue after discussing the conflict between the Seljuk Turks and the Mongols, prompting many historians to put forward a date of 1243. She disagrees, arguing for a date closer to 1238-1240. S. Brezeanu, 'La politique économique des Lascarides à la lumière des relations Vénéto-nicéennes,' *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 1 (1979), 49, suggests that the law went into effect shortly after the Nicaean victory at Poimanenon in 1225.
[246] John of Brienne.

> enemies. *Asan*[247], king of the Bulgarians, in the North, *Vatatzes* from the East and South, and *Manuel*[248] surrounded it from the West.[249]

The report of the friars adds that it was due to this dire political situation that they decided to return for a second phase of the *disputatio* at Nymphaion. 'For that reason we proposed to discuss a truce between the Emperor of Constantinople and Vatatzes to last till the end of the year. Having been compelled by these reasons, it was the desire of all that we return to the land of Vatatzes.'[250] They had not intended to return to the Empire of Nicaea,[251] but tremendous pressure from the Latin residents of Constantinople convinced them otherwise.

The friars' account makes clear that the elites of Constantinople had come to feel abandoned and surrounded by enemies, but we also see their desire for closer contact with Nicaea. The residents of Constantinople were extremely eager to use the friars as peace envoys, asking that they seek a truce from Vatatzes. In their words, all the Latins in Constantinople 'desired that they return to the land of Vatatzes.' Yet the friars were certainly not enlisted by the pope to negotiate a truce on behalf of the Latin empire. Their mission was to negotiate with the Greek Church about ending the schism.[252] The friars, therefore, were extremely careful to protect themselves should

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[247] John II Asen.
[248] Manuel Doukas, ruler of Thessalonike.
[249] *Preterea terra Constantinopolis quasi destituta fuit omni presidio: dominus Imperator* Ioannes *pauper erat. Milites stipendiarii omnes recesserunt. Naves Venetorum, Pisanorum, Anconitanorum, et aliarum nationum parate fuerunt ad recedendum, et quedam vero iam recesserant. Considerantes igitur terram desolatam, timuimus periculum, quia in medio inimicorum terra illa sita est.* Arsanus *rex Bachorum ab Aquilone,* Vatatius *ab Oriente et Meridie,* Emmanuhel *circundat eam ab Occidente*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 7-14.
[250] *et ideo proposuimus tractare de treugis inter Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et Vatacium usque ad annum. Hiis causis compulsi, redire in terram Vatacii fuit omnibus voluntas*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 14-17.
[251] They had already declined the invitation from Vatatzes to return for a second round of talks, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 15, 445 lines 13-27; Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to Palaiologoi,' 281.
[252] Pope Gregory IX outlined the mandate of the friars' mission in 1234 in a letter to Patriarch Germanos II, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267-68, to discuss the theological problems dividing the churches. The friars themselves described the limit of their mandate, which did not include political negotiations, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 28-40. See ch. 3, 198-200.

the pope disagree with their actions. They consulted with 'the chapter of Holy Sophia and the prelates of the land, and moreover with the Emperor [John of Brienne] himself.'[253] It was only when each of these unanimously advised the friars to return to the *disputatio* that they agreed to carry on the negotiations.

The clear convergence of political and ecclesiastical pressures in the *disputatio* of 1234 requires that we understand the meeting in the context of the diplomacy between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latins, as well as the ongoing attempts to end the schism of the churches. All the military and diplomatic schemes undertaken by emperors in Nicaea to consolidate their position and oppose the Latin invaders after 1204 had created an environment in which both sides approached the issue of church union with renewed interest. Negotiations toward an end to the separation of the Roman and Greek Churches, however, were nothing new in the early thirteenth century. Numerous emperors had employed dialogue with the papacy as a unique tool of Byzantine diplomacy. The Laskarid emperors, therefore, were following an established precedent. In the following chapter, we will examine this precedent in the context of diplomacy with the Latins, and how the practice of church union negotiations was approached in the years following the Fourth Crusade.

[253] *Verumtamen ne talia nostra tantum attemptare videremur voluntate, capitulum Sancte Sophye et prelatos terre, nec non et ipsum Imperatorem super hoc consuluimus negotio, qui omnes unanimiter idem nobis consuluerunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 17-20.

CHAPTER TWO: ECCLESIASTICAL DIALOGUE BEFORE AND AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE

This chapter will argue that negotiations aimed at the union of the western Roman and eastern Greek Churches became the chief method by which the Laskarid emperors blunted or even deflected the threat of attack from the Latin world. The prospect of a new crusade against the Byzantines after 1204 remained a very real possibility. The most significant example of a new crusade against the Byzantine East after 1204 was the campaign under William VI, marquis of Montferrat, in 1225.[1] Pope Honorius III appealed to western rulers to support the crusade in the hopes of propping up the fledgling Latin Empire,[2] and the western emperor Frederick II gave substantial funds to the campaign.[3] As it happened, William VI died shortly after arriving in Greece in 1225, and the crusade wilted away having accomplished nothing.[4] However, the expedition was proof enough that it was necessary to placate the west, and the papacy especially, before any progress could be made against Constantinople itself.[5]

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[1] For more on this campaign, see Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 165; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 61-62; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 280; Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century,' 113-14; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 61; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 384-85; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 68-80.

[2] *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, nos. 4059-60, 83; no. 4353, 134; no. 4360, 135; no. 4753, 205-206; no. 4758, 207; no. 5006, 250-51. See also Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century,' 113-14; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 383-84; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 69-73.

[3] Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *Historia Montis-Ferrati ab origine marchionum illius tractus usque ad annum MCCCCXC*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 23 (Milan, 1733), col. 376 B-C; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 2, 425-27; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 280; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 384-85; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 88.

[4] Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 114; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 165; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 163-64; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 63-64; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 385; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 76.

[5] For Pope Gregory IX's continued appeals for a new crusade against the Byzantines, see Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century,' 114-16; Chrissis, 'The City and the Cross: the image of Constantinople and the Latin empire,' 21; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 163-76. An expansive view of papal efforts for a crusade within Europe is presented by R. Rist, *The Papacy and crusading in Europe, 1198-1245*

Engaging in theological dialogue with Rome was an integral part of this effort. The *disputatio* allowed the emperors in Nicaea to deflect new threats before they materialized, while continuing to advance their interests regarding Constantinople. The Nicaean emperors used the prospect of submission to Rome and healing the schism between the churches to entice several popes away from their crusading plans and prevent new reinforcements from arriving in Latin Constantinople. This was by no means a new phenomenon. Indeed, the Laskarid emperors merely continued a method of Byzantine diplomacy in dealing with the Latin West which had already been established, most notably by the Komnenoi emperors in the twelfth century.[6] During the period from 1204 to 1261, however, the issue of church-union negotiations took on a new urgency, as the Byzantine goal of such meetings was almost always the return of Constantinople from Latin occupation.[7] Whether the pope had the power to affect such a monumental political shift is questionable, but it is enough to comprehend that the emperors in Nicaea thought that it was possible, and they pursued church-union negotiations to this end.

(London, 2009), 130-33, but she is clearly unfamiliar with Byzantine matters in this period. Gregory IX offered redemption of crusading vows to Hungarian crusaders who fought in the service of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 774, 487. He wrote to King Béla IV to attempt to enlist him in a crusade against Nicaea at the end of 1235, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 2872, 217-18, and again in 1237, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3716, 672. Several crusaders from England and France were encouraged to shift their efforts from the Holy Land to Constantinople, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3363, 497-98; no. 4219, 957; no. 4631, 1178-79; no. 4632, 1179; no. 4633, 1179; no. 4608, 1173. Gregory IX even attempted to enlist the Prince of Achaia to divert his crusading vow to Constantinople, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 3, no. 4983, 141.

[6] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 123; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 86-95.

[7] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125, says that the emperors in Nicaea 'dangled before Rome the prospect of church union in exchange for an end to Latin rule in the East.' Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 132-33, views offers of church union from Nicaea after 1204 as a 'scheme' to reclaim Constantinople from the Latins.

Byzantine Diplomacy and the *Disputatio*

Before we can understand the relationship between theological dialogue and Byzantine foreign policy after 1204, we must consider how such dialogue between east and west developed, and establish a history of the *disputatio*. This analysis will allow us to understand the relationship between these meetings and the overall goals of Byzantine diplomacy. A *disputatio* will almost always have had a direct impact on the relationship between Byzantium and the papacy, to be sure, but these negotiations often included an indirect consequence for a third party, often not mentioned or included in the meeting itself. In this way church-union negotiations were not unlike other tools of Byzantine diplomacy. Diplomatic marriages, for example, were frequently an attempt to divide allies and destabilize potential threats, and although they ostensibly involved only two parties, the effect of the union, or proposed union, on a third party was often the goal of such marriages.[8] For the thirteenth century this is even more obvious, as closer ties between Rome and Nicaea naturally caused some discomfort in Latin Constantinople, which was certainly dependent on the pope's goodwill. Again, however, such manipulation of ecclesiastical dialogue does not come about only after 1204, but is the continuation of earlier policy. To better understand the place of the *disputatio* in Byzantine diplomacy, therefore, we must look to the Komnenoi emperors.

[8] Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' 268-70, gives the examples of marriage overtures in 765 between the Franks under Pippin III and Emperor Leo IV in an attempt to subvert the relationship between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom, as well as the 1006 marriage of Maria Argyropoulina to John, son of Doge Pietro Orseolo, as a means of countering Ottonian interests in Italy.

As with diplomatic marriages,[9] the Komnenoi emperors of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were pioneers in the use of church-union negotiations to further their foreign policy goals. The first such meeting took place under Alexios I Komnenos in 1089, when Pope Urban II sent a delegation to Constantinople to lift the excommunication of the emperor.[10] The two men representing the Roman Church – Cardinal Roger and Nicholas, abbot of the monastery of Grottaferrata – either did not leave a report of the proceedings, or it has not come down to us. The only source for this *disputatio* is the correspondence between the pope and Patriarch Nicholas III, which indicated a positive outcome to the talks. Urban II apparently wondered why his name had been removed from the diptychs of Constantinople, to which Nicholas III responded that it was unjustly done, and stated that he would restore the name just as soon as the pope sent to him a statement of faith.[11] The pope never sent such a

[9] Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' 271, credits the Komnenoi with being the first to realize the full potential of foreign marriage alliances. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 21, disagrees, arguing that these unions did little to further Byzantium's international goals. Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 190, notes the exponential increase of marriage-alliance and marriage negotiations under Manuel I Komnenos. See also Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' 18.

[10] H. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade,' in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850-c. 1200, Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March – 1st April 1984*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 156-57, 162, argues that the excommunication of Alexios I Komnenos came about because of Pope Gregory VII's support for his ousted predecessor, Michael VII Doukas. See the pope's comments of support for Michael VII in a letter from the summer of 1080, *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epistolae selectae (Berlin, 1920 and 1923), 8.6, 523-24; trans. H. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford, 2002), 371-72. For another edition of this letter, see T. Gallucci, *Regesti dei Pontifici Romani per le Chiese della Calabria* (Rome, 1902), no. 41, 42.

[11] On the absence of the popes from the diptychs, see T. Kolbaba, 'The legacy of Humbert and Cerularius: traditions of the schism of 1054 in Byzantine texts and manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,' in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. C. Dendrinos, *et al.* (Aldershot, 2003), 59-60; Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 157. For the letter from Nicholas III to Urban II, see W. Holtzmann, 'Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089,' in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928), 38-76. The request for a statement of faith from the pope proved a problem. Such a document would undoubtedly have included the *filioque*, which would naturally have offended the patriarch and provided cause for keeping the pope's name off the diptychs and prolonging the schism. Likewise, sending the letter without the *filioque* would have angered his fellow Latins. See Chadwick, *East and West,* 222-23; M. Kaplan, 'La place du schism de 1054 dans les relations entre Byzance, Rome et l'Italie,' *Byzantinoslavica* 54:1 (1993), 36; Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade,' 162. In the early eleventh century, Patriarch Sergios II had refused to inscribe the name of

document, but amiable relations between Rome and Constantinople appear to have been restored.[12]

The successful conclusion of this meeting had immediately positive results for Alexios I's foreign policy goals. Because he was now in good standing with the Roman Church, the emperor could freely seek western military assistance against the aggressive new threat presented by the Seljuk Turks.[13] Alexios I sought alliances with the west to provide the manpower he needed to combat this challenge,[14] and he already knew that church schism could seriously hinder this agenda. When Pope Gregory VII excommunicated Nikephoros III Boteniates in 1078, he made sure that news of his actions reached bishops all over southern Italy.[15] In addition, Gregory VII forbade the Venetians from supporting the efforts of an excommunicate.[16] Such actions would certainly inhibit Alexios I's attempts to add Latin auxiliaries to his own

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Pope Sergios IV when his synodical letter included the *filioque*, Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 127.

[12] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 61-62, argues that sending any letter at all would have challenged ideas of papal primacy which were continuing to evolve in the west.

[13] After the defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071, an increasingly desperate situation had arisen in Anatolia, where the Turkish advance had gone virtually unchecked and now posed a serious threat to the survival of the empire. See Shepard, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 800-1204,' 56-58; J. Cheynet, 'Manzikert: Un désastre militaire?,' *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 410-38; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, 344-45;

[14] The request of 500 knights from Robert I, count of Flanders, in the 1080s, was reported by Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin and New York, 2001), 218 lines 50-56, 221 line 57 – 222 line 63; trans. Sewter, *The Alexiad* (London, 1969), 229, 232-33. For the letter from Alexios I to Robert of Flanders, see E. Joranson, 'The problem of the spurious letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders,' *American Historical Review* 55 (1950), 812-15. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the idea of crusade*, English translation by M. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), 358, argues that the letter from Alexios I to Robert of Flanders is certainly a fake, probably composed by a Norman in the early twelfth century. Ciggaar, 'Flemish Counts and Emperors,' 35-36 and Shepard, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 800-1204,' 56, disagrees and accept the letter as authentic. For more on the authenticity of at least part of the letter to Robert of Flanders, see F. Ganshof, 'Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène,' *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 57-74; M. Waha, 'La letter d'Alexis I Comnene a Robert I le Frison,' *Byzantion* 47 (1977), 113-25; J. Shepard, 'Aspects of Byzantine attitudes and policy toward the west in the tenth and eleventh centuries,' in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850-c. 1200, Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March – 1st April 1984*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 106-112.

[15] The pope announced the excommunication of Boteniates in a very matter of fact fashion, without context, in the record of the autumn synod of 1078, *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, *MGH, Epistolae selectae*, 6.5b, 400 lines 28-29; trans. Cowdrey, 281. It may be possible to explain the excommunication as a result of the tangled web between Robert Guiscard, the western emperor, and the Pope Gregory VII's support for Michael VII Doukas, see Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 39-47.

[16] 8 April 1081, P. Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Graz, 1956), no. 5210, 640.

armies and win back eastern territories. Therefore, the goodwill of the pope in Rome was essential to his larger foreign policy goals, and the *disputatio* in Constantinople in 1089 was the means to obtain that favour. With the support of Urban II, Alexios I could more easily fight off the threat now posed by the Seljuk Turks, a group which might otherwise appear completely unrelated to the proceedings over church union. Alexios I's appeals for western auxiliaries to fight with him against the Seljuk Turks quickly developed into the First Crusade. A Byzantine delegation approached the pope at Piacenza in 1095, seeking military assistance.[17] Urban II took this appeal and manipulated it for his own ends, twisting it into a call for the liberation of Jerusalem at the Council of Clermont.[18]

The crusades presented the Komnenoi emperors with a new challenge. Steven Runciman has famously pointed out that increased contact between Latins and Byzantines during this period produced new conflicts, making the theory of the schism between the two Christian churches a new reality.[19] Sources from both sides of

[17] Bernold, *Chronicon*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Stuttgart, 1844),, 462 lines 16-23; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 47-49; Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade,' 163; A. Papayianni, 'Memory and ideology: the image of the crusades in Byzantine historiography, eleventh-thirteenth centuries,' in *The Crusader World*, ed. A. Boas (Routledge, 2015), 278.

[18] The connection between Alexios I's appeal at Piacenza and Urban II's speech at Clermont is investigated by several historians, S. Runciman, *A history of the crusades* (Cambridge, 1951), vol. 1, 86; D. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A study in diplomatic and cultural relations* (Cambridge, 1988), 68; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 599; Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade,' 163, argues that the 'quest for ecclesiastical union' and the 'development of the idea of the Crusade' were one in the same. J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a short history* (New Haven and London, 1987), 3, argues that Urban II had contemplated sending an army to the east for some time before 1095. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 47-51, notes that not one of the varied accounts of Urban II's speech at Clermont – Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol and Guibert of Nogent – even mentions the Byzantine emperor and his request.

[19] 'It is commonly believed by worthy people that the more we see of each other, the more we shall like each other. That is a sad delusion. There is far more truth to the older proverbs that "absence makes the heart grow fonder" and "familiarity breeds contempt" – contempt, or even downright dislike,' S. Runciman, 'Byzantium and the crusades,' in *The Crusades: the essential readings*, ed. T. Madden (Oxford, 2002), 212. D. Nicol, 'The Byzantine view of Western Europe,' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 8 (1967), 329, expresses a similar sentiment, explaining that the closer contact between east and west during the crusades caused 'a deepening of mistrust and suspicion, a strengthening of prejudices, an increasing awareness of racial difference, an obstinate withdrawal by the Byzantine into the protective shell of their tradition.' See also Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists*, 12. For a competing view, see S. Pinker, *The better angels of our nature: why violence has declined* (New York, 2011), xix.

the issue indicate increasing hostility between the two groups. Anna Komnene, who was an eyewitness to the First Crusade's arrival in Constantinople in her youth, expressed her suspicion over the motives of the crusade leaders, especially the Norman Bohemond. She suspected he and others like him had an ulterior motive – namely the capture of Constantinople.[20] 'The simpler folk were in very truth led on by a desire to worship at Our Lord's tomb and visit the holy places, but the more villainous characters (in particular Bohemond and his like) had an ulterior purpose, for they hoped in their journey to seize the capital itself.'[21] Even these 'simpler folk,' however, were given cause to resent their Byzantine hosts. Angeliki Laiou has shown how provisions for ever-larger crusader armies traversing Byzantine territories placed an enormous strain on local economies and agricultural infrastructure, provoking animosity between the two groups.[22] Multiple authors described hostile incidents related to exchange and provisions.[23] Such incidents fostered hostility, adding to the

[20] The possibility of a crusader attack on Constantinople comes up surprisingly often. Odo of Deuil mentions a debate over this very issue during the Second Crusade, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 70-71.

[21] *τῶν μὲν ἁπλουστέρων ὡς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου προσκυνῆσαι Τάφον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἱστορῆσαι τόπους ἐπειγομένων ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, τῶν δέ γε πονηροτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ὁποῖος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες ἄλλον ἐνδομυχοῦντα λογισμὸν ἐχόντων, εἴ που ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι δυνηθεῖεν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατασχεῖν καθάπερ πόρισμά τι ταύτην εὑρηκότες*, Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 299 lines 77-82; trans. Sewter, 311.

[22] Laiou, 'Byzantine trade with Christians and Muslims in the crusades,' 161-62, gives approximations for the size of the different crusader armies in the hopes of clarifying their impact on local food production. She puts the Peasant's Crusade at twenty thousand, the First Crusade at fifty to sixty thousand, the Crusade of 1101 at over sixty thousand, the Second Crusade at over sixty thousand, and the army of Frederick Barbarossa in the Third Crusade at one hundred thousand. Laiou even gives estimates for the duration each army stayed in Byzantium territory. While most remained from two to two and a half months, armies like those of Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond took five to six months, and Frederick I Barbarossa's huge army took nine months to cross Byzantine lands.

[23] Albert of Aachen, *Historia lerosolimitana: history of the journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. S. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 70-89, spoke of arguments over provisions between Alexios I and Godfrey of Bouillon. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 40-41, 66-67, complained more than once about the unfair exchange of currency. He expressed his anger that most Greek towns would not provide a market, but insisted on lowering foodstuffs down from the city walls by rope. Odo described one Flemish crusader who was so incensed by the high prices that he attacked the stalls, taking what he liked and provoking a riot, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 74-75. He excused certain members of his party who, 'unwilling to endure want in the midst of plenty, procured supplies for themselves by plunder and pillage' – *In rerum abundantia penuriam non ferentes, praedis et rapinis sibi necessaria conquirebant*. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 40-41. Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 66 lines 18-31, trans. Magoulias, 38-39, condemned many of his fellow Byzantines for taking

tension already inherent to these encounters. Even the stated goal of the crusading movement can be interpreted as running counter to Byzantine foreign policy.[24] Jonathan Harris has shown that the aim of Alexios I, to recover lost territory in Anatolia, was potentially at odds with Urban II's goal of the liberation of Jerusalem.[25] Thus, it was quite early in the crusading movement that Byzantium came to be seen as an enemy of Western Christendom.[26] Alexios I proved capable of combating this threat,[27] but the crusading movement had shown that future Byzantine emperors would need to take pains to win the goodwill of the Latins. The Komnenoi developed

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advantage of their Latin customers. Laiou, 'Byzantine trade with Christians and Muslims and the crusades,' 168, explains that few Byzantine merchants, with their long and sustained tradition of gold coinage, would have been willing to accept Frankish silver coins in trade as their purity and value could not be proven.

[24] G. Dennis, 'Defenders of the Christian people: Holy War in Byzantium,' in *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, ed. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 33, has demonstrated that the concept of 'holy war' was inconceivable to the Byzantines.

[25] Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 23. The differing goals were not mutually exclusive, but it soon became apparent that the crusaders and the Byzantines had different priorities. The most glaring divergence in policy was the Byzantine tendency to make peace with the very Muslim rulers the crusaders were travelling to combat. For example, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 90-91, 111-13, accused Manuel I Komnenos of secretly working against the crusader armies, conspiring to lead them to their destruction at the hands of the Seljuk Turks. In addition, The close ties between Isaac II Angelos and Saladin caused a tremendous strain on relations with Frederick I Barbarossa on the Third Crusade. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 131, suspects that any agreement between Isaac and Saladin amounted to little more than erecting a mosque in Constantinople in exchange for Byzantine administration of the Holy Sepulchre. Laiou, 'Byzantine trade with Christians and Muslims and the crusades,' 159, suggests that the negotiations between Isaac and Saladin, though they were certainly aimed at mutual defense, inevitably against the West, fell apart when Saladin became disillusioned with Byzantine military capabilities. See also S. Neocleous, 'The Byzantines and Saladin: opponents of the Third Crusade?,' *Crusades* 9 (2010), 87-106; Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 211.

[26] A prime example of crusades against Byzantium is Bohemond's invasion of Byzantium in 1107. The status of Bohemond's war against the Byzantines as a crusade is in dispute. J. Rowe, 'Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49 (1966-1967), 165-203, suspects that Paschal II assumed that Bohemond's destination was Jerusalem, and not Constantinople. Laiou, 'Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?,' 18-19, notes that, whatever the status of his campaign, Bohemond's anti-Byzantine propaganda proved successful when it came to recruitment. See also Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 78. Bohemond himself justified his attack against the Byzantines in theological terms in a letter to Pope Paschal II, suggesting that God would 'wish to expel the leavening of the Greeks and cleanse the dregs of disobedience and rebelliousness and schisms and different traditions' – *Si enim vetus fermentum Grecorum expurgari valeret et fex inobedientie et rebellionis et scismatum et diversarum tradicionum ablui*. W. Holtzmann, 'Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935), 282 lines 2-5. The wordplay here, *fermentum*, is an obvious allusion to the Greek use of leavened bread. Bohemond was not only arguing that Byzantium deserved to be punished for lack of provisions, or lack of consistency to the crusading cause, but because of their status as schismatics.

[27] Bohemond's campaign came to nothing, as he was forced to settle in the Treaty of Devol in 1108, Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 413-23; trans. Sewter, 424-34. See also M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: a political history* (London, 1997), 164; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 29-41.

a wide network of marriage alliances to achieve this end, simultaneously enhancing their prestige in the Latin community, as well as their influence in the Mediterranean.[28] Marriage alliances, however, were only part of the effort of Komnenoi emperors to pacify western antagonism.

Although marriage alliances and other methods of diplomacy under the Komnenoi have been much discussed in secondary literature, comparatively little has been said about how these emperors attempted to gain the support of the Latin West through the medium of religious dialogue. The turmoil between Greeks and Latins brought about by the crusades required a theological discourse to smooth over perceived controversies.[29] These controversies are apparent in the work of Odo of Deuil, who points out several religious errors of the Greeks. He stated that if a Latin priest celebrated mass on Greek altars, 'the Greeks afterwards purified them with propitiatory offerings and ablutions, as if they had been defiled.'[30] Odo accused the

[28] For example, Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 112-14; trans. Sewter, 128, related a letter to the western emperor in which her father sought a union between his nephew and a daughter or other relative of Henry IV. Manuel I Komnenos was even more eager in his pursuit of marriage ties to Latin princes, especially in the crusader states. Under Manuel I, two Komnenoi brides were married to kings of Jerusalem – Baldwin III to Theodora in 1158, and Amalric I to Maria in 1167. On the first marriage see William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), vol. 2, 842-44; trans. E. Babcock and A. C. Krey, *A history of deeds done beyond the sea* (New York, 1943), XVIII.22.273-75; Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 177 notes-15; Macrides, 'Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship,' 279; B. Hamilton, 'Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,' in *Καθηγήτρια, essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday* (Camberley, 1988), 353-54; M. Angold, 'The Road to 1204: the Byzantine background to the Fourth Crusade,' *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 266. For the second union see William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, vol. 2, 913 lines 1-24; trans. Babcock and Krey, XX.1.344; Anonymous, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. H. Mayer, *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt* (Stuttgart, 1962), I.46, 336 lines 19-21; trans. H. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), 102; John Kinnamos, ed. Meineke, 237 line 7 – 238 line 6; trans. Brand, 178-79; Hamilton, 'Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,' 354. A complete list of diplomatic marriages with the Latin West, achieved and attempted by the Komnenoi, is beyond the scope of this study.

[29] Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists*, 12-13, notes the impact of the crusades on church relations.

[30] *Si nostri sacerdotes missas super eorum altaria clebrabant, quasi essent profanata lustrando et abluendo postea expiabant*, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 54-55. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 104, argues that this practice intensified after 1204.

Byzantines of rebaptizing Frankish men who married Greek wives[31] and spoke of 'divine justice' for their evil deeds.[32] His harshest words were reserved for the Greek position on the issues of the Eucharist and the procession of the Holy Spirit:

> We know other heresies of theirs, both concerning their treatment of the Eucharist and concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, but none of these matters would mar our pages if not pertinent to our subject. Actually, it was for these reasons that the Greeks had incurred the hatred of our men, for their error had become known even among the lay people. Because of this they were judged not to be Christians, and the Franks considered killing them a matter of no importance and hence could with the more difficulty be restrained from pillage and plundering.[33]

While we may question Odo's claim that the average layman in the crusader army understood the nuances of the theological differences between the churches,[34] his statements make clear that these matters played a role in how Byzantines and crusaders interacted. A religious dialogue might resolve the issue and prevent future violence. Just as the goodwill of the Roman Church was obtained with the *disputatio* of 1089, Alexios I hoped that another such meeting would have the same effect with the crusaders.[35] Even if the position of the Greek Church was not proven right (which was almost certainly his intent), the event itself could be expected to bring about greater understanding and help alleviate some of the tensions created by the crusades.

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[31] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 56-57.
[32] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 98-99.
[33] *Alias haereses eorum novimus, et de more sacrificii et de processione Spiritus sancti. Sed nihil horum nostrum paginam sordidaret nisi nostrae materiae conveniret. His enim de causis nostrorum incurrerant odium, exierat namque inter laicos etiam error eorum. Ob hoc iudicabantur non esse Christiani, caedesque illorum ducebant pro nihilo et a praedis et rapinis difficilius poterant revocari*, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 56-57.
[34] It may simply have been the case that the clergy of the Roman Church had spread word that the Greeks were in error, and that was enough for most Latins. Chadwick, *East and West,* 226, explains that many western clergymen who travelled through Constantinople before 1204 referred to Greek clergy as heretical.
[35] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 600, suggests that Alexios I pursued church-union negotiations at this time in order to drive a wedge between the pope and the western emperor.

To this end, in 1112, Peter Grossolano, archbishop of Milan, was invited to Constantinople to debate ecclesiastical issues with a group of Greek theologians.[36] Grossolano was on his way to Jerusalem, and thus it is not clear that he was authorized to represent the cause of the Roman Church, or if he in any way made it a point to stop in Constantinople for the purpose of theological dialogue.[37] Grossolano is not mentioned by Pope Paschal II in his letter to Alexios I in November of the same year, in which he speaks of the need for a better understanding between the Roman and Greek Churches.[38] We can, therefore, view this *disputatio* simply as a result of Alexios I taking advantage of an opportunity which happened to present itself.

The archbishop was opposed by a number of learned and well-known Byzantine theologians and philosophers, including Eustratios, metropolitan of Nicaea,[39] Theodore of Smyrna,[40] Niketas Seides,[41] and John Phournes.[42] The impressive array of erudite men brought forth to debate with Grossolano speaks to the importance Alexios I placed on the meeting, which he himself attended.[43] In this

[36] On the exact date see J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine,' *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965), 52. Ciggaar, *Western travellers to Constantinople*, 262, puts the meeting in 1113/4.
[37] Chadwick, *East and West,* 225; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 885.
[38] *PL* 163, cols. 388-89.
[39] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 755. Anna Komnene described Eustratios as a man 'learned in the Scriptures and with a wide knowledge of profane literature, more confident in his powers of rhetoric than philosophers of Stoa or Academy' – *ἀνὴρ τά τε θεῖα σοφὸς καὶ τὰ θύραθεν, αὐχῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλέξεσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ περὶ τὴν Στοὰν καὶ Ἀκαδημίαν ἐνδιατρίβοντες*, Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 457 lines 28-30; trans. Sewter, 466, and adds that he had assisted her father in debates with groups considered heretical, winning over many to the orthodox belief, Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 457 line 33 – 458 line 44; trans. Sewter, 466.
[40] Theodore of Smyrna was appointed as the *hypatos ton philosophon* after the deposition of John Italos, Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2044. For more on the office of *hypatos ton philosophon*, see ch. 3, 213-14. The author of the *Timarion* used Theodore as the lawyer for his fictional hero's trip through the underworld, *Timarion*, trans. B. Baldwin (Detroit, 1984), 20-21, 57-58.
[41] Niketas Seides is generally thought to have been a rhetorician attached to the patriarchal school in Constantinople, Browning, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople,' (1963), 25. For more see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1865.
[42] On John Phournes, see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1671. The argument of Phournes would prove influential for some time after. Bucossi, Introduction, *Sacred Arsenal*, xxviii note 40, notes that Andronikos Kamateros used the work of Phournes sporadically in the composition of his *Sacred Arsenal* in the twelfth century.
[43] Grossolano's speech on the Holy Spirit is addressed to the emperor, *Oratio de Spiritu Sancto ad imperatorem Alexium Comnenum*, *PG* 127, cols. 911-20; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108; T.

manner, the emperor would ease tensions with the droves of crusaders marching across his territory and prove the correctness of orthodox belief. The result of the meeting, however, was almost certainly contrary to Alexios I's hopes.[44]

Several participants in the *disputatio* published their own versions of the dialogue, and from them we gather that the *filioque* and azymes in the Eucharist were central issues.[45] The treatise of John Phournes, based on his arguments in 1112, focused on the procession of the Holy Spirit,[46] as did the work of Peter Grossolano.[47] Niketas Seides identified several errors of the Latins, from which the *filioque* and azymes were among the most important.[48] Noticeably absent was any Greek critique of Latin arguments about papal primacy.[49] It is possible that Alexios I directed his fellow Byzantines to avoid the issue in order to evade a hostile situation.[50] However, if Alexios I hoped that the *disputatio* would foster more amicable relations, he was greatly disappointed. The sheer volume of polemical material that emerged after the meeting is indicative of the fact that hostility, not benevolence, was the result.[51] Alexios I himself appears to have attempted to lead by example, showing deference to the Latin argument. Indeed, many scholars have concluded that the emperor was won

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Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin religious "errors": themes and changes from 850 to 1350,' in *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 138.

[44] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108, goes so far as to say that Alexios I 'dreaded' the aftermath of the *disputatio*.

[45] For the writings of Eustratios of Nicaea, see A. Demetrakopoulos, *Έκκλησιαστικη Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866), 47-198.

[46] Demetrakopoulos, *Έκκλησιαστικη Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, 36-47.

[47] *PG* 127, cols. 911-20.

[48] Niketas Seides, *Gegen den Primat des Papstes: Studien zu Niketas Seides*, ed R. Gahbauer (Munich, 1975), 1-78; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 126; Kolbaba, *The Byzantine lists*, 177.

[49] This issue emerged later, see Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 126.

[50] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 109-110, and Chadwick, *East and West,* 225, both argue that the issue of papal primacy was of central importance. However, as Runciman admits, the issue of papal primacy never came up during this *disputatio*. See also Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primaute romaine,' 59.

[51] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 121, describes the meeting as 'disastrous' and only serving 'to inspire further hatred of the Latins.' Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108-109, argues that anti-Latin polemical material from both laymen and ecclesiasts came about directly as a consequence of this meeting.

over by Grossolano's argument that wisdom now came from the West.[52] It may have been that the emperor's open-minded attitude toward the Latin argument caused his fellow Byzantines to react even more harshly, feeling all the more pressured to prove their position.

Despite the controversies provoked by the *disputatio* in 1112, Komnenoi emperors would continue to use ecclesiastical dialogue as part of their campaign to win the goodwill of the Latin West. The next such meeting was between Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, and Niketas, archbishop of Nicomedia, in Constantinople in 1136. In this case, we have a report on the proceedings purporting to be a word for word account from Anselm himself. The report, however, comes over a decade after the event, and was put to writing for very specific purposes.[53] Anselm made it clear that the work was composed at the request of Pope Eugenius III to help his fellow Latins better understand and combat the arguments of the Greeks.[54] The fact that his treatise was meant to be a model for future dialogue, and was never intended as a historical source, is enough to call into question Anselm's recollection of the events.[55]

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[52] H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 616; H. Bloch, 'Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the earlier Middle Ages,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946), 223-24; V. Grumel, 'Autour du voyage de Pierre Grossolanus archevêque de Milan, à Constantinple, en 1112. Notes d'histoire et de littérature,' *Échos d'Orient* 32 (1933), 22-33; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 138.

[53] J. Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg, deeds into words in the twelfth century* (Leiden and New York, 1998), 8.

[54] 'You said that I should put forward for your consideration all that was said by or about those Greek people, or argued against them, so that you might consider these matters more freely in your judgment when they were better known to you. For some Latins are greatly deceived by the assertions of the Greeks when the former only listen to the topics the words of the latter address without understanding those words' exact meaning. So these Latins think they support what they do not or deny what they do not' – *Quatenus universa quae vel ab eis super his dicuntur, vel quae eis rationabiliter opponuntur, providentiae vestrae tanto liberiori judicio examinanda subjacerent, quanto verius ea discretioni vestrae innotescerent. Nonnulli quippe Latini Graecorum dictis plerumque falluntur, dum ea verborum tantum transita audiunt, non autem examinato sensu intelligunt, putantes eos affirmare quod non affirmant, aut negare quod nullatenus negant*. Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols. 1140 B – 1141 A; trans. A. Criste and C. Neel, *Anselm of Havelberg, Anticimenon: on the unity of the faith and the controversies with the Greeks* (Collegeville, Minn., 2010), 45. Anselm repeated that he was recording these events at the request of Eugenius III, *PL* 188, col. 1162 C.

[55] T. Kolbaba, 'On the closing of the churches and the rebaptism of Latins: Greek perfidy or Latin slander?,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2005), 43, Kolbaba charges Anselm with providing his readers with a rosier picture of the *disputatio* than what actually took place. His

Still, as he is recalling an event in which he himself took part, we must consider that his dialogue was based on the spirit of that exchange.

As with Peter Grossolano, it does not appear that Anselm of Havelberg had travelled east for the express purpose of discussing theological problems. His own words convey that he had come to Byzantium as the representative of the western emperor, Lothar III, seeking improved relations with Constantinople.[56] The fact that he came as the envoy of a secular ruler – to discuss diplomatic business, and without a mandate from the pope – should not disqualify the meeting between Anselm and Niketas from the analysis of the *disputatio*. The fact that the Byzantines invited the Latin bishop to take part in such an event shows that they themselves did not view the two issues as entirely separate. This was an opportunity to improve relations with both a western ruler and the western church, and, perhaps, prove the orthodoxy of their own position. The fact that Anselm was representing Lothar made little difference. In fact, Anselm would engage in another *disputatio* in 1154 with Basil of Ochrida, archbishop of Thessalonike.[57] On that occasion, Anselm was again acting as the representative of a secular power, returning home from a mission to Constantinople on behalf of Frederick I Barbarossa.[58] The fact that he had no special authority to negotiate on behalf of the Roman Church was no impediment to discussing the issues

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purpose, she explains, was to make such dialogues appear more beneficial than they were in reality. Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg*, 45-47, 233, comments on the positive tone of the exchange and the 'charitable and tactful way in which Anselm engages with his opponents.' He adds that much of the debate is likely 'imaginary.'

[56] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1140B; trans. Criste and Neel, 44; See also *Translatio Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*, ed. P. Jaffe, MGH SS 12 (Hanover, 1856), 649 lines 1-4; Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg*, 43.

[57] For the text of this dialogue, see Basil of Ochrida, *Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unedierte Dialoge: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Schismas*, ed. J. Schmidt (Munich, 1901), 34-51. See also Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primaute romaine,' 65-68; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 119; Chadwick, *East and West,* 228.

[58] Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 20 (Hanover, 1912), Book 2, ch. 11, 395 lines 7-14; trans. C. Mierow, *The deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, by Otto of Freising and his continuator, Rahewin* (Toronto, 1994), 123-24, places Anselm of Havelberg along with Alexander, count of Apulia, on the diplomatic mission in 1153-1154, seeking joint action with the Byzantines against the Normans in Sicily.

which concerned both parties.[59] In fact, if we are to believe the account of Anselm, the Byzantines were quite eager to hear more about the dogmatic controversies.

The dialogue between Anselm of Havelberg and Niketas of Nicomedia[60] proceeds much more cordially than the meeting in 1112. Anselm remarked that holding the *disputatio* was the idea of the emperor, John II Komnenos, to whom Anselm referred to as 'the most pious emperor Kalojan.'[61] Anselm reported that the *disputatio* was held in the Church of the Hagia Eirene, and that a great number of Latin residents in Constantinople were in attendance.[62] Among these were a certain number of bilingual Latins apparently in the imperial service. Anselm identified these men as James of Venice, Burgundio of Pisa and the one chosen to interpret during the dialogue, Moses of Bergamo.[63] Foremost on the agenda was the issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit. Niketas charged that the Latin view of the Trinity would allow for the Holy Spirit to proceed from itself, to which Anselm responded that just as the Son was not begotten from himself, so the Spirit does not proceed from itself.[64] Niketas argued that if the Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son, then Father and Son are both principles, allowing for the existence of two Spirits.[65] To this

[59] The meeting between Anselm and Basil of Ochrida could very well have been the result of papal involvement. Pope Hadrian IV had been corresponding with Basil, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 21, cols. 795-800. For Basil's reply see Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 21, cols. 799-802.
[60] On the position of Niketas of Nicomedia, see R. Browning, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the twelfth century,' *Byzantion* 33 (1963), 40.
[61] *Imperatori piissimo Kaljoanni*, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1163 A.
[62] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1163 A-B.
[63] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1163 B. Anselm was concerned about his words being translated too literally, and declined to endorse a word for word translation of his statements. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 115, gathers from the positive outcome of the meeting that Moses of Bergamo did his job 'with conscientious correctitude.' For more on Latin translators working in Constantinople in the twelfth century, see A. Dondaine, 'Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 19 (1952), 67-134; L. Minio-Paluello, 'Jacobus Veneticus Grecus: canonist and translator of Aristotle,' *Traditio* 8 (1952), 265-304; Bryer, 'Cultural relations between east and west in the twelfth century,' 80; C. Otten-Froux, 'Identities and allegiances: The perspective of Genoa and Pisa,' in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 254-55; Ciggaar, *Western travellers to Constantinople*, 89, 93, 262, 270.
[64] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols. 1170 C-D, 1171 B.
[65] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1180 B.

Anselm answered that there must be a relationship between the Son and Spirit, and this is procession.[66]

Other comments during the *disputatio* indicate the level of hostility between Byzantine and Latin which had erupted from theological debate. At one point, Niketas asked Anselm if he accepted the authority of the Greek patristic Fathers.[67] Anselm answered: 'I do not exclude, disdain, reject, or judge worthy of rejection any gift of the Holy Spirit given to any faithful Christian, whether Greek, Latin, or any other race. On the contrary, I receive and embrace with an open mind every man who speaks and writes what is true and consonant with apostolic teaching.'[68] According to Anselm's recollection of the *disputatio*, Niketas reacted somewhat surprised at these words, noting that other Latins in Constantinople had not been so gracious.[69]

Anselm depicted his encounter with Niketas as a great success, so much so that an encore of their meeting was arranged for a larger audience, this time in Hagia Sophia.[70] At this meeting a number of different topics were discussed, including papal primacy,[71] the alleged rebaptism of Latin women who married Byzantine men,[72] and

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[66] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1180 B-D.
[67] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1204 A.
[68] *Ego nulli Christianorum, Graeco, sive Latino, seu cujuslibet gentis fideli Christiano, donum sancti Spiritus intercludo, nullum contemno, nullum abjicio, nec abjiciendum judico; sed omnem hominem re eta loquentem, et ea quae contra apostolicam doctrinam non sunt, scribentem, libera mente suscipio et amplector*, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1204A-B; trans. Criste and Neel, 147.
[69] 'I seem to have found a Latin who is truly catholic. Would that more such Latins come to us in these times! Often when they come, they act superior even to everything great and wonderful. Never do they speak to us humbly and inclusively, but haughtily, intolerably' – *Videor mihi invenisse hominem Latinum vere catholicum; utinam tales Latini istis temporibus ad nos venirent! Nam si aliqui veniunt, ambulant in magnis et in mirabilibus super se, et nequaquam talia, nec tam catholica, nec tam humilia, sed superba et intolerabilia nobis loquuntur*, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1204 B.
[70] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1209 C; Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg*, 45.
[71] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1214 D – 1216 A, Anselm argued that Rome should be respected because it had never fallen into heresy, whereas Constantinople had been the setting of several errors. Niketas pointed out that the Byzantine Church was also responsible for correcting more errors than was Rome, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols. 1223 B – 1224 D.
[72] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1245 D – 1247 A. To this charge, Niketas replied that the Sacrament in question was not baptism, but unction. See J. Ryder, 'Changing perspectives on 1054,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2011), 26; Kolbaba, 'On the closing of the churches,' 43-45; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 104.

of course leavened versus unleavened bread.[73] The dialogue ended with both disputants hoping for a general council that would restore the unity of the faith.[74] Anselm even depicted the crowd as shouting their approval to both men.[75] Caution is clearly called for when considering the reaction of Anselm's Byzantine audience, yet there is reason to view the 1136 *disputatio* as, if not amicable, then at least avoiding the bitterness of 1112. If Anselm had been rebuffed by his Byzantine hosts, or shouted at, or his arguments treacherously twisted, he surely would have said as much. As one who was advising the pope on future encounters he would be remiss if he did not warn about the possible hostility of future meetings. Certainly, we can count Anselm of Havelberg's *disputatio* in Constantinople as a success for Byzantine diplomacy. Here was an event in which the Byzantines showed *oikonomia* to Latin beliefs without giving up their position. In addition, Byzantium had endeared itself to both the pope and the western emperor. Whether any such positive measures would filter down to the crusading masses who continued to cause concerns during their marches towards the Holy Land is difficult to discern. Certainly, events outside of the control of the Byzantine emperors would determine the course of public opinion.[76]

Manuel I Komnenos pursued an extensive dialogue with Pope Alexander III from 1166 to 1172.[77] A group of papal representatives were present at a council in

[73] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols.1228 D – 1231 D, 1234 D – 1241 B.
[74] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1248 A-B.
[75] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1248 B. We can safely say that Anselm is embellishing the result of his dialogue. The idea of a largely Greek crowd shouting the praises of the Latin disputant, let alone being convinced by his arguments, is difficult to accept. In fact, Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg*, 47, claims Anselm's overly positive description of the reception of his arguments as a chief reason for rejecting the faithfulness of Anselm's account.
[76] Manuel I Komnenos worked hard to combat negative concepts of Byzantines in the West, Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 189. See also Laiou, 'Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?,' 17-40; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 88-101; E. Chrysos, 'Whose fault? Reflections on Byzantine shortcomings before, after and during the capture of Constantinople,' in *The Fourth Crusade Revisited. Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004. Andros (Grecia) 27-30 maggio 2004* (Vatican, 2008), 155-62.
[77] On these discussions, see Andronikos Kamateros, *Sacred arsenal*, ed. A. Bucossi, *Sacrum armamentarium. Pars prima* (Turnhout, 2014); John Bekkos, *Refutatione adversus Divi Andronici*

Constantinople in 1166, at which the Pisan born brothers, Hugo Eteriano and Leo Tuscus, almost certainly served as interpreters.[78] The council in question dealt with a controversy which had western roots, the famous 'Father is greater than I' dispute.[79] Tia Kolbaba remarks that the controversy centred around Demetrios of Lampe, who developed his ideas after disagreeing with various comments he had overheard in the Latin west.[80] The council itself was dominated by the emperor, who ensured that Demetrios was anathematized.[81] The conclusions of the council, inscribed on tablets affixed to the walls of Hagia Sophia at the west end of the nave, were essentially those argued by the Latin Hugo Eteriano.[82] This encounter instigated a series of meetings and correspondences between the emperor and papal representatives, often identified only as the Cardinals.[83] These talks focused largely on the issues of papal primacy and the *filioque*. The cardinals described the Byzantine Church as a daughter separated from its mother.[84] The Byzantines, according to Andronikos Kamateros, defended the position of the Greek Church through an extensive use of patristic sayings and syllogistic proofs.[85]

What was the purpose of these talks? An answer becomes apparent when we consider the larger picture of foreign policy with the Latin world. As we have already

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Camateri Viglae Drungarii super scripto traditis testimonies de Spiritu Sancto animadversiones, *PG* 141, cols. 395-614. See also Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 86-95.

[78] Ciggaar, *Western travellers to Constantinople*, 264.

[79] John Kinnamos, ed. Meineke, 251 line 7 – 257 line 16; trans. Brand, 189-93.

[80] Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 138.

[81] Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 138-40; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 287-90; C. Mango, 'The conciliar edict of 1166,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 317-30; Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 196-98; G. Thetford, 'The christological councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople,' *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987), 143-61.

[82] P. Classen, 'Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und die Lateiner,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 48 (1955), 339-68; Mango, 'The conciliar edict of 1166,' 317-30.

[83] The treatise of Andronikos Kamateros is addressed to 'the most wise cardinals of elder Rome' – *των της πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης σοφωτάτων καδδιναλίων*, Andronikos Kamateros, *Sacred Arsenal*, ed. Bucossi, 22; Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primaute romaine,' 73.

[84] Andronikos Kamateros, *Sacred Arsenal*, ed. Bucossi, ch. 6, 26 lines 5-8; Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primaute romaine,' 75.

[85] Bucossi, Introduction, *Sacred Arsenal*, xxxvi-xxxix, counts over one hundred and fifty sayings of the early Church Fathers, including those of the Western Church, and forty two unattributed syllogisms in the work of Kamateros.

discussed, Manuel I sought to win Latin cooperation through marriage alliances,[86] as well as other means. He hoped to enlist the cooperation of Pope Alexander III in a bid to be crowned as the western emperor.[87] Such overtures had the potential of winning much goodwill toward Byzantium, and easing the threat already seen from the crusading movement.[88] The talks with the cardinals were therefore part of an overall attempt by Manuel I to foster improved relations with the Latin West through religious dialogue, either with the papacy or other Latin powers.[89] Paul Magdalino has argued that Manuel I was not prepared to make major concessions in doctrine or

[86] Manuel I twice married Latin brides, first Bertha of Sulzbach, then Maria of Antioch. On Bertha of Sulzbach see John Kinnamos, ed. Meineke, 36 lines 1-12; trans. Brand, 36-37; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Pertz, Book, 1, ch. 23, 363 lines 4-16; trans. Mierow, 54; Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship,' 279; J. Irmscher, 'Bertha von Sulzbach, Gemahlin Manuels I,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996), 282; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 42-43. On Maria of Antioch see John Kinnamos, ed. Meineke, 208 line 17 – 211 line 13; trans. 158-60; Hamilton, 'Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,' 356; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 209-17.

[87] Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 178; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 87-95.

[88] There are certainly examples of negative interactions between east and west during the reign of Manuel I, such as the detention of all Venetians in Byzantium in 1171. Laiou, 'Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?,' 35, describes the expulsion of the Venetians in 1171 as an 'important nail in the coffin' of Byzantium. Bryer, 'Cultural relations between east and west in the twelfth century,' 89, views the events of 1171 as a major diplomatic blunder. For more on this view, see M. Angold, 'The Venetian chronicles and archives as sources for the history of Byzantium and the Crusades (992-1204),' in *Byzantines and Crusaders in non-Greek sources, 1025-1204*, ed M. Whitby (Oxford, 2007), 68; M. E. Martin, 'The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204,' in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850-c. 1200, Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March – 1st April 1984*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 212-14; Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 15. It is possible, however, that the implications of events such as those in 1171 have been exaggerated. Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 192, suggests that Manuel I simply sought to limit the influence of Venetian merchants. Indeed, in the same year he moved against Venetian interests, Manuel I also signed a new agreement with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, vol. 2, 981 line 1 – 982 lines 10; trans. Babcock and Krey, XXI.16.420. Hamilton, 'Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,' 363, notes that the agreement has not been preserved, but we can gather that the agreement provided for a joint assault on Egypt, as well as a division of spoils and territories taken. This agreement was renewed in 1177. This is not the policy of one who was prepared to alienate the whole of the Latin West.

[89] Yet another example of an ecclesiastical debate with parties not representing the pope is described by Arnold of Lübeck, who remarked that Henry, abbot of Brunswick, engaged in a *disputatio* with a number of 'learned Greeks' – *litteratioribus Grecorum*, Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. Lappenberg, MGH (Hanover, 1868), 19-21, esp. 19 line 8. According Arnold of Lübeck, Henry was part of a group of Germans who had stopped at Constantinople in 1172 on their way to Jerusalem. The two sides debated over the procession of the Holy Spirit, making great use of Scripture and patristic authors, namely Athanasios, Cyril of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom.

practice at this time, but that is not surprising.[90] It was not necessary that every *disputatio* between the Greek and Roman Church should have the aim of finally ending the schism of the churches. Pacifying the threat posed by crusading armies and enhancing Byzantium's security was often a more important motivation. Manuel I's negotiations, even if they did not settle any larger theological issue, furthered his goals in Italy and Outremer, and forced the papacy into a cooperative position. Ecclesiastical division was being used to improve the political state of affairs.

Papal Attempts at Union after 1204

The conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade was a turning point in the history of the *disputatio*. Both the tenor of such meetings, and their eventual goal, shifted dramatically, reflecting the events of the period. Ecclesiastical dialogues took on a new urgency, and a more hostile rhetoric.[91] It was no longer adequate for the two sides to meet, amicably discuss differing practice and dogma, and then agree that more should be done in the future to bring about a single, unified Church. The Latin occupation of Constantinople raised the stakes and changed the very meaning of church union for both sides. For the Byzantines, what had been a method for engaging papal support against enemies, or potential enemies, far away,[92] had now become a necessary and important means to countering the incursions of Latin enemies at home. For the Latins, obtaining the recognition of western practices and doctrines from the Greek Church might very well justify the expense and bloodshed of the conquest of

[90] Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 193, insists that Manuel I's position remained 'impeccably orthodox.'
[91] It has been argued that it was the conquest of Constantinople which caused most Greeks to definitively reject papal primacy, see Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy,' 23; Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 56-57; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 2.
[92] For example, the overtures between Alexios I Komnenos and Pope Paschal II, see above, 93, and Laiou, 'Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?,' 21.

Constantinople, and perhaps the crusading movement itself.[93] As the political stakes rose, so did the tensions in debates over theological issues.[94] The popes were forced to come to terms with the events of 1204, placing them into the greater scheme of 'God's will.'[95] If the beliefs of the Roman Church should be shown to be in error, then what they tried so hard to explain as 'God's vengeance against those schismatic Greeks' could very easily become a very real error on their own part.

This explanation by the papacy for the sacking of Constantinople is visible immediately following the Fourth Crusade. It seems clear that Pope Innocent III had thought the schism of the churches ended by the crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the appointment of a Latin patriarch.[96] The pope did take the step of condemning excessive crusader violence in Constantinople,[97] but he also wrote frequently of his hopes that the disobedient Greek Church would be restored to

[93] Innocent III expressed his belief that the establishment of a Latin empire in Constantinople would help bring about the liberation of Jerusalem. 'We also charge and command all clerics, as well as the lay crusaders who are with you in the Christian army by reason of hope for remission [of sins] and the indulgence that the Apostolic See offers them, to assist you prudently and mightily in defending and holding onto the empire of Constantinople. Through the aid of its assistance the Holy Land might be more easily liberated from pagan hands' – *universis etiam tam clericis quam laicis crucesignatis consistentibus tecum in exercitu Christiano sub spe remissionis et indulgentie, quam eis sedes apostolica pollicetur, iniungimus et mandamus, ut ad defendendum et retinendum Constantinopolitanum imperium, per cuius subventionis auxilium Terra sancta facilius poterite de paganorum manibus liberari*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 153, 263 lines 16-21; translated by A. Andrea, *Contemporary sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden, 2000), 114-15.
[94] Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 14-15, notes that before 1204, theological dialogue had been 'rather polite and academic.' After the Fourth Crusade, they took on greater importance as a political and' national' problem.
[95] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 153, 263 lines 24-37, no. 154, 264 lines 13-30.
[96] A. Andrea, 'Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 114.
[97] Letter to Cardinal Peter Capuano, dated 12 July 1205, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 127 (126), 232 lines 3-30; and to Boniface of Montferrat, between 15 August and 10 September 1205, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 134(133), 246 line 1 – 247 line 8. In a 1208 letter to Theodore I Laskaris, Innocent III remarked that he did not excuse the actions of the Latins in Constantinople, and that he had 'frequently rebuked [them] for their excesses' – *quos super excessibus suis multociens redarguimus*, but he gives no specifics, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 62 lines 1-2. A. Papayianni, 'The Papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the correspondence of the Nicaean Emperors with the Popes,' in *The Papacy and the Crusades: Proceedings of the VIIth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Aldershot, 2011), 157, points out that most Greek chroniclers of the thirteenth century, with the exception of Nicholas Mesarites and Constantine Stilbes, did not associate the papacy with crusader atrocities in 1204.

communion with Rome.[98] In a letter to the new Latin emperor Baldwin I, dated 7 November 1204, he said:

> After the kingdom of the Greeks turned away from obedience to the Apostolic See, it continuously descended from evil to worse evil until, by the just judgment of God, it was transferred from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the obedient, from schismatics to Catholics, so that it might rise through the virtue of obedience to goodness because through the sin of disobedience it fell into evil.[99]

In a similar letter to the Latin clergy of Constantinople, dated 21 January 1205:

> The Greek Church had made itself "other" when it presumed to separate itself from the unity of the universal Church. And, indeed, we signaled them when we instructed them through our letters and messengers to come and help us: that is, returning they take up again part of our burden as, so to speak, assistants in the stewardship that was laid upon us. And indeed, they have come by reason of the grace of God because, when the empire of Constantinople was transferred in these days from the Greeks to the Latins, the Church of Constantinople also returned to obedience to the Apostolic See, like a daughter to a mother and a member to a head, so that in the future an undivided fellowship might continue between us and them.[100]

Innocent III had clearly come to the conclusion that the schism was coming to an end[101] and that the capture of Constantinople was divine retribution for the continual

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[98] Chrissis, 'The city and the cross,' 22; Andrea, 'Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite,' 115.

[99] *postquam regnum Grecorum ab obedienta sedis apostolice deviavit, de malo semper declinavit in peius, donec a superbis ad humiles, ab inobedientibus ad devotos, a scismaticis ad catholicos iusto Dei iudicio est translatum, ut per obedientie virtutem resurgat ad bonum, quod per inobedientie vitium defluxit ad malum*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 153, 263 lines 25-29; translated in Andrea, *Contemporary sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 115.

[100] *Alia navis erat Grecorum ecclesia, que fecit se aliam, cum ab unitate universalis ecclesie se alienare presumpsit. Et illis quidem innuimus, cum eos per litteras et nuntios nostros monuimus, ut venirent et adiuvarent nos, id est, ut revertentes resumerent partem sollicitudinis nostre tamquam coadiutores dispensationis nobis iniuncte. Venerunt autem per Dei gratiam, quia postquam diebus istis Constantinopolitanum imperium a Grecis translatum est ad Latinos, ecclesia quoque Constantinopolitana rediit ad obedientiam apostolice sedis tamquam ad matrem filia et membrum ad caput, ut inter nos et illos societas indivisa decetero perseveret*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 203, 355 line 27 – 356 line 2; translated in Andrea, *Contemporary sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 134.

[101] See also his letter to the crusaders dated 13 November 1204, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 154, 264-70, especially 269 lines 27-33, 'Now behold, brothers and sisters, you can openly reap because finally God brings to divine completion through you in our time the already mentioned mystery, which He foresaw from all eternity and foreshadowed in the Gospel, though you understand that God produces this mystery through your ministry not as if it were by fortuitous chance but, to be sure, by an exalted plan so that in the future there might be one flock and one pastor. For, indeed, through provident stewardship the Author of time orders all temporal affairs, so that when the full number of gentiles enters the faith, then also all Israel will be saved' – *Ecce iam, fraters et filii, colligere potestis aperte, quia Deus, quod ab eterno previdit et in Evangelio presignavit, per vos tandem in nobis sacramentum adimplet superius prelibatum, ut intelligatis, quod non quasi casu*

refusal of the Greek Church to acknowledge the primacy of the pope and adopt western doctrines.

This attitude is again visible in Innocent III's correspondence with Theodore I Laskaris, recently proclaimed emperor in Nicaea.[102] Theodore I had apparently written to the pope in late 1207 or the early part of 1208.[103] His letter to Innocent III has not come down to us. However, we can glean the contents of the letter from Innocent III's reply.[104] We see that Theodore I was frustrated with the short periods of peace, and he sought the pope's help in establishing a lasting settlement with the Latins.[105] He seems to have asked that Innocent III send a representative to act as a mediator between Nicaea and Constantinople, and that along with a permanent treaty, he establish the Sea of Marmara as a permanent boundary between the two empires.

> You [Theodore I] humbly beseeched us [Innocent III] that we should make them enter an agreement of perpetual peace with you. While love, according to the Lord's commands, should always flourish between Christians, sending a legate from our side, who establishes and agrees to peace between you and them, that neither you nor they should presume to cross the boundary which God assigned to you and them, namely the sea, but they should be content with a limit of this sort, promising to fight vigorously with you against the Ishmaelites.[106]

The proposal of joint Byzantine-crusader action against the Seljuk Turks is interesting. It seems to indicate that Theodore I was attempting to portray himself as a

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fortuito sed alto quidem consilio Deus hoc misterium per vestrum ministerium operator, quatinus decetero sit unum ovile et unus pastor, provida namque dispensatione conditor temporum tempora distribuit universa, ut, cum plenitude gentium ad fidem intraverit, tunc etiam omnis Isr(ae)l salvus fiat; translated in Andrea, *Contemporary sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 125-26.

[102] Theodore I Laskaris was proclaimed emperor in 1205/6, and then crowned emperor on Easter Sunday, 6 April 1208, see ch. 1, 32-33.

[103] Theodore I had signed a truce with Henry I and the Latin empire just prior to this overture to the pope, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 487-89.186-87, see ch. 1, 61 note 163.

[104] Dated 17 March 1208, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 60-64; other editions of the letter can be found in *Acta Innocentii Papae III,* ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 114, 345-48; *PL* 215, no. XLVII, cols. 1372-75.

[105] Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade,' 158.

[106] *Unde nobis humiliter supplicasti, ut eos tecum perpetue pacis federa faceremus inire, cum imperante Domino dilectio simper debeat inter Christianos vigere, legatum a nostro latere destinantes, qui inter te ac ipsos pacem stabiliat et componat, ut nec tu nec ipsi terminum, quem Deus inter te ac ipsos disposuit, mare videlicet, transpire presumant, sed huiusmodi termino sint contenti, promittens te una cum eis contra Ismahelitas viriliter pugnaturum*. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 62 lines 15-21.

friend of the crusades in general, and holding out the possibility that he might join such an expedition to bring aid to the Holy Land. Moreover, Theodore I appears to have lodged several complaints about what he viewed as the unjust violation of Byzantine sovereignty by the unprovoked attack of the Fourth Crusade.[107] Innocent III's reply stressed the circumstances of the Fourth Crusade, and how it came to Constantinople.[108] He put a great deal of emphasis on the crusaders' need for provisions and the desire for Byzantine assistance to the Holy Land, all of which was promised by 'that youth,' the young Alexios, son of Isaac II Angelos, and future Alexios IV.[109] Again, Innocent III made no claim to excuse the violent actions of the crusaders,[110] but his presentation of their case indicates how much it was discussed by Theodore I.

Innocent III's response to Theodore I came on 17 March 1208, shortly before his coronation as emperor in Nicaea. The opening of the letter amounts to a rejection of Theodore I's imperial claims by the pope. Innocent refers to his recipient as *nobili*

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[107] Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade,' 158, deduces five accusations of Theodore I against the crusaders – 1) apostasy for taking up arms against fellow Christians, 2) betrayal, 3) sacrilege at the holy places of Constantinople, 4) killing the city's Christian residents and 5) perjury for breaking treaties. 'You accuse the Latins living in Constantinople of the crime of apostasy, because when they pretended to hurry to the help of the Holy Land, having taken up the sign of the Lord's cross, against the barbarian peoples, these same men turned their swords on fellow Christians, and attacking the city of Constantinople and the Constantinopolitan empire, charging them with treason and sacrilege, for this reason, having captured the royal city they were unsparing to the most holy churches, killing Christians, deflowering virgins and violating even married women. Likewise, you assert repeatedly that they were guilty of perjury when they entered into a truce with you, they frequently and in many ways dared to violate it' – *Inprimis siquidem Latinos apud Const(antino)polim commorantes de apostasie crimine reprehendis, quia, cum Dominice crucis assumpto signaculo ad Terre sancte succursum simulaverint properare contra barbaras nationes, hiidem converse retrorsum in Christianos suos gladios converterunt Const(antino)politanam urben et Const(antino)politanum imperium impugnantes, proditionem et sacrilegium eisdem impingens pro eo, quod regia urbe capta sacrosanctis ecclesiis minime pepercerunt Christicolis interfectis, defloratis virginibus et pollutes etiam coniugatis. Periurii quoque reos ipsos multipliciter asseveras, cum treugas, quas tecum inierant, pluries presumpserint violare*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61 lines 2-12.

[108] Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the correspondence of the Nicaean emperors with the popes,' 159, and Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 35-36, note that Innocent III's defense of crusader actions is almost a verbatim account of the argument used by Boniface of Montferrat in his letter to the pope in 1205. See *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 134(133), 244-48.

[109] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 62 lines 1-10.

[110] Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade,' 161, explains the pope could not directly condemn the atrocities of the Latins in 1204, because it would 'diminish his authority in the eyes of the Greeks' by making it seem as if he did not have control of the situation.

viro Theodoro Lascaro.[111] On the face of it, this appears quite scandalous. Even if he had not yet been crowned as emperor, Theodore I had certainly been proclaimed as such since 1206 at the latest,[112] but Innocent III refused to use the title. Neither did he refer to Theodore I's state as an *imperium*. He frequently mentions the 'Constantinopolitan empire,'[113] but never referred to Nicaea or the domains of Theodore I. By referring to Theodore I as 'noble man,' Innocent III was consciously depriving him of any imperial claims. Realistically, however, this was the only way in which Innocent III could refer to Theodore I. It was simple necessity. Acknowledging the imperial claims of Nicaea would be a de facto recognition of a Byzantine government in exile, and inherently call into question his own beneficiary, the Latin emperor in Constantinople, Henry I.[114]

The pope's letter reveals more about his foreign policy goals. As we have seen him do before, Innocent III explained the Fourth Crusade to Theodore I as God's punishment visited on the Greeks. 'We believe that it was through them [the Latins] that the Greeks, by the just judgment of God, were punished.'[115] A similar interpretation came from the Byzantines themselves. Shortly after 1204, in a funeral oration for his brother John, Nicolas Mesarites described his fellow Byzantines as 'naughty children' and stated that their sufferings would continue if they did not

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[111] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61.
[112] For arguments putting Theodore I's proclamation in 1205, see Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 18 note 15a; Sinogowitz, 'Über das Byzantinische Kaisertum,' 348-51; Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 3; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 83; Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 128. For arguments favoring 1206, Laiou, 'Political-historical survey, 1204-1453,' 282; Angold, 'Nationalism and the Nicaean Empire,' 50. Much of the confusion comes from George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 5-21, who lumps the proclamation and the coronation of Theodore I together.
[113] *Constantinopolitan imperium*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61 lines 7-8, 62 line 4, 63 lines 20-21.
[114] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 352, 357, notes that Theodore I's imperial claims were directly contrary to those of the Latin emperors in Constantinople.
[115] *Per eos tamen Grecos iusto Dei iudicio credimus fuisse punitos*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 1-3.

correct their past evils.[116] A decade after the Fourth Crusade, Patriarch Theodore II Eirenikos spoke of 1204 as an act of divine justice.[117] Thus, both Greeks and Latins depicted the occupation of Constantinople as God's will, but the papacy argued that it was also retribution for the schism of the churches perpetuated by the Greek Church. In this way, Innocent III compared the Byzantines to those who refused to join Noah in the ark and were destroyed by the deluge,[118] and the Latins were like the Assyrians who enacted the will of God against the Israelites.[119] Such an explanation allowed Innocent III to concede that the crusaders who attacked Constantinople in 1204 may have been sinful, but they remained the agents of divine retribution.

Innocent III went on in his letter to call on Theodore I to acknowledge Henry I as his imperial overlord.

> We advise your nobility, that in sight of our most beloved son in Christ, Henry, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, you ought to humble yourself and serve him paying him the honour due, following the example of Jeremiah, whom we read to gave counsel to the people of Israel, that they serve King Nebuchadnezzar and live under him.[120]

Again, the pope provided an Old Testament example for his advice, implying that God had, and would again in the future, punish the Byzantines if they should continue to remain in schism. Recognizing Henry I as emperor would certainly have been impossible for Theodore I, but Innocent III reminded him that the Gospels call on Christians to 'love your enemies,'[121] and only then can peace be achieved.[122] He

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[116] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 44 lines 4-9.
[117] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, '*Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός πατριαρχης οικουμενικός ἐν Νικαία*,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901), 189 line 34 – 191 line 7.
[118] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 8-9.
[119] Isaiah, 10:5; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 6-7.
[120] Jeremiah 27:1-7; *Nobilitati tue consulimus, ut in conspectus carissimi in Christo filii nostril H(enrici), Const(antino)poitani imperatoris illustris, humilies temetipsum eique servias honorem debitum impendendo, Ieremie sequentes exemplum, quem Israhelitico populo legimus consilium tribuisse, ut Nabochodonosor regi servirent et viverent sub eodem*. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 21-25.
[121] Matthew 21:33-41.
[122] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 34-37.

concludes his letter to Theodore I with an agreement to send a legate,[123] first to call on Henry I to stop his attacks in Anatolia,[124] and then to negotiate the desired peace between Constantinople and Nicaea. However, the pope's letter implied certain conditions. Innocent III did not state that he would send his representative to Nicaea, but to Constantinople. When he arrived there, Theodore I was to send messengers[125] to meet with him and Henry I, and only then would a lasting peace be arranged.[126] Moreover, the pope made clear that Theodore I was expected to 'pay obedience and honour' to the Latin emperor[127] and 'present devotion and reverence with all who are with you,' i.e. the Greek Church, to the papal office.[128] The pope's words did not explicitly state that these terms are conditional for the peace talks to begin, but such an ultimatum is implied.

How was Theodore I to cause the Greek Church to 'pay obedience and honour' to the pope in the early months of 1208? Any such action would require the agreement of the patriarch, and since the death of John X Kamateros the office had not been filled. This matter was quickly addressed, even before Innocent III's letter had arrived in Nicaea, with the election of Michael IV Autoreianos.[129] Still, even with a new patriarch, the prospect of the Greek Church entering into obedience towards Rome was a difficult task, and it is unlikely that either Theodore I or Autoreianos

[123] *Legatum*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 64 line 2.
[124] The papal legate was to warn Henry I 'that he should walk with [Theodore I] in the spirit of mildness' – *ut tecum in spiritu ambulet lenitatis*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 64 line 4.
[125] *Nuntios*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 64 line 5.
[126] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 line 38 – 64 line 7.
[127] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 line 39.
[128] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 64 lines 1-2.
[129] Michael IV Autoreianos was installed as patriarch in Nicaea on 20 March 1208, only a few days after Innocent III dispatched his letter, Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 13; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 734-35; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 23; R. H. Jordan and R. Morris, *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th-12th centuries)* (Aldershot, 2012), 15. See the letter from Nicholas Mesarites informing the Greeks in Constantinople of the new patriarch's election, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 35-46. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 36, 265 note 64, wonders how many prelates attended the synod that elected Michael Autoreianos to the patriarchate.

truly considered the possibility of church union at this time. However, the mechanism for any such endeavour was clear – Theodore I would return to the method of the *disputatio* to appease the demands of the papacy and further his interests with the Latin empire and other neighbours. His approach to such negotiations would be starkly different from that of the Komnenoi in the twelfth century. The Latin occupation of Constantinople had drastically altered the political landscape, and with it the outlook for ecclesiastical dialogue.

Any future *disputatio*, as far as the papacy was concerned, would be less of a debate, and more of an ultimatum for the Greek Church. Such an attitude on the part of the Roman Church is clear in the years following 1204, in which the papacy sought to win over the Greeks who chose to remain in the Latin empire rather than flee to one of the successor states.[130] These meetings did not involve Theodore I Laskaris or the Empire of Nicaea, at least not directly, but they served to show the goals of the papacy immediately after the Fourth Crusade, as well as present the effect of the Latin occupation of Constantinople on religious dialogue, and so they will be examined here.

The pope's first attempt to win the loyalty of the Greeks in Constantinople came immediately after the Fourth Crusade. Nicholas Mesarites, who is the only source for this meeting, was present for the discussions.[131] Unfortunately, the author was at times vague about certain details of the meeting, leading to some confusion about these early negotiations between the Roman Church and the Greeks of Constantinople. One problem is the date for the gathering. Mesarites simply stated

[130] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 45-51, notes that Innocent III did not intend to engage in a discussion of doctrine or dogma with the Greeks now living under Latin rule. Instead, all he required of them was recognition of papal authority.
[131] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48-51.

that the *disputatio* took place at the end of the year, indicating perhaps either November or December of 1204.[132]

Based on the description of the audience at this meeting, it would be safe to conclude that it was a grand affair. This was the first *disputatio* to take place following the Fourth Crusade, and Mesarites remarked that all the Greek priests, monks and laity of Constantinople were invited to meet with the Cardinal – whom Mesarites never identified but we know was Peter Capuano, the papal legate[133] – in Hagia Sophia.[134] There is no indication that the Latin emperor, Baldwin I, attended the proceedings,[135] but the size and diverse nature of the audience, as described in the account by Mesarites, attests to the importance placed on the dialogue by contemporaries. Both the audience and venue for this meeting are reminiscent of the *disputatio* undertaken between Anselm of Havelberg and Niketas of Nicomedia in 1136.[136]

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[132] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 20; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32, suggests December 1204.

[133] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 32. Peter Capuano had already arrived in Syria when he received news of the capture of Constantinople, *Gesta Innocentii*, *PL* 214, no. LXXXVIII, cxl A-B; trans. Powell, no. LXXXVIII, 145-46; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 222, 393-95; trans. Powell, 145-46. From there he had remained in communication with the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, *Gesta Innocentii*, *PL* 214, no. XC, cxli B; trans. Powell, no. XC, 155. Peter Capuano promptly journeyed to the Constantinople after he was called on by Baldwin I, see Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 21, 25-26, and Innocent III reluctantly approved his position as papal legate in the Latin empire in February 1205, *Gesta Innocentii*, *PL* 214, no. XCV, cxlii B-D; trans. Powell, no. XCV, 172-73; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 223, 395-96. An abridged edition of this letter can be found in *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 71, 292. The appointment did not last long, as a letter, dated 12 July 1205, announced the appointment of Cardinal Benedict of St Susanna as papal legate, and called on Capuano to return to the Holy Land, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 127(126), 230-33, especially 233 lines 4-12. An abridged edition of this letter can be found in *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 84, 307-308.

[134] *ἱερεις μοναχούς τε καὶ λαϊκοὺς*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 22.

[135] An emperor in Constantinople would be expected to attend a meeting of such ecclesiastical importance. It has been argued that the Latin emperors attempted to emulate their Byzantine predecessors, maintaining various imperial traditions, see Lock, 'Latin emperors as heirs to Byzantium,' 295-304; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 82-85, thus it is unusual that Baldwin I did not attend. If he was indeed absent, then the emperor's presence at ecclesiastical gatherings is one Byzantine tradition that the Latin emperors did not uphold after 1204.

[136] See above, 98-99.

Mesarites depicted his brother, John, as the champion of the Byzantine position. This is hardly surprising as Mesarites placed his report on the proceedings, which he presented as a faithful report of the discussions, within a funeral oration for his brother.[137] Many of the attributes ascribed to John Mesarites in this work are those one would expect to find in a hagiographical account. John is compared to his namesake, John the Baptist for both his knowledge and devotion,[138] to Peter for his zeal,[139] and to Paul for his preaching.[140] The reader must, therefore, be careful when interpreting the version of the *disputatio* put forth by Mesarites, which glowingly describes the intellect and bravery of his saint-like brother.

From the Latin perspective, the goal of these talks was clear – gaining recognition from the Greeks in Constantinople for the primacy of Rome and the union of the churches, which the papacy believed had been achieved through the conquest of the city.[141] The physical victory of the West over Constantinople apparently required an ecclesiastical component. Mesarites described this aim on the part of the Latins as a 'hidden intention' in what was otherwise an amiable meeting.[142] For this reason his brother, John, prepared for the meeting with patristic sayings and the 'weapons of piety.'[143] When the cardinal, speaking through an unidentified interpreter,[144] stated that it was 'necessary for you Greeks to submit yourselves to the apostolic throne and not to set yourselves against that which is superior,'[145] Mesarites depicted the

[137] John Mesarites held the position of *didaskalos tou psalteros* in the Patriarchal School of Constantinople, Browning, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople,' (1963), 11-12; C. N. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (1204-ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), 6 note 3. He died on 5 October 1207, Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32. For more on the office of *didaskalos tou psalteros*, see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 619.
[138] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 68 line 34 – 69 line 10.
[139] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 69 lines 10-20.
[140] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 69 20-24.
[141] Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 128; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32.
[142] *ὁ ἐγκεκρυμμένος ἀποκεκάλυπτο νοῦς*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 25.
[143] *τοῖς της εὐσεβίας ὅπλοις*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 48 lines 27-28.
[144] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 line 9.
[145] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 lines 6-8.

assembled Greeks as fearful and unwilling to respond.[146] Just as the Latins – assuming that the silence meant agreement – were about to assume victory, John Mesarites stood and asked that they clarify the parameters of the debate, specifically what submission to the papacy would mean for the Greeks of Constantinople.[147] He explained that while they were physically subjects of the new Latin emperor, the Greeks of Constantinople remained spiritual subjects of the patriarch, John X Kamateros, who at that time had fled the city.[148] Moreover, a sharp disagreement developed at this point between John Mesarites and the interpreter, who, according to the account, was being purposely deceptive in his choice of words.[149] After an exchange of cutting remarks over proper translation, John Mesarites and the whole of the Greek delegation left the proceedings.[150]

What can we discern from the account of Mesarites of this brief meeting? Certainly, the issue of papal primacy was of paramount importance for the Latins. The only words Mesarites attributes to the cardinal were in this vein. In addition, it becomes apparent from the response of John Mesarites that the Greeks remained unwilling to make any dramatic agreements without the consent of their patriarch, John X Kamateros. For them the issue of the patriarch was a problem which superseded all others, and would have to be addressed before any agreements toward union could be achieved. These issues have been apparent to historians who have studied such negotiations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but what has too often been overlooked is the differing attitude the two sides take to such discussions.

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[146] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 lines 11-12.
[147] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 lines 17-20.
[148] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 lines 20-24. An almost identical sentiment is ascribed to the Greeks living in Latin Constantinople some years later by George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 30 lines 5-12, trans. Macrides, 17.155. On the whereabouts of John X Kamateros, see ch. 1, 32.
[149] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 lines 26-32, described the interpreter as unwilling to convey the whole meaning of the Latins' response, as well as unable to convey the greater implications of the Greek argument.
[150] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 49 line 32 – 50 line 2.

The Latins presented the problem as an ultimatum, i.e. ecclesiastical reality should reflect political reality. The Byzantines, on the other hand, did not address union as a matter of absolutes, but as one which required learned theological debate. Therefore, the Byzantines in this discussion viewed the schism not as a problem of politics, but one of dogma. Mesarites related that his brother John entered the *disputatio* armed with patristic sayings and the 'weapons of piety,' yet this preparation did not come into use. After the meeting with Peter Capuano, John Mesarites continued his efforts, and began an intensive study of patristic texts and scripture to prepare himself for future debates:

> In order to prevail in the second encounter and the one after that he went through sacred texts ceaselessly day and night. From these he picked out whatever was most useful and relevant, so that he could interpret the sayings of our Lord for the ignorant, strengthen the many in their faith, and prevent them from ever being shaken or yielding to the overweening ignorance displayed by our Italian opponents.[151]

The emphasis on 'the second encounter and the one after that' indicates that Mesarites foresaw repeated church-union negotiations. In addition, if we take Mesarites at his word, we can surmise that the Byzantines held a wider outlook for the talks than did the Latins. Political realities would have little sway in convincing the Greeks of Constantinople to accept submission to Rome. Their concern lay in theological matters. The question that would dominate future meetings was not a 'yes' or 'no' to papal primacy, but the 'how' and 'why' of church union.

The next recorded *disputatio* between the Greeks and Latins in Constantinople would not come until 30 August 1206, almost two years later. Much had happened since the meeting with the papal legate Peter Capuano that would change the

[151] *πρὸ δὲ τοῦ τὸν δεύτερον καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκνικῆσαι οὐκ ἔληγε νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὰς ἱερὰς ἀναπτύσσων βίβλους κἀκ τούτων ἀναλεγόμενος τὰ χρησιμώτατά τε καὶ καίρια καὶ τὰς κυριακὰς φωνὰς τοῖς ἀμφιγνοοῦσι διερμηνεύων, τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ στηρίζων, ὡς μὴ κατασεισθῆναι ποτὲ μηδ' ἐνδοῦναι τῷ θράσει τῆς ἀμαθίας τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀντιξούντων ἡμῖν Ἰταλῶν*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 50 lines 19-25; trans. Angold, unpublished manuscript.

significance and tone of this discussion. Byzantines in Anatolia who opposed the Latin regime in Constantinople had become organized and consolidated under Theodore Laskaris at Nicaea, creating a back and forth of military campaigns.[152] Henry I succeeded his brother after Baldwin I, who disappeared after his capture at Adrianople.[153] At approximately the same time, the Latins entered into an alliance with David Komnenos, ruler of Paphlagonia and brother of Alexios Komnenos of Trebizond.[154] According to Niketas Choniates, David sought out the alliance in order to improve his position against Theodore Laskaris.[155] This was the political situation facing the Greeks and Latins in Constantinople as they entered into another negotiation over the issue of church union. These circumstances almost certainly played a role in how the two sides addressed the other over ecclesiastical dialogue, possibly eliciting a more open attitude from the Latins. Henry I was widely considered to have been more tolerant toward Greek religious practices,[156] and it is possible that he viewed the nagging issue of religious division in his own capital as a problem that should be settled amicably. Indeed, this meeting took place only ten days after Henry I's coronation in Hagia Sophia on 20 August 1206.[157] Still, we cannot assume any shift in the policy or position of the Latin emperor in this subject. Henry I, like Baldwin I before him, was absent from the discussions with the Greeks in his

[152] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, xxxiii; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 54-55; Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 63.
[153] See ch. 1, 55.
[154] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 589-90; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 79; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 89-90; Vasiliev, 'The foundation of the Empire of Trebizond,' 23-24; I. Booth, 'Theodore Laskaris and Paphlagonia, 1204-1214; towards a chronological description,' *Archeion Pontou* 50 (2003-2004), 155-56; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 35 note 82, 110, describes the relationship between David Komnenos and the Latin empire not as an alliance, but as one of vassalage. See Henri of Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly, ch. 551.215.
[155] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 640-41, trans. Magoulias, 352, puts this alliance before David's Latin allies were defeated by the Nicaean general Andronikos Gidos near Nicomedia in autumn 1206, thus the agreement between David and Constantinople must have taken place in the early part of the year, perhaps the spring or summer.
[156] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 276; Jacoby, 'After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish states,' 763; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 156-57 note 7.
[157] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 642, trans. Magoulias, 352.

empire. According to Niketas Choniates, Henry I had left the city only two days after his coronation to respond to a Cuman and Vlach attack into Thrace.[158] Nor can we consider the alliance with David Komnenos to have had a dramatic impact on how the Latins approached the issue of union with the Greek Church. There is no evidence that the ruler of Paphlagonia pressed Henry I to be more understanding towards his Greek subjects, and even if the Latins were more inclined to be tolerant towards the Greeks because they happened to have a Greek ally, their chief rival in Anatolia, Theodore Laskaris, was also a Greek. Thus, while political considerations certainly played a role in how these negotiations progressed, we must be cautious in overestimating their impact.

The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Morosini,[159] initiated these talks.[160] It seems that since the death of the Greek patriarch, John X Kamateros, on 26 June 1206,[161] Morosini had become very much concerned with having the Greeks in Constantinople acknowledge him as their patriarch.[162] Nicholas Mesarites, who once

[158] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 645-46, trans. Magoulias, 355; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, chs. 441.167-442.168.
[159] Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 280 lines 2-6, related that the election of Morosini was unanimous. It seems that Innocent III was initially unaware of the election of the Venetian to the patriarchate. He made no reference to the new patriarch in his first correspondence to the crusader army following their capture of Constantinople, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 164, 290-91. The pope was clearly upset at the manner of Morosini's election, as reflected in his letter from 21 January 1205, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 203, 354-59. See also *Gesta Innocentii*, *PL* 214, no. XCVI, cxlii D – no. C, cxliv C; trans. Powell, no. XCVI, 175 – no. C, 184. For more on the election of Morosini as the first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 25, 27; Andrea, 'Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite,' 118; J. Richard, 'The establishment of the Latin church in the empire of Constantinople (1204-1227),' in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (London, 1989), 50; G. Fedalto, 'Venice's responsibility in the break down of ecclesiastical unity between Rome and Constantinople,' in *The Fourth Crusade Revisited. Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004. Andros (Grecia) 27-30 maggio 2004* (Vatican, 2008), 194-95; L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204-1261)* (Weimar, 1938), 25-28.
[160] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 316, argues that his agreement to hear their concerns won the support of many of the Greek clergy in Constantinople for Morosini.
[161] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 633, trans. Magoulias, 347.
[162] Richard, 'The establishment of the Latin church in the empire of Constantinople,' 48.

again gives us the only account of the *disputatio* of 1206,[163] stated that trouble was stirred when the Latin patriarch prohibited the Greeks from celebrating their regular liturgy unless they agreed to include his name in their prayers.[164] Mesarites even alleged that Latin priests were sent to spy on the Greek clergy.[165] It was at this point that Morosini invited the Greeks to discussions at his residence.[166] That Morosini sought to negotiate with the Greeks rather than attempt some harsher method to impose his will may have been his own initiative, but it is also possible that he was following papal instruction. A letter from Innocent III, dated 2 August 1206, instructed the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople to be more diplomatic in attempting to win over the Greeks of the city.[167]

In addition to the setting, the audience for these discussions was much changed from the previous *disputatio* described by Mesarites. Whereas the meeting at the end of 1204 had included both Greek clergy and laymen, only the priests and deacons who happened to be in Constantinople at that time were included in the discussions with Morosini.[168] It is also noteworthy that this *disputatio* did not include a papal legate.[169] Morosini set forth his goals for the meeting at the outset, asking the Greeks why they refused to accept him as their patriarch.[170] Indeed, the Greek

[163] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 33, is very wary of the account by Mesarites. He points out that the author gives Morosini and his fellow Latins only forty-one lines of dialogue, all of which come in the form of short questions to prompt the Greeks to expound their answers. Still, although the account is 'clearly unbalanced,' Gill considers that it indicates the topics that were raised.
[164] The service in question was the weekly veneration of the Hodegetria icon, Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 33.
[165] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 16 line 11 – 17 line 10.
[166] Morosini had taken up residence in the chambers of the former Patriarch of Constantinople, John VIII Xiphilinos, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 17 lines 26-31.
[167] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 9, no. 140, 250-56. An abridged edition of this letter can be found in *Acta Innocentii Papae III,* ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 91, 317-20.
[168] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 15 lines 2-3.
[169] The new papal legate, Cardinal Benedict, was just then making his way to Constantinople, Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 316; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 33.
[170] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 18 lines 1-5.

spokesmen at these discussions, Nicholas Mesarites and John Kontotheodorou,[171] never referred to Morosini as patriarch at all, but with the more generic term of *δέσποτα*, 'lord.'[172] The Greeks responded first that the Latin language was 'foreign and incomprehensible,'[173] and second, that Morosini's appointment as patriarch was irregular.[174] As the discussions continued, other differences in religious practice were put forward as possible causes for divergence, namely that of baptism,[175] and the Latin use of azymes, which the Greeks described as 'dead and lifeless.'[176] The issue of papal primacy, always a focus for historians of the east-west schism, did not appear until the end of this meeting. Morosini challenged the Greeks to explain how the throne of Rome was not established by Peter.[177] The Greeks responded with a long and learned reply,[178] expressing a typical Byzantine counter-argument to claims of papal primacy.[179] Their argument noted the apostolic tradition of cities other than Rome, such as Antioch, where Peter proselytized for eight years, Jerusalem, and

[171] John Kontotheodorou held the title *μαΐστωρ τῆς πρώτης σχολῆς τῶν γραμματικῶν*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 15 lines 4-6.
[172] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 18 lines 26, 34; 19 lines, 5, 11, 23, 36; 23 line 16. In recollecting the event, Mesarites also refers to Morosini as 'patriarch of the Latins,' Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 15 line 1, 'archbishop of the Latins,' Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25 line 10, and 'archbishop of the Italians,' Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 21 line 33.
[173] *ἀσύμβατοι κατ ἀπάντα καὶ ἑτερόφωνοι*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 18 line 7.
[174] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 18 lines 13-17.
[175] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 20 lines 25-31.
[176] *τὸν ἀζυμίτην ἱερουργεῖτε τὸν νενεκρωμένον καὶ ἄψυχον*, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 21 lines 1-2.
[177] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 5-6.
[178] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 line 9 – 25 line 9. According to Mesarites, the Greeks explained to Morosini that the first bishop of Rome was not Peter, but Linus. Peter himself did not ordain a bishop of Rome until Clement, the third bishop of the city, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 13-16. In addition, when Peter did arrive in Rome, it was not as a bishop, but as a teacher and to refute heresy, specifically that promoted by Simon Magus, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 9-13. The Greeks also noted that Peter was the apostle to the Jews, whereas Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 23 lines 16-29.
[179] Milton Anastos considers the argument made here against papal primacy a classic Byzantine view of the pentarchy, Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome,' 56.

Constantinople.[180] The *disputatio* came to an end when Morosini withdrew, promising to consider the things he had heard.[181]

It was not long before negotiations recommenced. The arrival in Constantinople of a new papal legate, Benedict, Cardinal of St Susanna, initiated a series of talks between the Latin hierarchy and the Greek clergy who remained in the city. Benedict's letter of recommendation from Innocent III, introducing the new legate to Baldwin I, explains his mission – 'to form [the Greek Church] more completely in devotion and purity of faith according to the institutions of the most holy Roman Church, which the Lord appointed to be the mother and mistress of all Churches.'[182] Thus, Benedict's mission was to gain Greek acknowledgement of the primacy of Rome.[183] The papal legate took advantage of his journey to Constantinople to speak to several Greek prelates about submission to the pope. He likely met with Michael Choniates, the archbishop of Athens, in Thessalonike in the summer of 1205,[184] and reportedly travelled to Euboea, where he obtained the obedience of

[180] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 24 lines 1-15.
[181] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25 lines 10-13.
[182] *Ut autem in devotione ac fidei puritate, juxta institutiones sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quam Dominus omnium ecclesiarum matrem constituit et magistram*, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 56(55), 97 lines 15-17; translated by Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32. Richard, 'The establishment of the Latin church in the empire of Constantinople,' 47, contends that Innocent III wanted to implement a system similar to that in southern Italy. J. Gill, 'Innocent III and the Greeks: aggressor or apostle?' in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), 99, highlights Benedict's 'gentle approach' towards church-union negotiations. For more on Benedict and his mission, see Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 93; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 606.
[183] This is also the conclusion of Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 377.
[184] The archbishop of Athens indicated that the cardinal gave him large sums of money, *ὅτε δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐξῆειμεν, ὅσα δαπάνης ἕνεκα ἐκομιζόμεθα, ταῦτα ἐπαναπλεύσαντες εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην παρὰ τὸν καρδινάριον καὶ πάλιν κατελθόντες εἰς Εὔριπον, κἀκεῖθεν δεῦρο διαπλωιζόμενοι ἀνηλώσαμεν πάντα ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 156, 251, lines 33-36. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32, and M. Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks (1204-1261): A study of the Greek population and the Orthodox Church under the Frankish dominion* (Ioannina, 1987), 62, interpret this statement to mean that the two men became well acquainted in Thessalonike.

Theodore, Greek bishop of Negroponte.[185] In the later part of 1206, Benedict was again in Thessalonike, continuing his efforts.[186]

Unlike the previous two meetings between the churches in Constantinople, we know a good deal about what was discussed in these negotiations because of the account of Benedict's interpreter, Nicholas of Otranto. Nicholas, a native of southern Italy, was the abbot of the monastery of St Nicholas in Casole, with the monastic name of Nektarios. He was in an interesting position, being a Greek Orthodox Christian who acknowledged the primacy of the pope.[187] Some time after 1206, Nicholas authored three theological tracts, using his experiences in the discussions in Romania as inspiration.[188] In his own words, the treatise on the procession issue was 'laid out and organized by Nicholas of Otranto, after interpreting from the Greek to the Roman dialect in Constantinople, at the behest of father Benedict, then cardinal and legate of Innocent III, who was then pope of Rome.'[189] Because of the possible delay in putting his ideas into writing,[190] and because of the polemical purpose of these texts, Nicholas of Otranto presents a somewhat questionable source for church-union negotiations in the thirteenth century. His work often omits any mention of when or where certain discussion took place, making it difficult for us to put them

[185] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 174(179), 283-84.
[186] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 9, no. 188(190), 342. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32, and Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, 62, suspect that Benedict also traveled to southern Greece.
[187] Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1470-71; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 100; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 316; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32. On Nicholas of Otranto as indicative of a place and time of transition, see Herrin, 'Thirteenth-century prosopography and refugees,' 304. For the interest and work of Nicholas of Otranto in Greek learning and theology, see Ciggaar, *Western travellers to Constantinople*, 92.
[188] On the Latin use of the *filioque*, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 7-23; on azymes, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 24-59; on the issues of Saturday fasting, Lenten practices, and clerical marriage, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 60-76.
[189] *Συλλεγεῖσα καὶ συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ Νικολάου Ἰδρούντος, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ἑρμηνευθεῖσα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, προτροπῇ τοῦ πάδρε Βενεδίκτου, τοῦ καρδηναρίου καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ τότε ὑπάρχοντος Ἰννοκενίου τοῦ τρίτου, πάπα Ῥώμης*, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 7 lines 13-20.
[190] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 32, argues that Nicholas wrote these texts after the death of Innocent III, but does not offer any evidence to support this claim.

into context.[191] Still, his comments give insights into the many negotiations undertaken by Benedict as papal legate that would otherwise be completely lost to us.

The negotiations under Cardinal Benedict began on 29 September 1206. These talks again took place within the patriarchal palace, the Thomaites hall, attached to Hagia Sophia.[192] Speaking for the Greeks was once again John Mesarites, representing the monks residing on the Marmora islands and on Mount Auxentios.[193] Once more, Nicholas Mesarites gave us an account of these discussions in the funeral oration for his brother.[194] It is noteworthy that the Latins had previously directed their efforts at the Greek laymen of Constantinople in 1204, then the Greek clergy on 30 August 1206, and now called on the Greek monks. Mesarites stated that Benedict and the Latin patriarch summoned them specifically.[195] After some introductory comments, Benedict posed the following question for the monks: 'How, Greeks, do you have the effrontery not to submit to your patriarch sent to you by the pope? Why do you refuse to recognize him as patriarch and to record him in your sacred diptychs? For the pope is head of all churches and has the authority to act as he likes in churches the world over.'[196] When the monks responded that they could not acknowledge Morosini as their patriarch while John X Kamateros still lived, Benedict praised their action as correct, but pointed out that Kamateros had passed away. He insisted that the Greeks were now 'obliged to submit to the patriarch sent by the pope,' and to remember him in their prayers, adding that this was the purpose of his

[191] Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 59 lines 1-10, explains that theological issues were debated in Constantinople over many days, suggesting a date in the later half of 1206.
[192] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 6-7.
[193] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 3-4; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 20-21 note 20.
[194] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52-63.
[195] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 3-7.
[196] *πῶς ὑμεῖς, ὦ Γραικοί, τολμᾶτε μὴ ὑπακούειν τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πάπας κεσταλέντι πατριάρχῃ ὑμῶν ὥστε ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην καὶ ἀναφέρειν αὐτὸν ἔν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑμῶν διπτύχοις; ὁ γὰρ πάπας κεφαλή ἐστι πασῶν τῶν εκκλησιῶν καὶ ἐξουσίαν κέκτηται ποιεῖν πάντα ὅσα καὶ βούλεται ἐν ταῖς ἁπανταχοῦ εκκλησίαις*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 9-14.

current mission in Constantinople.[197] The monks again insisted that they could not accept Morosini as patriarch because he was not appointed according to the holy and sacred canons, to which Benedict made bold statements regarding papal authority, claiming for the pope the power to ordain anyone he wished in churches around the world.[198]

From this point the *disputatio* descended into arguments over the primacy of Rome. The reasoning here is almost identical to that put forward at the meeting with Morosini on 30 August 1206. The monks argued that the church hierarchy was established to prevent one bishop from interfering in the diocese of another.[199] They continued by describing the Orthodox view of the pentarchy, which emphasized cooperation between the five patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome.[200] Two incidental tangents during the talks conveyed the attitude of the disputants. One occurred when the two sides disagreed over the identity of the apostle James, at which point Benedict insisted on a reading from the New Testament.[201] When the Latins appeared to have proven their point, Mesarites remarked that they 'all raised their voices as though condemning the monks.'[202] Clearly the Latin contingent believed that if the monks could be wrong in one area,

[197] *ὀφείλετε τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πάπα ἀποσταλέντι πατριάρχῃ ὑπακούειν,* Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 53 lines 7-8.
[198] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 53 lines 16-22.
[199] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 54 lines 3-12.
[200] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 56 lines 4-20. For more on Byzantine views of the pentarchy, see Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome,' 56; Pelikan *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, 164; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1625-26; Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 103; F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), 150; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 33-34, 86; M. Jugie, *Le schisme Byzantin: aperçu historique et doctrinal* (Paris, 1941), 37-38, 222-23; M. Cunningham and E. Theokritoff, 'Who are the Orthodox Christians? A historical introduction,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. M. Cunningham and E. Theokritoff (Cambridge, 2008), 2.
[201] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 54 line 27 – 55 line 5.
[202] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 55 lines 3-5.

they could be wrong in another.[203] The other tangent involved a statement by the Greeks that was apparently lost in translation. When pointing to the canons of the ecumenical councils for proof of their position on the pentarchy, the monks stated 'we do not have an emperor, who is our coreligionist.'[204] One in the Latin camp, whom Mesarites identified as a 'mischief-maker,' failed to catch the phrase 'who is our coreligionist,' and took the statement as a challenge to the rights of the Latin emperor.[205] After a short uproar, the monks asked the translator to repeat what had been said, and the matter was settled.[206]

After these tangents, the papal legate, according to Mesarites, became increasingly irate. Benedict gave up on what Mesarites considered were the 'proper' forms of debate[207] and began to condemn the Byzantines, both individuals and the people as a whole, calling them Pharisees and even heretics.[208] He was particularly incensed by their accusations against the Latins, calling them azymites and *pneumatomachoi*, those who refused the divinity of the Holy Spirit.[209] It is remarkable that this is the first and only mention by Mesarites of the azyme and procession issue during the August-October talks, and he puts it in the mouth of the Latin cardinal. The Greeks responded with accusations of their own. According to Mesarites, the monks accused the Latin clergy of being uneducated and carrying out 'disgusting acts.'[210] Nicholas of Otranto recorded that the Greeks accused the Latins of avarice,

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[203] The monks brushed off the incident, stating that the James identified in the reading was another James, and then continued to discuss papal primacy, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 55 lines 6-8.
[204] *οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποδεκνύειν βασιλέα ὁμόφρονα ἡμῖν*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 58 lines 9-12.
[205] *κακουργῶν*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 58 line 13. It is noteworthy that Henry I, presumably still on campaign in Thrace, was again absent from the *disputatio*.
[206] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 58 line 21 – 59 line 2.
[207] *ὁ καδδηνάλιος ἀφέμενος τῆς εὐτάκτου διαλέξεως*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 59 lines 3-4.
[208] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 59 lines 3-9.
[209] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 59 line 7.
[210] *ἄτοπα δρώμενα*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 59 lines 10-19.

plundering the treasures of Constantinople in the same manner that Nebuchadnezzar plundered those of Jerusalem.[211] This was the first time the Greeks criticized the actions of the Latins. Mesarites depicts the *disputatio* as ending with an angry speech by Benedict, giving the monks until the following Monday to change their position and accept Morosini as patriarch.[212]

When the two parties returned to discussion on 2 October 1206, the monks reiterated that they could not accept Morosini as their patriarch unless he was appointed according to the canons of the councils.[213] Mesarites begins his account of the proceedings by placing in the mouth of Benedict a speech in support of papal authority, pointing out that the Roman Church had 'never been guilty of wrong belief' and that 'all the heresies came from you Constantinopolitans.'[214] When the monks countered this claim,[215] Benedict again became impatient, calling the Greeks stubborn and with no semblance of humility.[216] For the first time in these negotiations, the Greeks referred to the political situation in their response:

> If we were as refractory as you say we are, we would, along with other Constantinopolitans, have departed for the lands of the Emperor Theodore Komnenos Laskaris and for those of *kyr* David Komnenos and for those of the barbarians, who share our faith, even for those of the Turks, as many have done fleeing from the constant hardships and daily murders, which you inflict upon us. However, we have not done so, making the correct estimation, as we see it, that it is pleasing to God that we do not flee from you who have been sent by God to chastise and discipline us.[217]

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[211] Jeremiah 52.17-19; Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 40 line 12 – 41 line 9. Its interesting that in his 1208 letter to Theodore I Laskaris, Innocent III would use the comparison of the Latins to Nebuchadnezzar as justification of their actions in the Fourth Crusade, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 6-8.
[212] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 59 line 20 – 60 line 2.
[213] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 60 lines 9-18.
[214] *οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία ἐφρόνησε κακῶς. πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ αἱρέσεις ἐξ ὑμῶν τῶν Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐξῆλθον*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 60 lines 33-36.
[215] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 61 lines 3-6, they pointed to Pope Honorius I, who was anathematized for advocating the heretical doctrine of Monotheletism, see Pelikan *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, 67-68; Louth, *Greek East and Latin West*, 14-15; F. Cross and A. Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1974), 787.
[216] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 lines 3-8.
[217] *εἰ γὰρ ἦμεν τοιοῦτοι οἵους ἔφης ἀκατάδεκτοι, ἠδυνάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Κωνσταντινουπολῖται ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Λάσκαρι χώραν τοῦ βασιλέως κῦρ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ κῦρ Δαϊδ καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν ὁμοπίστων ἡμῖν βαρβάρων χώρας, ἀλλα καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν*

At these words, the cardinal and patriarch deliberated, and the meeting ended.[218] Once again, the Fourth Crusade and its result are described as the punishment from God for the sins of the Greeks, but the proposition of fleeing to the refuge of one of the successor states – in this case the territories of Theodore Laskaris or David Komnenos – presented a new element to the discussions. We know that a considerable number of Greeks in Constantinople fled the Latin regime after 1204.[219] These included some of the most noted names of the period. After initially fleeing the sack of Constantinople, Niketas Choniates lingered in Latin territories, namely Selymbria, until 1206. He even returned to the capital before making his way to Nicaea.[220] Nicholas Mesarites remained in Latin Constantinople for some years before going to live in Anatolia.[221] Constantine Tornikes, who held the position of *logothetes tou dromou* before 1204, was in the service of the Latin emperor Baldwin I until the latter's defeat at Adrianople in 1205. Tornikes then sought refuge with the Bulgarians.[222] The crusader

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τὴν τῶν Τούρκων, ὃ καὶ πολλοὶ πεποιήκασι φεύγοντες τὰς ἐξ ὑμῶν καθ' ἑκάστην θλίψεις καὶ τοὺς καθημερινοὺς θανάτους. ἀλλα τοῦτο οὐ πεποιήκαμεν, ἀναλογισάμενοι καλῶς, ὡς οἰόμεθα, ἀρεστὸν εἶναι θεῷ τὸ μὴ φεύγειν ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀποσταλέντων παιδευτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ σωφρονιστῶν, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 62 lines 12-21.

[218] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 lines 1-12.

[219] Reinert, 'Fragmentation (1204-1453),' 309, estimates that roughly half of the Greek population in Constantinople fled to the successor states. Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, 29, notes that Greeks fled not only to escape the Latins, but also to find employment in the new Byzantine regimes. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 6, describes the careers of a number of Byzantine elites before and after 1204. Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 129, suggests that the number of Greeks who fled Latin domination after 1204 has been exaggerated. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 37, identifies one hundred and sixty one elite Byzantine families in Constantinople before 1204. Of those, twenty-one appear in the Empire of Nicaea, thirteen in Epiros, and at least twenty-one within the boundaries of the Latin empire after 1204. The rest he imagines found refuge among the Turks and the Bulgarians.

[220] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 635 lines 1-6, trans. Magoulias, 348. Based on the length of time in which he remained in Latin territory, Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 29-30, wonders if Choniates initially sought employment in the new Latin regime before going to the court of Theodore Laskaris. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 58, suspects that Niketas Choniates had been at odds with the Laskarids before 1204, and that was the reason for delaying his relocation to Nicaea.

[221] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1346, Mesarites left Constantinople for Nicaea only after the death of his brother, John.

[222] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 643 lines 3-10, trans. Magoulias, 353, writes that Tornikes was forced to serve the Latin emperor. Lock, 'Latin emperors as heirs to Byzantium,' 300, notes that Greek functionaries remained employed in the imperial service in Constantinople from the beginning of the Latin regime.

conquest of Constantinople is mentioned very briefly by Nikephoros Blemmydes, who states that he soon after emigrated to Bithynia.[223] George Akropolites presents something of an extreme case. His family remained in Latin Constantinople, but sent him to the Empire of Nicaea when he was sixteen years old.[224] He remarked that his father wanted 'to slip away secretly from the hands of the Latins, for he was very much in their power.'[225] Theodore Laskaris accepted refugees into Nicaea, looking over them 'as a brooding hen gathers her chickens.'[226] But how do we interpret the comment about fleeing to the successor states in the context of the *disputatio*? Even if we accept the account of the negotiations conveyed by Mesarites as an exaggeration of Latin emotions, it has already been made clear that the Latins' priority was gaining submission to the pope and recognition of their patriarch. Peter Capuano, Thomas Morosini and Benedict of St Susanna all called on the Greeks to accept the Latin patriarch, presenting the issue as an ultimatum.[227] It does not seem that the Latin disputants ever considered that their Greek subjects had an alternative. The warning from the monks on 2 October, however, coming at the end of the meeting, called papal policy in the East into question. The Roman Church could no longer force the

[223] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, 49 lines 20-21; trans. Munitiz, 97, put this information in the context of his educational career. See Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 7-8.
[224] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 28; Macrides, '1204: The Greek sources,' 142, Akropolites was born in Latin-occupied Constantinople in 1217.
[225] *ἐβούλετο δέ μοι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ λάθρα τῆς τῶν Λατίνων ἀπολισθῆσαι χειρός· ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκεκράτητο*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 43 lines 15-17, trans. Macrides, 29.189. Lock, *Franks in the Aegean*, 48, takes this to mean that George Akropolites' father was in the service of the Latins. For the opposing viewpoint, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 189 note 3.
[226] *ὡς ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία ἑαυτῆς*, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 94, 123 lines 24-25. This does not mean that all Byzantines were willing to relocate to Nicaea. The Patriarch of Constantinople, John X Kamateros, is an obvious example. He died in Thrace, opting to decline the invitation of Theodore Laskaris to make a home in Anatolia, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 11 lines 9-15. Michael Choniates is another example. Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, 30-31, points out that Michael Choniates was invited twice to take refuge in Nicaea – first by Basil Kamateros, an uncle of the empress, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 129, 208-211 and Michael Choniates, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα*, ed. S. Lampros (Athens, 1879-1890), vol. 2, 633, and again by the new patriarch, Michael Autoreianos, Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 95, 125-27. He refused both times.
[227] Mesarites identifies three occasions when Benedict threatened the Greeks with punishment if they did not obey papal directives, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 14-18, 62 lines 6-8, and 63 lines 9-11.

issue, and would have to address church union on the terms of the Greek Church – dealing with the theological problems that had divided East and West for centuries.

The account of the translator for these talks, Nicholas of Otranto, suggests that Benedict had already begun to consider issues of doctrine and practice in regards to schism. Whereas Mesarites barely mentioned these problems, Nicholas of Otranto stated that theological differences were debated between the Greeks and Latins for a number of days in Constantinople.[228] If Nicholas of Otranto is correct, the implication would be that theological discussions were convened in addition to the negotiations between Benedict and the monks described by Mesarites.[229] Nicholas of Otranto even depicted Cardinal Benedict as conciliatory towards the theological position of the Greek Church. On the issue of azymes, for example, Benedict stated that both forms of the Eucharist were acceptable. 'For just as I know that wine, whether red or black, is equally proven to make the perfect blood of Christ in the holy chalice, in the same way the *artos* offered, whether it be leavened or unleavened, is turned into the body of Christ when it is blessed.'[230] Nicholas of Otranto went so far as to argue that Benedict was won over, stating that no Latin was willing to debate the Greeks further, coming to the conclusion that theirs was the 'true and pure faith.'[231] It is possible to interpret the cardinal's attitude as an attempt to compromise – giving way on the Eucharist issue for a possible acknowledgement from the Greeks of papal primacy. It is more likely, however, that these comments were invented by Nicholas of Otranto. They do not correspond in anyway with the Benedict depicted by Mesarites, and considering

[228] Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 59 line 2.
[229] Because of the problems surrounding chronology in the account of Nicholas of Otranto, we cannot be certain if these discussions took place before, during or after the sequence of events described by Mesarites.
[230] *Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶνον οἶδα, κἂν λευκὸς, εἴτε μέλας ἢ καὶ ἐρυθρὸς πέφυκεν, ἀδιαφόρως αἷμα ποιεῖν τέλειον ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ Χριστοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ προσφερόμενος ἄρτος κἄν τ' ἔνζυμος, κἄν τε ἄζυμος, εἰς σῶμα μετατρέπεται ἁγιαζόμενος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,* Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 37 lines 20-28. Benedict said much the same on a second occasion, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 58 lines 18-24.
[231] Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 59.

the goals of Nicholas of Otranto's writings, we have to take them with a degree of caution. Still, the account of the interpreter suggests that overarching theological problems were put forward and discussed during Benedict's time in Constantinople. Thus, the Latins were beginning to understand – possibly as a result of the threat from the Greeks of Constantinople that they would appeal to foreign powers to protect their ecclesiastical interests – that they would have to address the problem of the schism in terms of theological dialogue.

Before following through with an appeal to one of the Byzantine successor states, the Greeks of Constantinople made one last attempt to compromise, this time taking their petition to the Latin emperor, Henry I. In their own words, the Greeks of Constantinople approached Henry I, explaining that they had been without a patriarch since the death of John X Kamateros, and asking that they be allowed to elect a new Patriarch of Constantinople according to their own custom.[232] Henry I responded that this was not possible without first reconciling with the pope and restoring his name in the liturgy, at which point the Greeks decided to write to the pope directly.[233] Two such letters, from the Greeks of Latin Constantinople to Innocent III, have come down to us. One is preserved in the account of Mesarites, edited by A. Heisenberg,[234] the other in an edition by J. Cotelerius.[235] It has been suggested that one letter belongs to 1206, while the other originates from 1214/15.[236] Joseph Gill, on the other had, argues convincingly that the two editions are more or less variations of the same document. While the Cotelerius edition is somewhat different in regards to style and content, it

[232] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 lines 30-35.
[233] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 line 35 – 64 line 7.
[234] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63-66.
[235] J. B. Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae monumenta graece et latine* (Paris, 1686), vol. 3, 514-520.
[236] Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 227-30; K. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976), 42; Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261,' 211; W. de Vries, 'Innocenz III, [1198-1216] und der christliche Osten,' *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965), 120-21. The later date coincides with vacancies in both the Latin and Greek patriarchates following the death of Thomas Morosini (1211/15) and that of Michael IV Autoreianos (1212/14).

seems unlikely that the Greeks would seek the pope's permission to elect a Greek patriarch in Constantinople after more than a decade of Latin occupation. Therefore, we should consider the two editions of the letter preserved by Heisenberg and Cotelerius to be two versions of the same letter, written shortly after the *disputatio* with Cardinal Benedict had come to an unsatisfactory end in October 1206.[237]

The letter called on the pope to allow Henry I to give permission for the election of a new Greek patriarch, at which point he and his synod would look towards the issue of union with the Roman Church. Indeed, the Greeks asked that Innocent III send a new delegation to Constantinople to discuss the ecclesiastical differences between the two churches.[238] Considering the harsh tone at the end of the meeting with Cardinal Benedict, it is surprising that the Greeks would seek yet another papal representative to engage in the *disputatio*. This must be taken as indicative of their commitment to find a lasting settlement regarding church union, or at least an arrangement to settle matters between themselves and the hierarchy of the Roman Church in Constantinople. Indeed, the letter itself is conciliatory, assigning blame for the state of the schism on no particular individual.

> We trust in the apostolic and canonical piety, which has been handed down to you and to us by the church fathers, that we have not become so estranged from one another – not by difference of opinion and hardness of heart, but by limitations and differences of language and by a reluctance for the one to be humiliated by the other – that we have forgotten that together we constitute the limbs of the one and indivisible body of the Church of Christ, which has Christ as its one head.[239]

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[237] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 265 note 60.
[238] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 64 lines 11-29.
[239] *θαρροῦμεν γὰρ κἀπὶ τῇ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν πατροπαραδότῳ ἀποστολικῇ καὶ κακονικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ὡς οὐ διαφορᾷ γνώμης καὶ καρδίας στρεβλότητι, ἀλλὰ γλώττης στενότητι καὶ ἀνομοιότητι καὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν θάτερον ὑποταπεινωθῆναι θατέρῳ ἐς τοιοῦτον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐσχίσθημεν, ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῆσαι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων στῆναι τὰ μέλη τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σώμστος, ὧν ἁπάντων μία κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 66 lines1-7.

Innocent III is addressed as bishop of the 'first see' and 'supreme pontiff,' and Henry I is referred to as 'the Christ-loving emperor.'[240] The Greeks cited numerous canons and precedents for situations when the vacancy of a patriarchal seat prohibited the bishops of his see from taking any action, thus demonstrating that a new patriarch would have to be appointed before they could make any agreement on union.[241] The letter ends with a respectful address and an appeal to the pope not to overlook the request from the Greeks.[242]

Despite the generous tone of the letter, the Greeks in Latin Constantinople never received permission to pursue elections for a patriarch of their own. It may be the case that their letter was never delivered,[243] but it is more likely that Innocent III chose to ignore their request.[244] In reality, he had no other choice. He had already expended much energy supporting the patriarchate of Thomas Morosini, despite the misgivings about how Morosini was first elevated to the office.[245] Two papal legates had exercised the full weight of their office to gain Greek endorsement for the Latin patriarch. In short, Innocent III had his candidate. His representatives had put forth the argument that papal primacy allowed him to make appointments in the see of Constantinople. To accept the election of a new patriarch in 1206 would not only have meant abandoning Morosini and his claims, it would have been an effective

[240] *πρώτης καθέδρας*, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 line 15, 66 line 26; *ἀρχιερέων ὑπέρτατε*, 64 line 30; *φιλόχριστος βασιλεία*, 63 lines 32 and 36, 64 lines 17-18.
[241] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 64 line 29 – 65 line 25.
[242] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 66 lines 25-28.
[243] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 34.
[244] Richard, 'The establishment of the Latin church,' 48.
[245] Before he knew of Morosini's appointment, Innocent III had sent instructions for other arrangements in the hierarchy of Constantinople in a letter dated 7 December 1204, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 164, 290-91; *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 66, 283-84. Once reconciled to Morosini, Innocent III took pains to endorse the authority of the patriarch among Latins in the East, C. Schabel, 'Antelm the Nasty, first Latin archbishop of Patras (1205-ca. 1241),' in *Diplomatics in the eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500*, ed. M. Parani and C. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), 98-99. See also Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 30; Andrea, 'Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite,' 118; W. Duba, 'The status of the patriarch of Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade,' in *Diplomatics in the eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500*, ed. M. Parani and C. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), 85-91.

withdrawal of all the previous claims made about the authorities and powers of the papal office.

Whatever his motivation, waiting did little to serve Innocent III's goals in the East. The Greeks of Constantinople took advantage of the Byzantine states around them to arrange for the election of a new Greek patriarch. Their letter to Theodore Laskaris in Nicaea was preserved by Mesarites,[246] who related that he was chosen to carry the appeal to Nicaea.[247] The correspondence called on Laskaris to make arrangements for a new patriarch in exile to be elected in accordance with 'the holy and divine canons and ecclesiastical tradition.'[248] The way in which the letter addressed the ruler in Nicaea tells us something of the consequences resulting from the failure of negotiations with the Roman Church. The Greeks referred to Laskaris as 'our emperor' and 'our only emperor.'[249] They asked that Laskaris take them under his protection.[250] Such deference to Laskaris is in contrast to the respect given towards the 'Christ-loving Latin emperor' Henry I we found in the earlier letter to Innocent III.[251] Furthermore, it brings to mind the quarrel caused by the misunderstanding in the *disputatio* of 29 September 1206, in which the Latins thought they heard a denial of Henry I's imperial claims.[252] When this letter was written presents something of a problem. We can be certain that it was received well before the election of Michael IV Autoreianos in March 1208, but one cannot be certain how long the Greeks in Constantinople waited for a reply from Innocent III before acting on the appeal to

[246] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25-34. There were in fact three letters, one to Theodore Laskaris, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25-29; one to his wife Anna, 29-32, and another to their young son Nicholas, 33-34.
[247] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 27-29. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 35, has suggested that the letter itself was authored by Mesarites.
[248] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 28 lines 15-16.
[249] *ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ,* Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 25 line 21, 28 lines 14-15; *βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν μόνος*, 28 lines 24-25.
[250] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 9-12, 27 lines 25-29, 27 line 25 – 28 line 8.
[251] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 63 lines 32 and 36, 64 lines 17-18.
[252] Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 58 lines 9-12.

Laskaris. It seems likely that they did not begin their communications with Nicaea until the middle of 1207 at the earliest.

The letter from the Greeks of Constantinople presented Theodore Laskaris with an enormous opportunity. By responding favourably to their request he was able to depict himself as the champion of Orthodoxy against the Latin invaders. The request was convenient for Laskaris, who required presence of a patriarch for an imperial coronation anyway. Furthermore, there was never any real prospect that he could have refused the invitation to act on the issue of a new patriarch. Failure to do so might well have encouraged the Greeks living in Latin Constantinople to seek help from Epiros or Trebizond, which would have had direct consequences for the imperial claims of the Laskarids. Laskaris responded that he was already considering the election of a new patriarch when he received the message from Mesarites, and announced his intention to summon the necessary ecclesiastical gathering before Easter.[253]

The correspondence between Theodore Laskaris and Innocent III at the end of 1207 or beginning of 1208 may well have been a result of the exchange between Nicaea and the Greeks of Latin Constantinople, but because we do not have the original letter from Theodore Laskaris, only the papal reply, we cannot be certain.[254] Innocent III's reply gives us much information about the content of the original message from Laskaris, but nowhere does it address the situation of the Greek Church in areas of Latin domination. While we must be cautious about drawing conclusions with regard to cause and effect in this correspondence, the end result of the papacy's attempt to secure recognition of papal primacy in Constantinople is clear. The Greeks of Constantinople reached out to a rival of the Latin empire, with important

[253] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 line 23 – 35 line 6.
[254] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 60-64.

implications for the future. With the election of Michael IV Autoreianos as Patriarch of Constantinople in exile, and his subsequent coronation of Theodore Laskaris, Nicaea gained both an emperor and a patriarch appointed by Byzantine traditions and customs. The Empire of Nicaea was now a prime claimant to the Byzantine imperial tradition, and a foremost threat for the Latin empire.[255] The failure of church-union negotiations in Constantinople had worked in favour of the Laskarids, with real political results.

Negotiations before the *Disputatio* of 1234

The election of a Greek patriarch in Nicaea seriously curtailed papal efforts to dictate terms to end the schism. Following the letter from Innocent III to Theodore Laskaris, there is no indication that there was any contact between Rome and Nicaea for a period of about six years. The pope may well have been reassessing his approach to the issue of church union after the complete failure of the talks in 1204 and 1206. Theodore I, for his part, likely considered the papal reply to his message in 1208 as the most he could expect, at least for the time being. The complete lack of communication between the two churches in this period is startling. It coincided with a period of intensified warfare between the Latin empire and the Empire of Nicaea.[256] Diplomatic contact between Rome and Nicaea did not resume until after a political settlement had been reached.

The most noteworthy diplomatic contact between Nicaea and the Latins in this period came with the 1212/14 Treaty of Nymphaion, ending hostilities after Henry I's

[255] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 35.
[256] Increased hostilities included an anti-Nicaean alliance between the Latin empire and the Seljuk Turks, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 414, see ch. 1, 38-40.

victory over Theodore I in 1211.[257] George Akropolites wrote that Henry I was particularly benevolent towards his Greek subjects, placing them among the elite of Constantinople, trusting them in his military, and even treating them as his own people.[258] This generous policy was threatened by the arrival in Constantinople of a new papal legate, Pelagius, cardinal bishop of Albano, in 1213.[259] According to Akropolites, Pelagius was 'wild and arrogant,' and his arrival had terrible consequences for the Greek subjects of Latin Constantinople.[260]

> He was compelling all to bow down in subordination to the Elder Rome. Therefore monks were confined, priests were bound, and every church was closed. In this situation, one could do one of two things: either acknowledge the pope as first bishop and commemorate him in holy services, or death was the penalty for the person who did not do this.[261]

The harsh measures inaugurated by Pelagius were confirmed by Mesarites, who wrote of Greek clergymen fleeing Constantinople and telling stories of the persecution they had endured.[262] When the Greeks of Constantinople complained to Henry I about these developments, he countered the orders of the papal legate.[263] Greek churches were reopened and clergy released.[264] Despite the Latin emperor's positive reaction,

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[257] Although the Treaty of Nymphaion is certainly the most noted event in Latin-Nicaean diplomacy between 1212 and 1214, we should not forget suspected diplomatic activity for which we have some evidence, but which we cannot confirm. See, for example, the possible marriage of Marco I Sanudo to a sister of Theodore I Laskaris in 1212, and the possibility of an agreement between Nicaea and Venice in 1214 that was renewed in the agreement we know to have come about in 1219, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-18, see ch. 1, 63 note 171.

[258] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 28 lines 12-16, trans. Macrides, 16.153.

[259] For Innocent III's letter verifying the powers of legate for Pelagius, see *PL* 216, cols. 901-903.

[260] *ἤθους δὲ τυχὼν ἀγριωτέρου καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ χρώμενος πολλὰ δεινὰ ἐνεδείξατο ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορσι*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 29 lines 18-20, trans. Macrides, 17.154-55.

[261] *ἠνάγκαζε γὰρ τοὺς πάντας τῇ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ὑποκύψαι ὑποταγῇ. ἐντεῦθεν καθείργνυντο μοναχοί, ἱερεῖς ἐδεσμοῦντο καὶ ναὸς ἅπας ἐκέκλειστο. καὶ ἦν ἐν αυτῷ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν πάπαν πρῶτον ἀρχιερέα καὶ τούτου τὴν μνήμην ἐν ἱεροτελεστίαις ποιεῖν, ἢ θάνατον εἶναι τῷ μὴ διαπραξαμένῳ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτίμιον*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 29 line 20 – 30 line 2, trans. Macrides, 17.155.

[262] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 lines 26-29.

[263] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 156 note 7, points out that Akropolites is the only source for Henry's actions at this time, but she adds that there are precedents for Henry I behaving in a benevolent manner towards the Greek ecclesiasts in his territories. See Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, nos. 125 and 127, 88-90.

[264] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 314-15, suggests that Pelagius adopted a more tolerant attitude after the reversal of his policies by Henry I.

Akropolites writes that many of the monks and priests left Constantinople at that time and found a refuge in the Empire of Nicaea.[265]

The severe measures under Pelagius did not go unnoticed in Nicaea, and drew a quick reaction from the patriarch. With the death of Michael IV Autoreianos on 26 August 1214, Theodore II Eirenikos was elected patriarch in Nicaea on 28 September.[266] In 1214, he wrote to the Greeks living in Latin Constantinople, calling them to staunch resistance of Latin persecution.[267] Eirenikos acknowledged the pope as bishop of Rome,[268] but added that following his teachings would bring 'death to the spirit.'[269] Anyone acknowledging the primacy of the pope, said Eirenikos, was making a fool of himself.[270] He called on those remaining in Constantinople to avoid theological discussions with the Latins,[271] and threatened his fellow Greeks with excommunication should they allow themselves to be led astray by the false teachings of the papacy.[272] Eirenikos concluded his letter with an appeal, that while the Latins might lead themselves to ruin, the Greeks should remain 'pure, upright and unshakable in the correct faith.'[273]

The measures imposed by the new papal legate in Constantinople were not encouraging for ecclesiastical dialogue, but political realities would put the *disputatio* to the forefront of Byzantine-Latin diplomacy yet again. In the later part of 1214,

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[265] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 30 lines 2-24, trans. Macrides, 17.155. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 735, suggests that this is the point when Byzantine complaints about the Latins shifted from reasonable debate to prejudice.
[266] Laurent, *Regestes*, no, 1219, 24-26; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 32 lines 12-19.
[267] *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 182-92.
[268] *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 190 lines 19-20.
[269] *καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ νέου Ἰσραὴλ ὃς ἕνα τινὰ ἀποσυλήσει καὶ τοῦτον ἀπεμπολήσει, ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὁποῖος ἂν καὶ εἴη, θανάτῳ θανατωθήσεται, φημὶ δὴ τῷ ψυχικῷ*, *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 191 lines 27-30.
[270] *γὰρ τοῦτο δοίημεν, γελοιάζων ἄν τις ἐρῇ καὶ πιστοάπιστον εἶναι σεαυτόν, ἑαυτοῦ σε ὄντα περιπετῆ*, *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 191 lines 1-2.
[271] *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 188 lines 24-29.
[272] *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 91 lines 8-13.
[273] *ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν ἄσυλόν τε καὶ ἀκεραίαν φυλάξατε καὶ ἀκράδαντον*, *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 191 lines 30-33.

Mesarites recorded that an embassy from Rome arrived in Nicaea.[274] His account relates that their purpose was to seek an assembly of the churches, as well as a secular peace.[275] The purpose of this embassy shows that political and ecclesiastical issues were not so far apart. Indeed, the comments by Mesarites suggest that they were deeply intertwined. Mesarites made clear that church-union negotiations worked in tandem with the diplomacy between states. It may have been the case that the Treaty of Nymphaion between Henry I and Theodore I Laskaris prompted this embassy.[276] Unfortunately, Mesarites was not privy to the diplomatic exchange between this embassy and Theodore I. He explained that the papal envoys met privately with the emperor, and that their discussions were kept secret, after which they promptly departed.[277] We can glean, however, that one aspect of this discussion was a reciprocal embassy to Constantinople. Inviting an embassy from Nicaea to further negotiations in Constantinople may well have been the only purpose of the papal embassy. Mesarites explained that it was necessary to find a high ranking bishop of the church to represent Nicaea, in order that they not seem to be short of learned and pious men.[278]

Naturally, Mesarites was speaking of himself when he discussed a prelate worthy to send to Constantinople. He had left Constantinople following the death of

[274] We should not interpret the statement by Mesarites, that the embassy was from Rome, *πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥώμης*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 line 9, to mean that the papacy had sent the mission directly to the Empire of Nicaea. Such a statement implies that Innocent III had the power, or assumed the power, to negotiate on behalf of the Latin empire. This is likely an oversight on the part of Mesarites. Any embassy from Rome to Nicaea would surely have broken its journey in Constantinople. Thus, we can imagine that a papal embassy clarified its purpose with the emperor and magnates of Latin Constantinople before proceeding in any overtures to Nicaea. It is more likely that this embassy was dispatched by Pelagius, acting under papal authority as his legate. Thus, any direct role for Innocent III in initiating these overtures is highly suspect.
[275] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 lines 8-12.
[276] The confusion over the starting date of this treaty, see ch. 1, 61-62 note 165, indicates that this embassy may have had a role in negotiating the agreement. If we accept a date in late 1214 for the origin of this treaty, then it was almost certainly affiliated with the church-union negotiations of 1214-15. The details of the agreement were likely discussed in parallel, or even in the midst, of theological debate.
[277] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 lines 18-22.
[278] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 lines 22-25.

his brother in 1207, and was afterwards installed as metropolitan of Ephesos and exarch of Asia.[279] How the orthodox representative of Nicaea was chosen should cause us some pause, as Mesarites does not appear to have been the choice of the patriarch, but of the emperor. Eirenikos had taken a firm position against the Roman Church, their teachings, and theological debates with them. He had explicitly prohibited Greeks living in Constantinople from engaging in such discussions with the Latins.[280] Thus, we must wonder what role the patriarch played in the upcoming *disputatio*. It seems likely that Theodore I Laskaris would have wished to avoid including the patriarch in such discussions. The participation of an apparent zealot such as Eirenikos would surely have cast an inhibiting cloud over the meetings. In addition, the invitation by the papal embassy to talks in Constantinople was an opportunity for Theodore I to act the part of the champion of Greeks living under Latin rule. He would not have been able to embrace that opportunity with any hope of positive results while providing a role to a cynical patriarch. In any event, Mesarites makes no mention of collaboration between the emperor and patriarch before the Nicaean embassy was dispatched to Constantinople. In his account of the embassy, Mesarites describes himself as an 'agent from the emperor,'[281] not the patriarch. Thus, we can conclude that Eirenikos was left out of the proceedings.

Mesarites departed for the Latin empire in late 1214.[282] He wrote at length about his embassy's journey to Constantinople. This was the first time that representatives from the Empire of Nicaea were welcomed into Latin Constantinople,

[279] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1346. Exactly when Mesarites became metropolitan of Ephesos is unclear. We only know that it was before 1214. Heisenberg, 'Neue Quellen III,' 61, and Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 354, put the date in 1211. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 59, favours 1212. For the date of 1213 or before, see G. Downey, 'Nikolaos Mesarites: description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 47, no. 6 (1957), 859.
[280] *Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 188 lines 24-29.
[281] *ἀπὸ τηλικούτου βασιλέως πρέσβυς*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 21 line 32-33.
[282] Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1692, 5.

thus every word and action carried heavy meaning. Mesarites recorded that he was welcomed by an assembly of clergymen. Amongst them was Nicholas of Otranto, who was again serving as interpreter. Mesarites did not identify him by name, but recognized him as having participated in the talks with Cardinal Benedict in 1206.[283] The Nicaean representative recorded that he was offered a horse, 'brighter than snow,' but that he refused it in favour of a mule.[284] Certainly he hoped that the gesture of humility would contrast well with the stereotypical arrogance of the Latins. Indeed, Mesarites pointed out this trait in his first meeting with Cardinal Pelagius. Pelagius did not stand when the Greek metropolitan first arrived, but instead offered his hand in friendship while remaining seated.[285] Mesarites at once protested, pointing out that his status as an archbishop, exarch of all Asia, and as the envoy of an emperor, demanded more reverence than was shown by the lowly bishop of Albano.[286] Pelagius responded by pointing to his feet.[287] His shoes were red, the colour reserved for royalty.[288] The story of Pelagius and the privilege he claimed to wear imperial attire was known also to George Akropolites, who noted that the legate also used the colour on the saddle and bridle of his horse.[289] Those who wore such attire, Pelagius explained, were not required to show more reverence to others. He described how the emperor Constantine had given the right to don imperial trappings to the popes, and their representatives.[290] The response from Mesarites was quintessentially Byzantine.

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[283] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 20 lines 13-25.
[284] *ἵππος χιόνος λευκότερος*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 20 line 28 – 21 line 3.
[285] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 1-5.
[286] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 7-15.
[287] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 15-16.
[288] R. Macrides, J. Munitiz, D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: offices and ceremonies* (Aldershot, 2013), 388; Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 379; R. Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives, legates, nuncios, and judges-delegate,' *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972), 456, gives a precedent for papal legates wearing such attire going back to 1001.
[289] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 29 lines 15-18, trans. Macrides, 17.154.
[290] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 16-32. See D. Angelov, 'The Donation of Constantine and the Church in late Byzantium,' in *Church and society in late Byzantium*, ed. D. Angelov (Kalamazoo, 2009), 105.

He was not about to let pass an opportunity to critique the Latins and their legendary arrogance, as well as their failings in the proper use of ceremony. Mesarites pointed to his own shoes, which were only red on the inside. He explained that it was the place of a clergyman, as a servant of Christ, to lead by example. They were to be humble and not dress themselves in the trappings of secular authority.[291]

Although off to a difficult start, the *disputatio* of 1214 was not doomed as a result of a clumsy greeting by the two leading prelates. The two sides proceeded to exchange their views of both political and ecclesiastical affairs.[292] The Greeks pointed out that several groups who did not conform to the catholic view of Christianity were permitted within Constantinople, including Jews, Armenians and even Nestorians. Why then were Greek clergymen being so mistreated?[293] This was almost certainly a convenient way of addressing the larger question: why was the Fourth Crusade sent against good Christians, and how could the pope justify continuing to condemn and oppose the Empire of Nicaea, which was devoted to the correct worship of God? Certainly, a *disputatio* which justified the doctrines of the Greek Church would force the pope to return Constantinople to Byzantine control. Pelagius responded that he had only ceased his repressive measures against the Greeks at the request of Theodore I Laskaris, adding that Nicaea and its emperor would have little to fear if they were good subjects of the pope and his church.[294] The response from the papal legate must have given Mesarites and his embassy cause for optimism. All that was required was to prove the orthodoxy of the doctrine and practice in their church. While this was certainly a difficult task, the potential political and ecclesiastical dividends were tremendous.

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[291] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 line 33 – 23 line 10.
[292] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 23 line 16-18.
[293] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 23 line 33 – 24 line 20.
[294] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 21-28.

The negotiations did not commence again until the Greek delegation was summoned by Pelagius, seven days after their arrival.[295] On this occasion the two sides discussed the issue of leavened versus unleavened bread.[296] The account of Mesarites on this issue is entirely one-sided. Mesarites gives the reader only the issues raised from the side of the Greeks. Indeed, Mesarites stated that he stopped only to spare the ears of his audience.[297] The only reply attributed to Pelagius is that he was growing tired, thus he called a recess to the proceedings.[298] When the two parties reconvened three days later, Pelagius at once began to discuss the Greeks' return to Nicaea, to be accompanied by a representative of his, identified by Mesarites only as a cleric of Spanish origin trusted to uphold the Latin position, and the interpreter Nicholas of Otranto.[299]

What can we deduce from the role of Pelagius as described by Mesarites? His account almost certainly gives too little attention to what was said during these negotiations to support the position of the Roman Church. This was likely by design. In addition, the legate's sudden call for first phase of the proceedings to end, and nomination of an envoy to return to Nicaea with the Greeks, indicates that some progress had been made between him and Mesarites. It is likely that the talks were to

[295] Mesarites identified this as the feast day of St Cecilla, 22 November 1214, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 27 lines 8-11.
[296] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 27-33. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 41, notes the similarities between the speech of Mesarites on the Passover, and that of St Gregory of Nazianzus, *PG* 36, cols. 640-648. Mesarites made no secret of this, and even remarked that he had been reading from the work of St Gregory, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 32 lines 26-33. For the close association between the work of Mesarites and the twelfth century *Sacred Arsenal* by Andronikos Kamateros, see Bucossi, Introduction, *Sacred Arsenal*, lvi-lvii; G. Spiteris, 'I dialogi di Nicolas Mesarites coi Latini: opera storica o finzione letteraria,' *Orientala Christiana Analecta* 204 (1977), 181-86. Palau identifies fifteen paragraphs transcribed word for word by Mesarites from the *Sacred Arsenal*, C. Palau, 'Nicholas Mésaritès: deux lettres inédites (Milan, *Ambrosianus* F 96 Sup., ff. 15v-16v),' in *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia, Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, ed. A Binggeli, A. Boud'hors and M. Cassin (Leuven, 2016), 192; C. Palau, 'L'*Arsenale Sacro* di Andronico Camatero. Il proemio ed il dialogo dell'imperatore con i cardinali latini: originale, imitazioni, arrangiamenti,' *Revue Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), 20-36.
[297] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 32 lines 27-29.
[298] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 lines 5-6.
[299] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 lines 7-12. Again, Mesarites does not identify Nicholas of Otranto by name, only as 'the interpreter.'

some degree productive since both sides agreed to continue their meeting in a new location. Moreover, the appointment of Mesarites as a representative by Theodore I indicates the possibility that matters of state were discussed alongside those of the church.

Mesarites, accompanied by the Latin emissaries, travelled to meet Theodore I Laskaris at Nicaea. When they arrived, they learned that the emperor was in Paphlagonia, and thus they went to meet him at Herakleia Pontike.[300] From this point, according to the account of Mesarites, Theodore I would have a profound role to play in the duration of the negotiations. The emperor wasted no time in meeting with the envoys, wanting to hear what had been discussed in Constantinople.[301] Theodore I then entered into a thoughtful discussion of peace with the representatives of the Latin Church. 'With the endowments of his tongue he astounded not only those who are ignorant of such things, but also those who are well-educated.'[302] The emperor spoke so eloquently that the Latin envoys were moved to tears.[303] Mesarites gave us some insight into the content of this speech, saying that Theodore I spoke about peace – presumably between states – and then moved on to highlight a settlement of the churches, calling on the parties gathered to approach the subject publicly and with all seriousness.[304] The fact that the speech by Theodore I, as described by Mesarites, discussed both political and ecclesiastical peace indicates that they were indeed a joint issue, and that one could not be addressed without coming to terms with the other.

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[300] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 lines 13-24. Theodore I Laskaris was in Paphlagonia to consolidate his gains made following the death of David Komnenos in 1212, Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 146-47; Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, 56-61; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 737; Angold, 'Byzantium in Exile,' 547; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 354-55;
[301] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 line 30 – 34 line 1.
[302] *οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῷ φιλοτίμῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώττης κατέπληττε τοὺς ὅσοι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἀμαθαίνουσιν,ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα κομψούς*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 3-5.
[303] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 8-10. Again, Mesarites refers to the papal representatives as *πρέσβεις*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 line 8.
[304] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34 lines 10-12.

Theodore I urged the two sides to engage faithfully in the *disputatio*. For this reason, we can again imagine that, along with religious dialogue, extensive political negotiations were going on that passed without a remark from Mesarites.[305]

The religious debate that followed focused on the issues of papal primacy and the Latin use of the *filioque*, which, if we accept the account of Mesarites, had not been discussed in the format of the *disputatio* since before 1204.[306] After a lengthy debate based on the scriptural evidence, Theodore I called on the audience to identify the winner. They declared both arguments at the *disputatio* to have been equal.[307] The act on the part of Theodore I to call for a winner is unusual. It did not seem to be necessary in the other instances of religious dialogue since 1204, although this may be a result of the angry endings to those meetings. Perhaps the closest precedent is that of Anselm of Havelberg, who indicated the rousing approval of the audience for both sides of the debate in 1136.[308] It seems, therefore, that Theodore I was consciously appealing to a Komnenian ideal of religious dialogue. For him, the *disputatio* was a means of encouraging Greek and Latin interaction in an amiable atmosphere, while providing an opportunity to advance political goals. His speech and his appeal for political peace to coincide with religious peace was an attempt to emulate a Komnenian image.[309]

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[305] Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 743; Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 553, suggests that it was on this occasion, at Herakleia Pontike in early 1215, that the terms of the Treaty of Nymphaion between Henry I and Theodore I were adopted in their final form.

[306] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34-46; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 41. Depending on the interpretation of his work, Nicholas of Otranto does appear to indicate discussions of the *filioque* under Cardinal Benedict, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 7-23. Otherwise, the most recent *disputatio* to discuss the *filioque* was that under Manuel I Komnenos in the late twelfth century, see above, 99-100.

[307] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 46 lines 13-25.

[308] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1248 B.

[309] Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to Palaiologoi,' 280, describes Theodore I's attempts to emulate his Byzantine predecessors, especially Manuel I Komnenos. Exhibiting an image of magnanimity may explain why, as Mesarites stated, Theodore I gave the Latin envoys a sum of money before they departed for Constantinople, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 46 lines 27-28.

The role of Patriarch Theodore II Eirenikos presents a problem for historians when considering the 1214-15 negotiations. The fact that Mesarites and the envoys sent by Pelagius did not remain in Nicaea to talk with the patriarch, but instead travelled to meet Theodore I at Herakleia Pontike, highlights the political aspects of these negotiations. Furthermore, the reaction from Eirenikos upon the return of Mesarites to Nicaea attests to his distaste for talks with the Roman Church. Mesarites recorded that the patriarch reprimanded him for not insisting on proper appellations for Eirenikos from Cardinal Pelagius while he was in Constantinople.[310] The incident apparently removed Mesarites from favour in the patriarch's circle.[311] It is difficult to gauge more with regard to Eirenikos' attitude because of the short duration of his patriarchate.[312]

What can we surmise from the dialogue between Latin Constantinople and Nicaea in 1214-15? It seems necessary to give up any criteria which judge the *disputatio* as a success or a failure. The duration of these talks, and their sudden conclusion,[313] confirmed that neither side approached these meetings as if they would be the one event that would solve hundreds of years of religious schism. The goal of these negotiations was something more modest. The indications of political issues – perhaps preliminaries to a diplomatic marriage or finalization of the Treaty of Nymphaion – involved with or discussed during these talks, indicate that this instance of religious dialogue was intended to serve political ends. This does not mean that the demands of politics doomed the possibility of a union of the churches. Instead, it

[310] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 47 lines 1-15.
[311] Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 62, explains that Mesarites remained in Nicaea for the marriage of Theodore I Laskaris to his Armenian bride, then returned to Ephesos. He apparently never returned to Nicaea.
[312] Eirenikos died on 31 January 1216, after several months on the patriarchal throne, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 32 lines 15-19. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 161 note 4, points out that Akropolites mistakenly attributes years to the patriarchate of Eirenikos. Only a single document from his patriarchate survives, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1219, 26-26.
[313] Mesarites indicated that the discussions in Constantinople were carried out over only two or three days of talks. In Herakleia Pontike, there was only a single day of ecclesiastical debate.

would appear that religious dialogue made diplomatic negotiation possible. Both sides had engaged in an intense battle of rhetoric to justify their opposition to one another after 1204, often employing religious rationalization.[314] That rhetoric could not be ignored when the two sides called a cessation to hostilities, but a *disputatio* allowed both Greek and Latins to claim that they had done their best to reason with those who had gone astray. The dramatic comments by Theodore I Laskaris at Herakleia Pontike attest to the connection between political and ecclesiastical peace. How could the protector of the Greek Church be seen to be making peace with the Latin invaders who had oppressed his clergy without making some effort to bridge the doctrinal gap? Likewise, how might the papacy or the Latin emperor approach peaceful negotiations with a schismatic without first appealing to him to reconcile himself and his church with Rome? A peaceful settlement demanded some attention be paid to the problem of schism, even if it did not bring about major solutions. The opinion of certain scholars – that Greeks and Latins were too entrenched in their positions on doctrine and practice to come to any agreement in 1214-15 – neglects the true purpose of these meetings.[315] The *disputatio* which took place in Constantinople and Herakleia Pontike was politically motivated. Any progress in healing the schism was beneficial, but not pivotal.

Only once more in the reign of Theodore I Laskaris did the Empire of Nicaea approach the issue of church-union with the Latin West, and once again the attempt demonstrates the close affiliation between the political demands of diplomacy and the

[314] The ideology of the Empire of Nicaea was heavily dependent on Old Testament imagery, likening the Byzantines in exile to 'God's chosen people' in exile, D. Angelov, 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 297-98; Ahrweiler, 'L'Expérience nicéenne,' 25. See for example Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 129-47, 170-75, and 204-206. Religious justification for the Latin empire, denouncing the Byzantines as schismatics, goes back to Baldwin I's letter to Innocent III in 1204, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 1, no. 122, 501-511.
[315] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 42; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the churches,' 594.

hopes for ecclesiastical unity. Theodore I organized a council of the church to be held at Nicaea on Easter, 1220.[316] The aim of the council was to discuss the issue of union with the Roman Church, and finally to organize a delegation to be sent to the pope.[317] All of the eastern patriarchs – Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem – were invited to participate. Patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos even sent a letter to John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos, to enlist the participation of Epiros in the council.[318] The patriarch's letter made clear that the gathering, and the goal of making renewed overtures toward Rome, were the initiative of Theodore I.[319] While this may well have contributed to the refusal of Apokaukos to take part in the discussion,[320] it also indicates that the proposed council was part of Theodore I's overall approach to foreign policy.

Since the brief *disputatio* of 1214-15, the Empire of Nicaea had reached a commercial agreement with Venice,[321] Theodore I gave his daughter Maria in marriage to a Hungarian prince[322] and Theodore I himself had married into the ruling family of Latin Constantinople by his union with Mary of Courtenay.[323] His diplomacy with Latin powers had given him valuable leverage over the city of Constantinople, despite the lack of military success in the later years of his reign.[324] After Theodore I's attempt to press his marital claim to Constantinople was blocked

[316] See ch. 1, 52-53.
[317] Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 14, 264 lines 10-17.
[318] Laurent, *Regestes*, nos. 1222-24, 29-31; Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 14, 264.
[319] Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 14, 264 lines 11-12; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 54 note 32.
[320] Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 15, 265-67.
[321] Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-18, see ch. 1, 62-65.
[322] Béla , son of Andrew II of Hungary, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 13-15, see ch. 1, 68-69.
[323] The daughter of Yolanda, regent of the Latin empire, and the late Peter of Courtenay, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 26 lines 1-2, see ch. 1, 70-71.
[324] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 364; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 160; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 607.

by Latin barons,[325] it became apparent that yet more work was required to achieve his main foreign policy goal. An appeal to church union could very well gain papal support for Theodore I's scheme to recover Constantinople without the need for more military campaigns. Once again, rather than finding theological debate inconvenient, politics necessitated ecclesiastical dialogue. A successful *disputatio* in 1220 might well have returned Constantinople to Byzantine control.

Unfortunately for Theodore I, such ambitions were never realized. Opposition from Epiros had made any advantage from the council impossible.[326] Epirot victories against the Latins seriously challenged Nicaea's imperial claims. Moreover, Theodore Komnenos Doukas could boast his own achievements as champion of the Orthodox cause.[327] Even acting only on behalf of the Empire of Nicaea, Theodore I could not have agreed to terms with the papacy without appearing to collaborate and concede to the Latin invaders.[328] The council that eventually gathered in Nicaea was merely a meeting of local Greek clergy, and no great strides were made towards church-union.[329]

[325] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 300, 365.
[326] Ironically, in the ensuing ecclesiastical conflict between Epiros and Nicaea only a few years later, John Apokaukos intimated to Germanos II that he and his clergy would accept the suggestion of Theodore Komnenos Doukas to acknowledge the primacy of Rome, Vasiljevski, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' no. 26, 291 lines 12-19.
[327] Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 72.
[328] Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 365-66.
[329] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 22, col. 1137-1146.

CHAPTER THREE: THE *DISPUTATIO* OF 1234

Correspondence between Germanos II and Gregory IX

The failed attempt to convene a union council in 1220 was the last occasion in which the issue was seriously considered by Theodore I Laskaris. A dialogue with the Roman Church would not begin again for well over a decade, when a correspondence developed between Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) and Patriarch Germanos II (1223-1240). The personalities and policies of these two men played a large part in the following *disputatio* of 1234, which proved to be the most pivotal church-union negotiation of the Nicaean period. For this reason, we must consider the backgrounds and careers of these two ecclesiastical leaders. This analysis will show that the two men approached the issue of church union from two very different perspectives and priorities.

Pope Gregory IX's career was a product of centuries of reforms that brought about a powerful papacy over the western church. After Pope Honorius III died on 18 March 1227, he was succeeded by Ugolino, Cardinal bishop of Ostia and Velletra,[1] who took the name Gregory IX. He was the nephew of Pope Innocent III and was very much influenced by his uncle's ideology and view of papal authority. Gregory IX shared with Innocent III a desire to root out heresy, to promote the crusade, and to establish the authority of the Apostolic See over secular rulers.[2] Thomas Van Cleve

[1] Gregory IX served as cardinal for twenty nine years before becoming pope, J. Watt, 'The Papacy,' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5, *c. 1198-c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), 110.

[2] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 190-91; W. Ullmann, *The growth of papal government in the Middle Ages: a study in the ideological relation of clerical to lay power* (London, 1962),, 283, 419; Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 114; Chrissis, 'The city and the cross,' 22-23; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 163; Hamilton, 'Albigensian Crusade and the Latin Empire,' 340.

describes Gregory IX as 'knowing little of conciliation or of patience,' and thus looking for conflict as soon as he became pope.[3] He is best known for his frequent conflicts with the western emperor, Frederick II.[4] On 29 September 1227, the pope excommunicated Frederick II just as the emperor was preparing to depart on a crusade.[5] Frederick II had frequently taken the crusading vow, but had postponed the promised expedition for various reasons.[6] At his coronation as emperor in Rome on 22 November 1220, he had again taken the cross from Cardinal Ugolino, the future Pope Gregory IX.[7] Finally, after Frederick II postponed his expedition yet again on account of illness, the pope excommunicated the emperor.[8] In his letter announcing the excommunication to German nobles in October 1227, Gregory IX made it clear that Frederick II had broken his crusader vow by delaying his departure and failing to fulfil other promises to defend the Holy Land.[9] When writing to Frederick II on 23

[3] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 190; Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 102, describes Gregory IX as simultaneously more belligerent and more tolerant than Innocent III.
[4] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 194-207; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 164-201; Watt, 'The Papacy,' 134-35.
[5] Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 147 line 14 – 148 line 3, reported that papal forces attacked Frederick II's possessions in Italy while he was in the Holy Land. See also G. Loud, 'The Papal 'crusade' against Frederick II in 1228-1230,' in *The Papacy and the crusades: proceedings of the VIIth conference of the society for the study of the crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Aldershot, 2011), 91; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 87; Watt, 'The Papacy,' 134; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 196.
[6] Frederick II first took the cross at his coronation in Aachen on 25 July 1215, *Reineri annales*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Stuttgart, 1859), 673; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 18 (Hanover, 1880), 236. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 96-97, calls the assumption of the crusader vow a 'brilliant diplomatic stroke,' transforming what had been a papal venture into a secular one, with Frederick II at its head. See also Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 120-22, 138, 148-54.
[7] *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, no. 2796, 464; *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, ed. C. Rodenburg (Berlin, 1883-1894), vol. 1, no. 146, 104 lines 26-32; Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 2, 52-53; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 135.
[8] Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 3, 37-48; *L'Estoire de Eracles, Empereur. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Historiens occidentaux II (Paris, 1859), 364. See also Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 87; Van Cleve, T., 'The crusade of Frederick II,' in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, vol. 2, (Philadelphia, 1962), 446-47. Despite his excommunication, Frederick II continued his crusade to the Holy Land, Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 180-88; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 208-20.
[9] *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 368, 281-85; Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 3, 23-30; Loud, 'The Papal 'Crusade' against Frederick II in 1228-1230,' 93-94, describes the many promises made by Frederick II regarding

October 1236, the pope argued strongly that clerical authority over lay rulers had been established since the days of Constantine the Great.[10] Gregory IX excommunicated the western emperor again in 1239, citing similar reasons.[11] We must, therefore, consider the conflict between lay and sacred power to be a defining characteristic of the papacy under Gregory IX, influencing, or perhaps governing, his actions in all other matters.

Like Innocent III, Gregory IX believed that the stability and preservation of the Latin empire of Constantinople was vital for the success of a crusade to the Holy Land.[12] Over time, he became increasingly invested in directing new crusades to support the Latin empire. In a letter dated 12 March 1238, the pope requested the aid of Frederick II for crusades supporting Latin Constantinople.[13] As pope, Gregory IX had even permitted those who had taken the cross to redeem their vows in Constantinople.[14]

Explaining the attitude of the pope towards the Greek Church before 1234 is somewhat more difficult. In a response to Eustorge, the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, dated 5 March 1231, Gregory IX took a firm position against those Greeks who publicly denounced Latin practices, instructing the archbishop to treat such individuals as heretics.[15] This would indicate that the pope had taken an extremely

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the Holy Land; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 206-207, argues that Gregory IX's excommunication of the emperor at such an inopportune time shows that the pope's priority was not the crusade, but humbling the emperor at any cost.

[10] *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 703, 599-605, especially 604 lines 17-43.

[11] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, part 1, 286-89; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 428-29; Watt, 'The Papacy,' 134-36; B. Arnold, 'Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250) and the political particularism of the German princes,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 26:3 (2012), 242.

[12] Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 166.

[13] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 4154, 918; *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 724, 622-23.

[14] See ch. 2, 83-84 note 5.

[15] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 8673, 745; N. Coureas and C. Schabel, eds., *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia, 1997), no. 69, 175-76; see the

hard line against the Greeks. While his predecessors had been content with the term 'schismatics,' Gregory IX was prepared to regard them as heretics. It is important to realize, however, that the pope did not adopt such a harsh policy with the whole of the Greek Church. Indeed, the incident in 1231 appears something of an anomaly. When the archbishop of Bari complained about the Greek practice of allowing priests rather than bishops to administer baptism, Gregory IX responded with a letter in February 1232 recommending surveillance over outright violence to impose uniformity.[16] We must conclude, therefore, that before 1234, Gregory IX was capable of some degree of tolerance with the Greek community, especially when their actions were relatively benign and did not challenge the doctrines, practices and authorities of the Roman Church.

Gregory IX's career shows a sharp contrast with that of Germanos II. The future patriarch was born in Anaplous, on the European side of the Bosphoros, in the second half of the twelfth century. Later in life he would defend his provincial origins as better than that of most Constantinopolitans.[17] Before the Fourth Crusade, Germanos was a deacon in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and he fled the city some time after 1204.[18] On 4 January 1223, he was elevated to the patriarchate of Constantinople in exile in Nicaea by John III Vatatzes.[19] As patriarch, Germanos II was influential in both domestic and foreign affairs. Michael Angold suggests that the

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translation by C. Schabel, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and other documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373* (Nicosia, 2001), 296-97.

[16] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 173, 229. For more on this see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 74-75.

[17] S. Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ β′, πατριαρχὴς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222-1240: βίος, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ, ἀνέκδοτοι, ὁμιλίαι καὶ ἐπιστολαί* (Tripolis 1913), 282-83; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 667; Magdalino, 'Hellenism and nationalism in Byzantium,' 10. For more on the conceit after 1204 of those born in Constantinople, see P. Magdalino, 'Byzantine snobbery,' *The Byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries, BAR International Series* 221 (Oxford, 1984), 65.

[18] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 847.

[19] For the encyclical letter of Germanos II to the people of Constantinople, see Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ β′, πατριαρχὴς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας*, 350-53; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1233, 42-43.

support and loyalty of Germanos II was a central reason for the success of Vatatzes, especially in the early years of his reign.[20] The patriarch was also an enthusiastic advocate of Nicaean claims to the Byzantine imperial legacy. After the coronation of Theodore Doukas as emperor in Thessalonike, Germanos II wrote to the clergy of Epiros condemning the actions of Demetrios Chomatenos, the Archbishop of Ochrid, who performed the ceremony.[21] Nikephoros Blemmydes adds that a synod of Nicaean bishops sent a letter to Theodore Doukas, warning him to put aside his imperial claims.[22] Thus, we must understand the patriarch as an advocate for the domestic interests of the emperor and a champion of the foreign policy of the Empire of Nicaea.[23] As opposed to the antagonistic relationship that existed in the West between pope and emperor, Germanos II developed a cooperative and symbiotic relationship with the emperor in Nicaea.

Several writings by Germanos II indicate his anti-Latin sentiments. In the early years of his patriarchate, this attitude comes through in his correspondence with the Greek Church in Latin Cyprus.[24] When the Greeks on Cyprus wrote to Nicaea in 1223 complaining about the harsh treatment they had received at the hands of the

[20] Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 741, credits Germanos II with helping to counter the conspiracy of the brothers of Theodore I Laskaris against Vatatzes; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 71, agrees that the support of Germanos II was vital for Vatatzes to consolidate his position as emperor.
[21] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1243, 50-51; no. 1248, 55; On the coronation, see George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 33 line 14 – 34 line 5, trans. Macrides, 21.162; on the subsequent split between Germanos II and the clergy of Epiros, see Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 70-99; J. Gill, 'An unpublished letter of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (1222-1240),' *Byzantion* 44 (1974), 138; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 742; Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: Historical Outline,' 83, notes that Chomatenos was bound to provoke the patriarch by performing the coronation.
[22] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 23, 14 lines 1-10; trans. Munitiz, 56-57; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1239, 47.
[23] Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 47, maintains that Vatatzes relied heavily on Germanos II for support in foreign affairs.
[24] For more on the ecclesiastical relationship between Nicaea and Cyprus, see M. Angold, 'The problem of unity of the Byzantine world after 1204: The Empire of Nicaea and Cyprus (1204-1261),' *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ πρώτου διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου* 2 (1972), 1-6.

Latins,[25] Germanos II and the Nicaean synod responded by encouraging them to continue to resist acknowledging papal primacy.[26] However, the letter does recommend that the Greeks on Cyprus not pursue provocative measures against the Latins.[27] In another letter to Cyprus dated to July 1229,[28] Germanos II expressed his anger after many Orthodox on the island, including Archbishop Neophytos, acknowledged the primacy of the pope.[29] In one letter, Germanos II calls on the Orthodox of Cyprus to hold to the faith of their fathers and resist the Latins until death.[30] Apparently, Germanos II had come to consider that the archbishop and several of the Orthodox clergy on Cyprus had become too compliant with the Latins on the island. An event which almost certainly determined the position of the patriarch in Nicaea towards the Latins came in 1231, when thirteen Greek monks of the Kantara monastery in Nicosia were executed by the Latin authorities on Cyprus.[31] These monks, heeding the patriarch's advice to resist the Latins to the death, had purposely sought out martyrdom.[32] Archbishop Neophytos, in a letter to the emperor,

[25] A. Beihammer, *Griechische briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines koniglichen Sekretars im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 367 (Nicosia, 2007), no. 10, 158-59.
[26] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 5-14; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1234, 43-45.
[27] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 9-10, 13.
[28] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 14-19; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1250, 56-57.
[29] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 16.
[30] A. Dondaine, '"Contra Graecos." Premiers ecrits polemiques des dominicains d'Orient,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 428-30, at 430 lines 29-34.
[31] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 20-39. Only twelve of the thirteen were executed. The other had died in prison, Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 85. An anonymous Greek chronicle describes various forms of torture inflicted on the monks during their three year incarceration, Leo Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1648), 693-96.
[32] Gregory IX, responding to news about the monks in a letter to the Latin archbishop of Nicosia, dated 5 March 1231, ordered that the monks be regarded as heretics, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. Coureas and Schabel, no. 69, 175-76. The letter is translated in Schabel, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373*, 296-97; M. Hinterberger, 'A neglected tool of Orthodox propaganda? The image of the Latins in Byzantine hagiography,' in *Greeks, Latins, and intellectual history, 1204-1500*, ed., M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel (Paris, 2001), 141, and Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 92, show that the monks were not martyred because of their belief in the Greek rite, but because of their continued condemnation of the Latin rite.

John III Vatatzes,[33] indicated that the monks themselves were to blame for their fate.[34] The archbishop pointed out that his See was autocephalous and that the interferences by Germanos II were causing problems and confusion in Cyprus.[35] Later in his patriarchate, Germanos II expressed an even greater distaste for the Latins and their practices. He commented frequently on the distress caused him by the efforts of Latin missionaries.[36] In an undated letter to the monks of St John the Baptist at Petra, Germanos II referred to the Latins as 'godless' and 'miserable.'[37] He went on to explain to the monks that 'the heresy of the Latins is almost the recapitulation of all the heresies that after the incarnate life on earth of Our Lord Jesus Christ have in the course of time been injected by the prince of evil into the holy and apostolic Church of God.'[38] Based on such evidence, we can surmise that Germanos II was, to say the least, cautious in his dealings with the Roman Church and concerned about papal attempts to assert its authority. At most, the patriarch was 'anti-Latin' in his demeanour, and he became more so after the *disputatio* of 1234.[39]

How does the career of Gregory IX contrast with that of Germanos II? It is safe to say that the pope advocated for the rights of the church over the state, whereas the patriarch employed the church for the service of the state. Thus, the two men had very different reasons for engaging in the affairs of secular rulers. Gregory IX spent much of his papacy countering the moves of the greatest secular ruler in Western

[33] 19 May 1232, Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, no. 26, 180-81.
[34] Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, no. 26, 181 lines 37-45.
[35] Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, no. 26, 180 lines 29-30.
[36] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1287, 94-95; no. 1291, 98-99; no. 1303, 106; M. Angold, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean,' in *Liquid and multiple: Individuals and identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 28, suggests that these comments may refer to the arrival of Dominicans and Franciscans in the east.
[37] *ἀθέων*, and *ἀθλίων*, Gill, 'An unpublished letter of Germanus,' 142 line 11 and 144 line 35.
[38] *ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ τῶν Ἰταλῶν αἵρεσις ἀνακεφαλαίωσίς ἐστι πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἔνσαρκον ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς κακίας τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐμβληθεισῶν*, Gill, 'An unpublished letter of Germanus,' 142 lines 26-30; trans. 143.
[39] M. Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe au XIIIe siècle (1231-1274)* (Cairo, 1954), 31-32, speculates that the patriarch's anti-Latin attitude stemmed from his experience in 1204. Germanos II had been a deacon in Hagia Sophia when the crusaders sacked Constantinople.

Europe, Frederick II, while Germanos II used the authority of his patriarchate to endorse and advocate the power of his emperor. In addition, the experiences of the two men indicate that it would be very difficult for them to reach a compromise on the issue of union, although not entirely impossible. Nothing suggests that they would absolutely refuse the opportunity to approach the topic with an open mind, especially if the opportunity featured the prospect of advancing their other priorities on the world stage.

The dialogue between Germanos II and Gregory IX came at a key moment for Byzantine-Latin relations in the eastern Mediterranean. Theodore I Laskaris had been the last Byzantine emperor to contemplate a new series of talks on church-union at the council in Nicaea in 1220. After the failure of that endeavour, most contacts between the Latins and the Empire of Nicaea were military in nature. John III Vatatzes had won a decisive victory at Poimanenon in 1224/5, resulting in the demise of the Latin power in Anatolia.[40] The new peace settlement between Constantinople and Nicaea[41] was sealed with the marriage of Eudokia Laskarina, sister-in-law of Vatatzes, to the Latin baron Anselm of Cahieu.[42] Venice and Nicaea had begun to fight over control of Crete in a back and forth campaign.[43] Gregory IX, meanwhile, had become more concerned with the deteriorating prospects for the Latin East. Sending John of Brienne to serve as co-emperor with the young Baldwin II was one measure of papal support for Latin Constantinople,[44] which was surrounded by powerful neighbours.

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[40] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 34 line 17 – 35 line 7, trans. Macrides, 22.166; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 24 line 12 – 25 line 21; Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 409 vv. 23195-23206; Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 158, 107-108.
[41] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 38, lines 6-11, trans. Macrides, 24.171; Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 158, p. 107-108.
[42] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 85 lines 7-11, trans. Macrides, 47.245.
[43] Andrea Navagiero, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 991 B-C; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 292; Cornelius, *Creta Sacra sive de Episcopis utriusque ritus*, vol. 2, 263; Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 156; Marino Sanudo the Younger, ed. Muratori, *RIS*, vol. 22, col. 549 B.
[44] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 44 lines 6-25, trans. Macrides, 27.184; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, 265-70, esp. 267; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 933 lines 34-36;

Both Epiros and Bulgaria posed severe threats to the Latin empire, while Nicaea had grown more powerful and secure in Anatolia. Political necessity demanded that the papacy, the patron of the Latin empire, should intervene to preserve its interests in Constantinople. Likewise, the Empire of Nicaea surely saw the situation in the 1230s as one of opportunity. Negotiating now, with the Latin empire so vulnerable, could avert the need for further bloodshed. Politically, both sides had much to gain by returning to negotiations for union.

Contacts between the Greek and Roman Churches were initiated following the arrival of five Franciscan friars in Nicaea in 1232. How these friars came to be in Nicaea is something of a mystery. They may have been in the East on a mission to preach and convert,[45] but most historians argue that they were returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[46] The disagreement arises from a lack of clarity in the sources. Two documents attest to the arrival of the Franciscan friars in Nicaea in 1232. The first is a letter from Germanos II,[47] which states that the friars arrived in humble fashion, 'without staff, wearing only a shirt, unshod.'[48] Germanos II was clearly impressed by the friars, stating that their feet were, 'as the Apostle says, made

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Registres de Grégoire IX, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 290, 175-76; J. van den Gheyn, 'Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'empire latin de Constantinople,' *Revue de l'Orient latin* 9 (1902), 230-34. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 90-91, notes that Gregory IX offered remission of sins to those who accompanied John of Brienne to Constantinople and remained there one year, just as if they had gone to the Holy Land.

[45] Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ β', πατριαρχὴς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας*, 109; Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 29-31, speculates on the identity of the Franciscans who arrived in Nicaea, possibly Jacob of Russano or Adam of Oxford, who were known missionaries to the East.

[46] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 419; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Sancta e dell' Oriente Francescana* (Florence, 1906), vol. 1, 161-62; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 214; R. Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' *Traditio* 2 (1944), 225; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 64; Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 69 note 113b; Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 133.

[47] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1256, 62-65; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 803, 502. The Greek text of this letter can be found in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 39-46. Both the Greek and the Latin translation are available in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 47-56, and in *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, pp. 240-49. Yet another edition of the letter is given by Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 448-55; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 98-104.

[48] *Ἄραβδοι πάντες, μονοχίτονες, ἀνυπόδετοι*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 242 lines 19-20.

beautiful' by their actions and piety.[49] While the friars were in Nicaea, they discussed the state of division between the two churches with the patriarch.

> Their appearance was a good sign to us, and brought to us good hopes, to make known the union and agreement of the five Christ-loving patriarchs with God. They arrived in our house, according to divine providence that I believe governs everything to advantage, and when many words are exchanged between us, it was discussed, more than other things, the long-lasting schism of the seamless garment of the weaver of piety on high, which the apostolic hands put on to the universal church of the Christians.[50]

Unfortunately, Germanos II made no statement regarding the reason for the presence of the friars in the east. He stated only that they had run into 'a certain dangerous incident,' and that the emperor John III Vatatzes had intervened to help them.[51] Based on this evidence, some have argued that the friars were harassed or even imprisoned by the Seljuk Turks while travelling through Anatolia, and were freed through the efforts of Vatatzes.[52]

The second source mentioning the arrival of friars in Nicaea is an anonymous Greek chronicle which survives only in a seventeenth century edition by Leo Allatius.[53] The chronicle describes the friars in Nicaea immediately following an account of the execution of the Greek monks on Cyprus, suggesting a close

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[49] *Νῦν δὲ καὶ ὡραιωθῆναι τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ὑπονοῶ ἀποστολικῶς*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 242 lines 20-22.

[50] *εἰς ἀγαθὸν σημεῖον ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνησαν, καὶ εἰς ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς παρεβάλοντο, τῆς τῶν πέντε πατριαρχείων σὺν Θεῷ φάναι φιλοχρίστου ἑνώσεως καὶ ὁμονοίας. Παρέβαλον δὲ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἰκήματι κατὰ θείαν πρόνοιαν, ὡς πεπίστευκα, τὴν πάντα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον οἰκονομοῦσαν, καὶ λόγων πολλῶν μέσον ἡμῶν κινουμένων, ἐπολυπραγμονεῖτο πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πολυχρόνιον σχίσμα τοῦ ἀῤῥάφου χιτώνος τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἄνωθεν ὑφαντοῦ, ὅν ἀποστολικαὶ χεῖρες τὴν καθολικὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐνέδυσαν*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 242 lines 33 – 243 line 1.

[51] *περιστατικῷ τινι συναντήματι*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 241 line 46 – 242 line 1.

[52] Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 1, 161-62; vol. 2, 510-12.

[53] For the Greek and the Latin translation, see Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 693-96. Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 68 note 113a, argues that Allatius, while serving as the custodian of the Vatican Library, may well have had access to sources and materials that are no longer available. The Greek text of the chronicle is reproduced in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, πδ-πε.

relationship between the two.[54] In this text, the Franciscans are depicted as papal 'spies'[55] sent to the Empire of Nicaea, making their way with a pretense of going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but really there to speak with Germanos II.[56] After speaking with the friars about the schism of the churches, Germanos II, 'full of all love and humility,' and with the approval of Vatatzes, initiated a correspondence with Gregory IX.[57]

This story presents very different implications for the mission of the friars in Anatolia. Whereas the letter from Germanos II indicates that their arrival in Nicaea and the subsequent reopening of union negotiations was a happy accident, the anonymous chronicle found in Allatius suggests otherwise. This work alleges that the arrival of the friars in Nicaea was very much the covert plan of Gregory IX. In this way, the pope could commence negotiations with the Empire of Nicaea, which posed an ever greater threat to the Latin empire of Constantinople, without being seen to make direct overtures. The patriarch would make the first gesture to the pope, not the other way around.[58] The problem with this version of events is that it is too much predicated on the outcome of these negotiations. The anonymous chronicle speaks frequently of the tyranny and deception of the Latins, and the pope in particular, suggesting the author of the work was aware of the negative outcome of church-union negotiations in the 1230s and projected that understanding onto his description of events.[59] Whether or not we regard Gregory IX as a master of underhanded

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[54] Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 693-95. Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 86 note 3, argues that the missions of the Franciscan and Dominican friars in Nicaea in the 1230s were a direct result of the execution of the Greek monks on Cyprus in 1231.
[55] *ἐγκαθέτους*, Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 694.
[56] *ὡς δῆθεν ἀπερχόμενοι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 694.
[57] *ὁ πατριάρχης πεπληρωμένας πάσης ἀγάπης καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης*, Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 695.
[58] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 200-201; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1256, 65.
[59] Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 68-69 note 113a, points out that contemporaries tended to refer to Emperor John III Vatatzes as Ἰωάννης ὁ Δούκας, whereas the author of the anonymous chronicle identified him as Ἰωάννης ὁ Βατάτζης, Allatius, *De Ecclesiae*

diplomacy, the visit of the Franciscan friars to Nicaea prompted Germanos II to begin a correspondence with the pope regarding the union of the churches.[60] Both the anonymous chronicle[61] and the *Vita* of Gregory IX[62] indicate that a letter from Vatatzes was sent along with that of the patriarch, but only the patriarch's letter has survived.

The conciliatory comments made by Germanos II in his letter to Gregory IX in 1232[63] stand in sharp contrast to the harsh advice he had given only a few years before to the Orthodox of Cyprus resisting the persecutions of the Latins and their church.[64] He refers to the papacy as 'the cornerstone, the select, the chosen, the honoured.'[65] The patriarch interprets the office of the pope as the 'president of the highest throne,' and depicts himself as humble supplicant to the pontiff's wisdom.[66] The visit of the five Franciscan friars is described in glowing terms,[67] and Germanos II explains at some length his view of the schism between the churches. He describes it as 'great and long-lasting,' adding that 'no one has shown sympathy for the maiden

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Occidentalis, 693-96. This too suggests that the author lived long after the events of the 1230s. See also Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 31.

[60] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 225.

[61] Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis*, 695.

[62] According to the *Vita* of Gregory IX, 'honourable messengers' – *honorabiles nuntios*, arrived from Vatatzes, who is identified as 'prince of the Greeks' – *Batatii Grecorum principis*, and that they 'carried costly gifts' – *pretiosa dona portantes*, for the pope. The *Vita* describes the embassy from Vatatzes arriving along with messengers from the Seljuk Sultan, announcing his interest in converting to Christianity, 'Vita Gregorii Papae IX,' ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 3 (Milan, 1723), 580; ed. P. Fabre, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise Romaine*, vol. 2, fascimile 5 (Paris, 1905), 26.

[63] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 240-49. See also Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1256, 62-65; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 803, 502; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 47-56; Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 39-46.

[64] Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 5-14; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1234, 43-45; Dondaine, 'Contra Graecos,' 428-30, at 430 lines 29-34.

[65] *τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον, τὸν πολυτελῆ, τὸν ἐκλεκτόν, τὸν ἔντιμον*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 240.

[66] *τὸν τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου τὴν προσεδρίαν λαχόντα*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 241. We should be careful in reading too much into such generous language. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 133, argues that the patriarch's letters to Gregory IX are 'imbued with the idea of ecclesiastical authority' that developed in Byzantium following the Photian Schism, with its strong emphasis on the pentarchy.

[67] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 241-42.

of Christ wearing the torn garment.'[68] He compares the separation of the churches to several Old Testament examples.[69] The cause of the schism, according to the patriarch, was not any individual act of violence, but can be discovered in the actions and decisions of the apostolic forbearers of the universal church of all Christians.[70] This schism was brought about by 'the discordant meetings of the holy fathers and teachers,' and is revealed by 'daring hands, not at all military-like, but ecclesiastic.'[71] This explanation for the schism gives us some insight into the approach of Germanos II to church-union negotiations. The statement indicates that he believed, contrary to the argument of some modern historians, that the Fourth Crusade had not made the schism of the churches an irreversible fact of life.[72] It was not the violence of 1204 that brought about division in the church, rather it was the faithless and conflicting manner in which the advocates of both sides had approached previous negotiations. The implication of such a position is that Germanos II genuinely believed a future meeting might bring about the desired union, as long as the two sides were honest and, as the patriarch himself would say, 'were held up to the mirror of the Scriptures and patristic writings.'[73] We must not think the patriarch naïve in this belief; indeed he addresses such a possible criticism.

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[68] *καὶ τὸ σχίσμα μέγα καὶ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ ἐλεῶν τὴν νύμφην Χριστοῦ οὕτω διερρηγμένον φοροῦσαν ἱμάτιον*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 243.

[69] Judaea and Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 243-44.

[70] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 242.

[71] *πατέρων ἁγίων καὶ διδασκάλων διάφοροι συνελεύσεις συνέσφιγξαν ζώσασθαι, τολμήραί δε χεῖρες, οὐμενοῦν στρατιωτικαί, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ φαίνεσθαι ἔσχισαν καὶ διέῤῥηξαν*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 243.

[72] Oikonomides, 'Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 1204-1453: means and ends,' 75; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 735; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the 'sibling' Byzantine and western cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance 330-1600* (New Haven and London, 1976), 10; D. Nicol, 'The crusades and the unity of Christendom,' Lecture to the friends of Dr. Williams's Library (London, 1986), 10.

[73] The analogy of the mirror appears frequently in the context of the *disputatio* of 1234 and the correspondence leading up to that meeting. Germanos II mentioned it first in his letter to Gregory IX in 1232, alluding to the mirrors of 'the luminous gospel of Christ, the letters of the apostles, [and] the books of the theological fathers' – *τὸ φωτοειδὲς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, τὰ ἐπιστολιμαῖα τῶν Ἀποστόλων γράμματα, τοὺς βίβλους τῶν θεολόγων πατέρων*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu,

> We are not in ignorance, oh most holy lord, that just as we Greeks assert that we have right belief and live piously in all things, and in nothing are we in error in apostolic and patristic doctrines, also in the same manner the Church of Elder Rome also maintains about itself, and because it does not think in error in anyway, it does not ask for intervention or correction. We know that this is also said by the church of the Greeks, and by that of the Latins, for no one is able to see genuine disgrace in his own face, if one does not look into a mirror.[74]

Such a comment from the patriarch in Nicaea must have caused some excitement in Rome. It shows that Germanos II was indeed open to the prospect of union. Moreover, the fact that the patriarch did not claim the events of 1204 as a cause for the schism meant that dialogue over theological problems could well end the schism.

Such positive comments do not mean that Germanos II did not point out to the pope what he considered to be abuses of the Roman Church. He emphasized Latin persecution in Cyprus, 'which had produced new martyrs.'[75] The patriarch explained that bishops should be good shepherds, leading their flocks by example.[76] The implication being, of course, that the pope and his Latin bishops in the East were failing to provide that good example. Beyond this, however, the negative comments made in the letter from Germanos II leave us with a problem because they appear only in a Latin translation of the letter, and not in the original Greek.

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no. 179a, 248 lines 15-18. Gregory IX, in his reply, acknowledged the metaphor, 'in the mirror you had proposed, clearly in the gospel and letters and dogma of the other doctors' – *in speculo a te proposito, evangelii videlicet et epistularum et doctrina aliorum Doctorum*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 238 lines 39-40. Later, the friars referred to their treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit as a 'mirror of the creed of the Roman Church' – *speculum fidei Romane Ecclesie*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 lines 29-30.

[74] *Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν, ὦ θειότατε δέσποτα, ὅτι καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ Γραικοὶ διϊσχυριζόμεθα κατὰ πάντα ὀρθοδοξεῖν τε καὶ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ εἰς μηδὲν παρασφάλλεσθαι τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων καὶ πατρικῶν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἡ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Ἐκκλησία περὶ ἑαυτῆς διενίσταται, ὡς διὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι κατά τι σφάλλειν, οὐδὲ θεραπείας χρήζειν λέγειν καὶ διορθώσεως· τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων λεγόμενον οἴδαμεν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδείς ποτε ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ προσώπῳ αἰσχημοσύνην ἀκριβῆ καθορᾷν δύναται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς κάτοπτρον παρακύψειεν*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 247-48.

[75] *νέους μάρτυρας θεασαμένη*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 246.

[76] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 246.

A Latin translation of this letter can be found in the work of Matthew Paris, a thirteenth century English chronicler,[77] who included the text in his *Chronica Majora*.[78] Aloysius Tautu points out that the Latin translation by Paris does not exactly match the Greek found in the register of Gregory IX. Tautu remarks that Paris may have made his translation from a second Greek original, but he thinks it more likely that the edition in the papal register omitted certain parts that Paris did not leave out when he made his Latin translation.[79] Thus, the discrepancies between the Greek and Latin editions of this letter reflect what is found in the register and what is found in Matthew Paris. We would be negligent if we did not consider other possibilities for the discrepancies in the register and in the edition of the letter found in the work of Paris.[80] Might it be the case that Matthew Paris had some cause, or at least felt justified, in creating the discrepancies found in his edition of the letter from the patriarch to the pope?

The most significant criticism of the Roman Church by Germanos II found in the Latin translation of his letter by Matthew Paris refers to monetary abuses. The patriarch states that 'many powerful and noble men would obey you, if they did not fear the unjust oppressions, the wanton extortion of money that you practice, and the undue services which you demand of those subject to you.'[81] This statement is the only indication in his letter to the pope that Germanos II was particularly concerned about the financial practices of the Roman Church. Indeed, he does not merely allude

[77] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 131, describes Paris as a 'careless, inaccurate, and frequently unreliable writer.'
[78] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 448-52; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 98-104.
[79] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 249. The debate over the discrepancies in the Latin edition of this letter predates Tautu. For more, see Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 35-36.
[80] B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the writing of history,' *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 256, notes that Paris had a tendency to rewrite the letters he copied.
[81] *multi potentes ac nobiles vobis optemperarent, nisi injustas oppressiones et opum protervas exactiones et servitutes indebitas, quas a vobis subjectis extorquetis, formidarent*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 452 lines 25-27; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 102; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 243-44.

to the issue, but his words indicate that it was a prime reason for many Greeks to resist submission to Rome. If we were to take these words as authentic to the letter of Germanos II, we would have to consider that the greed of Latin bishops – not the *filioque* or azymes or some other theological issue – was a central reason for the schism. However, these words are almost certainly an interpolation by Matthew Paris.[82] Paris, after all, makes frequent reference to the decadence and monetary corruption of the Roman Church in his own chronicle.[83] According to Paris:

> It was manifest that the Roman Church had incurred the anger of God. For its chief men and rectors sought not to call the people to devotion, but to collect purses full of money; not to gain souls to God, but to seize on revenues and amass money, to oppress religious men, and, by penances, usury, simony, and various other devices, impudently to usurp the property of others to their own use.[84]

Paris himself even suggested that it was similar corruption, specifically simony, which was the main reason for the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.[85] He gave a story in which an archbishop from Greece came to Rome for his confirmation, and upon arrival was required to pay a bribe to the pope. The prelate refused and returned to the East telling other Greek bishops about the simony prevalent in Rome, and thus the Greeks 'withdrew themselves from all subjection to the Roman Church.'[86] This story is emblematic of accusations of corrupt practices by the Latin prelates in Greece

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[82] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 132-33, regards this and other phrases to be insertions by Matthew Paris into the patriarch's letter. Vaughan, however, makes no effort to evaluate the implications of such additions.

[83] M. Barber, 'Impact of the Fourth Crusade, distribution of relics after 1204,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 124, suggests a connection between complaints about monetary corruption and a tendency toward xenophobia in the work of Matthew Paris. Barber explains that Paris was fiercely prejudice against the French, who he considered to be the main beneficiaries of papal taxation. For more on Paris, his anti-French views and their relationship to his discussion of the Frankish East, see Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 124.

[84] *manifeste compertum est, ecclesiam Romanam Dei, proh dolor! indignationem incurrisse. Ipsius enim magistratus et rectores non populi devotionem, sed marsupia plena quaerunt denariorum; non animas Deo lucrifacere, set redditus rapere, et pecuniam congregare, religiosos opprimere, poena, usura, simonia, et aliis diversis argumentis sibi aliena impudenter usurpare*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 446 lines 11-18; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 96.

[85] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 447; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 97.

[86] *et sic omnes a subjectione Romanae ecclesiae tempore Gregorii istius recesserunt*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 470 lines 12-14; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 116-17.

following the Fourth Crusade, especially Antelm, Archbishop of Patras. Indeed, the conflict surrounding Antelm may have served for the inspiration for the story conveyed by Paris.[87]

Putting a comment about financial corruption into the mouth of a Greek prelate fit perfectly within the scheme of Matthew Paris, especially considering that Paris had no good opinion of the patriarch in Nicaea. Paris described Germanos II as a 'defender of erroneous doctrines, an inventor of old as well as new errors.'[88] He even goes so far as to describe the Greek patriarch as 'another Lucifer, a degenerate son and an antipope.'[89] One might be impressed that, given his feelings for Germanos II, Paris was as faithful as he had been in conveying the words of the patriarch's letter. However, the fact that Paris clearly disliked Germanos II speaks more to the comment on monetary abuses of the Roman Church. In the figure of the Greek patriarch, Paris had found what he considered to be a villain who could provide irony to his purpose. Here was 'another Lucifer,' and even he could see that the greed of Latin bishops was unacceptable.

Exactly what did Germanos II hope to achieve with his letter to the pope? He never mentioned any one specific course of action to further the dialogue. He never explicitly invites the pope to send representatives to a new *disputatio*. Nowhere in the letter does he propose a council to settle disputes in dogma and practice, as so often happens when one approaches the topic of the schism.[90] The patriarch does, however,

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[87] Schabel, 'Antelm the Nasty,' 93-137.

[88] *Qui procaciter Graecorum errors, non tantum veteres, immo novos et adinventos defendens, enormiter a religione catholica delirat*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 446 line 30 – 447 line 1; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 97.

[89] *quasi alter Lucifer... filius scilicet degener et Antipapa*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 447 lines 8-10; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 97.

[90] For example, at the end of their meeting in 1136, Niketas of Nicomedia insisted to Anselm of Havelberg that an ecumenical council would be necessary to reach a lasting agreement between the churches, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols. 1209 B – 1210 A; trans. Criste and Neel, 155. D. Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century,' in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969), 71, explains that the papacy never considered it necessary to endure

challenge Gregory IX to join him in a serious reflection of the position of the two churches. 'We also have mirrors that are both many and most clear – the luminous gospel of Christ, the letters of the apostles, the books of the theological fathers – let us examine these, they will teach us what kind of spirit each one has, either corrupted, or genuine.'[91] Germanos II certainly expected that a review of Scripture would reveal the truth of the position of the Greek Church, but what he suggested to happen next in regards to a meeting of the two churches is unclear when we regard his letter to the pope.[92]

What Germanos II had in mind becomes more apparent in his letter to the Roman Cardinals.[93] Only the Latin translation of this letter has survived. Again a version can be found in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris.[94] At the outset of this letter, Germanos II explained to the cardinals the benefit that can be gained when peoples of separate views come together.

> Certainly it is a good thing for this world and it is very useful for all men both to have a separate view and to have common treatment in all business and to gather together. And whatever God conceals from one, he reveals to the other; whatever he inspires through counsel, is revealed in public and is translated for the advantage of the subject multitudes. If, however, there are many advisors, and they are educated and wise, so much gain, so much advantage comes forth for all commoners and subject people![95]

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the trouble and expense of convening a council to debate issues already defined by the authority of previous popes.

[91] *Ἔχομεν κάτοπτρον καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλά τε καὶ ἐμφανίστατα τὸ φωτοειδὲς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, τὰ ἐπιστολιμαῖα τῶν Ἀποστόλων γράμματα, τοὺς βίβλους τῶν θεολόγων πατέρων. Παρακύψωμεν εἰς αὐτά, κἀκεῖνα διδάξωσιν ὅπως ἔχει φρονήματος· ἕκαστος, εἴτε νενοθευμένον, εἴτε γνησίου*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 248 lines 13-21.

[92] It would be wrong to suggest, as does Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125, that Germanos II asked for a delegation of friars to come to Nicaea. The patriarch never makes such a request.

[93] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 249-52. See also Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1257, 65-68; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 804, 503.

[94] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 455-60; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 104-108.

[95] *Magnum utique bonum est huic mundo et omnibus hominibus valde utile discretum consilium et in omnibus agendis communem habere tractatum et insimul convenire. Quod enim quandoque Deus uni celavit, alii inspiravit; et sic quid per consilium inspirat, in cummune producitur et ad utilitatem subiectae multitudinis transfertur. Si autem plures sint consiliarii, et sint docti et sapientes, quantum lucrum, quanta utilitas universae plebi et populo subiecto provenit!*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 249 line 4 – 250 line 5.

The patriarch clearly requested a gathering to discuss what issues had divided the church. He even offered praise to the hierarchy of the Roman Church, referring to the cardinals as 'educated and wise,' and suggesting that they had much to bring to a theological debate. Germanos II shows even more respect for the role of the cardinals when he calls on them to pull down the 'barrier of hostility' which had separated the Churches of the Latins and of the Greeks.[96] The patriarch again advised consultation on the issues dividing the churches later in the letter. 'God alone needs no advice or assistance,' he says, adding that 'all men need to be helped, one by the other, even if they are the most excellent and wise.'[97] Germanos II appears to have believed that the cardinals possessed the ability to prevail upon the pope to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the issue of church union.

The letter to the cardinals is filled with similar words of respect and hopeful expectations. Germanos II remarked that he had prayed for all pride to be banished from the hearts of both Greeks and Latins, so that they might more easily approach the issue of unity.[98] He made reference to the early history of the relationship between Rome and Constantinople, noting that in the sixth century, when Rome was threatened by barbarian peoples, it was 'liberated from tyranny by the empire of the Greeks.'[99] He gave two examples of popes, Agapetos and Vigilius, who were 'honourably received' in Constantinople.[100] The patriarch expressed concern,

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[96] *maceriem sepis inimicitiae*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 250 lines 22-23.
[97] *Solus enim Deus est nullo indigens et non egens auxilio alicuius, homines autem omnes indigent alter ab altero adiuvari, licet excellentissimi sint et sapientissimi*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 lines 23-25.
[98] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 250.
[99] *imperium Graecorum eam ab eorum tyrannide liberavit*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 line 8; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 168.
[100] *honorifice fuere recepti*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 line 10. Pope Agapetos came to Constantinople during the reign of Justinian I on a diplomatic mission, Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 34-35; W. Treadgold, *A history of the Byzantine state and society* (Stanford, 1997), 187; The slightly later arrival of Pope Vigilius was somewhat less cordial. He was arrested and brought to Constantinople as a result of the controversy surrounding the Three Chapters,

however, that in his day, Greeks and Latins were 'separated by bitter division in hostility from one another. One diminishes the other and one avoids communion with the other as if it were dangerous to the spirit.'[101] These comments indicate once more that Germanos II was sincere in his hopes for a successful negotiation that would bring about church-union.

Again, however, the optimistic comments by Germanos II cannot be taken as a naïve hope that ecclesiastical peace would come easily. In fact, the patriarch refers to division, as deplorable as it might be, as God's will. He refers to the disagreements between the apostles Paul and Peter,[102] and adds that their conflict was not 'some foolish tension, but was a stimulus for providing the accommodation of a more profound economy proper to the time.'[103] The argument, therefore, is that disagreement between Peter and Paul was ordained by God in order to clarify the positions of the church. As the conflict between Peter and Paul was the will of God, so was the schism between the Churches of East and West. However, this was only a temporary situation. While God might ordain that there be a schism at one time, he would surely ordain that the schism be healed in another. Such a statement, it seems, is the patriarch's way of rationalizing the state of separation of the two churches. What had happened to divide them was 'supposed' to happen, and now the wise men from both sides were 'supposed' to come together to resolve the issue.

Germanos II briefly addresses the issue of papal primacy in his letter to the cardinals. He referred to Peter as the 'leader of the apostles of Christ and the rock of

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Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2166-67; Treadgold, *A history of the Byzantine state and society*, 205, 210-14.

[101] *Nunc autem, heu, amara divisione in inimicos divisi sumus ad invicem, unus detrahit alii et alter alterius vitat consortium velut animae periculum*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 lines 11-13.

[102] Galatians 2:11; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251.

[103] *Sed repugnatio huiusmodi non alicuius erat causa discordiae vel contentionis inanis, sed profundioris dispensationis temporalem condescendentiam irritantis*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 lines 20-22.

the faith,' and asks that he be corrected if he did indeed fail to revere the pope's apostolic tradition.[104] However, the patriarch noted that even Peter was capable of error, referring to the gospel story of the rooster's crow shaking the foundation of Peter's faith.[105] The story served to show, according to the interpretation of Germanos II, that the pope was not infallible. Just as Peter needed the rooster's crow to rouse his tested faith, the pope required the advice of sound and educated men, such as the cardinals, to avoid the wrongs that had brought about schism. Furthermore, the patriarch refrained from addressing Rome as the 'mother church.' Instead he referred to elder Rome as the 'older sister' of the Greek Church.[106]

The patriarch ends his message with a reference to the vast number of Christians who looked to him for guidance. He noted the Ethiopians, Syrians, Georgians, Lazi, Alans, Goths, Khazars, the 'victorious kingdom' of the Bulgars and the 'innumerable peoples of Russia.'[107] The comment was very likely a hint to the cardinals about what could be gained through an agreed union, but it may also have been a veiled reference to political realities. John II Asen's victory over Theodore Doukas Komnenos at Klokotnitza came only two years before Germanos II wrote this letter,[108] making the Bulgarian regime the most powerful force in the Balkans. The increasingly warm relations between Bulgaria and Nicaea posed a paramount threat to the continued survival of Latin Constantinople.[109] By referring to the Bulgarians and their victories, therefore, Germanos II may well have been making an implied threat,

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[104] *qui caput est apostolorum Christi et petra fidei*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 lines 26-27.
[105] Matthew 26:69-75; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251.
[106] *prima sorore*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 252. Chadwick, *East and West,* 226, notes that the papal analogy of the Roman Church as 'mother' was contrary to eastern understanding, which preferred to describe the relationship as that of a 'sister.'
[107] *innumerabilis plebs Russiae and regnum magnae victoriae Vulgarorum*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251 lines 43-46.
[108] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 41 line 11 – 42 line 15, trans. Macrides, 25.178.
[109] For more on the relationship between Nicaea and Bulgaria, see ch. 4, 284-88.

warning the cardinals that the prospects for the Roman Church in the East were about to decline dramatically, and they had better make the best of the current opportunity.

Again, the overwhelmingly positive and hopeful tone of the letter is surprising. Germanos II was certainly doing his best to appeal to the cardinals to use their position and influence to help bring about the desired union of the churches. Once more, however, there are a number of negative comments in this letter that need to be addressed. As was the case in the letter to Gregory IX, these negative comments appear exclusively in the version of the letter that is preserved by Matthew Paris.[110] Tautu explains that, once again, the version of this letter used by Paris was possibly different from the one included in the papal registers.[111] Another theory is that the curia, finding the negative comments by the patriarch particularly offensive, simply neglected to record them in the edition that was entered into the registers, while Paris apparently made his Latin translation from an original Greek letter that is now lost.[112] Careful examination of these negative comments preserved by Paris will, however, reveal a different possibility.

The first discrepancy in Matthew Paris' version of the text comes midway through the letter from the patriarch, after he remarks on his hope that there will be one church. The comments that appear in the Paris edition seem to place the blame for the schism squarely on the Latins.

> The division of our unity proceeded from the tyranny of your oppression and the demands of the Roman Church, which is made step-mother from mother, which has estranged her own children long ago, like a rapacious bird expelling her young. The more humble and prone to her they are, the more she despises them and holds them all the more worthless, not recalling the gospel saying: *whoever exalts himself will be humbled* (Matthew 23:12). Therefore, may modesty govern you, and may Roman greed, although it is natural to her, be

[110] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 455-60; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 104-108.
[111] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 252.
[112] This is the theory of Papayianni, *Empire of Nicaea and the Latins*, 176 note 229, 177.

> settled for a while and let us begin the search for truth; and having undertaken the search for truth, both sides will be returned to the solidarity of truth.[113]

Much in this statement contradicts other aspects of the correspondence from Germanos II. As we have already seen, the patriarch seems to have rejected the analogy of the Roman Church as 'mother church.'[114] Why then would he return to the mother analogy here? In addition, we saw in his letter to Gregory IX that Germanos II took a conciliatory position on the cause of the schism, ascribing blame not to any one prelate or church, but to the disagreements that arose in ecclesiastical gatherings in years past.[115] In his letter to the cardinals, however, the patriarch seems only too happy to accuse the Roman Church of inciting division, referring to it as a 'rapacious bird.'

Another discrepancy between the text from Matthew Paris and that of the papal register will show more cause for us to suspect that the negative comments by Germanos II are not what they seem. The following excerpt appears immediately following the patriarch's description of the conflict between Peter and Paul in the Paris text.

> Indeed, they were tightly joined by Christ in the bond of love, agreeing in faith and doctrine, they were separated by no ambition or greed. Would that you were more like them in these matters! However, it produces a modicum of offense in our minds that, being greedy only for possessions, and you can scratch everywhere for gold and silver from the flock, yet you call yourselves disciples of him who said: *I have no gold and silver* (Act 3:6). You subject kingdoms in tribute, having accumulated money in business, unlearn in actions

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[113] *Divisio nostrae unitatis processit a tyrannide vestrae oppressionis et exactionum Romanae Ecclesiae, quae de matre facta noverca, suos quos diu educaverat, more rapacis volucris suos pullos expellentis, filios elongavit. Quae etiam quanto humiliores et sibi proniores, tanto magis conculcat et habet viliores, non attendens illud evangelicum:* Qui se humiliat exaltabitur (Matthew 23:12). *Temperet igitur vos modestia et, licet innata, paulisper sedetur Romana avaritia et descendamus ad veritatis scrutinium; et veritatis inquisitione approbata, utrimque ad unitatis soliditatem revertemur*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 252 note 4; also in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 457 lines 21-32.
[114] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 252.
[115] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 243.

> what you preach with your words. May temperance moderate you, that you may be an example to us and an example to the whole world.[116]

Each accusation Germanos II makes against the Roman Church concerns money. Peter and Paul, he says, were not separated by greed, which apparently separates Greeks and Latins. The Roman Church is depicted as having a thirst for worldly possessions and drains gold and silver from its followers. The pope is accused of sapping revenue from secular rulers and raising additional wealth from worldly trade. None of these comments coincide with any of the other criticisms made by Germanos II of the Latins and their church. Never once, for example, in the letter to the cardinals, does Germanos II even mention the persecutions visited on the Greek Church in Cyprus by the ruling Latins. We saw such criticisms in the letter to Gregory IX,[117] and one might expect to see them here, but Germanos II was apparently careful not to bring up the topic and risk offending his audience. If this is so, why is he so harsh in pointing out to the cardinals the issue of money, which concerns him no where else? The excerpts from the text of Matthew Paris in no way correspond with the rhetoric of the patriarch. We must conclude that Paris himself placed them here, just as he seems to have added criticisms relating to his own prejudices into the letter from Germanos II to Gregory IX.

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[116] *Vinculo enim caritatis in Christo iungebantur astricti, fide et doctrina conformes, nulla ambitione vel avaritia distracti. Utinam in his illis assimilaremini! – Mentibus autem nostris scrupulum generat offendiculi, quod terrenis tantum inhiantes possessionibus, undecumque potestis obradere, aurum et argentum congregatis, discipulos tamen eius vos dicitis, qui ait:* Aurum et argentum non est mecum (Acts 3:6). *Regna vobis tributo subiicitis, negoitiationibus numisma multiplicatis, actibus dedocetis quod ore praedicatis. Moderetur vos temperantia, ut sitis nobis et omni mundo exemplum et exemplar*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 252 note 7; also in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 458 line 33 – 459 line 10. The English translation of this text, trans. Giles, vol. 1, 107, mistakenly translates the second plural verb *assimilaremini*, as a first plural. The result, 'would that *we* were more like them,' rather than the correct translation, 'would that *you* [i.e. the hierarchy of the Roman Church] were more like them,' greatly corrupts the meaning of the text.

[117] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 246.

No reply from the Roman cardinals to Germanos II is extant. Instead, we have a reply from the patriarch's original recipient, Gregory IX,[118] which we should interpret as responding to both letters.[119] Two editions date the letter to 26 July 1232.[120] In the opening of his letter to the patriarch, Gregory IX explained the purpose of his correspondence, 'to explain more fully our intention and that of our brothers.'[121] The reference to 'our brothers' likely refers to the Roman cardinals. The pope, therefore, indicated that his reply is also that of the cardinals. He never responded to the patriarch's remarks about monetary abuses of the Roman Church, found in the text according to Matthew Paris. This is yet more evidence to suggest that those comments are not original to the letters from Germanos II to the pope and the cardinals, and that they were added by Paris himself. We can draw this conclusion because the letter from Gregory IX tends to follow rather closely the points made in the patriarch's letter. For example, the pope addressed the 'mirror' analogy mentioned by Germanos II – namely the gospels and the patristic writings. He remarked that the Roman Church found nothing contrary in this mirror when properly interpreted.[122]

Gregory IX stoutly defended his interpretation of papal primacy in his reply to the patriarch. He agreed with Germanos II that Christ will always be the head of the church, but he added 'that the establishment of the church, the holy mountains and citizens of heavenly Jerusalem, are built upon the foundation of the apostles and the

[118] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 235-39. See also Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 55-59; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 460-66; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 108-114.
[119] Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 42, remarks that the language of Gregory IX's letter indicates that it was also a response to the letter to the cardinals.
[120] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 849, 523; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 8981, 770.
[121] *verba vitae deferent et nostram et fratrum nostrorum plenius voluntatem exponent*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 235 lines 5-6.
[122] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 238 lines 39-42.

prophets, among which the first and chief is the most blessed Peter.'[123] The pope did not argue with Germanos II about the mother analogy of the Roman Church, instead he employed the analogy of the body to describe papal primacy. 'Just as the multitudes of senses remain in the head,' so the 'orders of the faithful' – priests, monks and laity – rely on the papacy.[124] Gregory IX answered the patriarch's charge about the fallibility of Peter. 'In your letter, as if under a form of criticism, was mentioned that Peter had moved three times from the door, being roused by the crow of the rooster.'[125] The pope argued that the episode served to teach Peter to endure and to have pity, allowing him more easily to show the spirit of leniency to those returning to the unity of the church.[126] In the same way, he proposed to welcome the Greek Church back into his flock. 'If, for the sake of compassion, you return to the primate of the Apostolic See, as a true Israelite… we, having compassion for your suffering, will commiserate in your pain.'[127] Gregory IX, in effect, argued that the failings of Peter and the papacy are not failings, but the vestiges of mercy and forgiveness.

The papal response addressed the comments made in Germanos II's letter about the conflict between Peter and Paul. Gregory IX indicated that, what we perceive to be a conflict between the apostles, had little in common with the current schism between the Greek and Roman Churches. Rather, theirs was a result of their differing missions. He pointed out that while Peter preached to the Jews, Paul

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[123] *quia fundamenta Ecclesiae in montibus sanctis et cives supernae Hierusalem supra fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum superaedificati leguntur, inter quos primus et praecipuus beatissimus Petrus*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 236 lines 5-8.
[124] *sicut in capite sensuum multitudo consistit*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 236 line 10. Here, the pope personifies the 'orders of the faithful' with Noah, Daniel and Job.
[125] *licet litteris tuis, quasi sub forma reprehensionis, insertum fuerit, quod Petrus ab ostiaria ter commotus, ad galli cantum excitatus*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 238 lines 13-15.
[126] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 238.
[127] *Si vero ex compassionis affectu ad Apostolicae Sedis primatem et iudicem tamquam versus Israelita recurris... passioni tuae compatimur et dolori tuo cum Apostolo condolemus*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 238 lines 23-26.

preached to the Gentiles, and thus was less bound by Judaic law.[128] Any conflict between the two, therefore, must be understood as a result of their evangelical missions.

> Peter, before the stubborn heads of the Jews, and Paul, before the gentile people, laboured in different languages and ceremonies, supplying milk to infants and meat to the elderly, already when they had reached the fullness of time, and each preached one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and other articles of faith according to the grace given to him by the Lord in one same spirit.[129]

Even if they did preach to different peoples, the two preached one church, and Gregory IX was adamant that Peter was at the head of that church.[130] He argued that Peter's authority 'was clearly reinforced by the words of the Lord,' and that he alone received the keys to the kingdom of heaven.[131] Moreover, the pope commented that 'a body with more than one head is monstrous and will not be united without a leader.'[132] In other words, a union of the churches would be impossible without some acknowledgement of the primacy of Rome.

On this point, Gregory IX gave some indication of his view of the cause of the schism between the churches, stating that 'the Lord, foreseeing that the Church of God would be crushed by tyrants, mangled by heretics and divided by schismatics,' gave authority to Peter.[133] The implication was that the Greek Church had been beset by troubles, largely of an internal nature. 'Heretics and schismatics' is almost

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[128] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 236. Even Paul, however, adhered to the commands of Moses on occasion. Acts tells us that, though he avoided circumcision, Paul had his follower Timothy circumcised (Acts 16:3). And Paul himself, cut his hair at Cen'chre-ae on account of a vow (Acts 18:18).

[129] *Licet enim Petrus pro durae cervicis iudaico et Paulus pro gentili populo lac parvulis et escam provectis exhibentes diversis linguis et ritibus labouraverint, cum iam plenitudo temporis advenisset, unum Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma et alios fidei articulos secundum gratiam sibi collatam a Domino in un eodemque spiritu praedicavit uterque*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 236 line 38 – 237 line 1.

[130] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 237.

[131] *Cuius auctoritas ex eiusdem Domini verbis expressius roboratur*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 237 lines 16-17.

[132] *et corpus cum pluribus capitibus monstruosum et sine capite acephalum censeretur*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 237 lines 22-23.

[133] *Praevidens autem Dominus, quod Ecclesia Dei conculcaretur a tyrannis, laniaretur ab haereticis et a schismaticis scinderetur*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 237 lines 27-29.

certainly a reference to Byzantium's long history of struggles with divergent groups and ideologies,[134] while being 'crushed by tyrants' is likely an allusion to the role of the emperor in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Greek Church. The pope expanded on this line of thought, discussing the comment by Germanos II about who was to blame for the schism.

> Returning to that which causes grief, we use the words of your letter, indeed not through the hands of soldiers, but through the opinions of ecclesiastical persons was the full-length and seamless tunic of the true Joseph presumptuously allowed to be in schism. But let us consider who tore it. Indeed when the Church of the Greeks withdrew from the unity of the Roman See, that which had been free at once lost the privilege of ecclesiastical liberty. It became the slave of secular power, so that, by the judgment of God, she who wished it to recognize the sacred primacy in Peter, unwillingly endured an earthly lord. Under which, despising not a little, fading by degrees, professing a deformed faith and becoming lukewarm in brotherly love, not being checked, she wandered free through the field of licentiousness.[135]

Gregory IX is clearly under the impression that the patriarch, or his predecessors, would have happily acknowledged the primacy of Rome, thus ending the schism, had it not been for the interference of the Byzantine emperor. This idea appears to be contrary to historical precedent.[136] Our own analysis has shown that often it was the emperor, not the patriarch, who sought ecclesiastical dialogue and improved relations with the Roman Church. Michael Kerularios refused to receive Humbert of Silva Candida in Constantinople in 1054, despite pressure from Constantine IX

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[134] i.e. iconoclasm, monophysitism, etc.

[135] *Sed quod dolentes referimus, ut epistolae tuae verbis utamur, praesumptuose quidem, non permanus militum, sed per ecclesiasticarum personarum sensus veri Ioseph talaris tunica et inconsutibilis est passa scissuram. Sed quis sciderit, videatur. Cum enim Graecorum Ecclesia a Romanae Sedis unitate recessit, statim privilegio caruit ecclesiasticae libertatis et quae fuerat libera, facta est saecularis potestatis ancilla, ut, iusto Dei iudicio, quae noluit divinum recognoscere in Petro primatum, toleret invita saeculare dominium. Sub quo non modica contemnens, paulatim decidens, fidem informem profitens et a fraterna caritate tepescens, licentius per campus licentiae non refrenatae discurrit*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 237 lines 32-42.

[136] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 102, explains that popes never fully understood the relationship of church and state in the East. They believed that the caesaropapism of the Byzantine emperors over the church was complete, when this was not the case. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 86, identifies caesaropapism as one of the impediments to church union. Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy,' 32, shows that western misconceptions of the role of the emperor in the Greek Church continued well into the late Byzantine period. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 283, notes that charges of caesaropapism were frequently used to insult Byzantines.

Monomachos on the patriarch to meet with the papal delegation.[137] It was likely the emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, rather than the patriarch, who took the initiative to invite Peter Grossolano, Archbishop of Milan, to discuss theological problems in Constantinople in 1112.[138] Even after the Fourth Crusade, as we have already seen, Theodore I Laskaris was certainly eager to meet with envoys in Herakleia Pontike sent by Cardinal Pelagius in 1214.[139] As far as we know, these envoys never met with the patriarch in Nicaea.

With so many examples of the Byzantine emperor initiating negotiations toward church union, how do we account for Gregory IX's harsh distrust of secular authority and concerns about caesaropapism in the East? The answer, almost certainly, can be derived from the pope's own policies, specifically with respect to Frederick II. Since coming to the papal throne, Gregory IX had been at odds with the western emperor, pressing him to fulfil his crusader vow. When he finally excommunicated Frederick II in 1227, the pope initiated a series of schemes to undermine the emperor's authority. He urged the clergy of the Kingdom of Sicily to stop paying taxes to the emperor, hired mercenaries and marshalled an army to attack his holdings in Italy, and attempted to threaten Frederick II's position in Germany with the election of a rival king.[140] The pope's attempt to destabilize Frederick II's imperial power failed, and he was forced to come to terms with the emperor in an

[137] R. Mayne, 'East and West in 1054,' *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 11.2 (1954), 133-48; Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 132-33; E. Chrysos, '1054: Schism?' *Cristianitá d'Occidente e cristianitá d'Oriente* 1 (Spoleto, 2004), 549; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 49. Kaldellis, 'Keroularios in 1054,' forthcoming, argues that the patriarch was following imperial instructions to avoid confrontation with the papal legates.
[138] Grossolano's speech on the procession of the Holy Spirit is addressed to Alexios I Komnenos, not to the patriarch. *PG* 127, cols. 911-20; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 138.
[139] Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 34.
[140] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 203-205. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 194-201; Loud, 'The Papal 'Crusade' against Frederick II in 1228-1230,' 91-103.

agreement in 1230.[141] The struggle confirmed Gregory IX in his determination that the power of kings and emperors was a threat to the church.[142] This undoubtedly skewed his view of the Byzantine emperor and his role in the Greek Church, as well as his approach to negotiating an end to the schism. The letter ends, as one might expect, with a reference to the story of the prodigal son,[143] calling on the Greek Church to give up its errant ways and return to unity with Rome.[144]

The final correspondence between pope and patriarch came on 18 May 1233, and was delivered by the embassy that arrived for the *disputatio* in Nicaea in January 1234.[145] Gregory IX expounded on two important concepts in this letter to the patriarch. The first reaffirmed his belief that secular interference perpetuated the schism, while the second addressed the problem of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. In regards to secular interference, the pope pointed to another Old Testament example. He stated that the schism of the Greeks was anticipated by that brought about under Jerobo'am, who 'made Israel to sin' as a result of political circumstances.[146] Another Biblical example is the story of the two swords,[147] which Gregory IX interpreted to be the material and the spiritual sword. 'When Jesus spoke to the disciples about the acquisition of the spiritual sword, they identified two being placed there, which the Lord said were sufficient, clearly to discern the spiritual and

[141] The Treaty of San Germano, 23 July 1230, Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 167-69. For this agreement, see also Loud, 'The Papal 'Crusade' against Frederick II in 1228-1230,' 92; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 231-32; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 200-201; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 90.
[142] Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 185, pointing to twelfth century examples, argues that caesaropapism was becoming increasingly prevalent in the West, and was perhaps influenced by Byzantine precedents..
[143] Luke 15:11-32.
[144] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179, 239.
[145] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 1316, 738; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 9198, 787; the Latin text of the letter can be found in *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68, and Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 59-62; the Greek is preserved and edited in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 46-49.
[146] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266; 1 Kings 12:25-33.
[147] 'And he said, "Look, Lord, here are two swords." And he said to them, "It is enough."' Luke 22:38.

the material offense.'[148] He argued that both swords were bequeathed to the church, but while one was to be employed by the church, the other was to be used for the church – 'one by the priest, the other at the command of the priest to be managed by the soldier.'[149] The pope was conveying to Germanos II his view that the secular ruler acts for the benefit of the church, and under its direction,[150] the implication being that such an arrangement had been violated by the Byzantine emperors, and their actions required correction in order for union to be achieved.

The other issue discussed by Gregory IX in this letter is the Eucharist. He gave a very generous interpretation of the divergent views, which seems to indicate his willingness to compromise and come to an agreement on theological matters with Germanos II. The pope argued that differences in the Greek and Latin rite did not denote a different or alien sacrament, merely a different interpretation. He employed as an analogy a story from the Gospel of John, in which the 'younger disciple,' presumably John, ran ahead of Peter to the tomb of Christ. Although he arrived first, John did not enter the tomb, whereas Peter entered and saw the funerary clothes set aside.[151] Gregory IX identifies John as the Greek Church, 'running ahead to the tomb,' in other words, running ahead to the faith. The pope praised the Greeks, commenting that they rightly boasted a tradition of being among the first to adopt Christianity.[152] The Latins, however, Gregory IX associated with Peter, 'entering the tomb,' and thus gaining a greater understanding of the faith.

> But the Latin, obeying the monument of the letter with the elder Peter, from which proceeds the spiritual thought, entered first and saw laying there the

[148] *Etenim loquente Iesu discipulis de acquisitione gladii spiritualis, illi duos ibi positos ostenderunt, quos Dominus dixit sufficere, ad cohibitionem videlicet spiritualis et corporalis offensae*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266 lines 17-20.
[149] *unus a sacerdote, alius ad nutum sacerdotis administrandus a milite*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266 lines 28-29.
[150] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 293, explains that such a distinction between sacred and secular authority, although never denied by the Greek Church, was never officially adopted in Byzantium.
[151] John 20:1-10.
[152] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267.

> linens, which covered the most holy Body, designating the Church, and he observed the separate napkin which had been over the head, he choose to celebrate the more marvelous sacrament of the glorified body in azymes of purity.[153]

Such an interpretation perpetuated the concept of the pope as the father figure, giving guidance to those under his authority. The Greeks in this comparison are not described strictly as being in error – both the Greeks and the Latins are associated with disciples as shown in the gospels. Rather the divergence in practice is described as a problem of clarification. What the Greeks do is not wrong, but it can be more right.

Indeed, Gregory IX goes on to comment that it did not matter if the bread used for the Eucharist was leavened or unleavened. He explained to Germanos II that 'bread, simple before the sacrifice, is bread, but by means of transubstantiation, made through the words of the Lord, it is not bread, and therefore it may be called neither leavened nor unleavened.'[154] This statement gives us a glimpse of what Gregory IX may have considered as a possible compromise. He was essentially offering to recognize the Greek use of leavened bread as an orthodox practice. It seems likely that the pope expected a similar gesture in return – that Germanos II and the Greek Church would announce that the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist was permissible. This offer has much in common with the circumstances surrounding the Cypriot monks who were executed in 1231. Latin authorities on Cyprus punished the monks not because of their own practice, but because the monks themselves refused

[153] *Latinus vero cum Petro seniore secutus litterae monumentum, de qua procedit spiritualis sensus, prior introvit et linteamina posita, quae sacrosanctum Corpus, quod Ecclesiam signat, involverant separatumque sudarium, quod fuerat super caput, aspexit, sacramentum glorificati sorporis celebrare mirificentius in azymis sinceritatis elegit*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267 lines 31-36.

[154] *Sed utique panis simplex ante sacrificium panis est, transubstantione vero facta per verba dominica, panis non est, et ideo nec fermantatus nec azymus dici potest*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267 lines 36-38.

to cease their condemnation of the use of azymes in the Roman Church.[155] Gregory IX could well have hoped that an agreement of mutual respect for the two different practices in the Eucharist would prevent similar incidents in the future, and allow for more positive relations between Greeks and Latins.

What conclusions can we draw from the correspondence between Gregory IX and Germanos II? Both had emphasized the issue of papal primacy in their letters, and the patriarch had shown considerable generosity in his respect for the place of the papacy in church hierarchy. At the other church-union negotiations following the Fourth Crusade, the primacy of Rome had been a central topic. All indications suggest that the same would be true in the coming meeting in 1234. As we shall see, however, this was not to be the case. Another issue we might expect to be raised is that of secular authority over the Greek Church. The pope shows tremendous concern over the role of the emperor in church matters, thus we might expect the papal representatives to request that the ruler in Nicaea be excluded from the proceedings. Instead, John III Vatatzes takes an active role in the *disputatio* in Nicaea and Nymphaion, conversing often with Gregory IX's envoys. Both Gregory IX and Germanos II allude to the situation in Cyprus and the Greek monks who were executed there in 1231 in their letters, but Cyprus itself is never discussed at the meeting in 1234. If we were to accept the account of the patriarch's letters as described by Matthew Paris, we might expect the problems of financial corruption by the Roman Church to play a central role in the coming talks. The fact that the issue is never mentioned by either side is yet another indication that Paris added such criticisms at his own initiative and not from some lost original of the letters from Germanos II.

[155] Hinterberger, 'A neglected tool of Orthodox propaganda?' 141, and Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 92.

In many ways, the *disputatio* of 1234 appears disconnected from the exchange between pope and patriarch. In one crucial aspect, however, the talks that emerge from the correspondence very accurately reflect the will and intention of the two ecclesiastical leaders. Both Gregory IX and Germanos II mentioned the 'mirror of scripture and patristic writings' as a basis for correcting errant doctrines and practices. Each believed that an honest and faithful reading of the gospels and other texts would correct theological error and prove their own position to be orthodox. In other words, theological matters would be paramount in the coming *disputatio*. The papacy had learned from the failure of the meetings in 1204 and 1206 that they could not force union upon the Greek Church. They were going to have to address the problem of the schism on theological terms. This is not to say that political matters do not appear in the talks at Nicaea and Nymphaion – indeed, they arise often – but the meeting itself would concentrate on theological differences between the two churches, and in that way strive to bring union.

Latin Monastic Orders in the East

Gregory IX's final letter to Germanos II introduced his representatives to the Greek Patriarch. They included two Dominicans, identified as Hugo and Peter, and two Franciscans, Haymo and Rodulphus. The pope described them as 'men of virtue, illustrious in the order of monks, famous for honest habit and gifted with the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures.'[156] What caused the pope to select these four individuals for this embassy to the Greek patriarch? Much was at stake in this *disputatio*, so we must consider that Gregory IX had a great deal of faith in the friars

[156] *viros virtute, religione conspicuos, morum honestate praeclaros et Scripturarum Sacrarum scientia praeditos*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267 lines 1-3.

to execute his policies and represent the theological as well as political interests of the Roman Church. How do we account for this trust? The Dominicans and Franciscans must have maintained a notable reputation to be worthy of the praise from the pope, as 'men of virtue' with 'knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures.' What in their reputations made the friars, and these four men in particular, the choice of Gregory IX to champion the Latin cause?

Making use of the Franciscans and Dominicans as intermediaries in dealings with the Empire of Nicaea presented several advantages. Mendicant orders had long been active in the East and had acquired many contacts and abilities that would benefit papal diplomacy.[157] Gregory IX had sent mendicant friars to preach to the Cumans,[158] Ruthenians,[159] Nestorians,[160] and Jacobites.[161] As we have already seen, the successful proselytizing missions of the mendicant friars in the Byzantine East had caused Germanos II some concern.[162] Indeed, by the time of the correspondence between the pope and patriarch, western monastic orders had been present in the region for several years. The first to arrive in the East were the Cistercians, many of whom had taken part in the Fourth Crusade. In the years following 1204, nearly a dozen Cistercian houses were established in Latin Romania, mostly in mainland

[157] Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 167, 173, puts the eastern missionary activity of the friars into the context of Gregory IX's negotiations with Nicaea; J. Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order: from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 298.
[158] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 139, 77; no. 187, 108; no. 556, 359.
[159] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 9458, 807.
[160] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3791, 720.
[161] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3789, 719 ; Gregory IX's predecessors, Innocent III and Honorius III, had also sent similar missions to the East, see for example the appointment of a papal legate to bring the Ruthians into unity with the Roman Church, 7 October 1207, *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, ed. Haluscynskyj, no. 105, 334-36; also in *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 10, no. 138, 231-33.
[162] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1287, 94-95; no. 1291, 98-99; no. 1303, 106; Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania,' 24, argues that the aggressive propaganda of the Dominican and Franciscan friars in Latin territories greatly antagonized the Greeks.

Greece.[163] Elizabeth Fisher identifies three monastic houses in or near Constantinople that were given to the Cistercians as early as 1208.[164] The Franciscan friars were active in the Latin empire almost as soon as their order was founded.[165] The images depicting St Francis of Assisi found in the Kalenderhane Camii represent the earliest known frescoes of the saint.[166] By 1220, the Franciscans had a house at Pera, and admiration for their ascetic way of life was spreading among the Greeks.[167] The friars who comprised the papal embassy of 1234 noted the strong presence of the Franciscans in Latin Constantinople, stating that they met in the city with Benedict of Arezzo, Minister of Romania, and Jacob of Russano.[168] The Dominicans were the last to appear in Latin Constantinople.[169] Like the Franciscans, they were active in preaching to the Greek communities living under Latin rule. The anonymous *Contra graecos*, composed in 1252, was likely composed by a Dominican friar residing in the

[163] Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 113, 118. Of those twelve, Barber identifies only three that continued to be occupied by the Cistercians after 1276, only one of which was on mainland Greece.
[164] The Abbey of St Stephen, the nunnery of St Mary of Percheio, and the monastery of St Angelos, E. Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' in *Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, (2010), 391.
[165] Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 391, suspects that the Franciscans were active in proselytizing in Constantinople, as portions of the rule of their order have been found translated into Greek. See S. Salaville, 'Fragment inedit de traduction grecque de la Regie de saint Francois,' *Échos d'Orient*, 28 (1929), 167-72.
[166] The frescoes are now on display at the Istanbul Archeological Museum, C. Striker and D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: the buildings* (Mainz, 1997), 128-42, 155-70; Angold, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean,' 28, suspects that the Franciscans remained in the monastery after 1261.
[167] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 214; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 214.
[168] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 445 line 34 – 446 line 1. Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia (Turnhout, 1998 and 1999), vol. 1, 63 lines 16-17; trans. J. Baird, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam* (Binghamton, 1986), 18, identifies Benedict of Arezzo, provincial minister of the East, as a holy man who received John of Brienne into the Franciscan Order. Jacob of Russano had apparently stopped in Constantinople while on a papal mission to the court of the king of Georgia, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 9141, 783, where the Franciscans were already active, Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 1, 162-63; vol. 2, 299-300; M. Baldwin, 'Missions to the East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,' in *A history of the crusades*, ed. K. Setton, vol. 5 (Madison, 1985), 470; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226.
[169] R. Loenertz, 'Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople,' *Échos d'Orient* 34 (1935), 332-49; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 213 note 2, comments that the Dominicans were rather late in their arrival in the Latin empire; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 743, puts their appearance in Constantinople in 1228; Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 391 pushes it back to 1233.

city for the purpose of encouraging the Greeks to accept the supremacy of the pope.[170] The establishments of these mendicant orders did not disappear when Latin control of Constantinople ended in 1261, although their numbers were understandably reduced.[171]

Their commitment to scholarship meant that the mendicant orders were quite capable of debating doctrinal matters with the theologians of the Greek Church.[172] Thomas of Eccleston explains that it was only after succeeding in theological learning that the Franciscans went on to conduct the affairs of preaching.[173] As Michael Angold explains, the mendicant orders 'introduced a spirit of reasoned dialogue' that the Greeks could appreciate.[174] Several Dominican and Franciscan friars rose to prominent positions in the universities of Western Europe,[175] especially at Oxford and Paris.[176] A central academic focus of the orders was in foreign languages.[177] The prominent English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, was a strong advocate for linguistic study. He rated the study of languages as one of the principle aspects of the curriculum at Oxford,[178] and argued that learning the Greek language was necessary

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[170] Dondaine, 'Contra Graecos,' 320-30. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 359, remarks that this work became the basis for all future anti-Greek polemics produced by the Dominicans.
[171] For more on a continued Franciscan and Dominican presence in Constantinople after 1261, see Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 552-53; Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 392.
[172] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125-26, refers to the *disputatio* of 1234 as the 'first encounter between the Greeks and Latin scholasticism.' Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 298-99, notes that Franciscans would be employed frequently as emissaries of the pope throughout the thirteenth century – in 1234, 1248 and 1262. See also A. G. Little, *Franciscan papers, lists, and documents* (Manchester, 1943), 55-57; A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan history, being the Ford Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916* (London, 1917), 195-213.
[173] Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester, 1951), 27; trans. A. G. Little, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany* (London, 1926), 38.
[174] Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 743.
[175] Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 85-127, presents a thorough study of the internal debate around azymes and the Greek use of leavened bread in western universities, concluding that while both groups tended to refrain from absolutely condemning the practice of the Greek Church, the comments of the Dominicans were more hostile than those of the Franciscans.
[176] Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, 56.
[177] Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 392; Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, 195-208.
[178] Roger Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. J. Brewer (London, 1859), 91.

for correcting the theological errors and preaching to the Greek people.[179] The bilingual ability of the friars – especially of the Franciscans – made them prime candidates for diplomatic service.[180]

The diplomatic resumé of the Franciscans is particularly impressive. Gregory IX is known to have employed the friars in his dealings with the western emperor.[181] Matthew Paris wrote that the friars of the Dominican and Franciscan orders had become the 'selected agents and messengers' of the pope, and that they were found in the service of kings.[182] Using the friars as representatives to the Byzantine emperor was thus a natural extension of diplomatic activities already undertaken in the West. Franciscans played a significant and continuous role in communications between Nicaea and Latin Constantinople,[183] as well as with the West, serving as representatives for both Latins and Byzantines. Salimbene de Adam tells us that he once encountered a Franciscan friar, also named Salimbene, who had been born in Constantinople and was half-Italian and half-Greek. The Salimbene in question was in the West serving as a 'messenger' from Vatatzes.[184] Salimbene de Adam describes him as 'not a learned man,' but did note that he spoke good Latin and Greek, as well as Italian.[185] Franciscans and Dominicans served as envoys and advisors to the Latin emperors John of Brienne and Baldwin II.[186] John of Brienne is considered to have been particularly attached to the Franciscans, and possibly joined the order before he

[179] Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 404-411.
[180] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 215.
[181] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 192-93.
[182] *consiliarii et nuntii speciales*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 627 lines 12-13; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 244. It is likely friars who served to carry to Germany the message of the second excommunication of Frederick II in 1239, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 621; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 239-40.
[183] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 555.
[184] *nuntium*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 line 19. See ch. 4, 333 note 244.
[185] *Et cum fuimus Vienne, invenimus nuntium Vattacii, quem miserat ad papam pro generali ministro. Hic erat ex Ordine fratrum Minorum et dicebatur frater Salimbene sicut et ego, et erat Grecus ex uno parente et Latinus ex altero; et optime loquebatur Latinis verbis, cum clericam non haberet; optime etiam in vulgari; noverat Grecam et linguam Latinam*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 lines 18-24; trans. Baird, 321.
[186] Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 113.

died.[187] Salimbene de Adam reported that the aged Latin emperor was received into the order by Minister Benedict.[188] Both orders would continue to exert influence and serve in a diplomatic capacity in the years following 1261.[189] John Parastron, a Franciscan, served as an envoy from Michael VIII Palaiologos to Louis IX of France in 1270 and was the interpreter on the Byzantine delegation to Lyons in 1274.[190] Another example of a bilingual friar is Simon of Constantinople, a Dominican who fled the city in 1261 for Negroponte and returned to the capital in 1299. He had close relationships and correspondences with some of the most noted Byzantines of his time, including Andronikos II Palaiologos and Manuel Holobolos. His influence is thought to have encouraged several Byzantines to learn Latin.[191]

What can be said, then, of the four individual friars sent to Nicaea in 1234, and how did the training and reputation of the mendicant orders shape their efforts in the *disputatio*? Unfortunately, the sources give us scant little information, forcing us to deduce their identity and background. We know least about the two Dominicans, Hugo and Peter of Sézanne . Both appear to have been of French origin. Hugo is a true mystery. The friars' report gives no direct clues to his identity. However, a notable Dominican with the same name, Hugo of St Cher, is known to have been

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[187] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 214-221, 231-34, concludes that John of Brienne entered the Franciscan order shortly before his death. He even speculates that John of Brienne knew St Francis of Assisi personally, having met in Damietta, during the crusade to Egypt, in 1219/20.

[188] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 63 lines 16-17; trans. Baird, 18.

[189] S. Andriopoulou, *Diplomatic communication between Byzantium and the West under the late Palaiologoi (1354-1453)*, DPhil thesis (Birmingham, 2010), 128, 132, finds that Franciscan friars served as envoys on behalf of the Byzantine emperors John VIII and Constantine XI Palaiologos. Angold, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean,' 28-29, argues that Michael VIII Palaiologos made use of the Franciscans order to help advance his union policy, as well as reconcile the Latins of Constantinople to Byzantine rule after 1261.

[190] Angold, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean,' 28-29; Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 392-93, suggests that John Parastron may have had Venetian origins. George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 2, 475-77, described an attempt by the people of Constantinople to have John Parastron canonized.

[191] Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 393-94; M. Congourdeau, 'Note sur les Dominicains de Constantinople au debut du 14e siècle,' *Revue des études byzantines* 45 (1987), 175-81; M. Congourdeau, 'Frère Simon le Constantinopolitan, OP (1235?-1325?),' *Revue des études byzantines* 45 (1987), 165-74.

active in academic circles in the early thirteenth century. He was born in 1200 and studied at the university in Paris. After joining the Dominican order in 1225, he taught in Paris from 1230-1235.[192] Salimbene de Adam stated that 'venerable Hugo' was elevated to the post of Cardinal Bishop of St Sabine by Pope Innocent IV in the 1240s, after he had gained notoriety for his commentary on the Bible.[193] While we cannot say with any certainty that this is the same Hugo who took part in the *disputatio* of 1234, he is just the sort of individual Gregory IX would have appointed to the embassy if his goal was to win over the Greeks, and the circumstantial evidence certainly fits.[194] Peter of Sézanne was a prior and lector of the Dominican order who is depicted as a notable missionary.[195] A description of Peter's activities while on this embassy is preserved by Gerard de Frachet, given in the first person, and apparently set before the friars had reached Nicaea and were in Constantinople in 1233.[196] Peter stated that he had travelled east 'with other brothers from the lord pope, to settle, if possible, the controversy of the modern Greeks.'[197] In Constantinople, Peter encountered a Muslim man, described as 'a religious man with political powers who

[192] J. Fisher, 'Hugh of St. Cher and the development of mediaeval theology,' *Speculum* 31, no. 1 (1956), 57-69, argues that Hugo set the precedent for the methodology of future scholars in the West, such as Thomas Aquinas. See also F. Gigot, *The Catholic encyclopaedia*, (1910), 521.
[193] *His temporibus floruit vita et scientia venerabilis domnus Hugo cardinalis, frater Predicatorum Ordinis, qui doctor theologus doctrina sana et prelucida totam Bibliam pustillavit. Concordantiarum in Bilbiotheca primus auctor fuit. Sed processu temporis facte sunt Concordancie meliores. Hunc papa Innocentius Sancte Sabine instituit presbiterum cardinalem. In quo statu laudabiliter se habuit usque ad diem ultimum vite sue*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 266 lines 23-30; trans. Baird, 166. Hugo of St Cher is most noted for his Latin Concordance of the Bible, compiled in 1240, *New Catholic encyclopedia*, (Washington, D. C., 2002), vol. 7, 193-94.
[194] Gigot, *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 521, states that Gregory IX sent Hugo as an envoy to Constantinople in 1233. No study of the *disputatio* of 1234 has identified this Hugo with Hugo of St Cher. The more recent *New Catholic encyclopedia*, 193-94, makes no mention of a mission on behalf of the pope to the East.
[195] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 419; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 225 note 48.
[196] Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum necnon Cronica Ordinis* (Brussels, 1896), 218-20; trans. P. Conway, *Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers* (London, 1955), 198-201; also find the text of this story in Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 302-303.
[197] *veneram Constantinopolim cum fratribus aliis a domino papa missis pro sedanda, si fieri posset, modernorum contradiccione Grecorum*, Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 302.

dressed modestly.'[198] After the man was imprisoned for blasphemy, Peter encouraged him to convert to the Christian faith. The individual in question was eventually baptized with the name Paul.[199] Even if we address this story of conversion with the appropriate caution, it still tells us much about the activities of the mendicant orders and about Peter of Sézanne himself. We can say with some assurance that he was an avid missionary.

Although we know more about the Franciscan friars who took part in the papal embassy to Nicaea in 1234, our knowledge is still quite limited. Rodulphus of Remis is thought to have been born in France, hence the name 'Remensis,' but he may have been raised in England.[200] Thomas of Eccleston identified Rodulphus as an Englishman who 'came to England after many years of toil, and after giving himself to the contemplative life at Salisbury for a long space, made a happy end.'[201] The individual who we know best of all the friars is Haymo of Faversham. Born in southern England, Haymo is the only one of the friars we know who did not have French origins.[202] Thomas of Eccleston is an excellent source for his career. He regarded Haymo as a man 'of authority and renown.'[203] He wrote that Haymo practiced such severe penitence that he was left feeble and weak.[204] In addition to his devotion and piety, Haymo was known for his skills as a preacher. The account of Thomas of Eccleston gives a famous story in which Haymo, immediately after having

[198] *quidam saracenorum monachus, paternarum suarum tradicionum vehementissimus emulator, virtutibus quidem politicis miro modo extrinsecus adornatus, simplicissimo aspectu, vilissimo habitu, modesto incessu, sermone raro*, Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 302.
[199] Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 302-303. The story itself is very telling about the actions of the mendicant orders in Constantinople under the Latin regime. The man is said to have gone to the Franciscans upon his release, who then delivered him to Peter and the Dominicans, who instructed him in Christian doctrine.
[200] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 419; Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'église grecque orthodoxe*, 45.
[201] *Frater Radulfus Remensis Anglicus post diutinos laboures venit in Angliam, et apud Sarum diutius contemplationi vacans feliciter obiit*, Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 73 lines 6-8; trans. Little, 88.
[202] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 419.
[203] *Promovit autem plurimum praedicantes et auctoritatis eis et famae fomenta praebuit adventus fratris Haymonis de Faversham*, Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 27 lines 12-13; trans. Little, 38.
[204] Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 27; trans. Little, 39

entered the Franciscan Order, volunteered to preach to a large crowd that had gathered at St Denis on Easter Sunday, 14 April 1224.[205] His words were so moving, Thomas of Eccleston tells us, that Haymo spent the next three days hearing the confessions of the entire audience.[206] After returning to England as one of the first Franciscans in the country, possibly as early as September 1224,[207] Haymo spent some time teaching at Oxford before going on to similar positions at Paris, Tours, Bologna and Padua.[208] Haymo was made the Provincial Minister to England in 1239,[209] and only about a year later was elevated to the post of Minister General of the Franciscan Order, following the death of Albert of Pisa.[210] Salimbene de Adam made a remark that suggests the choice of Haymo for the post was in some way related to the conflict between the papacy and the western emperor.[211] After a tenure as Minister General in which he is thought to have done much to promote the study of theology as well as preaching,[212] Haymo died in 1244.[213]

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[205] Haymo entered the Franciscan Order at St Denys on Good Friday, 12 April 1224, Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, 57.
[206] Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 28; trans. Little, 40.
[207] Little, *Franciscan papers, lists, and documents*, 56-57; Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 100, puts the beginning of Haymo's teaching career in Paris in 1225.
[208] Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 28; trans. Little, 40-41. As *magister theologiae* in Paris, Haymo was a colleague of Hugo of St Cher in educational circles in Paris, Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 44.
[209] Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 69; trans. Little, 82-83.
[210] Thomas of Eccleston, ed. Little, 85-86; trans. Little, 103-104; Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 131 note 2. Haymo of Faversham is the only Englishman to have occupied the post. Little, *Franciscan papers, lists, and documents*, 57, gives the dates for Haymo's elevation to Minister of England (15 May 1239), and to Minister General (1 November 1240). Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 107, remarks that Haymo was the first Minister General to be trained in the universities, and thus the first who could be referred to as an 'academic.'
[211] 'In the year 1240, Albert of Pisa, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, died, and Brother Haymo of England was appointed in his place, since Brother Elias had bolted the Order and joined the Emperor Frederick' – *Anno Domini MCCXL mortuus est frater Albertus Pisanus, generalis minister Ordinis fratrum Minorum, et substitutus est frater Aymo Anglicus, siquidem frater Helyas appostataverat adherens Friderico*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 254 lines 17-20; trans. Baird, 157.
[212] Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 107-108, notes that it is difficult to determine who was responsible for various initiatives in the early years of the Franciscan Order because the sources of the period are so vague.
[213] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 267 lines 19-20; trans. Baird, 166. A commentary on the works of Aristotle may well be a surviving work of Haymo, but it may also be ascribed to Simon of Faversham, see Little, *Franciscan papers, lists, and documents*, 58 note 1.

Even with the sparse evidence we have for the careers of these men, we can safely say that the papal representatives who championed the position of the Roman Church in the *disputatio* of 1234 had strong ties to both the academic and missionary activities of the mendicant orders. Still, we are left with certain questions regarding the conduct of the friars during the *disputatio*. For example, which of them spoke Greek? Never in their report of the proceedings do the friars indicate that an interpreter was provided for them. It is difficult to imagine that the Greeks at Nicaea were unprepared for the Latin disputants, thus they almost certainly would have had capable interpreters on hand for the coming discussions. Such was the case for previous church-union negotiations. As we have seen, during the ecclesiastical debates between Anselm of Havelberg and Niketas of Nicomedia in 1136, a Latin in the imperial service, Moses of Bergamo, was employed to translate for both sides.[214] The Latins provided their own interpreter in the person of Nicholas of Otranto on two occasions – the *disputatio* between Cardinal Benedict and the Greek clergy in Constantinople in 1206, as well as the proceedings in Constantinople and Herakleia Pontike in 1214-15.[215] Yet the report of the friars does not indicate that they employed an interpreter, nor does it suggest that their hosts offered such a service, despite the fact that we know Latins were present and likely in the service of the Nicaean regime, and almost certainly bilingual. Thus, we must conclude that one or more of the friars had a strong knowledge of the Greek language – good enough to translate for the rest to understand.[216] Their report on the *disputatio* never records a complaint about a lack of understanding, nor does it state that the friars asked for an interpreter or for the discussions to be slowed down due to lack of comprehension. Instead, the friars' report describes the linguistic competence of one or more of their number, referring to

[214] See ch. 2, 97, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1163 B; trans. Criste and Neel, 86.
[215] See ch. 2, 140, Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, 41-44.
[216] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 426.

'one of our brothers, to whom the Lord had bestowed favour in the literature of the Greeks.'[217] Not only does this suggest that the friars came to Nicaea with their own interpreter, but we must consider that the phrase 'one of our brothers' does not preclude the possibility that more than one of the friars had a working knowledge of the Greek language. Indeed, the individual mentioned was not only proficient in the Greek language, but in Greek literature – *litteratura* – suggesting a great deal of linguistic training.[218]

An interesting episode in the report of the friars indicates that their skill and experience in the study of Greek literature was put to use even before they had reached Nicaea. They record that the Greek disputants were most perturbed when their Latin adversaries employed Greek patristic texts to endorse the positions of the western church.[219] While many, if not all of these writings were almost certainly available in the West, the friars themselves state that they obtained these and other Greek works in the libraries of Constantinople before their arrival in Nicaea. Indeed, the friars refer to a 'plentiful multitude of Greek books' they found in Constantinople and brought with them for the *disputatio*.[220] The fact that Greek texts would have been available in Latin-occupied Constantinople should come as no surprise. It would have been a simple matter for the friars to have gained access to Greek patristic texts in the libraries of the churches and monasteries of Constantinople, preserved there long before 1204. The language of their report – stating that they found these works in Constantinople – would even suggest that the friars made a conscious choice to stop

[217] *unus de Fratribus nostris, cui Dominus dederat gratiam in litteratura Greco*rum, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 3-4.
[218] This suggestion is very different from that made by Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 426, who translated *litteratura* as 'alphabet.' Chadwick, *East and West*, 243, is not as impressed with the bilingual ability of the friars. He maintains that, as soon as the language became the least technical, neither side at the *disputatio* could have comprehended the other.
[219] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434-35.
[220] *copiosam multitudinem librorum Grecorum, quam nobiscum de Constantinopoli detuleramus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434 lines 8-9.

there before the *disputatio* began, identifying texts that would be useful and how they might be employed to refute the arguments of the Greeks.

The most profound example of the proficiency of the friars with the Greek language is their translation of documents brought forth during the talks in Nicaea and Nymphaion. The friars showed the ability both to translate texts from Greek to Latin as well as from Latin to Greek. This is clearly visible in an early episode of the *disputatio* in Nicaea, after the friars had presented a set of reasons which supported the Latin view on the procession of the Holy Spirit.[221] When the Greek disputants asked that a list of the reasons be put in writing, the friars obliged them. Their report specifically states that the writing was first given in Latin, and that the Greeks requested that 'it be translated into Greek for them.'[222] Much is implied by this statement. Not only are the friars clearly capable of translating, but the fact that the Greeks asked them to provide a Greek translation suggests that they trusted the linguistic ability of the friars. When the Greeks responded to this document with a treatise of their own, the friars went about translating that work from Greek into Latin.[223]

While all of this testifies to the competence of one or more of the friars with the Greek language, the evidence available does not allow us to definitively identify which of the friars performed the translation. One individual we can safely rule out is Peter of Sézanne . In the story of his conversion of a Muslim in Constantinople, Peter

[221] The friars asked, 'how the Holy Spirit can be called the Spirit of the Son from eternity.' The reasons they give are 1) because he is of the same substance, 2) because the Son sends the Spirit into creation or 3) because it proceeds from him. The friars proceed to explain why the third reason is the only possible conclusion, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435-36.
[222] *Quam primo datam latino, in grecum petierunt sibi transferri*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 436 lines 26-27.
[223] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437. For the original Greek of this treatise, see M. Stavrou, *Nicéphore Blemmydès: Oeuvres théologiques* (Paris, 2007), vol. 1, 184-205, or P. Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire adressé aux envoyés de Grégoire IX (Nicée, 1234),' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 25 (1959), 319-25. For the Latin translation of the friars, see Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 438-42. For an English translation, see Appendix, ch. 11, 377-82.

himself remarks that he spoke to the man in question through 'a companion who knew Greek and Latin.'[224] The implication, therefore, is that Peter himself was not bilingual. As for the other three, any or all could have had some ability to interpret. No evidence exists to allow us to rule out Rodulphus of Remis. If the Hugo who served as the papal representative in 1234 is the same Dominican whom Salimbene de Adam praised for his commentary on the Bible and who was promoted by the pope to Cardinal of St Sabine, it stands to reason that he would have had some familiarity with the Greek language. The long career of Haymo of Faversham in the universities of Western Europe is a strong indication that he would have been well versed in the Greek language, especially at Oxford, where Roger Bacon rated linguistic studies so important. Unfortunately, the sources we have show only that languages were a major part of the curriculum after Haymo's tenure at Oxford. He may have been instrumental in bringing the study of languages to the English university. We simply cannot say with any certainty. Haymo's time at the universities of France and Italy is another hint at his bilingual ability, but again we cannot say this definitively. It would conform to the bilingual efforts of the mendicant orders in Constantinople for all of the friars to have been capable in the Greek language. All we can say with any certainty is that someone in the papal delegation in 1234 had an impressive knowledge of the Greek language.

Another question surrounding the friars and their actions as papal representatives in 1234 concerns their report on the proceedings. The contents of this work will be taken into consideration below, but before we can analyze the text we must consider its author. Girolamo Golubovich argues strongly that the report was

[224] *Post hec cogitavi ego visitare illum et cum socio, qui Grecum et Latinum sciebat, veni ad carcerem hora diei prima*, Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 302.

composed by Rodulphus of Remis.[225] He insists that, even though each of the four friars is represented in the work, it is necessary to identify a chief secretary or reporter among them.[226] The best evidence to suggest that Rodulphus performed this function is derived from a statement on the issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit put forward by the friars during the *disputatio*.[227] At the end of the statement, in order to show that all agreed with the content and the argument, each one of the friars signed their name. Each friar identified himself as an *apokrisarios* of Gregory IX, and three of the friars added that they 'believed and felt' in agreement with the contents of the document.[228] The only friar to state otherwise was Rodulphus, who stated 'thus I write, and thus I believe.'[229] The word *subscribo* seems to demonstrate that it was Rodulphus who authored the statement of faith on the procession issue, and implies that it was he who was responsible for composing all other documents produced by the papal representatives, including the report given to Gregory IX describing the *disputatio*.[230]

The Embassy of the Friars: *Nuncii* or *Legati*?

The church-union negotiations of 1234 would be significant if only for the fact that it was the first time the newly developed monastic orders were employed in diplomacy with the Eastern Church. However, the circumstances of their delegation present even

[225] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 425-26, attempts to argue, on purely circumstantial evidence, that the individual revealed nationalists tendencies in the report. Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 47-48, does not definitively conclude that Rodulphus was the author of the report, but he does agree that it was composed by one of the two Franciscans.
[226] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 425.
[227] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 24, 455-58; a Latin and Greek edition of this document is preserved in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 61-66.
[228] *sic credo et ita sentio*, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 66.
[229] *sic subscribo et ita credo*, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 66.
[230] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226; Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 425-26.

greater implications for the meeting of the churches, and the attitude the two sides adopted on the issue of church-union. The choice of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, and these men in particular, to champion the cause of the Roman Church and to represent Gregory IX, should be considered a strong vote of confidence for the friars.[231] Their learning and linguistic ability made them well suited for the task. In addition, the piety and wisdom of these monastic orders had impressed their host, Germanos II. As we have already noted,[232] in his letter to Gregory IX in 1232, the patriarch wrote of the five Franciscans who appeared in Nicaea in a most admiring way, speaking of their elegance, comparing their piety to that of the apostles and referring to them as 'couriers of Christ.'[233] Sources indicate that the patriarch and his clergy continued to be impressed by the learning and logical acumen of the friars chosen to participate in the embassy after they arrived in Nicaea in 1234. Nikephoros Blemmydes, who was present at the *disputatio* in Nicaea, identifies them as 'learned men of the Roman obedience,'[234] adding that their rational skills quickly gained them the upper hand in the argument.[235] Thus, we must conclude that Gregory IX made a determined and conscious effort to select the most capable representatives whose reputation and venerable character would win over the leaders of the Greek Church. Such a decision on the part of the pope denotes his approach to this round of church-union negotiations, suggesting that he genuinely wished to bring about an end to the schism. As we have already seen, in the previous meetings of the two churches since the Fourth Crusade, the papacy was represented by the elites of the western ecclesiastical hierarchy. In 1204, 1206 and 1214, the Latin cause was always

[231] Fisher, 'Monks, monasteries and the Latin language in Constantinople,' 392-94.
[232] See above, 155-56.
[233] *ταχυδρόμοι Χριστοῦ*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 242 lines 25-26.
[234] *τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπικρατείας ἐνδεδημηκότων ἀνδρῶν*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57 lines 12-13; trans. Munitiz, 106.
[235] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 26, 57 – ch. 27, 58; trans. Munitiz, 107-108.

championed by cardinals whose heavy-handed approach had failed to win over the Greeks. This new approach by the pope to representation at negotiations in 1234 – opting for humble friars as opposed to the elites of the hierarchy of the Roman Church – indicates that Gregory IX was conscious of past failures and was determined to find new ways to appeal to the leaders of the Greek Church. We can infer from such determination that the pope was genuinely invested in ending the separation of the churches.

Identifying the precise diplomatic status of these friars, however, presents a problem. It is impossible to speak of them as 'ambassadors' of the Roman Church. Indeed, Donald Queller explains that this term is particularly hazardous because of modern implications of the office that did not apply in the early thirteenth century.[236] Thus, we must refer to the friars who took part in the *disputatio* in contemporary terms, namely *nuncio* or *legatus*. Alternative terms do exist. *Apokrisarios* is a term that turns up during the negotiations in Nicaea and Nymphaion. In their statement of faith regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit, the friars referred to themselves as '*apokrisarii* of the lord pope Gregory, bishop of elder Rome.'[237] According to Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, an *apokrisarios* can indicate either a messenger or a legate.[238] Because of this inherent ambiguity, *apokrisarios* should be understood as an all-inclusive diplomatic term, and does not serve to delineate the power and authority of the friars as papal representatives. Another word to describe representatives, *πρεσβεύς*, is sometimes used by Byzantine authors, most frequently by Nicholas Mesarites. Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*[239] and Lampe's *Patristic Greek*

[236] D. Queller, *The office of ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), ix; D. Queller, 'Thirteenth-century diplomatic envoys: "*Nuncii*" and "*Procuratores*",' *Speculum* 35 (1960), 196.
[237] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 66.
[238] G. Lampe, *A patristic Greek lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 198.
[239] H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English lexicon* (New York, 1883), 1266, identifies *πρέσβευτής* as the equivalent of the Latin term *legatus*.

Lexicon[240] translate this word as 'ambassador,' but it can also have the meaning of 'advocate,' 'agent' or 'intercessor.' Whereas other Byzantine authors employ *πρεσβεύς* to describe the representatives of secular powers,[241] Mesarites used the term in both a secular and ecclesiastical context, for the representatives of the Roman Church who arrived in Nicaea in 1214,[242] and for himself as a representative of Theodore I Laskaris.[243] While the exact connotation of this word may be perplexing, this diplomatic term never surfaces in the context of the friars at the *disputatio* of 1234. *Nuncio* or *legatus*, therefore, offer us the clearest distinction of diplomatic authority for the friars as representatives of the papacy.

Richard Schmutz provides us with a thorough examination of the office of *nuncio* versus that of the legate, elucidating the differences between the two in medieval diplomacy.[244] Both he and Queller refer to the *nuncio* as a message-bearer, conveying the words and will of his principal without the authority to negotiate new agreements independent of prior instruction.[245] There are episodes in which a *nuncio* stretched his authority to negotiation. A famous example of a *nuncio* overstepping his authority is reported in the account of Liudprand of Cremona.[246] Examples such as this help to clarify the boundaries of the authority granted to a *nuncio*. Strictly

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[240] Lampe, *A patristic Greek lexicon*, 1129.
[241] For example, both Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 29 line 16, and George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 53 line 1, and 57 line 6, use the term *πρέσβεις* to describe a group of representatives from Bulgaria. Another Byzantine author to employ the term, Theodore II Laskaris, in a letter to Nikephoros Blemmydes, refers to a 'spiritual embassy' – *οἱ πνευματικοὶ πρέσβεις*, sent to meet with Pope Innocent IV in 1250/1, Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 18, 24 line 5.
[242] *πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥώμης*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 19 line 9, 34 line 8.
[243] *ἀπὸ τηλικούτου βασιλέως πρέσβυς*, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 21 lines 32-33.
[244] It is unfortunate, that these and other diplomatic terms are often interchangeable, Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 456.
[245] Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 458; Queller goes so far as to identity a *nuncio* as a 'speaking letter', Queller, 'Thirteenth-century diplomatic envoys,' 198; Queller, *The office of ambassador*, 225.
[246] In 968, Liudprand was sent to Constantinople as an envoy of Otto I. There he met with the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, who pointed out that a previous *nuntius* from the west, Dominic the Venetian, had made promises on behalf of his principal that Otto I did not keep. Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Chiesa, *Liudprandi Cremonensis opera omnia* (Turnhout, 1998), 200 line 496 – 201 line 500; trans. P. Squatriti, *The complete works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, D.C., 2007), 257.

speaking, therefore, the *nuncio* was a mere representative whose responsibility rarely extended beyond delivering written or spoken messages.

The legate appears to have had a more dynamic and nuanced authority. Schmutz defines the legate as 'a proctorial agent who exercised papal authority in the ordinary, ecclesiastical administration and, under special mandate, in diplomacy.'[247] He adds that the key to identifying a legate versus a *nuncio* is best achieved via their mandate – usually included in a letter of recommendation given to the one who received the representative.[248] In the absence of a mandate, however, Schmutz suggests looking to the 'characteristic kinds of activity authorized by mandates' to indicate the presence of a legate.[249] Thus, if the envoy acted as though he had the authority to negotiate, we must consider whether or not such authority had been granted by his principal, perhaps in spoken rather than written instruction. How does this criterion help us to understand the situation of the friars in 1234?

We must first consider whether the friars possessed a mandate outlining their powers as representatives of the pope. The letter from Gregory IX to Germanos II, dated 18 May 1233, introduces the friars to the patriarch and praises their theological knowledge.[250] The correspondence, therefore, should be considered as the document giving the friars their diplomatic credentials. In the letter, Gregory IX explained the purpose of the friars' mission – to discuss and explain the problems that arise from ecclesiastical debate.[251] They were 'to deal faithfully and discuss amicably concerning all matters in question,' and in so doing, mend the torn tunic of the Church.[252] The friars confirm this purpose in their report, clarifying in a meeting with the patriarch

[247] Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 444.
[248] Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 445.
[249] Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 456.
[250] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.
[251] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267-68.
[252] *ut si cum eis de omnibus, quae in quaestionem veniunt, tractare fideliter et socialiter conferre decreveris*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267 lines 4-6.

that they 'had not been sent to defend the tenets and practices of the Roman Church, but rather to have a friendly debate about Greek doubts.'[253] The letter from the pope makes no mention of a mandate allowing the friars to negotiate special arrangements or bind their principal to any specific agreements. The letter appears to be recommending the friars to the patriarch as *nuncios*.

More evidence that the friars should be classified as *nuncios* comes from the friars themselves. Their report states that on 16 January 1234, shortly after their arrival in Nicaea, Germanos II asked them 'whether they were legates of the lord Pope, and whether they wished to accept the honour due to legates.'[254] To this the friars answered that they were *simplices nuncios*, 'simple messengers,' and that they did not wish to claim the honours due to legates.[255] The patriarch determined that even the lowliest messenger of the pope deserved 'great reverence and respect.'[256] On the face of it, this exchange seems to settle the matter. The letter of recommendation from Gregory IX and the report of the friars both attest that the papal envoys in 1234 held the position of *nuncios*, and, therefore, no one with legatine powers was present to negotiate on behalf of the pope. This evidence has been enough to satisfy previous historians who investigated the *disputatio*.[257] None of them, however, has delved deeper into the report of the friars to clarify their statement. It is through this analysis

[253] *Non missi sumus ad disputandum vobiscum super aliquot articulo fidei, de quo ambigat Ecclesia Romana vel nos, sed ut vobicscum amicabilem collationem habeamus super dubitabilibus vestris,* Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 21-23; Chadwick, *East and West*, 238, clarifies this response to mean that nothing in the faith or practice of the Roman Church was open to review.
[254] *utrum essemus legati domini Pape, et honorem legatis debitum vellemus recipere?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 lines 27-28.
[255] *respondimus protestantes nos simplices nuncios esse*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 line 28 – 429 line 1.
[256] *Nobis autem renuentibus oblatum honorem, magnam reverentiam et honorem etiam minimo nuncio domini Pape exhibendam esse protestatus est*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 429 lines 4-6.
[257] Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 135; Chadwick, *East and West*, 238; Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 444, all point to the fact that the friars identify themselves as *nuncios*. Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 129 note 34, firmly states that the friars were *nuncii*, and not *legati*.

that what first appears to be a clear classification of the friars as *nuncios* comes into question.

According to their report on the *disputatio*, on the day[258] immediately following the patriarch's question about whether they were *nuncios* or legates, Germanos sought to clarify the intention of the friars' mission, and specifically the measure of their authority as papal envoys. That the question itself was put forward indicates that the Greek clergy at Nicaea were concerned that only *nuncios* had been sent to meet with them. They almost certainly considered it necessary for a more authoritative figure to be present to address the problems at hand. The friars responded as follows: 'The tenor of the letters from our lord the Pope will make known to you sufficiently our authority; and this we add, whatever we will successfully negotiate will be considered ratified and pleasing by the Roman Church.'[259] This response immediately calls into question the previous statement about their status. Simple messengers – *simplices nuncios* – would not have been granted the authority to make such a claim. They would not have possessed the authority to negotiate on the pope's behalf, nor could they have expected an agreement to be 'ratified' without his approval. Indeed the letter of recommendation from Gregory IX states that the purpose of the friars' mission to Nicaea was to discuss, to engage in friendly debate, and not to make new agreements.[260] In short, the response to the question concerning their authority was the response of a legate. Let us recall the criteria put forth by Schmutz for identifying a papal legate. He urges us to look first at the mandate, which we found in the letter of recommendation from Gregory IX, indicating the status of *nuncios* for the friars. However, Schmutz also

[258] 17 January 1234.
[259] *Potestatem nostrum tenor litterarum domini Pape vobis satis notificabit; et hoc addimus, quod quicquid super isto negotio bene fecerimus, ratum habebit et gratum Ecclesia Romana*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 16-19.
[260] See above, 197-98.

encourages us to look at the 'characteristic kinds of activity' for a legate.[261] The response by the friars to the question of their authority certainly fits this characteristic.

There is more evidence which puts the friars' own claims about their status as *nuncios* into doubt. One of the more intriguing documents contained within the report of the friars is the treatise describing the Greek position on the *filioque* clause and the procession of the Holy Spirit. The treatise was authored by Nikephoros Blemmydes, one of the most celebrated philosophers of his day, who was present at the *disputatio*. He was selected to respond to the Latin position on the procession issue, doing so in a written document. The friars report that the document was read to them, after which they proceeded to translate the work into Latin. The translation found its way into their report.[262] We are fortunate that the original Greek of the text has also survived, allowing us to compare the original to the translation produced by the friars.[263] This comparison reveals some interesting details. Blemmydes responds to the friars' questions on the procession issue at the start of the document, addressing the envoys as 'most honoured *apokrisarii* of the most holy pope.'[264] The friars translate this into Latin with the words *honorabiles legati sanctissimi Pape* – 'honourable legates of the most holy Pope.'[265] Blemmydes calls the friars *apokrisarii*, and the friars call themselves legates.

How do we reconcile this anomaly? We ought first to consider other examples of the word *apokrisarii*, and why it was used to refer to the friars. The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* identifies numerous examples of an *apokrisarios*

[261] Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 456.
[262] For the Latin translation of the friars, see Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 438-42.
[263] For the original Greek of this treatise, see Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184-205. An older edition is in Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire,' 319-25.
[264] *οἱ τιμιώτατοι ἀποκρισιάριοι τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα*, Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire,' 319 lines1-2; Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184 line 1.
[265] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 1.

representing bishops, including the pope, going back to the fifth or sixth centuries.[266] Humbert of Silva Candida served Pope Leo IX as an *apokrisarios* in 1054.[267] The title was also used to refer to secular representatives. Otto of Freising identified a group of *apokrisarii* representing John II Komnenos in an embassy to Conrad III in the twelfth century.[268] George Akropolites served as an *apokrisarios* to the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.[269] It seems perfectly suitable, therefore, that Blemmydes would use the term to refer to the friars as papal representatives, but what is strange is that the friars would translate the word *apokrisarii* into *legati*. They had already professed their position as *nuncios*, clarifying that they were not legates, and yet in translating the treatise of Blemmydes they apply the term to themselves. Were they simply using what they thought was the best translation of the word? Why did they not attempt to correct their hosts or change the Greek document in translation? We have already seen that the friars referred to themselves as *apokrisarii* in another document produced during the *disputatio*.[270] Why do they not do so again in this instance? Does the fact that Blemmydes used the term *apokrisarii* to describe the friars mean that the Greeks still felt that the envoys were legates, despite their protestations early on in the *disputatio*, or does the fact that the friars let the comment slide mean that they really did see themselves as legates and forgot their earlier humility on this occasion?

These questions denote the difficulty inherent in such an analysis. Any attempt to provide answers must again rely on how contemporaries referred to the different offices of papal representatives. It is useful, therefore, to compare the friars as papal envoys to papal legates sent to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. This study has

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[266] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 136.
[267] *Advenientibus a Domino papa Leone nono apocrisariis sanctae Romanae sedis, Humberto scilicet cardinali episcopo Silvae Candidae*, Humbert of Silva Candida, *Brevis et succincta commemoratio*, *PL* 143, col. 1001 A; Kolbaba, 'On the closing of the churches and the rebaptism of Latins,' 40.
[268] Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Pertz, Book 1, ch. 23, 363 line 4; trans. Mierow, 54.
[269] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1409, 203.
[270] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 66.

already highlighted such figures as Cardinal Benedict and Cardinal Pelagius. George Akropolites introduced his readers to Pelagius by identifying him as a *λεγάτον*, legate.[271] The fact that Akropolites, a contemporary of Nikephoros Blemmydes, does not use the term *apokrisarios* to identify a legate may be a result of the time of his writing,[272] but it may also suggest that the two words carried different meanings and implications. This would explain why Blemmydes purposely avoided the term *λεγάτον* when addressing the friars in his treatise on the Holy Spirit in 1234, opting for the more ambiguous office of *apokrisarios*. Why then did the friars, in translating Blemmydes' work, interpret the word *apokrisarios* to mean legate, rather than *nuncios*?

Such problems leave us in a difficult position. The friars professed to be *simplices nuncios*, but also laid claim to the power to negotiate. The Byzantines referred to them with the lesser and more ambiguous title of *apokrisarii*, when the friars themselves employed the more definitive translation of legate. The criteria put forth by Queller and Schmutz for identifying medieval diplomatic officials appears inadequate in the context of the *disputatio* of 1234. In order to avoid the relative explanation of 'inconclusive,' we must consider other possibilities. We know that the papacy sent numerous legates to the Latin empire, fully empowered to act on their behalf. The representatives that the pope sent to Nicaea and Nymphaion in 1234, however, were something different. They made claim to powers of legates, but their recommendation from Gregory IX says otherwise. We must consider that the ambiguity of their status as representatives was a conscious choice of the pope. The friars were, after all, the first representatives sent to Nicaea directly from Rome in the

[271] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 29, line 14, trans. Macrides, 17.154.
[272] Akropolites wrote his history following the restoration of Constantinople in 1261, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 3, 31; Macrides, 'The thirteenth century in Byzantine historical writing,' 64.

years after the Fourth Crusade.[273] Sending cardinals with the full authority of legates would have been a de facto recognition of the Empire of Nicaea and the Greek Church at a time when the papacy officially considered the Byzantine state in rebellion from the Latin authority in Constantinople and the Greek Church in schism.[274] We must, therefore, consider that the friars of 1234 were not *simplices nuncios*, but '*extraordinarios nuncios*' – specially authorized by Gregory IX to speak on his behalf, but maintaining the official status of messengers out of political and diplomatic necessity.

Phase One: Negotiations at Nicaea

The *disputatio* between the friars and Germanos II took place in two phases: first at Nicaea in January 1234, and then at Nymphaion, from March to May 1234. The themes and problems encountered during the first phase of the meetings in Nicaea will be examined here. A special emphasis will be placed on the *disputatio* as an episode of diplomacy. In other words, the negotiations that took place were not merely those of an ecclesiastical nature, but were also those concerning foreign policy. The political nature of this meeting cannot be understood apart from the theological discussions. The course, tenor and objectives of those discussions determined what progress might be made in the area of foreign policy, and thus cannot be ignored. The roles of the patriarch and of the emperor during these meetings will be addressed separately.

[273] Cardinal Pelagius had sent the envoys who met with Theodore I Laskaris in 1214-15, Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 22 lines 15-32.
[274] Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 132, maintains that the mission of the friars in 1234 was effectively recognition by the papacy that the events of 1204 had failed to bring about a union of the churches.

The friars first arrived in Nicaea on Sunday, 15 January 1234.[275] Their description of an elaborate reception in the city denotes the importance of the meeting for both sides. They were greeted on their approach to the city by messengers from both the emperor and the patriarch.[276] The friars do not seem to have found anything strange in the fact that messengers were sent to them from both the secular and the ecclesiastical leaders, but we might wonder why this was the case. Why did John III Vatatzes and Germanos II not appoint a joint representative to greet the papal representatives? It may be the case that they each sent messengers, independent of one another, because they were pursuing different goals with regard to the coming talks.[277]

The methods and goals of the Byzantines become apparent immediately upon the arrival of the papal embassy. The friars stated that they arrived in Nicaea in the evening hour,[278] and that they were greeted with due 'honour and reverence.'[279] They promptly asked, 'for the sake of prayer,' to be led to the 'great church' of the city, but were instead taken to another church, 'where the first council was celebrated.'[280] In this church, the Church of the Fathers, the friars found images of the holy fathers who took part in that council depicted along the walls. The council they refer to is the First Council of Nicaea of 325.[281] After viewing this church, and being taken on a tour of

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[275] The friars tell us nothing of their activities before reaching Nicaea. Even the route they took on their journey east is a mystery. Chadwick, *East and West*, 238, states that they departed from Rome and travelled through Constantinople. While both assertions are highly likely, neither is supported by the report of the friars.

[276] *plures nuntii Imperatoris ab ipso transmissi nobis frequenter occurrerunt, ex parte dicti Imperatoris nos saluntantes et letitiam cordis eius de adventu nostro nobis notificantes. Sed et nuntii ipsius Patriarche nobis pluries honorifice occurrerunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 lines 6-9.

[277] This theme will become prevalent in the analysis below.

[278] *hora quasi vespertina*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 line 5.

[279] *honore et reverentia*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 line 11.

[280] *Et cum peteremus nos duci ad maiorem ecclesiam, causa orationis duxerunt nos ad aliam ecclesiam, ubi primum celebratum fuit concilium ostendentes nobis sanctos Patres, qui eidem concilio interfuerunt, in parietibus depictos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 lines 12-15.

[281] Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1464-65; M. Edwards, 'The first Council of Nicaea,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 1, *Origins to Constantine*, ed. M. Mitchell and F. Young (Cambridge, 2006), 552-567.

the city, during which they were followed by a large number of clergy and lay people, the friars were shown to a hospice provided by the emperor.[282] Two central questions arise from this story – which church did they see, and why did their hosts insist on showing it to the friars?

Identifying the church in Nicaea that the friars referred to as the site of the first ecumenical council presents a problem. Centuries of warfare and earthquakes had taken a toll on Nicaea.[283] Michael Attaleiates recorded that the Church of the Fathers collapsed after an earthquake in 1065,[284] so how is it that the church is described by the friars in 1234? Furthermore, the comments of the friars indicate two churches – the one in which they wished to pray, the 'great church,' and the one to which they were taken, the church of the first council. How can we identify either church?

Cyril Mango offers a convincing solution to this conundrum.[285] He concludes that what the friars identify as the 'great church' indicates the Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea, the Church of Hyakinthos, or some other structure.[286] Mango identifies the Church of the Fathers as a domed-shaped *oaton*, or egg-shaped building that once was attached to the imperial palace in Nicaea.[287] The account of Eusebios of Caesarea tells us that Constantine the Great hosted the council of 325 in a wing of his palace.[288] After that structure collapsed over the centuries, what remained was a single section

[282] *hospitio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 line 17.
[283] Prokopios and Theophanes both described damage done to the city and its monuments. Prokopios, *De aedificiis*, ed. G. Dindorf, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1838), V.3.313 line 19 – 314 line 14; trans. A. Stewart, *Of the Buildings of Justinian* (London, 1888), 130-31; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 405 line 18 – 406 line 31; trans. Mango and Scott, 560-61; See also Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 111-12; C. Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council and the church of the Holy Fathers at Nicaea,' *Deltion tes Christianikes Archeologikes Etaireias* 26 (2005), 27-33.
[284] Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Pérez Martín, *Miguel Attaliates: introduccion, edicion, traduccion y comentario* (Madrid, 2002), 68 lines 12-24; trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, *The History, Michael Attaleiates* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), ch. 15.5, 166-67.
[285] Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council,' 27-34.
[286] Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 101-103, 111.
[287] Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council,' 33.
[288] Eusebios of Caesarea, *Vie de Constantin: texte critique*, ed. F. Winkelmann (Paris, 2013), 3.10.362-64; trans. A. Cameron and S. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (Oxford 1999), 264.

of the original building, the *oaton*, which was thereafter identified as the Church of the Fathers.[289] Such a location may have served as a site of pilgrimage.[290]

Whatever the location of the particular church, the fact that the Byzantines of Nicaea made a special point to show it to the friars is significant. The report of the friars makes evident that they were weary from their journey and in need of rest, but their hosts insisted on showing them to the church anyway. We must consider this an attempt to impress the papal representatives – to remind them that the city of Nicaea held a central place in the formation of the Christian faith and had a long history of correcting theological error. Indeed, we might consider this as a form of diplomatic intimidation, analogous to a head of state receiving ambassadors in a setting designed to impress and coerce. The effect was to remind the friars of the first council, its participants, and its achievements.[291]

The report of the friars does not specify exactly how long they remained in Nicaea. While the date of their arrival is given as 15 January, we can only guess at the date of their departure. Their last reported activity in Nicaea occurred on 27 January,

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[289] Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council,' 33, also leaves open the possibility that this structure was a later adaptation, built after the whole of the original palace/church complex had been destroyed. He states that this was the location for an ecumenical gathering in Nicaea in 1232, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1261, 71-72; *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 13, 65. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 113-14, agrees that it is possible that some elements of the Church of the Fathers survived into the thirteenth century, and suspects that a rotunda-like structure in Nicaea existed as part of the patriarchal cathedral complex in the north side of the city, probably near the Istanbul Gate. He argues, however, that this structure was not original to the fourth century imperial palace, but that it was a later addition. He adds that archeology in that part of the city has revealed no such structure.

[290] Various sources attest to the existence of a shrine dedicated to the first ecumenical council. Willibald, the eighth century English pilgrim, described a church in Nicaea similar to that found at the Mount of Olives. 'And in that church are the pictures of the bishops who were at the Council' – *Et in illa ecclesia erant imagines episcoporum, qui erant ibi in synodo*, *Hodoeporicon*, ed. T. Tobler, *Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV* (Leipzig, 1874), 41 lines 20-21; trans. C. Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald* (London, 1891), 28. See also Willibald, *Itinerarium*, ed. T. Tobler, *Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV* (Leipzig, 1874), 70; trans. Brownlow, 49. This church is also described in a document of praise for the setting of the First Council commissioned by a bishop of Nicaea, probably belonging to the eighth or ninth century, *PG* 111, col. 419 A. Theophanes, writing in the ninth century, described a church with images of the holy fathers who took part in the council depicted on the walls, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 405 line 30 – 406 line 5; trans. Mango and Scott, 560-61.

[291] i.e. the creed, which the Greeks accused the Latins of corrupting.

and it seems likely that they departed the following day. Thus, they were present in the city for a total of twelve days, if we exclude the dates of their arrival and departure. Over the course of these twelve full days, the friars met with the patriarch and his clergy on eight separate occasions for the purpose of theological debate.[292] The report of the friars describes encounters with the patriarch, the emperor, or both, on almost all of the other four days of their stay in Nicaea. The only day on which they did not mention some meeting with either Germanos II or John III Vatatzes was 22 January, a Sunday, which the friars stated they had kept 'free for the service of the Lord.'[293] This does not rule out some informal meeting with either individual that went unreported by the friars.

What happened on the other three days when the two sides did not engage in the business of the *disputatio*? The events on each of these days present enormous implications for the situation of Latins living under Byzantine rule,[294] as well as for the diplomatic importance of the meetings in Nicaea. A curious incident occurred when the friars held a mass shortly after their arrival in Nicaea. The patriarch provided them with a church for the service.[295] The mass, held on 18 January, was apparently a special occasion. The friars reported that all the Latins in Nicaea were in attendance. 'The Latins, French, English and diverse nations assembled that they

[292] Tuesday, 17 January; Thursday, 19 January; Friday, 20 January; Saturday, 21 January; Monday; 23 January; Tuesday, 24 January; Wednesday, 25 January; Thursday, 26 January. See Figure 1: Nicaea.
[293] *Vacantibus nobis officio Dominica dominico*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435 line 37.
[294] Several studies have focused on the fate of Greeks living under Latin regimes after 1204, Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania: continuity and change,' 1-44; Lock, The *Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, 266-309; Lock, 'The Latin emperors as heirs to Byzantium,' 295-304; Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 338-52; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 24-39; Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*; T. Shawcross, 'The lost generation (*c*. 1204-*c*. 1222): political allegiance and local interests under the impact of the Fourth Crusade,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 9-37, but rarely do we gain a glimpse of the opposite phenomenon.
[295] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 430 lines 7-9.

might hear the divine rites.'[296] The participation of Latins residing in Nicaea provoked a controversy. The friars explained that, after the services, 'a certain lamenting and weeping Latin came to us, saying that his own priest had condemned him, because he had attended our mass.'[297] It seems that the Latin in question had been attending services with a Greek priest who then punished him for attending the Latin mass.[298] The friars immediately brought the matter to the attention of Germanos II, whom they depict as 'wishing to conceal rather than correct this dreadful act.'[299] When the patriarch realized the extent of the transgression, he brought forth the offending priest, stripped him of his robes and paraded him through the streets. According to the friars, it was only after they intervened on behalf of the priest that the punishment was stopped.[300]

The depiction of this incident serves an interesting purpose for the friars and their report. First, it shows their reader a degree of hostility towards Latins that was already prevalent in the Empire of Nicaea. If they could demonstrate that a general animosity towards the Latins, their practices and their church, was already present among the Byzantines of Nicaea, the friars might elicit a greater sympathy from their audience and foreshadow a possible cause for the eventual failure of their negotiations. Certainly, the portrayal of the patriarch's hesitation at addressing the

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[296] *convenerunt Latini, Francigene, Anglici et diverse nationes ut divina audirent misteria*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 4, 430 lines 11-12; Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 66, identifies these Latins as mercenaries in the service of Vatatzes, cf. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 188-201. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 425, offers a slightly different reading of this section, suggesting that the author of the report was emphasizing the French in Nicaea. The crux of the matter is if the friars were discerning 'French' and 'English' as distinct from the 'Latins,' thus identifying three groups, or if they were attempting to delineate the French and the English within the larger group of 'Latins.' It is the difference between saying the *Latins, French and English assembled*, and the *Latins – French and English – assembled*.

[297] *advenit ad nos quidam Latinus exulans et flens et dicens papatem suum eum supposuisse sententie, quia misse nostre interfuisset*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 4, 430 lines 13-14.

[298] Chadwick, *East and West*, 239, goes so far as to claim that the Greek priest had 'excommunicated' the Latin, but such action is not indicated by the report of the friars.

[299] *Quod audiens Patriarcha, dissimulare magis voluit quam corrigere*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 4, 430 lines 17-18.

[300] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 4, 430 lines 18-25.

matter – and then his overreaction – serves to represent the friars in a more enlightened and merciful light. They might even appear more noble by daring to continue their efforts amongst a stubborn and indignant people.

The other two days of the friars' stay in Nicaea during which theological debate was not pursued were the first and the last full day of their mission. The central focus of their last day[301] was a meeting with the emperor, John III Vatatzes, at which the patriarch was present, but said nothing.[302] This meeting will be discussed in more detail below. The other day in question was the morning after their arrival in Nicaea.[303] The friars were summoned before the patriarch, and after a cordial greeting they delivered to Germanos II the letter from Gregory IX.[304] It was at this point that the patriarch inquired of the friars' diplomatic status. The papal representatives insisted that they were mere *nuncios*.[305] There is a degree of unease discernible in the friars' response to this question. They immediately saw in the question an attempt by the Greeks to scheme and take advantage. 'Taking into consideration such a multitude of clergy, and that we wished to avoid their usual tricks and stratagems, again with protestations we said that we were not sent to a council, but to the Patriarch himself.'[306] The emphasis of the friars on their status as *nuncios* is clearly meant to avoid any attempt by the Greek Church to regard the following meeting as a council. The friars apparently saw the gathering of Greek prelates, and quickly determined that Germanos II would attempt to force their compliance to an agreement the Roman Church might later regret. Although the friars referred to this as a 'trick,' we might

[301] Friday, 27 January 1234.
[302] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 444-45.
[303] Monday, 16 January 1234.
[304] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.
[305] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 line 27 – 429 line 1.
[306] *Considerantes etiam tantam cleri multitudinem, volentes vitare eorum astutias consuetas et fallacias, iterum cum protestatione diximus nos non ad concilium, set ad ipsum Patriarcham esse destinatos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 429 lines 1-4.

consider this as another indication of the patriarch's sincere expectation of ending the schism of the churches. What the papal representatives dismissed so quickly as a ploy may well have been the genuine hopes of the patriarch, which most likely were quickly dispelled by the friars' negative response.

This exchange also represents the first of many instances in which the friars accused their Byzantine hosts of scheming or deception. Their report of meetings in Nicaea alleges some type of ploy, evasion or fraud perpetrated by the patriarch or his spokesmen on a total of six separate occasions.[307] Some are vague, but others indicate a growing concern among the friars over the honesty of their hosts. Twice during the meetings in Nicaea, Germanos II claimed that he was unwell, in circumstances that appear rather dubious.[308] It is possible that he feigned illness as a way to gain time for his side to prepare.[309] At one point, the emperor reprimanded the friars for making syllogistic arguments in theology, and asked that they limit their evidence and refrain from the philosophical approach. 'Your task is simply to show, without philosophy, the truth of the question. Nor are you to proceed syllogistically, since from such debates arise controversies and quarrels. It is well that you proceed simply.'[310] The friars quickly called the emperor's motives into question, pointing out that among their opponents were arrayed 'many sophist individuals.'[311] Later, the patriarch and

[307] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' chs. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13. Chadwick, *East and West*, 243, concludes that the accusations by the friars of 'disingenuous behaviour' on the part of the Greeks were not justified even by their own account of the events.
[308] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 431 lines 18-21; Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 lines 17-19.
[309] This is supposition. The report of the friars makes no claim of their 'suspicions' about the patriarch's wellbeing. Chadwick, *East and West*, 240, reads a great deal into the statements of the friars about the patriarch's illness. He claims that they believed it to be 'a diplomatic illness,' but no such suspicion is voiced by the friars themselves, or from any other source. However, it is interesting that Germanos II never excuses himself because of illness during the second phase of discussions at Nymphaion.
[310] *Vestrum est simpliciter sine phylosophia monstrare veritatem questionis, nec vestrum est silogistice procedere: ex tali enim disputatione oriuntur contentiones et lites. Melius est ut simpliciter procedatis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 436 lines 2-5; Chadwick, *East and West*, 239, suspects that syllogistic arguments to prove articles of faith made the emperor nervous.
[311] *multiplices et sophisticos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 436 lines 9-10.

his clergy did indeed put forward a syllogistic argument. The friars made a point of describing the argument as 'wicked,' noting their expectation that both sides would forego such methods.[312] On other occasions, the friars accused the Greeks of delaying the proceedings in order to prepare their response or hide their confusion. According to the report of the friars, their opponents 'laboured to disguise their own confusing and contriving excuses for their sin.'[313] When they wanted to change the subject, the friars stated that the Greeks delayed the talks with 'trifles and nonsense.'[314] Accusing the Greek disputants of misconduct was an apt way for the friars to again elicit sympathy from their readers, but it is interesting that the friars too appeared capable of dissembling, although they would never describe it as such. During one session of the *disputatio*, the friars clearly frustrated the Greek clergy by refusing to answer the question, 'who added to the creed?,' by which the patriarch and his companions sought to understand how the *filioque* came to be accepted by the Roman Church.[315] Rather than offer a direct response, the friars evaded the question, and even answered with a question of their own. The friars went so far as to describe the exchange as a part of their opponent's overall scheming, as the Greeks 'devised how they might be able to confuse us with little questions or deceive us with words.'[316] The accusation is particularly ironic as the friars later used a series of complex questions to trick one Greek spokesman into professing a heretical position.[317]

Clearly, both sides were hoping to employ the complexity of the topics to confound their opponents and claim victory in the *disputatio*. Such accusations also

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[312] "we recognized that they proceeded wickedly' – *Set ex quo cognovimus illos malitiose procedere*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 9, 436 lines 35-36.
[313] *illis nitentibus palliare suam confusionem et excusationes molientes in peccatis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 443 lines 38-39.
[314] *nugis et truphis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 line 18.
[315] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434-35.
[316] *machinati sunt quomodo possent nos paucis questionibus confundere aut verbis capere*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434 lines 9-11.
[317] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435.

suggest that the Greeks and Latins had different expectations of how the proceedings would take shape. The friars seemed to have been looking forward to a relatively rapid series of sessions, in which they would proceed quickly from one topic to the next, whereas the Greeks were happy to take their time and muse about the enormity of the theological issues being discussed.[318]

Although we know from the friars' report that a 'multitude of clergy' was arrayed on the side of the Greeks, a confident identification of these individuals is difficult, and only possible with the help of other sources. On six occasions during the meetings in Nicaea, the report of the friars identifies an advocate selected from among the Greeks to champion their cause. Unfortunately, the friars never identified these men by name. Usually they were described simply as 'learned men' or 'philosophers.'[319] It is unclear if these indicate distinct individuals, or if the same spokesman was put forward multiple times. Only once did the friars provide identifying information for a Greek spokesman at Nicaea. At the meeting on Thursday, 19 January 1234, the chartophylax arose and began questioning the friars.[320] The friars identified the chartophylax as 'the treasurer of the patriarchal church,' but they never specified his name.[321] Golubovich points out that his name,

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[318] Blemmydes stated that long speeches were made by both sides during the discussions, adding that such was to be expected, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 26, 57 lines 11-12; trans. Munitiz, 107.

[319] *cuidam de sapientibus suis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 431 line 25; *quidam*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 432 line 21; *quidam magnus phylosophus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434 lines 12-13; *quondam phylosophyum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435 line 15; *unus phylosophorum suorum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 line 28.

[320] 'Do you believe that one God is in three persons? Do you believe in the unbegotten Father, the only begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father?' – *Creditis unum Deum esse in tribus personis?... Creditis Patrem ingenitum, Filium ungenitum, Spiritum sanctum ex Patre procedentem?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430 line 36 – 431 line 1.

[321] *qui ecclesie patriarchalis dictus erat thesaurarius*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430 lines 34-35. The chartophylax was among the highest officials of the Greek Church, but the friars are wrong to describe him as a 'treasurer' – *thesaurarius*. He served the patriarch as a notary, and in other functions, J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'eglise byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 508; R. Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on paper and in court,' in *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine*

Aulinus, is given in another document related to the *disputatio* of 1234, a profession of faith by the Greek clergy assembled at Nymphaion.[322]

What of the other spokesmen? We know of two other Greek scholars who were present for the *disputatio* in Nicaea – Demetrios Karykes and Nikephoros Blemmydes[323] – but how do we determine their roles when the report of the friars does not identify Greek spokesmen by name? Blemmydes, the only other source for the *disputatio* of 1234,[324] identified Karykes as the first spokesman chosen to champion the position of the Greek Church,[325] saying he 'was appointed plenipotentiary in the discussion with the Romans. He had been chosen in preference to all the others, and especially by the Emperor.'[326] Karykes held the position of *hypatos ton philosophon*, or 'chief of the philosophers.'[327] In this capacity, Karykes was affiliated with the ecclesiastical establishment, and was responsible for the

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Studies, Manchester, 1986, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1990), 69; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 415-16.

[322] The document is authored and signed, *Chartophylax summae Dei ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae Aulinus*, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 319 A; Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 423.

[323] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125;

[324] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57 – ch. 41, 64; trans. Munitiz, 106-114.

[325] 'First spokesman' should not be taken to mean that Karykes was the first unidentified advocate of the Byzantine position to appear in the report of the friars. One such individual – or the same man identified twice – appears in ch. 6 of their report, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 431 line 25 and 432 line 21. Karykes, most argue, does not appear until ch. 7. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 68, identifies Karykes as the one who opens the talks with the friars, and Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal Discussions in 1234,' 211, describes him as 'the first Byzantine advocate,' but this description does not take into account the role of the chartophylax, who we know to have already commenced the proceedings, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430-31.

[326] *αὐτουργὸς τοῦ μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλόγου καθίσταται, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων προκεκριμένος, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57 lines 7-9; trans. Munitiz, 107.

[327] For more information on the position of *hypatos ton philosophon*, see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 964; Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on paper and in court,' 70. Karykes succeeded Theodore Eirenikos in the position, Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, 6. Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 130-31, suspects that Theodore I Laskaris revived the office in Nicaea in order to combat heretical teachings that had arisen after 1204. He adds that Karykes, when he held the position of *hypatos ton philosophon*, conducted a variety of tasks, working as a judge and carrying out fiscal surveys. Another *hypatos ton philosophon*, Theodore of Smyrna, had taken part in theological debates with Peter Grossolano in 1112, see ch. 2, 93 note 40.

education of young men.[328] The account of Blemmydes, describing Karykes and his efforts in the *disputatio*, corresponds directly with the topics and dialogue found in the report of the friars.[329] However, although Blemmydes indicated that it was Karykes who conversed with the friars, he never explicitly attributed any word, response or question to the *hypatos ton philosophon*. Instead, during the sections describing the arguments of Karykes, Blemmydes stated that 'the following reply was offered'[330] or 'our side replied.'[331] Although Blemmydes described Karykes as the main advocate for the Greeks, his testimony does not rule out the possibility that others spoke during the proceedings. Thus, we cannot conclude definitively that every statement attributed to the Greek spokesman by the friars in these sections was uttered by Karykes. What Blemmydes did state definitively is that it was Karykes who asked that a section of the Latin argument be put into writing. Blemmydes made it clear that the argument by the friars had 'put to shame' the *hypatos ton philosophon*, who promptly fled Nicaea, and was not heard from again.[332]

It was at this point that Nikephoros Blemmydes was nominated to speak for the Greek Church. As he related, Blemmydes had already asked both the emperor and the patriarch for permission to enter the discussions even before Demetrios Karykes

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[328] Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on paper and in court,' 70; Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 131; Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 68. In his capacity as *hypatos ton philosophon*, Karykes oversaw the final examination of Nikephoros Blemmydes in Smyrna, Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 9.

[329] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434-35 corresponds with Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 26, 57 lines 1-9; trans. Munitiz, 107. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435-36, corresponds with Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 27, 57 line 1 – ch. 28, 58 line 14; trans. Munitiz, 107-108.

[330] *Πρὸς τοῦτο, τοιαύτη ἀπάντησις*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 26, 57 lines 6-7; trans. Munitiz, 107.

[331] *Ἐντεῦθεν ὅτι*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 27, 57 line 2; trans. Munitiz, 107.

[332] *καταισχυνθείς*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28, 58 lines 1-10, especially line 6; trans. Munitiz, 108.

was dismissed, but had been denied the opportunity.[333] Blemmydes was selected to champion the Greek cause only after 'the Church's learned men refused.'[334] It has been suggested that Blemmydes was harshly anti-Latin, and that he was restrained by those elements in Nicaea that wanted to explore the opportunity for compromise with the papal representatives.[335] In any event, Blemmydes went into a detailed description of his argument about the procession of the Holy Spirit.[336] Once again, the account of Blemmydes is verified by the report of the friars, which includes a Latin translation of the treatise on the procession produced by Blemmydes during the *disputatio*.[337] It even appears that the friars were referring to Blemmydes when they mentioned 'one of their philosophers' who read aloud the treatise.[338] Thus, with some effort, we can confidently identify three of the six Greek spokesmen mentioned by the friars. For the other three, it is possible that the friars are again referring to Karykes, to Blemmydes,

[333] The reason for denying Blemmydes the opportunity to speak is somewhat vague, *Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἔκ τε τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ἔκ τε τοῦ πατριαρχοῦντος ἀπολογήσασθαι πρὸς ταῦτα ζητοῦντες ἐκχώρησιν, οὐ λαμβάνομεν, ἴσως διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἄδηλον*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28, 58 lines 2-5; trans. Munitiz, 108; Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 12, suspects that Karykes lost his position as a result of his poor performance. After 1234 he 'disappears from history.'

[334] *τῶν ἐκκλησίας λογάδων ἀπειπαμένων*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 29, 58 lines 2-3; trans. Munitiz, 108.

[335] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 212 note 58, describes Blemmydes as 'a Byzantine ecclesiastic extremist who had to be purged form the proceedings if any semblance of the dialogue was to be maintained.' Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 143, suggests that the anti-Latin position of Blemmydes caused Vatatzes to refuse his appointment to the patriarchate following the death of Germanos II. The opposite view, that Blemmydes was open to compromise, especially on the procession issue, is held by Chadwick, *East and West*, 240; Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125-26; Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy,' 36.

[336] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 29, 58 – ch. 40, 63; trans. Munitiz, 108-114. Munitiz notes that Blemmydes, writing his autobiography some years after the fact, presents the issues somewhat differently than he did in the treatise itself. He concludes that 'there is no explicit contradiction' between the treatise and the recollection of Blemmydes some years later, Munitiz, *A partial account*, 8-10. J. Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' *Byzantinoslavica* 51 (1990), 25, suggests the possibility that Blemmydes had a copy of his treatise from 1234 on hand when he wrote the account of his life, and simply omitted and adapted certain passages.

[337] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437. The treatise concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit by Blemmydes can be found on Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 438-42. Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 47, wrongly attributes the authorship of this treatise to Karykes.

[338] *unus phylosophorum suorum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 line 28. This is also argued by Munitiz, *A partial account*, 108 note 41, and Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 211 note 54.

or to an entirely different individual, but we cannot know without additional information. We do know that each of these men rose to the challenge of theological debate. Each came to the *disputatio* to argue, with varying success, over the doctrinal problems that divided east and west. It is to these issues that we will now shift our attention.

For eight days during their time in Nicaea, the friars discussed the theological points that divided the two churches. These talks began on Tuesday, 17 January, when the friars were summoned to the imperial palace, where Vatatzes, Germanos II and the Greek clergy were assembled and waiting.[339] Neither side was keen to commence the proceedings. Both appeared apprehensive, preferring the other to present the first matter for debate.[340] In this case, apprehension indicates that the two sides maintained different expectations of the other. Considering his correspondence with the pope, it would seem that Germanos II had expected the papal representatives to approach with an offer to begin negotiations toward union. The friars clarified that this was not their purpose – 'We have not been sent to debate with you about some article of faith, about which we or the Roman Church are in doubt, but rather that with you we may have a friendly debate about your doubts. Therefore, it will be yours to reveal and ours, by the grace of God, to illuminate.'[341] The friars had come to Nicaea prepared to listen to criticisms of Latin doctrine and practice, and to defend the positions of the Roman Church.

[339] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 line 13. This is the first time in the report of the friars that they describe a meeting with the Byzantine emperor.
[340] 'Many lines of reasoning had been put forward from one side to the other as to whether we or they should begin the question' – *Et cum multe proposite fuissent rationes hinc inde, utrum ipsi vel nos inciperemus questionem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 19-21.
[341] *Non missi sumus ad disputandum vobiscum super aliquo articulo fidei, de quo ambigat Ecclesia Romana vel nos, sed ut vobiscum amicabilem collationem habeamus super dubitabilibus vestris. Igitur vestrum erit illa ostendere, et nostrum erit illa per gratiam Dei elucidare*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 21-25.

What doctrinal matters would occupy the *disputatio*? Analysis of the correspondence between Gregory IX and Germanos II showed that the pope was concerned with matters related to papal primacy and caesaropapism.[342] The pope even considered whether it was secular interference in the Greek Church that served as a cause of the schism.[343] Although this matter was of paramount importance in his letters, it was not mentioned by his representatives in Nicaea in 1234. The friars never protested over the presence or participation of the emperor during the *disputatio*, and as we shall see they, even appealed to him when the proceedings became hostile. The other matter so often appearing in the correspondence between pope and patriarch, but which fails to arise during the *disputatio*, is papal primacy. Indeed, the words 'papal primacy' are never actually recorded in the report of the friars. It is unusual that such a central topic in earlier church-union discussions is absent from the *disputatio* of 1234.[344] The closest the disputants came to addressing the topic was when the friars posed the following question: 'It is true that it is agreed by all that the Greek Church was subordinate, just as the other Christian nations spread far and wide throughout the whole world. What was the method or reason whereby they were taken from obedience to the Church of Rome?'[345] We must conclude that it was the Greeks who

[342] See above, 173-77.
[343] Similar concerns were expressed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence some two hundred years later. See Price, 'Precedence and papal primacy,' 39.
[344] The absence of the papal primacy issue from 1234 is often overlooked by historians. Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 128 note 49, 130, depicts the *disputatio* of 1234 as an anomaly in church-union negotiations, thus explaining the lack of discussion over papal primacy. She insists that, even if it was not discussed directly, papal primacy was still the primary issue between the two churches. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 136-38, argues that papal primacy was always the underlying problem throughout the *disputatio* of 1234, even if the issue was never directly addressed. Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 86, 94, explains that the Greeks never viewed papal primacy as a theological issue, thus they avoided the topic in 1234. Even he, however, argues that the *disputatio* of 1234 dealt indirectly with the primacy of the Roman See.
[345] *cum verum sit et omnibus constet Ecclesiam Grecorum, sicut cetere nationes Christianorum per universum mundum longe ateque diffuse, aliquando fuisse subiectam, que fuit ratio vel que causa quare se subtraxit obediente Ecclesie Romane?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 29-32.

steered the talks away from that topic, as they declined to answer this question of the friars.

It was only after some prodding from the friars that the Greeks put forth the two theological matters that would occupy the discussions of 1234 – disagreement over the procession of the Holy Spirit and the Sacrament of the Eucharist.[346] That the Greeks would consider the *filioque* a paramount issue causing division is no surprise. The *disputatio* was being conducted very near the site where that creed was first established, and the Greeks had made a special point to show that site to the friars upon their arrival.[347] Indeed, their hosts probably pointed out that monument with future discussions about the *filioque* in mind. The other matter – leavened versus unleavened bread in the Eucharist – cannot have surprised the friars.[348] Gregory IX had addressed the problem at great length in his most recent letter to Germanos II.[349] Thus, the friars were certainly prepared to debate both issues.[350]

After a short recess, the friars returned to the *disputatio*[351] prepared to discuss the issue of azymes, but the Greeks insisted on debating the problem of procession.[352]

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[346] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 38-39. Nearly a century earlier, in 1136, Anselm of Havelberg and Niketas of Nicomedia debated these and other matters. Odo of Deuil had pinpointed these two issues as the most alarming cause of division between Greeks and Latins. See ch. 2, 92, 97-99.

[347] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428.

[348] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 271 note 67, suspects that the azymes question was placed among the central issues of the *disputatio* because of the incident of the 'lamenting and weeping Latin' who had attended the services held by the friars. This is impossible since the parameters of the *disputatio* were established before that incident occurred.

[349] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267; Chadwick, *East and West*, 239, suspects that the Dominican friars were especially eager to discuss the Eucharist, as they had recently had some success debating the topic with the Greek abbot of St Mamas, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1287, 94-95.

[350] Still, when asked to give their perspective on these issues, the friars made a point to ask for a recess, during which they would pray and celebrate a mass, 'invoking the Holy Spirit to pour its grace into our mind and reveal the truth of its procession' – *crastina die vacabimus orationibus et missarum solempniis invocantes Spiritum sanctum, ut seipsum per gratiam mentibus nostris infundat, et sue processionis veritatem nobis manifestet*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 430 lines 4-7. The friars state that the patriarch provided a church for their mass, and the meeting was adjourned for the day, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 430 lines 7-9.

[351] Thursday, 19 January 1234.

[352] The friars gave no explanation for the Greek demand that discussion of azymes be tabled, referring only to their 'stubborn insistence' – *pertinaciter institerunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430 line 29.

An unusual and unfortunately misguided incident occurred when the chartophylax arose and put forth a series of questions about the Trinity. 'Do you believe that one God is in three persons? Do you believe in the unbegotten Father, the only begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father?'[353] When the friars answered all in the affirmative, the chartophylax began to praise God, as though the problems of the schism had been solved.[354] The friars replied:

> If in this article you do not find disagreement between the Roman and the Greek Church – and through the grace of God we do not believe that disagreement is found in the Sacrament of the altar, and there were no other reasons for the schism like that one – then the schism is without cause, and the Church of the Greeks removed itself from obedience to the Roman Church unjustly and without cause.[355]

Their response reveals something of what the friars were prepared to say regarding leavened or unleavened bread. The fact that they did 'not find disagreement in the Sacrament of the altar' suggests that they were prepared to announce a sentiment similar to that found in the most recent letter from Gregory IX,[356] that the practice of the Greek Church, using leavened bread, was acceptable, and all that was required was for the Greeks to accept the Latin use of unleavened bread.[357] The euphoria brought about by this exchange was short-lived. According to the friars, the emperor, after deliberating with his advisors, clarified the original question for the papal representatives. 'What the lord Patriarch asks is if you say anything more, because we have heard that you have added something to the creed composed by the holy Fathers

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[353] *Creditis unum Deum esse in tribus personis?... Creditis Patrem ingenitum, Filium ungenitum, Spiritum sanctum ex Patre procedentem?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430 line 36 – 431 line 1.
[354] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 431 lines 2-6.
[355] *Si in isto articulo non invenitis discordiam inter Ecclesiam Romanam et Grecam, et per gratiam Dei in Sacramento altaris non credimus invenire discordiam; et alie cause non fuerunt cismatis ut iste: igitur sine causa facta est cismatica, et iniuste et sine causa se subtraxit obedientie Romane Ecclesie Ecclesia Grecorum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 431 lines 7-12.
[356] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267.
[357] According to Nicholas of Otranto, this same compromise was proposed to the Greeks by Cardinal Benedict at the *disputatio* in Constantinople in 1206, Nicholas of Otranto, ed. Arsenij, 37 lines 20-28, 58 lines 18-24. See ch. 2, 127.

in council: and they forbade under anathema that anyone should dare to add or to alter either a letter or a syllable or phrase.'[358] It is clear that a quick and happy resolution to the schism was not realistic. However, the friars' positive response to the comments by the chartophylax suggests that they were inclined, or perhaps instructed, to offer generous terms for a resolution.

From here the discussion turned to written evidence. During the discussions in Nicaea, the disputants made reference to patristic writings, the canons of the ecumenical councils, and Scripture on twenty separate occasions.[359] What can we learn from an analysis of these quotations? The first and most obvious conclusion we can draw is that both sides saw Cyril of Alexandria as speaking for their interpretation in regards to the procession problem. Only two other church fathers – Athanasios and Basil of Caesarea – were quoted during the *disputatio*, and then only sparingly.[360] The works of Cyril were put forward five times each by the Greeks and the friars, but a break down of those instances is even more revealing. During the dialogue itself, the spokesmen of the patriarch made independent references to only one work of Cyril, his letter to John, Patriarch of Antioch,[361] and then only at the outset of talks on

[358] *sed querit dominus Patriarcha, si vos plus aliquid dicitis, quia audivimus quod vos addidistis aliquid Simbolo composito a sanctis patribus in concilio: et prohibuerunt sub anathemate quod nemo auderet aliquid addere vel mutare vel litteram vel sillabam vel dictionem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 431 lines 13-17.
[359] The break down of these references is as follows: thirteen quotes from the church fathers – Cyril of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea and Athanasios, one reading of the creed as proclaimed by the First Council, 325, one reading of the creed as proclaimed by the Second Council, 381, and five quotes from the New Testament, three of which appear in the treatise by Nikephoros Blemmydes. The only Biblical reference by the friars at Nicaea is John 16:13, which they quote twice, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435 lines 1-2 and lines 12-13.
[360] The friars reference Athanasios's exposition on the faith, *PG* 25, col. 207 A, in their efforts to prove the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 line 37 – 434 line 1. Basil of Caesarea is referenced by the Greeks only in the treatise by Blemmydes, first from *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, caput XVIII, *PG* 32, col. 151 B, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 439 lines 16-17, and then *Epistle* 38, *PG* 32, col. 331 C, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 439 lines 27-29.
[361] Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* 39, *PG* 77, cols. 173-82.

Friday, 29 January.[362] The other quotes from Cyril put forward by the Greeks appear in the treatise by Blemmydes.[363] The friars, on the other hand, quoted Cyril five times from four different works.[364] Moreover, the papal representatives appear to have made an effort to find Greek patristic works that supported the *filioque*. When the Greeks asked that the friars prove the truth of procession from the Son, the friars responded 'let your saints prove it,'[365] and began immediately with quotations from Cyril. The conclusion must be that they came to Nicaea well prepared to use the works of Greek patristic fathers to prove their interpretation of the procession question.[366]

How the disputants employed quotations from patristic and other texts also shows the extent to which the friars were prepared for theological debate. When the Greeks cited Cyril's prohibition against any change to the Nicaean Creed, condemning any who would 'alter even a phrase of what was ordained there, or to change one syllable,'[367] the friars countered that the *filioque* was not a change or addition, but an expression of truth. They pointed to the evolution of the creed from

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[362] The Greeks made two references to this letter, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 431 lines 28-34, and again at ch. 6, 432 lines 4-12. A third reference to the work of Cyril was put forward by the Greeks, but only as an extension of what the friars had already referenced, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 22-30.

[363] Once again, these reference only one work by Cyril, his exposition on the Gospel of John, *In Ioannis Evangelium*, Book X, *PG* 74, cols. 283-446. For these references see Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 439 lines 17-21, and ch. 11, 439 lines 21-22.

[364] The first is from *De Adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, Liber I, *PG* 68, col. 147 A, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 23-25. The second is from Cyril's letter to Nestorius, *Epistle* 17, *PG* 77, col. 118 C; ed. and trans. Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria, select letters*, 26-27, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 26-30. The third is derived from his exposition on the Nicaean Creed, *Epistle* 55, *PG* 77, col. 315 D, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 33-36. The fourth and fifth references are both from Cyril's Ninth Anathema, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, col. 307 C-D, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 6-10, and *PG* 76, cols. 307 D – 310 A, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 11-14. Find a translation of Cyril's Ninth Anathema in Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 186.

[365] *Sancti vestri istud probent*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 line 21.

[366] The friars do point out that several western church fathers do support the *filioque*, and while they give the names of these saints – Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose and Hilary – their works are never cited during the *disputatio*. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435 lines 6-7.

[367] *neque quidem permittimus nobismet vel aliis vel dictionem mutare eorum que ibi sunt posita, vel unam transgredi sillabam, memores illius qui dixit*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 432 lines 4-9; Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* 39, *PG* 77, col. 179 D – 182 A.

the Council of Nicaea in 325 to the Council of Constantinople in 381 as precedent.[368] They then made reference to the works of Cyril that appear to support procession from the Son.[369] The Greeks objected, insisting that the word *profundi* – 'to be poured out,' as used by Cyril – was not the same as *procedere* – 'to proceed.'[370] The friars answered that the words were the same, adding that Cyril himself made the argument. 'Completing the sermon about Christ, the blessed Fathers make reference to the Holy Spirit. Indeed, they said that they believed in him just as in God the Father and the Son, for he is consubstantial with him, and is poured out, in other words, he proceeds.'[371] This episode exhibits the clear proficiency the friars had gained in preparation for the *disputatio*. They had certainly spent some time preparing for debate, making a conscious choice to prove the position of the Roman Church by using Greek texts.

For some time, the *disputatio* revolved around the question, 'why is the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of Truth?'[372] The friars proposed a three-part answer, the so-called trilemma, which was intended to prove procession from the Son. It suggested three possibilities – the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Truth because the Son and Spirit are of the same substance, or because the Spirit goes out to creation through the

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[368] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 432-33. The alleged additions made to the creed at Constantinople in 381 are illustrated by J. Stevenson and W. Frend, *Creeds, councils and controversies: documents illustrating the history of the Church, AD 337-461* (London, 1989), 114-15.
[369] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 23-25, Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, *PG* 68, col. 147 A; and Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 27-30, Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* 17, *PG* 77, col. 118 C; ed. and trans. Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria, select letters*, 26-27.
[370] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 30-31. The Greek equivalent is *προχέω* and *ἐκπορεύω*, *Epistle* 55, *PG* 77, col. 315 D; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 132, points out that Latin has a hard time differentiating the two concepts.
[371] *Transigentes de Christo sermonem ter beati Patres sancti Spritus memoriam faciunt. Credere enim dixerunt in eum tanquam in Deum Patrem et Filium, consubstantialis enim est ei et profunditur, id est, procedit*. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 433 lines 33-36. Cf. the words of Cyril of Alexandria: 'He [the Holy Spirit] is consubstantial with them [Father and Son]; he pours out (or proceeds) from, as it were, the fount of God the Father' – *ὁμοούσιον γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ προχεῖται μὲν ἢ γοῦν ἐκπορεύεται καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός*, Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* 55, *PG* 77, col. 315-16 D; ed. and trans. Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria, select letters*, 128-29.
[372] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435 line 12 – ch. 8, 436 line 28.

Son, or because the Spirit proceeds from the Son. The friars explained that the first two options were impossible, leaving only procession from the Son.[373] It was in answer to this trilemma that Nikephoros Blemmydes wrote his extensive treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit.[374] Blemmydes emphasized the difficulty in producing the document. According to his account, he was given only short notice to compose the treatise, and he strained to present his argument in simple language so that it could be understood by all.[375] While 'simple' and 'difficult' are relative terms, the treatise compiled by Blemmydes presents some of the most complex language of the *disputatio*.[376] Still, the friars capably translated the work, which they included in their report.[377] The treatise employed patristic evidence as well as rational argument to conclude that procession is a hypostatic property particular to the Spirit.[378] Thus, 'if procession belongs to one, it is clear that emission is of one alone,' namely the Father.[379] If emission were a property belonging to both Father and Son, Blemmydes argues, then there would be two Spirits.[380]

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[373] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 436 lines 13-28. The presentation of the trilemma is also conveyed in the account of Nikephoros Blemmydes, however the order is altered, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 27, 57 line 1 – 58 line 11; trans. Munitiz, 107-108.

[374] The nearly complete Greek edition of this translation can be found in Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184-205, and Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire,' 319-25.

[375] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 29, 58 lines 3-5; trans. Munitiz, 108-109; Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 211, views these comments as emblematic of the tendency of Blemmydes towards false modesty.

[376] Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 69, refers to the contribution of Blemmydes as the 'most dramatic act' of the *disputatio*.

[377] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 438-442; Chadwick, *East and West*, 240, is once again guilty of exaggeration, arguing that the friars 'felt unsure of the correctness of their hasty translation.' No such uncertainty is apparent in the report of the friars; Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire,' 314-15 notes that the Latin translation remains very close to the original Greek. This may have been an impediment to the final product. Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 21, comments that anyone having only the Latin translation of the treatise would be very confused.

[378] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 441 line 30 – 442 line 36.

[379] *si procedere unius, manifestum quod et emittere unius erit*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 442 lines 7-8. cf. Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 202 lines 21-23.

[380] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 442 lines 11-16. The same conclusion was reached by Niketas of Nicomedia in 1136, see ch. 2, 97. Chadwick, *East and West*, 240, offers his own explanation of the argument in the treatise, suggesting that the problem lay in the Latin concept of shared origination of the procession of the Spirit. Such a concept violates the individuality of the

Blemmydes could not help but indicate his pride in the argument of the treatise. He wrote that it was accepted by all his fellow Greeks, and added that the papal representatives found it 'irrefutable.'[381] The friars' report does not suggest such a glowing reception of the document. They introduced the document with four sharp criticisms, describing the work as one of falsehoods and heresy.[382] The friars stated that the emperor 'wished to cover up the disgrace of the Greeks' when he realized that the assembled learned men could not defend the treatise.[383] He therefore suggested the work be put aside, 'because it produces only controversy,' and that the disputants return to evidence found in patristic texts.[384] The friars read from Cyril's Ninth Anathema, which anathematized any who argued that the Spirit was alien from the

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hypostases of the Trinity. 'In the divine Triad, the Monad is not prior to the threeness: that is, not first Monad then a Dyad, and finally a Triad. The Latins make the first principle a Dyad.' For more on the response of Blemmydes to the trilemma of the friars, as well as changes in the recollection of his argument some years later in his autobiography, see Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 22-23.

[381] *ἀπρόσβλητα*. He adds that the patriarch was greatly emboldened by the argument of the treatise, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 41, 64 lines 3-4; trans. Munitiz, 114; Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 23, suggests that the report of the friars and the treatise by Blemmydes shows that the Greeks and Latins had a similar approach to argumentation.

[382] The friars alleged that the document maintains two falsehoods, a heresy that Christ was not from eternity, and an errant accusation of false syllogism, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 lines 28-37. Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 23-24, goes into great detail in examining these criticisms. He finds that the accusation of heresy is only true when a statement from the treatise is taken out of context. Munitiz states that the criticisms 'inspire little conviction, and appear shallow,' and concludes that the friars did not judge the treatise of Blemmydes fairly.

[383] *Imperator vero ex quo audivit ipsos non posse scripta sua defendere*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 442 lines 37-38.

[384] *Dimittatur illud scriptum, quia non generat nisi contentionem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 442 line 38 – 443 line 1. It is noteworthy that Blemmydes, despite his claim that the treatise was so positively received, promptly left Nicaea and went to Ephesos, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 41, 64 lines 5-6; trans. Munitiz, 114; Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal Discussions in 1234,' 212, points out that Blemmydes does not return for the second round of talks in Nymphaion, and concludes that it was Vatatzes who was particularly displeased by the argument of the treatise. He argues that the emperor viewed Blemmydes as one of those clerics who opposed compromise with the Latins, and therefore excluded him from continued participation in the *disputatio*. Chadwick, *East and West*, 240, suggests that Vatatzes observed an increasingly hostile reaction from the friars to the treatise by Blemmydes, and thus moved discussion away from the document. Once more, Chadwick's suggestion is not supported by any evidence in the report of the friars. Indeed, Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 22, states that throughout the discussions at Nicaea, both sides maintained a polite and considerate posture.

Son.[385] This reading was almost certainly a response to the treatise put forth by Blemmydes. At this point the emperor himself contributed to the debates, stating that in the Ninth Anathema, Cyril was speaking against heresy, and thus 'he spoke more than was proper.'[386] The friars answered that even if Cyril was speaking against heretics, his words were still true, and that his argument supported procession from the Son.[387]

On the final day of theological debate during their time in Nicaea,[388] the friars explained that they no longer wished to discuss the procession issue. The language in their report indicates that they were becoming increasingly frustrated by the Greeks, whom the friars described as stubborn and unwilling to consider Latin argument. 'If you flagrantly do not wish to assent to the truth, what more will we be able to show to you.'[389] Instead, the friars wanted to move on to the issue of azymes, and the patriarch consented. The friars followed with a presentation of their position. It is likely that this is the argument they intended to present on Thursday, 19 January 1234 – before the Greeks changed the topic to the procession.[390] Unfortunately, the friars were unusually brief in their description of this discussion. We can imagine that it was similar in content to the comments on leavened versus unleavened bread we find in the letter from Gregory IX to Germanos II,[391] but if this was the case the friars did not say. Instead, the report of the friars relates that the patriarch asked to be allowed to

[385] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 6-10 and lines 11-14. Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, col. 307 C – 310 A; see also trans. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 186.
[386] *Ibi locutus est Kyrillus contra hereticum, et ideo locutus est largius, quam ius erat*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 32-33.
[387] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 33-36.
[388] Thursday, 26 January 1234.
[389] *Si veritati manifeste non velitis adquiescere, quid ultra poterimus vobis ostendere, cui fidem velitis adhibere?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 3-5.
[390] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430.
[391] 18 May 1233, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.

consult with his fellow patriarchs, due to the complexity of the issue.[392] The friars granted the patriarch's request, but insisted that they could remain in Nicaea for a continuation of the talks, repeating their mandate from the pope.

> We have sufficiently explained to you that the lord Pope, of whose holiness we are servants, sent us to no council or to another Patriarch, but to you. For this reason we do not dare, nor do we wish, to extend beyond his mandate to something else, which might be prejudicial to his holiness or to the Church of the Romans. Nevertheless we will have regard for your interests, so bring together your brothers. May you have good and effective and timely counsel about the peace and reformation of the Church, and then write to us in Constantinople. In that place we will remain until your petition in the middle of March, and we will await your answer, so that we may know what we can report for certain on this matter to him who sent us. And may God grant to us to hear such things to report, that it may be to the glory of his name and to the shared joy of each Church; and may God be blessed in all and through all.[393]

With this, the theological discussions during the first phase of the *disputatio* of 1234 were completed.

Before the friars left Nicaea, however, they went to the emperor to ask his permission to depart.[394] Their meeting produced a most curious exchange. They found Germanos II in the emperor's company, and after some conversation Vatatzes posed the following question to the friars: 'how might the patriarch and the Greek Church be reconciled with the Church of the Romans?'[395] The friars answered that a union might be achieved if the patriarch believed and preached in the same manner as the Roman

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[392] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 23-27.

[393] *Satis vobis notificavimus quod ad nullum consilium vel Patriarcham alium a vobis misit nos dominus Papa, cuius sanctitatis nos servi sumus. Ideo nec audemus, nec volumus nos ad aliqua supra mandatum suum extendere, que sint preiudicium sanctitatis sue vel Ecclesie Romane. Hoc tamen consulimus vobis, ut, convocatis fratribus vestris, bonum et efficax et maturum habeatis consilium de pace et reformatione Ecclesie. Et illud nobis Constantinopolim scribetis: ibidem nos credimus commorari ad petitionem vestram usque ad medium martium, et expectabimus vestrum responsum, ut sciamus quid certum possimus de isto negotio illi qui nos misit renunciare; et talia det nobis audire renuncianda Deus, quod sit ad gloriam sui nominis, et communem letitiam utriusque Ecclesie; et sit in omnibus et per omnia benedictus Deus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 28-40.

[394] Vatatzes himself was preparing to leave the next morning, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 444-45.

[395] *cepit Imperator conferre nobiscum, sub qua forma posset Patriarcha et Ecclesia Grecorum reconciliari Ecclesie Romane*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 445 lines 1-3.

Church, and if the Greek Church obeyed Rome, as it did before the schism.[396] The emperor pressed the friars further: 'If the lord Patriarch wished to submit to the Church of the Romans, would the lord Pope restore to him his right?'[397] The friars responded positively, indicating that the pope would be open to further negotiation.[398] Soon after this meeting, the friars departed Nicaea.

Important implications arise from the interpretation of this exchange. The emperor's questions to the friars indicate a unique confluence of ecclesiastical and political interests, and make it impossible to categorize the meeting as solely belonging to either the arena of theology, or of foreign policy. The crux of the matter comes in the second question of Vatatzes to the friars – 'If the lord Patriarch wished to submit to the Church of the Romans, would the lord Pope restore to him his right?' The Latin word *ius*, 'right,' leaves this question open to interpretation. Vatatzes may simply have been asking whether the Greeks would be allowed to keep their customs and liturgy in the event of a restored union. Several historians, however, have suggested another interpretation. They argue that *ius* referred to the patriarch's rightful see in Constantinople.[399] Therefore, the true intent of Vatatzes' question to the friars would be 'if the Patriarch submitted to the Church of the Romans, would the Pope restore *Constantinople* to us?' The implications of such a question are tremendous. The emperor appeared to be offering to consent to all papal demands in

[396] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 445 lines 3-7.
[397] *Si dominus Patriarcha velit obedire Ecclesie Romane, restituet ei dominus Papa ius suum?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 445 lines 7-8.
[398] 'If the Patriarch pays the obedience which he owes to his mother, we believe that he will find greater mercy than he expects, in the presence of the lord Pope and the whole Church of the Romans' – *Si Patriarcha obedientiam et ea que matri sue debet, solvate, credimus quod misericordiam maiorem inveniet, quam credit, coram domino Papa et tota Ecclesia Romana*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 445 lines 9-11.
[399] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 215; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 168; Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 138. The only historian to express any reservations to this interpretation is Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 213, who agrees that *ius* refers to the patriarch's authority over Constantinople, but insists that the term is limited to the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not political control.

exchange for restored Byzantine control over Constantinople. The response of the friars to such dramatic proposals is also telling. They were careful not to commit the pope to any one course of action, but they did leave open the door to a possible compromise that would suit all parties.[400]

The church-union negotiations at Nicaea in 1234 are a complex example of Byzantine-Latin diplomacy. They show the full extent of the relationship between ecclesiastical and political matters, and the inability of one to be untangled from the other. The progress of the discussions determined the foreign policy pursued by Vatatzes, and his negotiating position from day to day. That this phase of the *disputatio* came to an end without an agreement to heal the schism did not eliminate the Byzantine emperor's hopeful outlook on reaching a compromise. For this reason, we cannot rate the first part of the *disputatio* of 1234 as either a success or a failure. Surely, if the theological discussions had gone better, the emperor would have held a stronger position in dealing with the papal envoys, but talks, as we shall see, continued, and thus the outlook for Nicaea's foreign policy goals still looked bright.

Phase Two: Negotiations at Nymphaion

There was a considerable delay between the first phase of negotiations in Nicaea and the second in Nymphaion.[401] The report of the friars includes no mention of their activities during the month of February, while they were presumably waiting in

[400] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226, argues that the response of the friars to the emperor's proposal shows their shrewd acumen for diplomacy. He adds that Vatatzes was likely disappointed by their response. Wolff maintains that the emperor's attitude toward the friars becomes increasingly hostile after this point.

[401] We might wonder how it is that the *disputatio* recommenced in spring 1234, as the friars had made it abundantly clear that they took their mandate from the pope very seriously, and that they were unwilling to participate in a full council convened by Germanos II, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 429 lines 1-4, and ch. 13, 444 lines 28-40

Constantinople. In March, the friars received letters from both the emperor and patriarch in Nicaea, calling on them to return and participate in the proposed council.[402] These letters have not survived, but the friars described the patriarch's messages as 'filled with sadness.'[403] The patriarch apparently suggested that the friars' mission would be viewed with suspicion by the Greek Church if they did not join the council.[404] Germanos II also wrote to others in Constantinople,[405] asking that they urge the friars to return to the *disputatio*, and 'promising that if we [the friars] went to the council, we would return to the curia with great joy.'[406] The letter from Vatatzes explained that, in anticipation of their return to the Empire of Nicaea, he was preparing a vessel that would carry the friars back to Rome, accompanied by his own envoys to the pope,[407] indicating that Vatatzes still held out hope for a positive resolution to the *disputatio*.

Thus, the friars depicted the patriarch and emperor as exercising enormous influence to return to negotiations, but their report puts forward additional explanations for their actions. The friars described the Latin empire as teetering on the edge of destruction. They depicted it as 'abandoned by all protection,'[408] as all the

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[402] After receiving the first letter from the patriarch in mid-March, the friars again noted that their mandate from the pope did not allow them to participate in a council, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 15, 445. At the end of March, the friars received letters from both the emperor and patriarch, again urging them to take part in the council, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 445-46.

[403] *quia cor eius tenor earum tristitia repleverat*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 445 lines 29-30.

[404] 'Thus, if you are about to depart, it will seem to us that you have not come for peace, but in order to test us' – *Quod si ita recenseritis, videbitur nobis quod non venistis pro pace, set ut temptaretis nos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 445 lines 33-34.

[405] Benedict of Arezzo and Jacob of Russano.

[406] *promittens quod si veniremus ad concilium, cum magna letitia rediremus ad curiam*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 2-3; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226, points out that the attempts by Germanos II to coerce the friars to return blatantly ignored their expressed intention to refrain from attending the aforementioned council.

[407] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16. 446 lines 3-7.

[408] *Preterea terra Constantinopolis quasi destituta fuit omni presidio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 7-8.

mercenary troops had fled, and the ships of the Italian maritime powers were in the process of leaving.[409]

> Considering, therefore, the desolate land, we feared danger, because that land was situated in the middle of its enemies. *Asan*,[410] king of the Bulgarians, in the North, *Vatatzes* from the East and South, and *Manuel*[411] surrounded it from the West.[412] For this reason we proposed to discuss a truce between the Emperor of Constantinople and Vatatzes to last till the end of the year. Having been compelled by these reasons, it was the desire of all that we return to the land of Vatatzes.[413]

Their report suggests that the friars were taking up the role of representatives of the Latin empire in the hopes of reaching a truce with the Empire of Nicaea. The ability to do so is not specified in their mandate from the pope, but then neither is their return to Nicaea to take part in a council of the Greek Church. Indeed, the whole purpose of this section of their report seems to be to explain to the pope why they disobeyed his instructions and decided to join the aforementioned council. It was not their choice, but 'it was the desire of all' in Constantinople that they return to negotiations. Thus, the friars were compelled by Germanos II, Vatatzes and the Latin elite of Constantinople, to defy papal orders and continue the *disputatio*. Even with such reasoning for their decision, the friars still feel it necessary to consult the Latin clergy of Constantinople. Their report states that they 'consulted the chapter of Holy Sophia and the prelates of the land, and moreover the Emperor himself,' before they departed

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[409] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 8-11.
[410] John II Asen.
[411] Manuel Komnenos Doukas, ruler of Thessalonike.
[412] This discussion of the precarious position of the Latin empire is a mirror of a similar analysis by the Latin emperor Henry I nearly twenty years before, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13 Januar 1212,' 411-18.
[413] *Considerantes igitur terram desolatam, timuimus periculum, quia in medio inimicorum terra illa sita est.* Arsanus *rex Bachorum ab Aquilone,* Vatatius *ab Oriente et Meridie,* Emmanuhel *circundat eam ab Occidente; et ideo proposuimus tractare de treugis inter Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et* Vatacium *usque ad annum. Hiis causis compulsi, redire in terram* Vatacii *fuit omnibus voluntas*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 11-17. Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 227, notes the importance of this passage as an eyewitness account of the 'wretched' state of the Latin empire in the 1230s.

again for the Empire of Nicaea.[414] All of them 'unanimously bestowed upon us the same advice,'[415] which, we can safely conclude, emphasized the need for continued dialogue with the Greek Church and Vatatzes in both political and ecclesiastical matters.[416]

Unfortunately, the explanation by the friars of 'why' they returned to the *disputatio* does not clearly explain 'where' these negotiations were to be reestablished. The letters from both the patriarch and the emperor invite the friars to a certain *Leschara*, but do not indicate if this denotes a building or a town in the Empire of Nicaea. The language of the friars, describing 'a certain *Leschara* of Vatatzes,' suggests a meeting hall or palace,[417] but we cannot rule out that it denotes a village.[418] Golubovich suspects the former, but adds that if Leschara is a village, it probably was located just south of Lopadion, on the road to Nymphaion.[419] Joan Hussey thinks it more likely to refer to a town near Nymphaion.[420] One possible solution is that the term *Leschara* refers to the Byzantine fortress Achyraous, an important fortress overlooking the tributary to the Makestos River, originally built by John II Komnenos nearly a century before.[421] F. Hasluck has noted that the Latins referred to the fortress

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[414] *capitulum Sancte Sophye et prelatos terre, nec non et ipsum Imperatorem super hoc consuluimus negotio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 18-19. The 'Emperor' in this case must refer to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, John of Brienne.
[415] *qui omnes unanimiter idem nobis consuluerunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 16, 446 lines 19-20.
[416] Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 744, argues that the strategic situation for the Latin empire was so desperate, that any diplomatic contact with the Empire of Nicaea was welcome.
[417] *ut accederemus ad* Leschara *quoddam Vatacii*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 15, 445 lines 14-15. An eighteenth century edition of the friars' report, edited by Quetif and Echard, refers to this place with the Greek word *Λέσχερα*, J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati* (Paris, 1719), vol. 1, 919. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 4, suspects this comes from the Greek word *λέσχη*, indicating a place for 'study, meetings, entertainment and lodging.' If this is correct, Golubovich maintains that *Leschara* was a palace or lodging built, or possibly inherited by Vatatzes.
[418] Chadwick, *East and West*, 241, simply refers to *Leschara* as an 'unidentified location.'
[419] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 4.
[420] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 216 note 74.
[421] Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 33 lines 65-67, trans. Magoulias, 19. For more on the strategic location of Achyraous, see W. Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), 156; C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications: an introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), 146; C. Foss, 'The

as *Esseron* or *Sycheron*, which might easily be corrupted to *Leschara*.[422] Whatever its nature or location, the friars stated that they departed for *Leschara* on Sunday, 26 March 1234.

Unlike their first journey to the Empire of Nicaea, the friars described their travels in the spring of 1234 in great detail.[423] Their report states that on Sunday, 26 March, they departed from Constantinople and sailed to Kios.[424] After arriving there the following day they dispatched two sets of letters through different messengers to the patriarch, notifying him of their departure and asking that he be prepared to meet them at *Leschara*.[425] The friars also sent a letter to Vatatzes.[426] They resumed their journey, arriving near Lopadion after about one week's travel.[427] They apparently rested there over night, and the next day, Monday, 3 April, they departed again for *Leschara*.[428] The friars were not welcomed by the emperor. Instead, he was notified of their arrival, upon which they received imperial messengers asking that the friars

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defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks,' *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27/2 (1982), 161-66; ; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 152 note 14. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 28 lines 2-3, trans. Macrides, 15.149, identified the fortress as one of the many locations that came under Latin control following Henry I's victory in Anatolia in 1212.

[422] F. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910), 93.

[423] For an illustration of their journey, see Map.

[424] 'after crossing the sea, we came to the place of *Chalogerorum*, situated on the sea' – *post transitum maris venimus feria secunda in locum* Chalogerorum*, super mare situm*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 446 lines 22-23. Golubovich identifies *Chalogerorum* as Kios, modern Gemlik, a port on the Sea of Marmara, at the head of the Gulf of Myrlea. Not to be confused with the Aegean island of Chios, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 446 note 7. See also Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 180. Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 70 note 1, explains that the word *locus* in the terminology of medieval monastic orders usually denoted a monastery. Thus, we should understand the friars' words to mean that they found lodging in a monastery by the sea. Indeed, '*locum* Chalogerorum' can be understood to mean 'place of monks.'

[425] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 446 line 23 – 447 line 2. The friars do not explain why two messengers carrying the same letter to the patriarch were necessary.

[426] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 2-4.

[427] Lopadion, modern Ulubad, was an important fortress built in 1130 to protect a bridge over the Rhyndakos. See Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 78-83; Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 2; Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 160; Foss, 'The defenses of Asia Minor,' 159-61; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications*, 145. The report of the friars does note specify their date of departure from Kios, only their arrival at Lopadion on 2 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 line 5.

[428] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 4-6. The friars did not specify their date of arrival at *Leschara*. However, their report tells us that they received correspondence from Vatatzes on 6 April, apparently after they had arrived, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 8-10.

continue their journey to Nymphaion, where Vatatzes awaited them.[429] The friars waited in *Leschara* for four days, as they did not receive word from the emperor until Thursday, 6 April. The friars responded to Vatatzes that they had been invited to *Leschara* by the patriarch, and they could not leave that place until asked to do otherwise by Germanos II. Shortly afterwards, on 8 April, a letter arrived from the patriarch, stating that he was on his way to Nymphaion, and asking that the friars travel there ahead of him.[430] The friars obliged him. Departing on Sunday, 9 April, the friars reached Nymphaion after a four day journey. They found the emperor waiting for them there, and the patriarch arrived some days later, on the evening of Thursday, 13 April.[431]

The friars wasted no time in returning to the business of the *disputatio*. They approached the patriarch on Friday, 14 April, the day after he arrived in Nymphaion, asking for a return to negotiations. Their report gives the reply of Germanos II: 'I am prepared, and behold the prelates who have assembled, likewise they desire to commence, so that they might be able to be in their own churches on those holy days.'[432] The patriarch apparently expected to conclude the negotiations within one week, so that his clergy could return to their congregations in time to celebrate Easter

[429] 'But when our arrival had been announced to the Emperor, promptly he sent his own messenger to us, who came to us on the evening of that Thursday. They delivered to us the beseeching letters of the Emperor that we might come to *Nymphaion*, because he awaited us there' – *Set cum nuntiatum fuerat Imperatori de adventu nostro, festinanter misit ad nos nuntium suum, qui venit ad nos v feria ad vesperam, deferens nobis litteras Imperatoris deprecatorias, ut apud Nimpham veniremus, quia ibi nos expectavit*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 8-11.
[430] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 11-17. The friars gave no indication of where Germanos II was travelling from, thus we are left to wonder at his whereabouts before arriving at Nymphaion. The quick succession of events after the friars refused the invitation from Vatatzes to the message from Germanos II indicates that the emperor and patriarch were together, but the friars indicated that the Vatatzes was already in Nymphaion, while the patriarch was not. We must surmise, therefore, that Vatatzes placed such a high emphasis on the arrival of the friars in Nymphaion, that he very rapidly called on the patriarch, wherever he was, to send word to the friars to meet him there.
[431] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 447 lines 18-21.
[432] *Paratus sum; et ecce prelati, qui convenerunt, similiter desiderant expediri, ut in diebus istis solempnibus possint esse in suis ecclesiis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 447 lines 23-25.

the following Sunday. The friars expressed their confidence in the sincere wish of Germanos II to return to the *disputatio*, stating that they 'considered the word of so great a man to be infallible.'[433] However, on Monday, 17 April, after having received no summons from the patriarch, the friars sent two of their number to meet with Germanos II. They asked for an explanation for the delay, and when Germanos II replied that he was still awaiting the arrival of a number of Greek clergymen, they 'sharply urged' that he should return to the *disputatio*.[434] Apparently provoked, the patriarch expressed his confidence about the future proceedings, and invited the friars to return the following day. The friars, expressing their suspicion about the patriarch's intent,[435] promptly went to Vatatzes, informing him of Germanos II's promise to return to discussions.[436] The emperor 'began to excuse the prelates for not having assembled.'[437] He noted that the Patriarch of Antioch had only just arrived, and others had a great distance to travel.[438] He asked the friars to accept a delay in their business until Monday, 24 April, when Easter services would be complete, and the friars agreed.[439]

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[433] *Et nos quasi pro rato habentes verbum tanti viri*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 447 lines 25-26.
[434] *acrius instabant ut expediret nos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 5-6.
[435] The friars deduce that Germanos II was attempting to prolong the *disputatio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 4-5.
[436] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 9-11.
[437] *Qui cepit in principio excusare prelatos, quod non convenerant, quia a remotis quidam venturi erant*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 11-13.
[438] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 12-13. Symeon II, Patriarch of Antioch, was the only eastern patriarch, other than Germanos II, to participate in the council. He reigned in exile while the Latin Patriarch resided in Antioch, thus he was likely already in the region of Nymphaion in the early part of 1234. Symeon II was likely of Syrian origin, and has the unusual distinction of having been appointed to the patriarchate by the Latin Prince of Antioch, Bohemond IV, as a result of a conflict between him and the Latin Patriarch, Peter I of Angoulême, involving a larger dispute between the Principality of Antioch and the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. When the dispute was settled a Latin Patriarch returned to Antioch, and Symeon II was forced into exile, probably in 1215. See C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'epoque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioch* (Paris, 1940), 612-19; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the secular church* (London, 1980), 221, 313-21; J. Prawer, *Crusader institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 71-73; N. Jamil and J. Johns, 'An original Arabic document from Crusader Antioch (1213 AD),' in *Texts, documents and artefacts: Islamic studies in honour of D.S. Richards*, ed. D. Richards (Leiden, 2003), 167-68.
[439] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 15-18.

The friars devoted a generous portion of their report to the description of their journey from Constantinople to Nymphaion, and then to the delays they endured once they arrived before the disputants returned to theological debate. It is curious that such matters would occupy the friars' attention, especially considering that preliminary information to the first phase of the *disputatio* at Nicaea was omitted from their report. The reason becomes evident when we consider the purpose of the friars' report. Once more, they seemed determined to emphasize the difficulty of the task before them. The report depicts the emperor and patriarch as wishing to negotiate, doing everything in their power to urge the friars to rejoin the discussions, but when the friars finally consent to further negotiations, the Byzantines present constant delays. They arrive at *Leschara*, but the Byzantines change the location to Nymphaion, literally at the last minute. The friars arrive and promptly seek to commence their business, but the patriarch begs a truce, citing the need to give time for his clergy to arrive. The friars do everything in their power to continue the proceedings, and yet it still took nearly a month following their departure from Constantinople to resume the *disputatio*. The friars clearly wished to convey to the pope that any hope for a union of the churches in 1234 was in vain, because the Byzantines, although they expressed an eagerness for renewed negotiations, were determined to sabotage the proceedings. Such a position is reiterated frequently during the second phase of the *disputatio* conducted at Nymphaion.

The first day of the *disputatio* at Nymphaion began with a full gathering of the council, on Monday, 24 April 1234. After this, the friars remained in Nymphaion for nearly two weeks, departing on Saturday, 6 May. During this time they engaged in theological discussions for a total of only five days, almost half the total we saw in

Nicaea.[440] Once again, we must consider why the business of the *disputatio* occupied such a small amount of their time in Nymphaion. The account of the friars is less detailed in its description of the second phase of talks than the first in Nicaea, making it difficult to explain why so little time was devoted to theological debate. The lack of detail may be a result of their persistent desire to leave Nymphaion, which becomes apparent when reading the text. The friars sought permission from Vatatzes to depart for Constantinople on three occasions.[441] The first came almost immediately after the *disputatio* in Nymphaion began, on Wednesday, 26 April, after only two sessions of talks with the patriarch and his clergy.[442] Each time the emperor convinced them to remain, until finally the friars decided to abstain from food until they gained permission from Vatatzes to depart.[443] The report's persistent emphasis on leaving Nymphaion serves to convince the reader that the *disputatio* is not going well, but should not be exaggerated. We must consider this was another method for the friars to elicit sympathy from their reader, as they project the end of the proceedings at Nymphaion onto the rest of their report.

The first day of recess from the *disputatio*, Tuesday, 25 April, appears to have been to allow the patriarch and his clergy to examine the arguments of the friars and formulate a reply.[444] No talks were held on Sunday, 30 April, presumably reserved for religious services. From Monday, 1 May, to Wednesday, 3 May, no meetings between

[440] Monday, 24 April; Wednesday, 26 April; Friday, 28 April; Saturday, 29 April; Thursday, 4 May. See Figure 2: Nymphaion.
[441] Wednesday, 26 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 13-16; Tuesday, 2 May, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 461 lines 30-31; Thursday, 4-6 May, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28-29, 464 lines 1-8.
[442] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 13-16.
[443] 'We agreed among us, therefore, that we would not eat on that day until we had leave from the Emperor to depart' – *Condiximus igitur inter nos, nos non commesturos illa die priusquam licentiam haberemus ab Imperatore recedendi*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 464 lines 1-3.
[444] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 450 lines 9-11.

the friars and the patriarch or his clergy took place.[445] And Friday, 5 May, was spent in preparation to depart. The second day of recess, Thursday, 27 April, is depicted as the most dramatic. The talks on the previous day, Wednesday, 26 April, had become particularly heated, thus the time apart was almost certainly intended to ease tensions. The friars on that day had made a number of accusations against their hosts, including the washing of altars after their use by Latin clergy,[446] forcing Latins who take part in Greek services to renounce azymes, and expelling the pope from their diptychs.[447] The response to these charges was equally harsh. For the first time in the *disputatio*, the Byzantines used the events of 1204 to highlight Latin wrongdoings and the evils of the Roman Church:

> When your Latins seized Constantinople, they shattered churches, demolished altars, stealing gold and silver, throwing relics of the saints into the sea, they trampled holy icons and they made churches into stables for mules, so that the prophecy appeared fulfilled: *God, gentiles came into your inheritance, they defiled your holy temple, they laid low Jerusalem*.[448]

The friars responded by insisting that the Roman Church was not responsible for alleged Latin atrocities in the Fourth Crusade. 'If these were done, the people who did them were laity, sinners, and excommunicates, performing these acts on their own authority. The whole Church should not be charged, for these were done

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[445] There was a meeting between the friars and Vatatzes on Wednesday, 3 May, which will be discussed below.

[446] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 54-55, had leveled the same accusation at the Byzantines during the Second Crusade. It is noteworthy that the friars never made this accusation in relation to the services they preformed in an Orthodox Church in Nicaea on Wednesday, 18 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 4, 430 lines 10-25.

[447] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 16-26. The last charge sparked a debate about whether it was the pope or the patriarch who first expelled the other from their diptychs. The exchange is remarkably similar to that which took place some 150 years earlier when representatives of Pope Urban II enquired about his name on the diptychs, see ch. 2, 86-87; Kolbaba, 'The legacy of Humbert and Cerularius,' 51, 59-60.

[448] *quia Latini vestri cum cepissent Constantinopolim, fregerunt ecclesias, diruerunt altaria, auro et argento sublato, reliquias sanctorum proiecerunt in mare, yconas sanctas conculcaverunt, et de ecclesiis stabula iumentorum fecerunt, ita ut impletum videtur illud propheticum:* Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Ierusalem *etc*., Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 29-35. Note the use of Psalms 79:1 to compare Constantinople to Jerusalem.

presumptuously by certain wicked persons.'[449] This was not the first time that the events of 1204 were brought up in a *disputatio* between the churches,[450] but it was the first time papal representatives had distanced themselves from those events. A decision to condemn the actions of the crusaders in 1204 as those of 'sinners and excommunicates' is in stark contrast to the view of Pope Innocent III, who concluded that the sacking of Constantinople had been 'God's will.'[451]

In addition to a lower ratio of days spent discussing theological matters when compared to the first phase of the *disputatio*, the setting for these meetings was also somewhat different at Nymphaion. During the eight days during which the two sides engaged in talks at Nicaea, more than half of those meetings took place in the imperial residence.[452] We can identify only three days in which talks were hosted at the residence of the patriarch in Nicaea.[453] In contrast, for the five days in which the *disputatio* was pursued at Nymphaion, three took place at the home of the patriarch in that city,[454] while only two were hosted by the emperor.[455] Likewise, the presence of

[449] *Set hec si fuerunt facta fecerunt viri laici, peccatores, excommunicati, propria auctoritate talia presumentes: nec imputandum est toti Ecclesie, quod a quibusdam iniquis est presumptum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 452 lines 3-6. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 744, interprets this response as a particular blunder by the friars. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 140, maintains that the accusation of Latin atrocities in 1204 left the friars 'somewhat flustered.' While this might well have been the case, the friars themselves gave no such indication of this reaction in their report.

[450] Latin atrocities committed in Constantinople were mentioned by Nicholas Mesarites in the *disputatio* with Cardinal Benedict on 2 October 1206, Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 62 lines 12-21.

[451] Innocent III had explained the events of 1204 to Theodore I Laskaris as 'divine punishment,' *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 63 lines 1-3.See ch. 2, 107-108.

[452] Tuesday, 17 January; Thursday, 19 January; Monday 23 January; the friars do not specify a location for talks on Friday, 20 January or Saturday, 21 January, but it is most likely that they took place in the palace of the emperor because the previous setting of theological debate confirmed by the report of the friars, that of 19 January, likely was not altered. See Figure 1: Nicaea, Location of *Disputatio*.

[453] Tuesday, 24 January; Wednesday, 25 January; and most likely Thursday, 26 January. Again, the report of the friars does not explicitly state that the discussions on 26 January took place in the patriarch's residence, but because that was the setting on the previous day, it seems likely that the location was maintained. See Figure 1: Nicaea, Location of *Disputatio*.

[454] Monday, 24 April; Wednesday, 26 April; and Thursday, 4 May. See Figure 2: Nymphaion, Location of *Disputatio*.

[455] Friday, 28 April; again, the friars do not specify a location, but it seems likely that the meeting on the following day, Saturday, 29 April took place at the same location as the previous day's proceedings.

the two leading figures, Vatatzes and Germanos II, shows a sharp contrast between Nicaea and Nymphaion. During the first phase of the *disputatio* in Nicaea, the emperor was present for at least six of eight theological discussions, including each of the first five.[456] At Nymphaion, the report of the friars notes the presence of the emperor only twice.[457] Germanos II met with the friars often when the *disputatio* was not in session at Nicaea, but at Nymphaion, after talks commenced on 24 April, the friars never encountered him outside of the context of the larger meetings.

Certainly, the role of the emperor was much altered during the second phase of the *disputatio*. According to the report of the friars, this fact was noted by Vatatzes himself. After the rather negative exchange of insults and accusations on Wednesday, 26 April, the report states that the friars sought an audience with Vatatzes. They related to him what was said in the council, 'with truth leading the way.'[458] The friars clearly viewed the exchange in the *disputatio* as signaling the end of the meetings, as they sought permission to depart. The emperor persuaded them otherwise. The report of the friars depicts Vatatzes 'speaking as an eloquent man, clever and provident, modest in words.'[459] He assured the friars that such negative dialogue would not have taken place had he been present, adding that he himself wished to hear the arguments of both sides.[460] The meeting ended with the emperor promising to speak to the clergy of his church, urging them to return to the *disputatio*.[461] Thereafter, meetings recommenced only so long as Vatatzes was present. The longest recess to the *disputatio* – between Sunday, 30 April, and Wednesday, 3 May – only ended after the

[456] Tuesday, 17 January; Thursday, 19 January; Friday, 20 January; Saturday, 21 January; Monday, 23 January; and Wednesday, 25 January. See Figure 1: Nicaea, Emperor/Patriarch Present.
[457] Friday, 28 April and Saturday, 29 April. See Figure 2: Nymphaion, Emperor/Patriarch Present.
[458] *previa veritate,* Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 14-15.
[459] *velut eloquens homo, astutus et providus in agendis, modestus in verbis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 16-17.
[460] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 18-21.
[461] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 453 lines 9-10.

friars again went to meet with the emperor.[462] Clearly, the emperor played the role of a driving force in the second phase of talks at Nymphaion, but he only became involved after theological discussions had stalled.

One theme that remains constant in the report of the friars in both the *disputatio* at Nicaea and Nymphaion is that of the 'treacherous and scheming Greeks.' On at least six occasions the friars make comments that allude to the tricks and ploys of their hosts, either to delay talks or to change the topic. If we expand our analysis to the period during which the friars were waiting for the second phase of the *disputatio* in Nymphaion to begin on 24 April, we find the total number of accusations of deception reaches seven.[463] The first day of talks at Nymphaion[464] was particularly charged with examples of mistrust from the friars. The patriarch opened the proceedings with a request that the friars give a summary of what was discussed at Nicaea for the benefit of those who were not present for those talks. While such a request may appear reasonable to the outside observer, the friars immediately reacted with suspicion. 'From these words we deduced that he was dissembling in answering our question, wishing to bring us back to the issue of the Holy Spirit.'[465] The discussions then devolved into an argument over the topic of the second phase of talks. Another instance of alleged 'scheming' by the patriarch comes when he proposed a compromise on the topic, suggesting that the Byzantine position on azymes should be put into writing. Again, the friars suspected that he did not want to

[462] This meeting between the friars and Vatatzes on Wednesday, 3 May will be discussed more below.
[463] After meeting with Germanos II on Monday, 17 April, the friars stated their belief that the patriarch was attempting to delay the proceedings by pointing out that much of his clergy had not yet arrived in Nymphaion to start the council, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 1-6.
[464] Monday, 24 April.
[465] *Ex cuius verbis cognovimus quod dissimulavit respondere ad questionem nostrum, volens nos iterum ad questionem de Spiritu sancto reducere*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 24-26. Chadwick, *East and West*, 241, characterizes the reaction of the friars to give a summary of the arguments made at Nicaea as 'alarm.' He also remarks that the friars were aware that the Greeks felt themselves better able to argue over the *filioque* than azymes. The friars never express such confidence in their knowledge of the feelings of their opponents.

answer the question, and instead wished to 'pass over it by dissembling, and disguise it with writing.'[466] The friars responded that a written response was inappropriate: 'Writing is done namely for those who are absent and not for those present. Therefore, seeing as we are present, answer us as though we were present.'[467] Eventually, the friars relented, and the patriarch asked for a recess until the following Wednesday, 26 April, to allow time to compile the Greek response on the azymes question. Again, the friars interpreted the request for a delay as an example of deception. They even went so far as to repeat their question to Germanos II and his clergy, so that there would be no confusion over the topic of their next meeting.[468]

Once more, however, it must be said that the friars were not without their own ploys to elicit the response they desired from their opponents. When Germanos II first asked the friars to recount their arguments on the procession issue, they took the opportunity to depict the patriarch as one who could not be trusted, while emphasizing their own hardships and commitment to peace between the churches. 'We then began to tell the reason for our journey, and how it was discussed in Nicaea, and how the Patriarch himself promised to send for us around the middle of March, making an answer to the question put to him about our Sacrament, and how often he altered our agreement.'[469] The long description of their journey to Nicaea – which we have already noted was circuitous on account of the fact that their destination was changed

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[466] *Nos igitur attendentes quod ad questionem nollent respondere, set dissimulando preterire, et scripto suo palliare*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 449 lines 35-36. Chadwick, *East and West*, 241, remarks that the friars viewed the request to put arguments into writing as a delaying tactic.

[467] *scriptura enim fit pro absentibus et non pro presentibus. Cum igitur presentes simus, quasi presentibus respondeatis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 449 lines 38-39.

[468] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 450 lines 8-14. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 141, argues that their unwillingness to debate leavened versus unleavened bread 'is the clearest sign in the whole mission that the Greeks were in fact intolerant of diversity.'

[469] *Tunc cepimus narrare causam vie nostre, et quomodo Nicee fuit disputatum, et quomodo promiserat Patriarcha se missurum nobis circa medium martii responsum de questione facta ei de nostro Sacramento, et quotiens mutaverat conditiones nostras*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 26-30.

after their departure from Constantinople – and the emphasis on the promises broken by the patriarch are almost certainly intended to elicit sympathy for the friars from the reader of their report. However, this was not the end to the scheme of the friars. They stated clearly that they did not wish to appear motivated by material matters, 'but only by goodwill and love of peace and harmony.'[470] Despite such expressed desires, the response of the friars to the patriarch demonstrates the risks and hardship they had endured in order to reengage in the *disputatio*.

> Therefore, convinced by the hope of such good things and the brotherly love of charity, we did not make excuses with the weariness of distant journeys, nor the loss of time, nor the dangers of the sea, nor the labour of the flesh, but we preferred rather to temper our will through many physical discomforts, rather than to satisfy our own advantage. We have come to listen to your answer.[471]

By stating that they 'did not wish to make excuses' for why they might not have returned to negotiations, the friars were attempting to publicly shame the patriarch before his own clergy, as well as gain the goodwill of the pope, or anyone else who might read their report.

Just as for the talks in Nicaea, it is necessary to consider who spoke on behalf of the Greek Church during the talks at Nymphaion. The report of the friars, as with the first phase of the *disputatio*, is not always specific when identifying spokesmen for the Greek Church. One is struck by how often the friars simply avoided the matter entirely, and employed the third plural – 'they said' or 'they answered' – when describing the argument of their opponents.[472] In addition, Germanos II appears much more often to have conversed directly with the friars than he had previously done at

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[470] *set sola gratia et amore pacis et concordie voluimus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 31-32.
[471] *Spe igitur tanti boni et caritate fraterna devicti, non maris pericula, non labourem corporum, non tedium longe vie causabamur, nec temporis iacturam, set per multas carnis molestias potius voluimus vestre optemperare voluntati, quam nostre satisfacere utilitati. Accessimus ut audiamus vestram responsionem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 34-38.
[472] We find this in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448-49; ch. 20, 451; ch. 22, 453-54; ch. 23, 454; ch. 24, 455; ch. 25, 459-461; ch. 26, 462; ch. 27, 463.

Nicaea. Still, a few specific individuals are selected to advocate the Byzantine position. One such individual, the chartophylax, is the only spokesman to appear in both phases of the *disputatio*, at Nicaea and at Nymphaion. It was he who answered the various accusations by the friars by charging the Latins with a list of atrocities in Constantinople in 1204.[473]

Another spokesman for the Greek Church identified in the report of the friars is 'a certain Calogerus,' who the friars point out 'wore the dress of their philosophers,' indicating his status as a monk.[474] He put forward an argument at the outset of the proceedings, arguing that the problem of the procession of the Holy Spirit required attention before one could address the issue of azymes, suggesting that this sequence of discussion was in keeping with the 'correct order of theology.'[475] Unfortunately, 'Calogerus' was almost certainly not this individual's name. This is likely a rare example in which the friars' capabilities in the Greek language have failed them. The supposed name 'Calogerus,' is likely derived from the Greek adjective, *καλόγηρος*, meaning 'venerable,' and usually describing monks.[476] Thus, the friars apparently heard the individual described by this attribute, and mistook it for his name. Without more information, we may never be able to identify him.

One possible Byzantine spokesman at Nymphaion about whom we know the most is Nicholas Kaloeidas, identified by the friars as the archbishop of Amastris. The Kaloeidas family was well established in the Empire of Nicaea, especially in and

[473] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 29-35.
[474] *accessit quidam philosophorum suorum habitu Calogerus et dixit*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 449 lines 17-18. It is noteworthy that this is the only individual identifiable as a 'philosopher' during the *disputatio* in Nymphaion, whereas several such individuals were mentioned at Nicaea. For the close identification of 'philosophers' with Christian ascetics, see I. Ševčenko, 'The definition of philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine', in *For Roman Jakobson: essays on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, 11 October 1956*, ed. M. Hale (The Hague, 1956), 449-57.
[475] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 449 lines 18-24.
[476] Lampe, *A patristic Greek lexicon*, 698.

around Smyrna, not far from Nymphaion.[477] One Nicholas Kaloeidas, a *nomikos* of Ephesos, is listed on a document from 1216 and may have been the same individual.[478] He seems to have been a favourite champion of the patriarch in Nicaea. In the 1220s, he advocated for the rights of Germanos II in Epiros.[479] We can imagine, therefore, that the patriarch had a great deal of faith in the archbishop's abilities as a spokesman. Unfortunately, we are uncertain if Kaloeidas was still the presiding archbishop of Amastris in 1234, but the role of this prelate in the *disputatio*, frequently acting as the spokesman for Germanos II, suggests it is the same individual.

The first exchange between Kaloeidas and the friars came at the opening of the second meeting, on Wednesday, 26 April. The archbishop made reference to the letter from Gregory IX that had been delivered to Germanos II by the friars.[480] 'We were amazed to no small extent,' Kaloeidas explained, 'by a certain phrase that [the pope] had placed at the end of the letter. From this phrase it seems to us that he wants to suggest that our Sacrament in leavened bread and your Sacrament in azymes are two Sacraments.'[481] The 'phrase' Kaloeidas is surprised by is the pope's analogy, comparing the Greek and Roman Churches to the two disciples running to the tomb. Gregory IX had identified the Greek Church with John, who ran ahead to the tomb but did not enter, while the Roman Church was personified with Peter, who arrived later

[477] Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 265-66, 269. Other notable members of the family include Constantine Kaloeidas, who was *oikoumenikos didaskalos* in Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade, R. Browning, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the twelfth century,' *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 197.
[478] *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 6, no. 61, 176. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 21 note 128, presents the possibility that more than one individual was named Nicholas Kaloeidas.
[479] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1244, 52 and no. 1248, 55; J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica. Spicilegio solesmensi parata* (Rome, 1891), vol. 6, col. 486; Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 77 note 39.
[480] 18 May 1233, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.
[481] *non modicum mirati sumus de quodam verbo quod ponit in fine litterarum. Ex quo verbo videtur nobis quod velit innuere Sacramentum nostrum in fermentato et Sacramentum vestrum in azimo duo esse Sacramenta*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 450 lines 20-23.

but was the first to go inside.[482] The friars viewed the question – asking if this analogy denoted two different Sacraments – as yet another scheme by their treacherous hosts to divert the topic of conversation back to the problem of procession. They answered the archbishop of Amastris contritely: 'The truth is that we bore a letter from the lord Pope, and if you take the time to carefully examine the writing in this letter, you will find that it elegantly dissolves the uncertainty of your question.'[483] The second encounter between Kaloeidas and the friars came at the next meeting of the *disputatio*, on Friday, 28 April. On this occasion he presented the position of the Greek Church on azymes.[484] The report depicts Kaloeidas as conniving and clever, but the reader finds little cause for such an assessment. We are given only the question he posed and the reaction of the friars. Without more testimony we must be cautious in adopting their assessment of the man.

As we have already seen, the friars were looking forward to addressing the issue of azymes during their time at Nymphaion, which was the 'second question' of the *disputatio*, as put forward at Nicaea. They put the issue to the patriarch and his clergy with the following question – 'Are we able to accomplish the body of Christ in azymes, or not?'[485] After some debate about whether it was appropriate to move on to that topic, the Byzantines gathered finally agreed to address the issue of leavened versus unleavened bread at their next meeting. The archbishop of Amastris began that discussion with the reference to the pope's letter, and the analogy of the disciples

[482] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267. See John 20:3-8. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 139-40, suggests that the implication of a different tradition in the Eucharist for the Greek Church was particularly offensive to the patriarch and his clergy. Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 171, goes even further, arguing that the Byzantines interpreted the analogy as a challenge to the authority of the canons of the ecumenical councils.
[483] *Verum est quod litteras domini Pape tulimus, et que in dictis litteris illis scripta sunt dubitationem questionis vestre, si diligenter ibi scriptis velitis intendere, eleganter dissolvunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 1-4.
[484] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453.
[485] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 449 lines 1-2.

running to the tomb, asking if the Roman Church considered the performance of the Eucharist in leavened bread a separate sacrament.[486] It was at this point that the discussion deteriorated into accusations from both sides, and the friars left the meeting.

The two sides returned to the *disputatio* on Friday, 28 April. Kaloeidas, speaking for the Greek Church, answered that it was impossible to perform the Eucharist in unleavened bread.[487] The friars sought to clarify his statement, asking if it was impossible 'because it cannot be done rightly, or because it cannot be done at all,' to which the answer was that it could not be done at all.[488] From there the discussion revolved around the story of the Last Supper, debating whether the bread used by Jesus and his disciples was leavened or unleavened.[489] The following day,[490] the Greek clergy even put forth a document, attesting to their belief that the bread given by Jesus to his disciples was leavened.[491]

The friars were not impressed. They announced before the patriarch and the council that the argument in the document amounted to heresy and those who defended it were heretics.[492] The friars argued that the Greek Church could only hold such a position out of either ignorance or malice, and called on them to defend their

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[486] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 450 lines 16-36.
[487] *Vos queritis si Corpus Christi potest confici in azimo; et nos respondemus quod hoc est inpossibile*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453 lines 26-28. Erickson, 'Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054,' 158 note 18, remarks that this position on the azymes issue is 'indicative of the Byzantine attitude' as a whole.
[488] *quia de iure non potest fieri, vel quia nullos modo posset fieri. Et responderunt: << Inmo quia nullo modo potest fieri >>*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453 lines 29-31.
[489] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453 line 30 – 454 line 11.
[490] Saturday, 29 April.
[491] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454 line 17 – 455 line 10. The document is signed by the chartophylax, writing on behalf of his patriarch and the Patriarch of Antioch.
[492] 'You have given us your writing which contains heresy, and know this, that whoever believes that which is written in your charter, the Roman Church considers such a person as a heretic.' – *Dedistis nobis scriptum vestrum, quod continet heresim, et hoc scitote, quod quicumque credit hoc quod scriptum est in carta vestra, pro heretico habet talem Ecclesia Romana*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 458 lines 19-21.

answer with Scripture and patristic authorities.[493] The friars were quite amused when Germanos II and his clergy promptly began searching for the texts, and could find not a single edition of the Old or New Testament on hand.[494] Finally, the Byzantines made a reference to the letters of Paul, describing the Last Supper.[495] They insisted that the bread in that instance – which they described simply as *arton*, the Greek word for bread – implies 'leavened bread.' They told the friars that *arton* denoted 'completed bread, the risen bread, the leavened bread.'[496] The friars began to question this assumption, concluding that *arton* can denote either leavened or unleavened bread, and cannot itself definitively indicate either form.[497] They insisted that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. Thus Jesus, who always observed Jewish custom, would have celebrated it with azymes.[498] The friars even went so far as to point out that it should be impossible to perform the Eucharist with leavened bread, but they emphasized that they were not insisting on this point.[499]

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[493] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 458 line 21 – 459 line 2.
[494] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 459 lines 2-4. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 142, suggests that this incident marked the effective end of serious negotiations.
[495] 1 Corinthians, 11:23.
[496] *Dicit panem perfectum, panem levatum, panem fermentatum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 459 lines 8-9. For a full discussion of the word *artos*, its origins and its implications, see Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 159.
[497] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 459 lines 9-30. At one point, the Byzantines argued that saying 'unleavened *arton'* was an oxymoron, comparing it to the concept of 'a dead man.'
[498] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 459 line 30 – 461 line 20. The disagreement over whether the Last Supper was a Passover meal is a result of discrepancies in the gospels. The three Synoptic Gospels, Mark, Matthew and Luke, describe it as a Passover meal, while John suggests that it took place before Passover. For more on this issue, see Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 142; Pelikan *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, 177-78; A. Gilmore, 'The date and significance of the Last Supper,' *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 14:3 (1961), 256-69; C. Humphreys, *The mystery of the Last Supper: Reconstructing the final days of Jesus* (Cambridge, 2011).
[499] 'And because he only had azymes, he made his body from azymes. If, therefore, your rationale is something, which you wrote, that it is not possible to make the body of Christ if not in that bread, in which the Lord made, and the Lord made it in azymes, in accordance with that which was proven, then you are not able to make it from leavened bread. And nevertheless we do not say this' – *Et non habuit nisi azimum: ergo fecit corpus suum de azimo. Si igitur vestra ratio est aliqua, quam scripsistis, quod non potest confici corpus Christi nisi in illo pane, in quo Dominus fecit, et Dominus fecit in azimo, secundum quod probatum est, ergo non potestis facere de fermentato. Et tamen hoc non dicimus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 460 lines 9-14.

In arguing for the use of unleavened bread, the friars put forward a vast number of patristic quotations. During the second phase of the *disputatio*, neither side employed syllogistic argument, but instead rested their position on references to Scripture and patristic writings.[500] Together, the two parties made a total of twenty-nine such references during the meetings in Nymphaion. The most prolific references were to Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Epiphanios of Cyrus. As was the case in Nicaea, Cyril of Alexandria was the most popular source for the disputants. He was cited a total of six times from five different works.[501] One work of John Chrysostom, his *Homily on the Gospel of Matthew*, was cited four times,[502] as was a single work of Epiphanios of Cyprus, the *Panaria*.[503]

The friars made an impressive use of Greek patristic authors – Athanasios, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Epiphanios of Cyprus – to enhance their arguments, citing their works on eighteen occasions.[504] The patriarch and his clergy, in contrast, made only three such

[500] These references are as follows: twenty-one quotes from the church fathers – Athanasios, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Epiphanios of Cyprus, Pope Damasus I and Basil of Caesarea; three from the Old Testament; four from the New Testament; one from the canons of the Council of Ephesos, 431. One reference, Psalms 79:1, is made by the chartophylax when describing Latin atrocities in 1204, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 33-35, thus it is possible to consider the quote as being outside of theological discussion. The report of the friars states that most references to John Chrysostom and Epiphanios of Cyprus were not spoken aloud during the *disputatio*, but were included in their recollection of events because they bolstered the Latin position on azymes, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 460 line 19 – 461 line 20.

[501] Cyril of Alexandria, *Liber de recta in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum fide*, *PG* 76, cols. 1133-1200; *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*, *PG* 75, cols. 1369-1412; *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, col. 307 C-D and cols. 307 C – 310 A; *Epistle* 40, *PG* 77, col. 183 D; *Epistle* 48, *PG* 77, col. 250 C-D. Each reference to Cyril of Alexandria was made by the friars, never the Byzantines,

[502] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum. Homilia* LXXXI (al. LXXXII), *PG* 58, cols. 729-30, 738.

[503] Epiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, against the Ebionites, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 2, *PG* 41, col. 442 B-C, and against the Marcionites, Lib. I, tom. 3, *PG* 41, col. 762 B – 763 B.

[504] Eleven of the references to Greek patristic sources by the friars are made in their treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 24, 455-58. In this treatise, the friars are clearly making a point to use Greek patristic authors. They even point out that they could refer to various Latin church fathers – Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome – but refrain from doing so, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 456 lines 24-26.

references – once to John Chrysostom,[505] and once to Basil of Caesarea.[506] The third patristic reference by the Byzantines is from the work of Damasus I, who was the only pope to be quoted in the whole course of the *disputatio* at either Nicaea or Nymphaion.[507] Once again the numerous Scriptural and patristic references during the *disputatio* indicate the extent to which both sides were prepared for theological debate. We should be cautious when considering the comparatively slim number of references made by the Byzantine disputants, as our knowledge of their arguments is dependent on the report of their Latin opponents. What we should take away from this analysis is that the friars, at least, had prepared for the discussions in a different and more comprehensive way than Latin disputants had done in previous church-union negotiations since the Fourth Crusade. Certainly, the Latins who took part in the meetings described by Nicholas Mesarites in 1204 and 1206 had entered the *disputatio* with a weaker grasp of the extent of the theological division between the churches.[508]

According to an agreement made between the two parties, in exchange for debate over the issue of azymes, the friars provided the patriarch and his clergy with a treatise on the issue of procession.[509] This text stands in sharp contrast to the Greek document on the issue of azymes, which was much shorter in length and featured far fewer sources.[510] It seems that on the day the friars handed this document to their opponents,[511] it was set aside to be examined and discussed later. The only issue debated that day was azymes. Indeed, Germanos II and his spokesmen made no

[505] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 25, 459 line 36 – 460 line 1.
[506] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 lines 20-26.
[507] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 lines 13-17.
[508] Their emphasis had been on gaining recognition of papal primacy, with little or no regard for the theological issues dividing the Greek and Roman Churches, see ch. 2, 112-13.
[509] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 24, 455-58.
[510] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454-55.
[511] Saturday, 29 April.

response to the treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit until the final day of the *disputatio* in Nymphaion. The report of the friars explains that a large multitude of lay people had been invited to hear the discussions that day.[512] The patriarch opened the proceedings by expressing his desire to proclaim the Latin position on procession throughout the eastern world, 'so that all will hear and understand the faith of the Roman Church.'[513] The text gives the impression that Germanos II thought this measure would help other Byzantines to dispute Latin theology, thus he was likely disappointed when the friars announced their delight in the idea, as they too wished 'everyone in the eastern Church to know and learn and faithfully keep the creed of the Roman Church.'[514]

The friars' report states that one of the Greek clergy stood and began to read a prepared statement, summarizing the argument of their treatise on procession: 'The venerable apokrisarii of the most holy pope of old Rome gave to us in writing that the Father is full God in himself. The Son is full God, being begotten from the Father. The Holy Spirit is full God, proceeding from the Father and the Son… and he who does not believe this is on the road to ruin.'[515] The friars at once corrected the patriarch's spokesman, stating that they had made no such argument. Reading from their treatise, the friars explained that 'he who believes that the Holy Spirit does *not*

[512] *invenimusque ibidem omnes congregatos, et cum eis multitudinem copiosam plebis, et apertis ianuis sedit concilium in atrio Patriarche*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 462 lines 30-32. Although they do not indicate any reaction to the audience, we may consider that the sight of such a crowd made the friars nervous. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 144, interprets the presence of the popular crowd as a conscious show of strength engineered by the patriarch.
[513] *Dedistis nobis in scriptis fidem Romane Ecclesie, et inspeximus, et illam volumus per provincias nostras et gentes et nationes promulgare; et quia ignota est nobis, volumus quod omnes audient et cognoscant fidem Romane Ecclesie*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 462 lines 36-39.
[514] *Placet. Hec enim voluntas nostra, quod vos et omnes quotquot sunt in Ecclesia orientali sciant et cognoscant et fideliter teneant fidem Romane Ecclesie, quam vobis scripto tradidimus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 line 40 – 464 line 2.
[515] Dederunt nobis in scriptis venerabiles apocrisiarii sanctissimi pape veteris Rome, quod Pater est plenus Deus in se: Filius plenus Deus a Patre genitus, Spiritus sanctus plenus Deus a Patre Filioque procedens *etc. ut in precedenti scripto continetur*. Et qui istud non credit, in via perditionis est, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 lines 5-9.

proceed from the Son, he is on the road to ruin.'[516] Their report explains that 'there was among them no one who could understand the distinction of those words.'[517] We might consider the statement rather generous. The friars were not insisting that the Greeks believe and preach the *filioque*, but they were adamant that the patriarch and his church should refrain from condemning the Latin doctrine on the procession.[518] Such a sentiment was in keeping with Gregory IX's approach on the azymes issue, which we saw in his 18 May 1233 letter to Germanos II.[519] The assembled Greek clergy, however, did not see in this statement an offer of compromise. This should not be surprising. Tensions had been rising steadily since the *disputatio* had been engaged in Nymphaion, and the subtlety of the distinction in the friars' statement may have been too understated for the heat of the moment, especially with a crowd of lay people looking on. The Byzantine clergy launched into a melee of textual evidence, arguing in favour of procession from the Father alone.

The report of the friars at this point becomes rather vague. They ceased to give precise references for the evidence put forward by their opponents, and the arguments were apparently causing a good deal of commotion in the assembled crowd. The friars explained that the patriarch 'called for silence with hand and word, because there was a great uproar among the people.'[520] The friars perceived the patriarch's actions not as

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[516] *Qui credit Spiritum sanctum non procedere a Filio, in via perditionis est*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 lines 11-12.
[517] *Nec fuit inter eos, qui differentiam verborum istorum intelligeret*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 463 lines 12-13.
[518] Interestingly, in a meeting with Vatatzes on the previous day, Wednesday 3 May, the friars had insisted that the Greek Church should believe and preach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as the Father, if there was to be a union between the churches. However, they did suggest that the Greeks would not be compelled to alter their creed, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 462 lines 18-22.
[519] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267. Gregory IX appeared to offer a compromise, allowing the Byzantines to keep their practice in leavened bread, as long as they did not condemn the Latin use of unleavened bread.
[520] *Patriarcha manu et verbo silentium indicens, quia rumor magnus erat in populo*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 463 lines 27-28.

a call for calm, but as an attempt to 'stir up the people' against them.[521] They gave no reason for their suspicion, and instead interjected before Germanos II could make a statement, asking him directly whether he believed the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Son. When he answered that he did not, the friars announced their final verdict.

> Blessed Cyril, who presided over the third council, anathematizes all those who do not believe this. Therefore, you are anathematized. Likewise, you believe and say that the body of Christ cannot be made in azymes. But this is heretical, therefore, you are heretics. Thus we found you heretics and excommunicates, and as heretics and excommunicates we leave you.[522]

The friars fled the meeting as the Byzantines shouted back 'you are the heretics!'[523] In this manner the theological debates at Nymphaion came to a close. It was clearly the intention of the friars to elicit shock from their reader by the drama of the final events of the *disputatio*, but we should not allow this to overwhelm our analysis of the proceedings. We must consider the theological topics discussed, and ask why the friars continued to participate in the proceedings, when their own report on the *disputatio* gives the impression that the meeting had deteriorated into hostilities long before their departure from Nymphaion.

As we have seen, the friars frequently asked Vatatzes for permission to leave the second phase of the *disputatio*, yet they allowed themselves to be convinced to remain, especially because they hoped to discuss the issue of the Eucharist. The controversy over the proper form of bread to use in the Sacrament was put forward at every meeting of the *disputatio* in Nymphaion, and the friars frequently expressed their frustration at what they perceived to be attempts by the patriarch and his clergy

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[521] *cogitaverat, ut credimus nos, facto silentio, conmovere contra nos populum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 463 lines 28-29. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 143, maintains that the friars interrupted the patriarch at this point 'in spite of, or perhaps because of, their fears' over what he was about to say.

[522] *Set b. Kyrillus, qui prefuit tertio concilio, anathematizat omnes illos qui hoc non credunt; ergo vos estis anathematizati. Item vos creditis et dicitis quod Corpus Christi non potest confici in azimo. Sed hoc est hereticum; ergo vos estis heretici. Quia invenimus vos hereticos et excommunicatos, pro hereticis et excommunicatis vos relinquimus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 463 line 34 – 464 line 1.

[523] *Inmo vos estis heretici*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 464 line 1.

to change the subject to the *filioque*. We must conclude, therefore, that an agreement on the problem of azymes was a foremost priority for the friars, and that they genuinely believed a compromise on the matter was possible. Gregory IX had put forward a proposal for a compromise in his last letter to Germanos II, the very letter introducing the friars as his representatives. The proposed compromise, in which both sides would mutually respect the practice of the other, was almost certainly the basis for each proposal made by the friars, even until the last day of the *disputatio* in Nymphaion. It may well have been that, acting on the instruction of their pope, the friars sought an agreement on the issue of the Eucharist that might form the basis for a larger negotiation on the topic of church union. Why this approach failed to bring about an end to the schism in 1234 is a complex issue, but we might consider the other parties involved in the negotiations, and how their own desires, priorities and intentions influenced the *disputatio*.

The Patriarch and the Emperor: their roles at the *Disputatio*

The report of the friars makes clear that both the emperor and the patriarch exercised enormous influence during the meetings, but several episodes indicate that the two men were following separate policies regarding the papal representatives. These events lead one to conclude that Vatatzes favoured negotiations with Rome, whereas Germanos II was opposed to such discussions. Numerous historians have even argued that the overtures to the papacy in the 1230s were the policy of the emperor, but not of the patriarch.[524] However, an analysis of these interactions, as described by the friars,

[524] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 225, maintains that Vatatzes pressured the patriarch to begin a correspondence with Gregory IX because he was concerned about the potential threat posed by the new Latin emperor, John of Brienne. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 132-33, argues that Vatatzes needed to make overtures to the papacy in order to improve his strategic

clarifies the implications we might draw from them, and elicits caution when one attempts to characterize the roles of the two men during the *disputatio* of 1234.

One issue that seems to indicate that emperor and patriarch were pursuing different goals during the *disputatio* was the fact that the two often employed different messengers and messages when communicating with the friars. The friars often made a point to clarify whether the messengers were sent by Vatatzes or Germanos II. Even before they arrived at Nicaea, the friars reported that they were met by imperial messengers, 'sent by the Emperor himself, and notifying us of the joy in his heart at our arrival.'[525] A greeting from ecclesiastical messengers did not come until they had come closer to the city.[526] When the patriarch was ill and unable to meet on Wednesday, 25 January, it was he who first informed the friars of his condition. The report of the friars adds, however, that additional messengers arrived from Vatatzes, again informing them of the patriarch's condition. When Germanos II recovered and was able to return to the *disputatio*, it was not his messengers, but those of the emperor who requested the friars return to the debates.[527] After the friars had returned

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prospects, but that these overtures did not correspond with the agenda of the patriarch. M. Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 506, remarks that patriarchs of Constantinople tended to leave the initiative for church-union negotiations up to the emperor. See also Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 94; Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 607-608; Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 213-22.

[525] *plures nuntii Imperatoris ab ipso transmissi nobis frequenter occurrerunt, ex parte dicti Imperatoris nos saluntantes et letitiam cordis eius de adventu nostro nobis notificantes*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 lines 6-8.

[526] The friars gave no indication of the 'joy' in the heart of the patriarch at their arrival, and simply state that the messengers from Germanos II 'came honourably and often to meet us' – *nuntii ipsius Patriarche nobis pluries honorifice occurrerunt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 1, 428 lines 8-11.

[527] 'The Patriarch sent word to us, that we might spare him, because he was unwell, and he was not able to arrive for the *disputatio* on that day. Then the Emperor excused himself, sending messengers telling us not to approach, because the Patriarch was not able to be present. But after they had finished eating, the Emperor sent for us to come to the home of the Patriarch to continue the *disputatio*' *–misit ad nos Patriarcha, ut parceremus ei, quia multum distemperatus erat, nec poterat illa die accedere ad disputationem. Deinde excusavit se Imperator, nuntiis transmissis, quod non miserat pro nobis, quia Patriarcha non poterat interesse. Sed postquam comederant, misit ad nos Imperator, ut ad domum Patriarche, causa disputationis, accederemus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 lines 18-22.

to Constantinople, it was first the patriarch's messengers, and afterwards those from the emperor, that invited them to renew the talks at *Leschara*.[528]

The friars' own conduct upholds the dynamic of separate messengers. When they finally agreed to return to the *disputatio*, and began their return journey to the Empire of Nicaea, the friars sent separate messengers to Germanos II and to Vatatzes.[529] When they reached *Leschara*, imperial messengers asked them to continue their journey to Nymphaion, and after the friars responded that they had not been so instructed by the patriarch, they soon received messengers from Germanos II, asking that they meet him in Nymphaion.[530] It would appear that the emperor and patriarch were sharing information about their communications with the friars. This much is evident in the various summons the friars received for meetings throughout the *disputatio* at Nicaea and Nymphaion, which were delivered by messengers from either the emperor or patriarch.[531] Clearly, both Vatatzes and Germanos II were aware of each other's communications, yet the system of keeping those communications separate was maintained. We must consider, therefore, that this was mere formality. The inclination of both patriarch and emperor to employ their own messengers was likely an issue of etiquette, and not an indication that the two were pursuing separate agendas.

Perhaps the most unusual scene caused by the separate messengers of patriarch and emperor appears at the end of the friars' report. After the collapse of the talks on Thursday, 4 May, the friars received the permission of Vatatzes to depart.[532]

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[528] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 15, 445 lines 13-15; ch. 16, 445 line 28, 446 lines 3-5.
[529] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 446 line 23 – 447 line 4. The friars do not explain why they sent separate messengers to the patriarch and the emperor.
[530] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 17, 447 lines 8-17.
[531] This will be discussed more below.
[532] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 line 6.

On the night of Sunday, 7 May, after they had reached the town of Kalamos,[533] the friars related that they were approached by two messengers, one representing the emperor, the other the patriarch and the council at Nymphaion. The emperor's messenger 'benevolently reproached' the friars for leaving without gaining the blessing of Germanos II and the council.[534] The messenger from the council – who we later learn was the chartophylax, Aulinus[535] – repeated this sentiment,[536] but also put forward an unusual demand. He had with him the document the friars had presented to the council on the *filioque*,[537] and insisted that the friars exchange it for the document they had been given describing the Greek position on azymes.[538] In a rather dramatic statement, the friars refused to exchange documents, insisting that the treatise on the procession issue was a scandal for the Greek Church, and that they intended to offer it to the pope.[539] The demand for the Greek treatise on azymes was put forth again the following day,[540] and the friars were told that they would not be

[533] Kalamos, modern Gelembe, lay on the route to Constantinople, Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 129-30.
[534] 'My lord greets you and benevolently reproaches you for the fact that you left so suddenly, without bidding farewell to the Patriarch and council, and because you did not return to the lord Patriarch and the other prelates, that after gaining their leave and blessing, you might depart with the favour and goodwill of all" – *Salutat vos dominus meus et familiariter vobis conqueritur de vobis, quod insalutato Patriarcha et concilio, ita subito recessistis, et quod non declinastis ad dominum Patriarcham et ceteros prelatos, ut accepta licentia et benedictione ab eis, cum gratia omnium et bona voluntate recessissetis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 lines 11-15.
[535] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 line 15.
[536] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 lines 21-22.
[537] Find this document in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 24, 455 line 24 – 458 line 17.
[538] 'Behold, the writing that you gave to the council. My lord Patriarch, with the whole council, sends it to you, asking you and begging that you send back to him the writing on azymes that he gave to you' – *Ecce scriptum vestrum, quod dedistis concilio, remittit vobis dominus meus Patriarcha cum toto concilio, rogans vos et deprecans scriptum quod dedit vobis de azimo remittatis ei*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 lines 22-24. Find this document in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454 line 17 – 455 line 10.
[539] 'The writing that they gave to us is ours, and the mirror is rather a scandal to their faith. Therefore, we refuse to answer you, but we will offer it to the Pope and Church as a testimony of faith, and in that way they will better see the faithlessness of the Church of the Greeks' – *scriptum quod nobis dederunt, nostrum est, et speculum vel potius scandalum fidei sue, et ideo respondere vobis nolumus, set domino Pape et Ecclesiae illud offeremus in testimonium fidei, inmo potius perfidie Ecclesie Grecorum*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 464 lines 33-37.
[540] The report of the treatise does not specify who (the messenger from Vatatzes or from the council) made the demand the second time, but we might imagine it to once again be the chartophylax.

allowed to remove it from the Empire of Nicaea.[541] The friars resolved to disregard the warning, and prepared to depart anyway, apparently in secret. Before leaving, however, they inquired of the 'soldier who had come on behalf of the Emperor,'[542] whether he had been sent to apprehend the friars, and he answered: 'On the contrary, I have come to speed you on your way.'[543] Numerous problems arise from this story. Who was the *miles* who had been sent by Vatatzes? Was he the imperial messenger who met the friars in Kalamos on 7 May?[544] This individual had not been described as a *miles* before. We must, therefore, consider that the individual in question was an escort, assigned by Vatatzes to accompany the friars during their journey from Nymphaion to Latin territory. Such an interpretation is supported by his response, that he had been sent 'to speed them on their way' back to Constantinople.

Another problem posed by the decision of the friars to abscond from the chartophylax and his threats emerges from their description of their party. Having decided to depart, the friars 'assembled the messengers whom Vatatzes had entrusted to [them], and instructed them to prepare the horses and tackle.'[545] These remarks suggest that Vatatzes had sent a diplomatic mission to accompany the friars back to Constantinople, and perhaps on to Rome. However, earlier statements by the friars gave the impression that Vatatzes sent no such mission. When he proposed sending an embassy of his own along with the friars back to Italy, they responded to him that they would not approve of such a measure, and Vatatzes made it clear that he did not

[541] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 29, 465 lines 1-3.
[542] *Et convocato illo milite qui venerat ex parte Imperatoris, quesivimus ab eo, si ex precepto Imperatoris habuisset iter nostrum imperdire aut non?*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 9-11.
[543] *inmo potius veni iter vestrum expedire*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 line 12.
[544] This is the interpretation adopted by Chadwick, *East and West*, 243.
[545] *convocatis nuntiis, quos nobis commiserat* Vattacius*, precepimus eis, ut equitaturas prepararent*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 13-14.

intend to send such an embassy.[546] Who, then, are the 'messengers' the friars instruct to prepare their horses for departure? Because they instructed these men as servants, it seems likely that these are not messengers as we might understand the term, but guides given to the friars by the emperor to assist them on their return journey. Such a conclusion is supported by the actions of the chartophylax, as reported by the friars. When he heard that the friars and their 'guides' were preparing to depart, without having surrendered the sought document, the chartophylax approached them and threatened to excommunicate anyone who continued to help the Latins.[547] We would be right to question the authority of the chartophylax to carry out a sentence of excommunication. The statement may have been an invention of the friars, which would again elicit the sympathy of their reader, or it may have been a depiction of a genuine threat put forward by the chartophylax at that time. In any event, the companions of the friars abandoned them, and they continued alone and on foot.[548] They proceeded for some time until the aforementioned soldier sent by the emperor overtook them. According to the friars, the soldier 'descended from his horse and he abased himself before [their] feet, begging and pleading that [they] return to the lodging house from where [they] had come, and he would make the sentence pronounced be revoked, and whatever they said or did against [the friars] would be emended.'[549] The friars' report depicts this plea as a genuine act of concern for their safety, and gives no evidence of duplicity on the part of the soldier. However, by convincing the friars to pause their journey, the soldier had placed them at the mercy

[546] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 line 21 – 453 line 7.
[547] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 15-18.
[548] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 19-21.
[549] *descendens de equo, humiliavit se ante pedes nostros deprecans et exorans, ut ad casale, de quo veneramus, reverteremur, et sententiam latam faceret revocari, et quecumque essent dicta vel facta contra nos, faceret emendari*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 30-33.

of the chartophylax, who soon arrived and forcibly took from them the document he had demanded.[550]

This incident is the only occasion on which the representatives of the emperor and patriarch pursue separate agendas. The friars depict the representative of the emperor, in the form of the soldier-guide, as solely concerned with their safe conduct back to Constantinople, while portraying the ecclesiastical messenger, the chartophylax, as a villain who harassed and robbed them in a brutal manner. Once again, the episode is certainly intended to emphasize to the pope the trials the friars endured, but in so doing it has the effect of shaping our view of events. Just as the report of the friars takes every opportunity to portray the patriarch and his clergy as conniving and scheming – a trait that is never applied to the emperor – likewise those traits are applied to the ecclesiastical representative, the chartophylax. The drama of the incident provokes our suspicion, and the lack of detail at this point in the report of the friars leaves us in the dark, which may have been their purpose. Perhaps it happened just as the friars related. Perhaps they exaggerated the evils of the chartophylax. It may have been that the soldier was operating with the same goal as the messenger from the council and this fact was unknown or unreported by the friars in order to confine the condemnation of the reader to Germanos II. In any event, enough questions exist for us to view the incident itself as an anomaly. The fact that

[550] The chartophylax appears to have been rather rough with the friars, who stated that he 'undid the ropes' to find his objective. *Qui cum venissent ad casale, ubi libri dimissi fuerant, accessit Cartofilax, et perscrutatus est omnes libros, et omnes sarcinas nostras, nec non et ipsos Fratres apprehendit, et seorsum duxit eos in cameram, et cordis laxatis tandem invenit cartam*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 lines 35-38. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 71, interprets *cordis* here to refer to the ropes holding together the friars' baggage. Another view is that suggested by Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 84, who maintains that the friars were forcibly disrobed and subjected to a strip-search by the chartophylax. Roncaglia's interpretation is more likely, as the text of the friars describes the chartophylax first searching their books, their baggage, and then taking the friars separately into a room, where the document was finally discovered. Unbeknownst to the chartophylax, the friars also had with them a Latin translation of the document, which survived and appears in their report, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454 line 17 – 455 line 10.

they employed representatives and messengers independent of each other cannot be considered to indicate that Vatatzes and Germanos II pursued separate goals at the *disputatio*.

Another reason to suspect the allegation that the emperor and patriarch maintained different outlooks for the *disputatio* emerges from the meetings outside of theological debate that took place at both Nicaea and Nymphaion. In Nicaea, the friars never met with Vatatzes without the patriarch present, but at Nymphaion, the report of the friars records four instances when the friars conversed with the emperor while Germanos II was absent.[551] What was the context of these meetings, and why were they so much more frequent in the second phase of the *disputatio*?

It is interesting that, when they arrived in Nicaea, the friars first met with the patriarch, and not the emperor. On Monday, 16 January, the first day after their arrival, the friars met with Germanos II and his assembled clergy. They delivered the letter from Gregory IX, and then answered the question regarding their status as papal representatives, but no theological issues were discussed.[552] It was only on the following day, Tuesday, 17 January, that the friars were summoned to meet with Vatatzes, who was waiting with the patriarch and his clergy to commence the *disputatio*.[553] It is significant that the friars made a point of presenting themselves to the patriarch, and only met with Vatatzes later and in the setting of theological debate. This indicates that their primary purpose was to negotiate with Germanos II, and not the emperor. While this highlights the intentions of the friars, what about those of the patriarch and emperor?

[551] Find these meetings in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 9-18; ch. 21, 452 line 13 – 453 line 10; ch. 26, 461 line 36 – 462 line 26; and ch. 28, 464 lines 1-5.
[552] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 lines 20 – 429 line 8.
[553] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 9-15.

A remarkable meeting outside of the context of the *disputatio* that took place in Nicaea occurred on the last day the friars spent in the city, Friday, 27 January. They were received at the imperial court, where they found Vatatzes and Germanos II waiting for them. It was at this point that the emperor asked how the churches of East and West might be reconciled, and whether the patriarch's 'right' might be restored to him should union be achieved.[554] Although Germanos II was present during this meeting, the friars indicated that he never contributed to the discussion. He appears in the friars' report simply to have been a passive observer. This has led several historians to suggest that Vatatzes had forced the patriarch to attend the meeting, and to remain silent, implying that the emperor intended to impose a settlement on his own church, should the friars offer terms.[555] As it happened, no such agreement was made during this exchange, but the meeting still appears the best evidence to suggest that it was Vatatzes, more than the Germanos II, who sought compromise toward union in 1234. The friars depicted him as eager and actively searching for consensus, while the patriarch is portrayed as a sulking figure, not wishing to participate in the meeting.

These figures next encountered each other at Nymphaion, before the second phase of theological debate had commenced. This meeting also seemed to indicate that the emperor and patriarch held very different views of the *disputatio*, and maintained different attitudes toward the papal representatives. On Monday, 15 April, after having already been in Nymphaion for a number of days, the friars approached the patriarch and asked that they continue with the theological debate.[556] Germanos II responded in an apparently rude and boastful manner: 'We are amazed by the Brothers, when we have 30 headings against you, and you wish to be summoned in a

[554] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 14, 444 line 41 – 445 line 12.
[555] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 212-14.
[556] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 1-6.

moment.'[557] The exchange was concluded when the patriarch instructed the friars to appear before him the following day, when the parties would return to the *disputatio*.[558] The friars, apparently concerned that Germanos II would not keep his word, promptly went to the emperor, and related what was said between them and the patriarch.[559] In contrast to the conversation they had just left with Germanos II, Vatatzes is depicted as courteous and patient. He made excuses for the delay in returning to theological debate, pointing out that numerous prelates had yet to arrive, and that the Easter holiday necessitated that the friars be patient. It was he, and not Germanos II, who asked that the friars delay the *disputatio* until after Easter, to which they agreed.[560]

The account we receive from the friars, describing these discussions, indicates that the patriarch was willing to commence with theological debate, but that Vatatzes wished to delay. Why was the participation of other Greek clergy the priority of the emperor, rather than the patriarch? At Nicaea, it was Germanos II who stressed the importance of collaborating with his fellow patriarchs about the theological issues,[561] but in this exchange in Nymphaion he seems to disregard their participation. If we accept that Vatatzes was actively pushing for a successful union with the Roman Church, we might suspect that he was delaying at this point in order to improve the chances of such an outcome. In his exchange with the friars, the emperor noted that the Patriarch of Antioch had only just arrived.[562] Perhaps the emperor considered the Patriarch of Antioch, like Germanos II, to be too anti-Latin, and thought that more

[557] *Miramur de Fratribus, cum XXX capitula habeamus contra vos, et vos vultis in momento expediri*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 6-8.
[558] 'Let the Brothers come tomorrow if they wish, and we will have the *disputatio*' – *Veniant Fratres cras si voluerint, et habebunt disputationem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 8-9.
[559] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 9-11.
[560] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 11-18.
[561] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 21-27.
[562] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 448 lines 12-13. Symeon II, Greek Patriarch of Antioch, was exiled from his See in favour of the Latin Patriarch. See above, 234 note 438.

time for Greek clergymen to arrive at the council might increase the number of voices favourable to a compromise with Rome. Furthermore, the friars were very generous in their depiction of Vatatzes in this instance, portraying him as courteous in asking for a delay. A quick evaluation would suggest that Germanos II had already determined the position of the Greek Church, in other words, that there would be no compromise,[563] whereas Vatatzes remained amiable because he still hoped for a positive resolution. We must be wary of too quickly adopting such an interpretation. This conclusion does not take into account the fact that we learn of these events only through the friars. Their depiction of this exchange advances the paradigm of the patriarch as harsh and discourteous, while the emperor appears as the voice of consolation and compromise. Thus, the friars may have been exaggerating events for the benefit of their reader.

The paradigm of the 'benevolent Vatatzes' is again put forward after the exchange of accusations between the friars and the representatives of the Greek Church on Wednesday, 26 April. After the chartophylax had confronted them with stories of Latin atrocities in Constantinople in 1204,[564] the friars went to the emperor, who had not been present for that exchange, and related to him what had been said.[565] In this audience with Vatatzes, the friars described him as 'an eloquent man, clever and provident, [and] modest in words.'[566] The emperor attempted to excuse the statement by the chartophylax, and promised a more amicable tone in the future, adding that if he had been present such insulting comments would not have been made.[567] He went on to tell the friars 'I do not wish you to depart in such discord. I

[563] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 213, argues that Germanos II decided that the dialogue with the friars was fruitless early during the discussions at Nicaea.
[564] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 451 lines 26-34.
[565] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 13-15.
[566] *velut eloquens homo, astutus et providus in agendis, modestus in verbis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 16-17.
[567] 'amazingly [the emperor] began to make excuses for his own people, and to promise improvement, adding that if the *disputatio* had been in his presence, it would not have devolved to insulting words' – *cepit suos mirabiliter excusare, et emendationem promittere, addens, quod si coram eo fuisset*

wish to hear you and them concerning your question, and then you will depart having completed the business with peace and love.'[568] Once more, the friars have described Vatatzes as a major proponent of compromise, and the patriarch and his clergy as belligerent.

It is surprising, therefore, that the friars did not reciprocate the emperor's positive outlook. After promising a more positive exchange in future meetings, the emperor announced his intention to send the friars back to Italy aboard a galley he would provide, accompanied by his own embassy to the pope, laden with gifts and promises of obedience.[569] The friars responded that his gifts would not be acceptable to the pope without a union of the churches,[570] adding that they could not in good conscience present the embassy to the curia without the possibility of an agreement.[571] The response by Vatatzes, as related by the friars, shows his disappointment.

> Then the Emperor, his expression changing to grief, spoke thus: "I see that the Emperor[s] *Manuel*, *Theodore* and many other Emperors had friendship with the Pope during the schism. Nevertheless, if you insist that I not send my messengers, I will not send them." To this we responded: "We neither insist, nor warn, but know this, that we will not lead your messengers, except under

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disputatio, non fuisset ventum ad verba contumelie, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines17-19.

[568] *Nec volo quod ita discordes recedatis. Volo audire vos et illos super questione vestra: et peracto negotio cum pace et amore revertimini*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 19-21.

[569] 'And behold my galley is prepared to convey you to Apulia with my messengers, whom I will send with you to the most holy Pope. Indeed, I intend, as is proper, to show as much respect as is possible to the lord Pope with messengers, gifts and obedience, because I wish him to consider me a friend and intimate and son of his holiness' – *Et ecce galee mee parate sunt ut ducant vos in Apuliam cum nuntiis meis, quod missurus sum vobiscum ad sanctissimum Papam. Intendo enim, ut decet, dominum Papam quam plurimum venerari nuntiis, muneribus et obsequiis, quia volo quod habeat me amicum et familiarem et filium sanctitatis sue*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 21-26.

[570] 'Thus we know that the lord Pope will not receive you because of your gifts, but when you are welcomed by him through the unity of faith, then your gifts will be acceptable to him. Please do not believe that the lord Pope wishes to accept you as a friend and son, if there is not first agreement in faith, and unity. Indeed, if you were to give all your gold and silver, he would not accept you as a son or friend, as long as you are contrary to the faith of the Roman Church' – *Ita scimus quod dominus Papa non acceptabit vos propter munera, set cum acceptus eritis ei per unitatem fidei, tunc erunt ei accepta vestra munera. Non credatis dominum Papam vos recipere velle in amicum et filium, nisi prius fuerit pax in fide, et unitas. Si enim totum aurum vestrum et argentums daretis, non vos reciperet in filium vel amicum, quamdiu estis contrarii fidei Ecclesie Romane*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 30-36.

[571] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 36-39.

> hope of an agreement." And again the Emperor said: "If you do not wish to lead them, I am unwilling to send them, because I do not wish my men, nor ships, nor property to be exposed to harm." And he added: "The schism has remained for nearly 300 years, and because it has endured so long, it will not be possible to dissolve it in such a short time."[572]

These statements by Vatatzes are very revealing. The emperor believed that Manuel I Komnenos and Theodore I Laskaris enjoyed relationships with the papacy that served as models for friendship.[573] These statements also indicate that Vatatzes intended the meetings of 1234 to initiate a larger pattern of closer ties between Nicaea and Rome that would perhaps lead to church union and the restoration of Constantinople to Byzantine control. At the same time, the emperor's response leaves us with questions. He clearly understood that the theological challenges meant that the schism could not be overcome so easily, but what does he mean when he says that the division of the churches had endured for three hundred years? His reckoning forces us to consider a beginning of the schism between the churches in the early to mid-tenth century. This contradicts the conclusions of several historians who depict 1054 as the origin of the schism.[574] If we look to an earlier period, the most likely origin of the schism comes

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[572] *Tunc Imperator mestitiam vultu pretendens, sic ait: << Vidi quod* Emmanuhel *Imperator,* Theodorus *et plures alii Imperatores amicitiam habebant cum Papa, durante cismate. Verumtamen si vos prohibeatis quod non mittam nuntios meos, non mittam >>. Ad hec respondimus: << Nec prohibemus, nec monemus; set hoc scitote, quod nuntios vestros, nisi sub spe pacis, non ducemus >>. Et rursum Imperator: << Si non velitis ducere, nolo mittere, quia nolo homines meos, nec naves, nec res exponere inimicis >>. Et adiunxit: << Duravit cisma iam fere CCC annis, et quod diu duravit, non poterit in tam brevi tempore dissolvi*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 line 39 – 453 line 8. The italics are those found published by Golubovich.

[573] Manuel I Komnenos did indeed maintain close ties with Rome, Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 178-85; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 87-95; Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204*, 211-15; J. Rowe, 'The papacy and the Greeks (1122-1153),' *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 28:2 (1959), 124. On the other hand, Theodore I Laskaris does not seem to have enjoyed a similarly positive relationship with the papacy, thus it is unclear why Vatatzes would put him forward as an example. As we have already seen, Pope Innocent III called on Theodore I to give up his imperial claims and submit to the Latin empire, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 60-64. See ch. 2, 108.

[574] Bréhier, *Le schism oriental du XIe siècle*; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 22-77. Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 155-56, discusses different schools of thought on beginning the schism at 1054, and also identifies a number of scholars who put the beginning of the schism after 1054, see for example Holtzmann, 'Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089,' 38-67; Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome,' 1-119.

with the Patriarch Photios,[575] but unfortunately that would place the beginning in the ninth century, which again does not coincide with the comment by Vatatzes. We must even consider that this statement by the emperor on the start date of the schism was victim to some sort of scribal error, and that it does not accurately reflect his comments made in 1234. In the end, attempting to identify the origin of the schism may be an unfruitful endeavour,[576] but it is interesting to see that Vatatzes himself acknowledged that it had endured for some time, and that it would not be easily overcome.

Perhaps the most provocative exchange between Vatatzes and the friars came on Wednesday, 3 May, after the theological talks had stalled, and again when the patriarch was not present.[577] The friars again sought permission to depart, and the emperor once more asked them to consider the possibility of compromise.[578] Arriving at the imperial palace, Vatatzes put forward a most remarkable suggestion:

> It is the custom of kings and princes, when there was disagreement between them over the castles or provinces, for example, that someone should give up something which he considered his right, so that they can reach peace through compromise. Thus it seems to me that it ought to be done between your church and ours. There are namely two issues between us and you: first on the procession of the Holy Spirit; the other on the body of Christ. If, therefore, you want peace, you ought to give up one of these two. We will worship and hold your sacrament, while you, on the other hand, give up to us your creed, and say with us just as we say, just as we have in the decrees from the holy fathers and their council. And the part you have added you will say no longer, because it is an offense to us.[579]

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[575] Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantin*, 102-155; Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 6-12; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 22-27; Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 52-56; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 19-21; Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Primacy*, 106-117.

[576] Smith, *And taking bread*, 156, suggests that attempting to identify a starting point for the schism is inherently misleading.

[577] The friars had not met with the patriarch and his clergy for four days prior to this meeting, on Saturday, 29 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454 – ch. 25, 461.

[578] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 461 lines 29-35.

[579] *Consuetudo regum et principum est, cum discordia fuerit inter eos super castris aut provinciis, ut quilibet, de eo quod dixit ius suum, aliquid dimittat, ut sic pervenire possint per medium ad pacem. Sic michi videtur quod debeat fieri inter vestram Ecclesiam et nostrum. Duo enim sunt inter nos et vos: primum de processione Spiritus sancti; secundum de corpore Christi. Si igitur velitis pacem, vos dimittatis unum ex hiis duobus: nos venerabimur et gratum habebimus Sacramentum vestrum: vos autem dimittatis symbolum vestrum nobis, et dicatis nobiscum, sicut nos dicimus, sicut constitutum habemus a sanctis patribus in conciliis suis: et hoc quod vos superaddidistis non dicatis ulterius, quia*

It is significant that the emperor would compare the schism of the churches to a dispute over 'castles or provinces.' It suggests that he approached the problem from a very practical point of view, commensurate with his experience. What should we make of his offer to accept leavened bread in exchange for the abolition of the *filioque* in the creed? It has been suggested that Vatatzes was not serious in this last ditch effort to salvage the *disputatio*, and that he was simply testing the friars.[580] This interpretation does not take into account the rest of the exchange. Once again, the friars refused the emperor's offer, insisting that they will not alter doctrine or practice, but simply required that the Greek Church cease to condemn the Latin position on azymes and procession.[581] When he had heard their response, the friars stated that Vatatzes became upset, saying 'I do not now hear the terms of peace.'[582] If the emperor was only 'testing' the friars, why would he appear upset at their negative reaction? More importantly, why would the friars choose to depict him as upset? Once more, this scene displays the characteristic of the emperor as open to compromise. Even if he did not accept the counterproposal of the friars, he still appears to the

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scandalum est nobis, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 461 line 37 – 462 line 10.

[580] Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 227.

[581] 'Understand this, the Lord pope and the Roman Church will not give up one iota of its faith, nor anything that is said in our creed… If you wish to know the way [of peace], we will briefly describe it to you. On the body of Christ we say this, that you will be required to faithfully believe, and that others will be required to preach, that the body of Christ can be thus completed in azymes just as in leavened bread. Let all books which you have written against our creed be condemned and burnt. On the Holy Spirit we say thus, that it will require that you believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son just as from the Father. And it is necessary to preach that to the people. As for the issue of you saying thus in your creed, unless you wish, the lord Pope will not compel you, once you condemn and burn all books which are contrary to this article.' – *Hoc scitote quod Dominus papa et Ecclesia Romana non dimitteret unum yota de fide sua, nec de hoc aliquid quod dicitur in symbolo nostro… Si modum vultis scire, breviter dicimus vobis. De corpore Christi ita dicimus, quod oportebit vos firmiter credere, et aliis predicare, quod corpus Christi confici potest ita in azimo sicut in fermentato; et omnes libri quos vestri scripserunt contra fidem, dampnentur et comburantur. De Spiritu sancto ita dicimus, quod oportebit vos credere Spiritum sanctum procedere a Filio sicut a Patre. Et istud necesse est, quod predicetur in populo. Quod autem cantetis istud in symbolo vestro, nisi volueritis, non compellet vos dominus Papa, condempnatis et combustis omnibus libris, qui huic capitulo sunt contrarii*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 462 lines 10-22. Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 142, wrongly states that the friars insisted the Greek Church should agree to all the demands of the Roman Church.

[582] *Iam non audio formam pacis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 462 line 23.

reader as more moderate than the patriarch. This characteristic is reinforced by the fact that Vatatzes was again absent from the theological debates on the following day,[583] when both sides exchanged accusations of heresy and the friars suspected Germanos II of attempting to incite the populace against them.[584] It has even been suggested that the invitation to laymen to witness the final session of the *disputatio* was a manoeuvre by the patriarch to warn the emperor that there were limits to his authority.[585] When the friars left that meeting and finally gained permission from the emperor to depart, they described Vatatzes as 'perturbed and distressed' upon hearing about the exchange.[586]

All of these meetings between the friars and Vatatzes, with the patriarch absent, may very well indicate a separate policy between the two, but cannot be used as conclusive proof that the emperor forced Germanos II to engage in negotiations with the papacy. In each of these meetings, it was the friars who sought an audience with the emperor.[587] It would be wrong to accuse Vatatzes of a separate policy from his patriarch when he never initiated these encounters. He never attempted to engage the friars in negotiation while they were alone in Nymphaion, before the patriarch had arrived. Meetings between Vatatzes and the friars became much more frequent at Nymphaion, and only occurred once at Nicaea, indicating that the Nymphaion meetings took place because of increasing hostility during the second phase of the

[583] Thursday, 4 May.
[584] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 462 – ch. 28, 464.
[585] Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 144.
[586] 'the Emperor showed us a countenance perturbed and distressed, as though he were saddened that we had departed without an agreement' – *vultum tamen turbatum et commotum ostendit nobis Imperator, quasi contristatus fuisset, quod discordes recesseramus ab invicem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 28, 464 lines 3-5.
[587] Even the final meeting on Wednesday, 3 May, was brought about through the efforts of the friars, not the emperor. This meeting was the result of a long exchange of messages between the two, ending with a demand by the friars for an audience with the emperor. 'When we are in the presence of the Emperor, and he speaks to us concerning this matter, then we will know what will be our answer to him' – *Cum fuerimus coram Imperatore, et de istis nobis locutus fuerit, scimus quid respondebimus ei*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 26, 461 lines 34-35.

disputatio. We must, therefore, view these encounters as literary devices of the friars. These meetings allowed their report to emphasize the hostility of the patriarch and his clergy, depicting him as the cause of the collapse of the negotiations.

The sharp increase in instances of private meetings between the emperor and friars at Nymphaion, away from the patriarch and the gathered clergy, contrasts dramatically with the diminishing role Vatatzes played during the theological debates at Nymphaion, compared to his activities in Nicaea. According to the report of the friars, Vatatzes added his voice to the ecclesiastical discussions on five separate occasions during the first phase of the talks,[588] but at Nymphaion he is recorded as speaking only once.[589] Indeed, as noted above, the friars described Vatatzes as present only twice for theological debate in Nymphaion,[590] while their report remarks on his attendance for at least six of these gatherings in Nicaea.[591] Why would the emperor be more interested in contributing to the debate at Nicaea than he was at Nymphaion? Several historians have suggested that Vatatzes became increasingly cynical about the possibility of a positive outcome to the meetings, and thus allowed himself to become less engaged.[592] Unfortunately, because our understanding is confined to the perspective of the friars, we cannot address this with any real confidence. The

[588] The emperor clarified the question about additions to the creed on Thursday, 19 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 431 lines 13-17. He entered debate about the Spirit of Truth on Saturday, 21 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 435 lines 9-14. On Monday, 23 January, he warned the friars against the use of syllogism, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435 line 37 – 436 line 5. Vatatzes recommended that the treatise on the procession issue, composed by Blemmydes, be put aside on Wednesday, 25 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 442 line 37 – 443 line 3. Finally, on that same day, he engaged the friars in debate over Cyril of Alexandria's ninth anathema, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 443 lines 31-37.

[589] On 28 April, the friars recorded that Vatatzes began the day's proceedings by defending the wish of many Greek prelates to hear an account of what had been discussed at Nicaea, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453 lines 17-21.

[590] Friday, 28 April and Saturday, 29 April. See Figure 2: Nymphaion, Emperor/Patriarch Present.

[591] Tuesday, 17 January; Thursday, 19 January; Friday, 20 January; Saturday, 21 January; Monday, 23 January; and Wednesday, 25 January. See Figure 1: Nicaea, Emperor/Patriarch Present. The attendance of the emperor had been so regular at Nicaea, that the friars even point to his impending departure from the city as a reason to call an end to the first phase of talks, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 444 lines 5-8.

[592] Chadwick, *East and West*, 242; Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 142-43.

emperor's absence from the theological debates at Nymphaion can be due to any number of matters requiring his attention. The idea that he had come to view the *disputatio* as hopeless and was thus inclined to abandon the enterprise is only a circumstantial explanation, based solely on the friars' comments, and does not consider his attempts to reach a compromise with the friars in discussions outside the ecclesiastical setting of the council.

Various other points emerging from the report of the friars encourage the view that the *disputatio* was the project of the emperor, while the patriarch was less enthusiastic. One is the frequent mention of summonses calling the friars to theological debate. Including both Nicaea and Nymphaion, on four occasions, the friars identified an imperial messenger calling them to the *disputatio*, while only twice does a messenger from the patriarch deliver the summons.[593] The fact that Vatatzes called the friars to the ecclesiastical discussion twice as often as the patriarch can be taken to indicate the emperor's enthusiasm for the encounter.

Another possible issue is the setting for theological debate.[594] The number of these meetings that took place in the imperial palace as opposed to the home of the

[593] At Nicaea, a messenger from Vatatzes summoned the friars to the *disputatio* on three occasions – Tuesday, 17 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 9-10; Saturday, 21 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434 lines 4-7; and Wednesday, 25 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 lines 21-22. Germanos II called the friars to meet only on Monday, 16 January, but no theological issues were discussed that day, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 lines 20-21.

At Nymphaion, the friars received a summons from the patriarch on Monday, 24 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 19-21, and on Friday, 28 April, they received a summons from both the emperor and the patriarch, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 453 lines 11-16. This summons was received on the previous day.

The friars do not identify the source of their summons for Monday, 23 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435 line 37 – 436 line 1, or Tuesday, 24 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 9, 436 lines 29-30. Again, the friars do not specify the source of their summons for Thursday, 4 May. This summons came immediately following a meeting with Vatatzes, but the report of the friars uses the third plural in describing the invitation to the *disputatio*, 'they invited us' – *rogaverunt nos*, suggesting a group, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 462 lines 27-28.

[594] At Nicaea, the friars explicitly state that the *disputatio* was held in the imperial palace on three dates: Tuesday, 17 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 3, 429 lines 9-10; Thursday, 19 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430 lines 26-27; and Monday, 23 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 8, 435 line 37 – 436 line

patriarch is significantly greater during the first phase of the *disputatio* at Nicaea than it was during the second at Nymphaion. The friars gave no indication that either location was more or less suitable for the proceedings, so we are left to wonder why the setting shifted as often as it did. It may be the case that the greater instances of meetings in the imperial palace at Nicaea meant that it was a more appropriate setting for the *disputatio* than was the imperial palace in Nymphaion. The palace structure at Nymphaion has been noted for its rather small and fortified appearance, thus it may have been less suitable for the large audiences attending the council of the second phase.[595]

The speaker chosen to represent the Greek Church is another possible indicator of division between Vatatzes and Germanos II. We know of two occasions in which the advocate for the Greek Church was favoured by the emperor, or at least spoke with his blessing.[596] We should not take this to mean, however, that every other

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1. On another two dates – Friday, 20 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 6, 431 lines 22-23; and Saturday, 21 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 7, 434 lines 4-7, we can deduce that theological debates continued to be held in the imperial palace, even though the friars do not specify a setting, because the last place they identified was the palace of the emperor. The *disputatio* was held at the home of the patriarch in Nicaea on the final three days of the first phase of the meetings, Tuesday, 24 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 9, 436 lines 29-30; Wednesday, 25 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 10, 437 lines 21-22; and Thursday, 26 January, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 13, 443 line 38 – 444 line 3. Again, the friars do not explicitly identify the home of the patriarch as the setting for the talks for Thursday, 26 January, but because the two previous meetings were held here, we can imagine that they continued in the same location. Thus, for the first phase of the *disputatio* at Nicaea, talks were held at the palace of the emperor on a total of five occasions, and at the home of the patriarch for only three.

At Nymphaion, the majority setting for the *disputatio* shifts to the home of the patriarch. The report of the friars explicitly states that theological debate was conducted here on three occasions – Monday, 24 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 19, 448 lines 19-20; Wednesday, 26 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 20, 450 lines 15-16; and Thursday, 4 May, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 27, 462 lines 27-32. Two meetings with the patriarch and his council were likely held at the palace of the emperor in Nymphaion. The friars identify the palace as the setting for talks on Friday, 28 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 22, 453 lines 17-18, but give no specific location for the meeting on Saturday, 29 April, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 23, 454 line 14. We are left to suspect that it was the same location, i.e. the palace of the emperor. If our suspicion is correct, then we must conclude that of the five theological discussions at Nymphaion, only two took place at the imperial palace, and the other three at the home of the patriarch.

[595] Cağaptay, 'How Western is it? The palace at Nymphaion and its architectural setting,' 357-62.

[596] The report of the friars states that the chartophylax initiated the talks on Thursday, 19 January, at the behest of both the patriarch and emperor, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 5, 430

Byzantine champion was a favourite of the patriarch and advanced his policies against those of the emperor. It is not surprising that Germanos II should play a larger role in selecting the advocate of the Greek Church, especially during the second phase of talks when the emperor was increasingly absent. One speaker who has caused much debate is Nikephoros Blemmydes. Some have argued that he was harshly anti-Latin,[597] and this was why he was prevented from addressing the friars at Nicaea until after Karykes was disgraced.[598] The implication of this characteristic is that the emperor prevented Blemmydes from taking part in the discussions because of his polemical position. Those who advance this interpretation point out that Vatatzes promptly disregarded the treatise on the procession put forward by Blemmydes.[599] Recent studies, however, have shown Blemmydes to have been more objective than previously thought, especially in regard to the *filioque* problem.[600] If we call into question the harsh attitude of Blemmydes toward the procession issue, we must then question whether the emperor intended to limit his role in the *disputatio* because of his alleged anti-Latin position.

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lines 33-36. The friars never again describe a role for the emperor in selecting speakers from among the Greek clergy, but the account of Nikephoros Blemmydes states that Demetrios Karykes was the special choice of the emperor. 'He had been chosen in preference to all the others, and especially by the Emperor' – *τῶν ἄλλων πάντων προκεκριμένος, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57 lines 7-9; trans. Munitiz, 107.

[597] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 212 note 58; Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 143.

[598] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, chs. 28-29, 58; trans. Munitiz, 108.

[599] 'The emperor, however, heard that they could not defend their own writing, thus he wished to cover up their disgrace and said: "Let that writing be disregarded, because it produces only controversy"' – *Imperator vero ex quo audivit ipsos non posse scripta sua defendere, volens illorum protegere turpitudinem, inquit: "Dimittatur illud scriptum, quia non generat nisi contentionem*," Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 12, 442 line 37 – 443 line 1. Find the treatise in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 11, 438-42.

[600] Chadwick, *East and West*, 240, refers to Blemmydes as 'a heart favourable to union.' Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy,' 36, argues that Blemmydes was willing to transcend the anti-Latin polemical position of his contemporaries, adding that his attitudes proved a precedent for later Byzantines who were open to compromise with the Roman Church. Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 125-26, explains that, although his interpretation was far from acceptance of the Latin position on the procession, Blemmydes had begun to consider the concept of 'through,' rather than 'from the Son.'

In what way does our understanding of the events of 1234 change if the meeting came about as a result of an imperial, rather than a patriarchal initiative? Political considerations have always played a role in church-union negotiations, and certainly did in Nicaea and Nymphaion. However, to argue that Germanos II was always opposed to church union is to make too much of circumstantial evidence, much of which cannot be corroborated. The testimony of the friars, as we have seen, cannot be regarded as an entirely faithful reflection of the attitudes and roles of emperor and patriarch. The purpose of the report of the friars is to show why church-union negotiations failed in 1234. Thus, the portrayal of a willing emperor, but an unwilling patriarch, suited their needs and explained to their reader that the failure of the *disputatio* was not their fault. It is folly to attempt an estimation of the emperor's intention from the report of the friars, without reference to other evidence. For that, we must look to his actions following the collapse of the talks, and his reaction to the ultimate failure of the overtures to Rome in 1234?

CHAPTER FOUR: NICAEA AND THE LATINS, 1234-1261

In what way does Byzantine diplomacy with the Latins change following the failure of the *disputatio* of 1234? The collapse of church-union negotiations led directly to renewed hostilities between the Empire of Nicaea and the Latins in Constantinople. Pope Gregory IX, as we will see, abandoned his attempts to heal the schism and called for a crusade against Nicaea.[1] John III Vatatzes, following the failure of his peaceful initiative to gain control of the Byzantine capital, quickly directed new military efforts, and developed a highly advantageous system of alliances that would make Nicaea a foremost power in the Eastern Mediterranean. This endeavour was the newest in a long line of careful diplomacy on the part of Byzantine emperors, turning difficult situations into opportunities for the advancement of their interests. In this chapter, we will examine how parties reacted to the results of the *disputatio* in 1234. A primary focus will be the alliances pursued by Vatatzes. He did not, however, entirely abandon the prospect of a peaceful settlement with the pope in Rome. Both sides would return to theological debate in order to attempt a resolution of both ecclesiastical and political differences, leading us once again to consider the role of *disputatio* in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy.

Reaction of the Patriarch and Pope

Before we examine the political reactions to the events of 1234, let us first consider the repercussions of the failure of the *disputatio* for the hierarchy of both churches. Patriarch Germanos II held serious concerns about Latin practices and doctrine before

[1] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 3, no. 3395, 512-13; Chrissis, 'The city and the cross,' 21, 23, emphasizes that Gregory IX's calls for a crusade in support of Latin Constantinople were in keeping with the precedent set down by Innocent III.

1234, and these concerns become even more evident in the years that followed. He became one of the most ardent opponents of Latin doctrine and practice.[2] Shortly after the friars departed Nymphaion, he and his clergy issued a response, *Ἀπάντησις*, to the Latin theological position.[3] The argument presented in this work is that of a mind unconvinced. Germanos II asked why, if the Latin interpretation represented truth, had so many authorities – prophets, gospels, church fathers – misled their followers? 'If someone is the teacher, and knows that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and does not teach this, but says that the Father is always the cause of the Spirit, and the son is never the cause, is he worthy of blessing, or of eternal condemnation?'[4] The experience of 1234 had confirmed the patriarch as definitively anti-Latin. He advocated a more aggressive position against the Latins' political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. In a homily against the Bogomils,[5] Germanos II praised Vatatzes for his wars against the Franks, to whom he referred as 'dogs.' '[And surrounded in] their city they are weakened and bark in vain. John, our God-guarded autokrator, baptizes them in their blood.'[6] The patriarch's commitment to the anti-Latin position is confirmed by the fact that the issue of church union is never again broached in his lifetime.

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[2] Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 667.

[3] The only edition of this work exists in the appendix of *Chronikon Georgiou Phrantze tou protovestiariou eis tessara vivlia diairethen*, ed. F. Alter (Vienna, 1796), 140-49.

[4] *ἐάν ᾖ τὶς διδάσκαλος, καὶ γινώσκῃ ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται· καὶ οὐ διδάσκει οὕτως· ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὸν πατέρα αἴτιον λέγει τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸν υἱὸν δὲ οὐδέποτε, μακαρισμοῦ ἐστιν ἄξιος, ἢ κατακρίσεως αἰωνίου*, Germanos II, *Ἀπάντησις*, ed. Alter, 141.

[5] *PG* 140, cols. 621-44. Germanos II wrote two other sermons against the Bogomils, see *PG* 140, cols. 659-76; Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ β', πατριαρχὴς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας*, 234-43. He also attacked the dualist heresy in an encyclical letter to the Greeks of Constantinople, G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagten: ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1908), 115-25. Abridged translations of each can be found in B. Hamilton, *et al*., *Christian dualist heresies in the Byzantine world, c. 650-c. 1450* (New York and Manchester, 1998), 268-74. See also Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, 568.

[6] *Καὶ κυκλώσωσι τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν λιμαγχονούμενοι καὶ βαῦζοντες μάταια. Ἰωαννης ὁ βαπτίσας αὐτοὺς τοῖς αἵμασιν ἑαυτῶν, ὁ θεοφρούρητος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ*, *PG* 140, col. 641 B. No modern scholar dates this homily by Germanos II, but the reference to the Latins 'surrounded in Constantinople' would seem to suggest a date after the siege of 1234/5.

There are two aspects to Gregory IX's response with respect to the failure of the negotiations of 1234. The first, his decision to excommunicate John III Vatatzes, has not been addressed by modern scholars, perhaps because the sources describing this action are meagre and scattered. No bull of excommunication for Vatatzes has survived, therefore we cannot be certain when he was excommunicated. However, every source that attests to his excommunication is dated after 1234. It is possible, therefore, to regard the excommunication as part of the pope's reaction to the failure of the *disputatio* in Nicaea and Nymphaion. The earliest mention of the excommunication is in a letter of 1236 from Gregory IX to the archbishops of Hungary.[7] The letter refers to *Vatacii excommunicati*,[8] 'the excommunicated Vatatzes,' implying that the excommunication had already taken place. Only two years later, in a letter to Frederick II dated 17 March 1238,[9] Gregory IX again referred to the excommunication of Vatatzes, presenting it in relation to the *disputatio* of 1234. The pope described his attempts to negotiate with the Greek Church.

> We sent Dominican and Franciscan Friars to Vatatzes… to the said Patriarch of Nicaea and the prelates and bishops under him… urging them with paternal warnings and supplications… to return to Catholic union. But they, as we learnt from the trustworthy report of the Friars, put forward a variety of errors

[7] The pope instructs the archbishops and their suffragans to publicly announce the excommunication of John II Asen should he refuse to break his alliance with Vatatzes, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 255, 144; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 214, 290; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3156, 391. On this alliance, see below. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 102 note 71, mistakenly interprets the letter as announcing the excommunication of John II Asen. However, Gregory IX clearly states that the excommunication is pending a final warning given to the Bulgarian Tsar, 'When we diligently warned the noble man Asen in our letters, we commanded that he end his association with the excommunicate Vatatzes, removing himself entirely from the molestation of the Latins, since if the aforesaid noble does not desire in this part to acquiesce to our warnings, you will arrange to excommunicate him and all his supporters and protectors, publicly announcing their excommunication' – *Cum nobilem virum Assanum litteris nostris monuerimus diligenter, ut a societate Vatacii excommunicati omnino recedens ab infestatione desisteret Latinorum, mandamus, quatenus si dictus nobilis monitis nostris acquiescere non curaverit in hac parte, ipsum et omnes in hoc adiutores ac fautores ipsius excommunicare curetis, ac eos excommunicatos publice nuntiantes*, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 255, 144 lines 5-9.
[8] Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 255, 144 line 6.
[9] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 236, 314-15; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 10542, 893; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 4110, 902-903; *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 725, 623-24; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, 181-83.

> against orthodox faith and, stopping their ears like the asps, could by no warning be induced to come back to the way of ecclesiastical unity. At this We were very much saddened, and… against the said schismatical Vatatzes and his supporters, We publicly renew their excommunication once every year.[10]

This statement makes clear that Gregory IX envisioned the excommunication as punishment for the stubbornness of the Greeks, who would not listen to his 'paternal warning.'

The final evidence for the excommunication of Vatatzes comes much later, and is included as part of the canons of the Council of Lyons in 1245. The meeting did not produce an official bull of excommunication for Vatatzes, but his excommunication is mentioned in the papal bull deposing Frederick II. Pope Innocent IV condemned Vatatzes as 'an enemy of God and the church who, together with his counsellors and supporters, was solemnly separated by excommunication from the communion of the faithful.'[11]

None of these sources give us a definitive date for the excommunication of Vatatzes. The letters of Gregory IX, however, make clear that the measure was in response to the events of 1234. No text exists indicating that the predecessor of Vatatzes, Theodore I Laskaris, was himself excommunicated. Indeed, Vatatzes

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[10] *Propter quod exemplo summi pastoris ovem perditam ad ovile dominicum propriis cupientes humeris reportare, ad Vatacium, dictum patriarchum Nicaenum, praelatos et clerum sibi subditos, Fratres Praedicatores et Minores, in lege divina plene paritos, transmisimus, paternis apud ipsos monitis et precibus insistentes, ut a sumno mortis exurgerent et fugientes a ventura ira, illucescente illis supernae claritatis lumine, se unioni catholicae reformarent. At ipsi sicut ex ipsorum Fratrum veridical relatione percepimus, diversos contra fidem orthodoxam proponentes errores et obturantes more aspidis aures suas, nullis potuerunt induci monitis, ut in viam redirent ecclesiasticae unitatis. Super quo vehementi dolore turbati, ne frustra sit nobis evellendi et plantandi coelitus collate potestas, contra dictum Vatacium schismaticum et eius fautores, qui excommunicati a nobis semel in annis singulis nuntiantur*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 236, 314 lines 15-29; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 272 note 91.

[11] *Dei et ecclesiae inimico a communione fidelium per excommunicationis sententiam cum adiutoribus, consiliatoribus et fautoribus suis solemniter separato*, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. N. Tanner (London, 1990), vol. 1, 282 lines 36-39. This excommunication is also mentioned in the work of Matthew Paris, in his description of the Council of Lyons in 1245, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 453 lines 27-30; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 84.

himself spoke of Theodore I's relationship with the papacy as altogether positive.[12] Thus, we must conclude that Vatatzes was the first of the Byzantine emperors in Nicaea to endure excommunication from the pope, and that this papal act was a reaction to the failure of church-union negotiations in 1234.

Another reaction of Gregory IX to the failure of the *disputatio* in 1234 has attracted much more attention. Between 1235 and 1239, Gregory IX sent out an almost constant call for crusades to bring aid to Latin Constantinople and beat back the Byzantine threat.[13] It must be acknowledged that calls to crusade in the Balkans were not unprecedented before 1234. As Richard Spence explains, these expeditions were almost always in response to a specific event.[14] Pope Honorius III, for example, called for a crusade to support the Kingdom of Thessalonike when it was threatened by Theodore Doukas.[15] However, Nikolaos Chrissis has shown that Gregory IX's plans for crusading to protect Latin Constantinople were more ambitious than anything previous, and that the pope was increasingly willing to divert resources from other expeditions to support the Latin empire.[16] When writing to Béla IV, king of Hungary, on 10 December 1234, Gregory IX announced that those who went to the aid of Latin Constantinople would attain 'the same remission of sins which they

[12] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 453 lines 1-2.
[13] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 83-133, identifies three phases of crusading calls, showing how each phase escalated both in terms of rhetoric and scale. See also N. Chrissis, 'A diversion that never was: Thibault IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's crusading plans for Constantinople, 1235-1239,' *Crusades* 9 (2010), 123-45.
[14] Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 167.
[15] *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. Pressutti, nos. 4353-55, 134; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 112, 151; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 20, anno 7, par 11-13, 467; *Honorii III Opera Omnia*, ed. Horoy, vol. 4, no. 107, 324-25, nos. 129-30, 349-50. The crusade was commanded by William VI, marquis of Montferrat. Honorius III expressed his belief that a stronger Latin presence in Romania would bring aid to the Holy Land.
[16] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 115, explains that Gregory IX began by planning parallel expeditions to Constantinople and the Holy Land. As it became increasingly difficult to raise support for the Latin empire, however, Gregory IX was more likely to grant indulgences to crusaders who travelled to Constantinople, just as if they had gone to Jerusalem.

would have received if they assisted the aforementioned Holy Land in person.'[17] Only a month later the same message was sent to those preaching the crusade in France.[18] Gregory IX even attempted to enlist the aid of Frederick II for a crusade in the Balkans. He told the western emperor that the Greek people spread heresy, that they were abominations detested by God, and that they represented a severe threat to the God-faring Latins.[19]

The pope continued his preparations for a crusade until 1238,[20] and used the coming expedition to threaten Vatatzes. On 21 May 1237, Gregory IX wrote to Vatatzes, warning him of the crusading armies that would punish him on their way to the Holy Land if he continued to harass Latin Constantinople.[21] His letter contained the customary claim to papal primacy, explaining that the Apostolic See 'was built upon the rock of growing faith which was given to blessed Peter, key-bearer of the eternal life, entrusted with the laws of earthly as well as heavenly rule, so you ought to recognize the mother herself and hold her, and seek her goodwill for yourself.'[22]

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[17] *concedimus veniam peccatorum, quam habituri forent, si predicte terre sancte personaliter subvenirent*, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 249, 141 lines 20-21; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 2872, 217-18. Gregory IX went to a considerable effort to enlist Hungary in his crusade against the Empire of Nicaea. He frequently wrote to the king and clergy of Hungary to encourage them to join the expedition, especially against John II Asen, who had allied with Vatatzes against Latin Constantinople, Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 163-76; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 83-120.

[18] *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, nos. 2909-2911, 232-33.

[19] *Postquam Grecorum populus ab obedientia Romane ecclesie declinavit, non solum contra eandem ecclesiam scisma fovit, verum etiam sic degeneravit de filio in privignum et vanis ac variis diversarum heresum nexibus se ingessit, quod Greciam pene totam heretice pravitatis zizania infecerunt, propter quod in abhominationibus suis contra eos Dominus ad iracundiam provocatus, ut super eum sanguis veniret ipsius, vocavit electos suos et ingressi sunt portas eius, per quos perditis male malis vineam suam locavit aliis agricolis excolendam, tradens Grecorum imperium in manibus Latinorum; pro cuius conservatione quanto sudore labouratum sit hactenus quantoque labore sudatum, imperialem excellentiam credimus non latere*, *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 724, 622-23.

[20] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 102, refers the period between December 1236 and November 1238 as the 'climax of Gregory's efforts to assist the Latin Empire.'

[21] V. Grumel, 'L'Authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès,' 455-56; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3693, 659-660.

[22] *super petram fidei mox nascentis erexit qui beato Petro eterne vite clavigero terreni simul et celestis Imperii iura commisit, ipsam matrem debeas recognoscere et tenere, ac ipsius tibi conservare favourem*, Grumel, 'L'Authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Pape Grégoire IX,' *Échos d'Orient* 29 (1930), 456 lines 1-4.

Gregory IX went on to explain that 'so many noble and powerful men and so many vigorous warriors assumed the sign of the cross so that there is an almost innumerable multitude of them.'[23] Clearly, this statement was meant to intimidate Vatatzes and frighten him into capitulation. The pope even invited the emperor to submit.

> We think it right that Your Nobility be diligently warned and exhorted, while ordaining to your advantage and wisely counselling to your prosperity, to provide protection from loss in the future, especially on account of the dangers to the spirit, massacres of the bodies, ruin of places and loss of property, which follow the ruin of battles and which the Lord averts, you should devise no damage, no trouble for the imperial name, and nothing against our most beloved son in Christ, John, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, and his people, you will inflict no annoyance or trouble, but rather you ought to bring help, counsel and favour, so that you will demonstrate yourself a son of the Roman Church, devout both in faith and in deeds, and that we, in the blessings of charm and actions of favour, ought to reward you. Otherwise, you will have to blame yourself if you do not head the warning given, not without paternal threat, advising you, so that you will avoid particular dangers, you who do not foresee the moment of difficulty, from which, if you happen to fall in it, you will not easily escape.[24]

This statement is that of a man filled with confidence, certain that the crusade he had worked so hard to bring about would secure Latin control in Constantinople and bring its enemies to their knees.

The reaction from Vatatzes shows that he was not so impressed. His response to Gregory IX's letter – which remains the only known writing by Vatatzes to come down to us – is filled with irony and sarcasm, to the point that its authenticity has

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[23] *tot nobiles et potentes ac tot strenui bellatores assumpserint signum crucis quod pene illorum est innumerabilis multitudo*, Grumel, 'L'Authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès,' 456 lines 9-11.
[24] *Nobilitatem tuam monendam duximus attente et hortandam, mandantes quatenus utilitati tue prudenter consulens et saluti, ac indempnitati provide precavens in futurum, presertim propter animarum pericula strages corporum locorum excidia et rerum dispendia que ob cladem bellorum quod avertat dominus sequerentur, nichil periculi, nichil dispendii contra dictum imperium machineris, nullamque karissimo in christo filio nostro I[ohanni] Imperatori Constantinopolitano illustri et suis molestiam inferas vel gravamen, sed potius impendas-auxilium consilium et favourem, ita quod te Romane ecclesie filium et devotum tam fide quam operum exhibitione demonstres, nosque in benedictionibus dulcedinis et gratiarum actionibus te prosequi merito debeamus. Alioquin tibi habes quod imputes si te monitio non sine paterna comminatione premunit, ut proprii periculi non provisor illum articulum difficultatis evites de quo si in eum incideris non poteris facile liberari*, Grumel, 'L'Authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès,' 456 lines 15-30.

been called into question.[25] He begins by questioning how such a document could be produced by one so intelligent as the pope. 'Seeing clearly the absurdity which was written, My Majesty could not entirely believe the writing to be from you, but that it was from someone living in ultimate madness, having filled his soul with conceit and insolence.'[26] Vatatzes went on to explain he understood well the basis for Rome's apostolic claims, but chided the pope for forgetting the heritage of the Byzantine throne, going back to Constantine.[27]

> You then require us to be aware of your throne and its privileges. Will we not require the same in return? That you see and understand the right to rule which belongs to us, and the sovereignty over Constantinople, which received its beginning in the time of Constantine the Great, and reached us through the rule of many after him in our race, extending for an entire one thousand year period, until it came also to us?[28]

This statement is particularly pointed when we recall Vatatzes' words to the friars in 1234, when he spoke of the patriarch's 'right' over Constantinople. Here he was being more direct, addressing his rights, as emperor, over the city. He was particularly incensed by Gregory IX's insistence that Vatatzes recognize the imperial rights of John of Brienne. 'How is it, then, that we are in no way considered by you to rule and to reign, while John of Brienne was consecrated emperor by you? What does he have to do with the empire of the pious and great Constantine? Who gave him the rule over

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[25] That Vatatzes is the author of this letter is argued convincingly by Grumel, 'L'Authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès,' 450-58. He deconstructs the arguments of earlier scholars who questioned the letter's authenticity, noting that they did not have the letter from Gregory IX to which Vatatzes was responding. When seen in comparison to the pope's comments, Grumel explains that Vatatzes' letter appears less far fetched, and more a legitimate response to Gregory IX. Both Grumel and Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes,' 204 note 123, question whether the letter was ever delivered to the pope.

[26] *ἡ δὲ βασιλεία μου πρὸς τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀτοπίαν ἀφορῶσα οὐ πάνυ τοι πιστεύειν εἶχε σὸν εἶναι τὸ γράμμα, ἀλλά τινος ἐσχάτῃ μὲν συζῶντος ἀπονοίᾳ*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 122 lines 6-9.

[27] Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 123 line 18 – 124 line 40.

[28] *Εἶτα σὺ μὲν ἀπαιτεῖς ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τὸν σὸν θρόνον καὶ τὰ τούτου προνόμια· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀνταπαιτήσομεν σε διαβλέψαι τε καὶ γνῶναι τὸ προσὸν ἡμῖν δίκαιον ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν τε καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὃ τὴν ἀρχήν μὲν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, διὰ πλείστων δὲ ὁδεῦσαι τῶν ἀρξάντων μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους καὶ ἐς ὅλην χιλιετηρίδα παραταθέν, ἄχρι καὶ ἡμῶν ἔφθασεν*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 124 lines 41-47.

this?'[29] In response to the crusade promised by Gregory IX, Vatatzes expressed nothing but optimism for the new expedition.

> Hearing this news, we were filled with much gladness and became full of happy expectations, reckoning according to reason that these avengers of the holy places will begin their revenge from our fatherland, and they will subject to a just punishment those holding it captive, as they defile the holy dwellings, insult the sacred vessels, and show every wickedness against Christians.[30]

The statement overflows with irony. The implication is that a true crusade should seek to punish those who committed atrocities against Christians, such as those done in Constantinople in 1204.[31] We can only imagine how the pope might have reacted to the suggestion that his crusade ought to attack, rather than defend, the Latin empire.[32] The letter from Vatatzes ends by making clear his determination to regain Constantinople, and to expel those who unjustly occupied the city.

> We affirm and clearly establish to your holiness and to all Christians, that we will never cease to fight and do battle against those holding Constantinople. For in truth we would do wrong to the laws of nature and the laws of our country and the tombs of our fathers and the divine and sacred places. If someone is vexed by our doing this and is hateful and equipped against us, we hold these arrows, and through them we will defend ourselves.[33]

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[29] *πῶς οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδαμοῦ σοι δοκοῦμεν ἄρχειν τε καὶ βασιλεύειν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πρετούνας Ἰωάννης βασιλεύς σοι κεχειροτόνηται; πόθεν προσῆκον τῇ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τε καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείᾳ; τίνος δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δίκαιον αὐτῷ πρυτανεύσαντος*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 124 lines 52-56.

[30] *Τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἡμεῖς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθημεν τῆς θυμηδίας καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων μεστοὶ γεγόναμεν λογισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τόπων οὗτοι ἐκδικηταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἄρξονται πατρίδος τῆς τοιαύτης ἐκδικίας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτιστὰς αὐτῆς ἐκδικῳ καθυποβαλοῦσι τιμωρίᾳ ὡς βεβηλώσαντας ἁγίους οἴκους, ὡς τοῖς θείοις σκεύεσιν ἐνυβρίσαντας, ὡς πᾶσαν ἀνοσιουργίαν ἐπιδειξαμένους κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 125 lines 72-78.

[31] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 110-111; Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the correspondence of the Nicaean emperors with the popes,' 162, remarks that many of the comments made by Vatatzes in this response are similar to those made by Pope Innocent III when he condemned crusader actions in 1204, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 8, no. 232, 244-48.

[32] Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade,' 162, identifies the purpose of Vatatzes here as attempting to 'lambast the papal and Latin attitude of the past and of the present' by turning their own rhetoric against them.

[33] *ἐκεῖνο διαβεβαιούμεθα καὶ δῆλον καθιστῶμεν καὶ τῇ σῇ ἁγιότητι καὶ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς, ὡς οὐδέποτε παυσόμεθα μαχόμενοι καὶ πολεμοῦντες τοῖς κατάγουσι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν. ἦ γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοίημεν καὶ φύσεως νόμους καὶ πατρίδος θεσμοὺς καὶ πατέρων τάφους καί τεμένη θεῖα καὶ ἱερά, εἰ μὴ ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἰσχύος τούτων ἕνεκα διαγωνισόμεθα. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο ποιούντων ἡμῶν ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ δυσχεραίνει καὶ ὁπλίζεται καθ' ἡμῶν, ἔχομεν οἵστισι διὰ τοῦτον ἀμυνούμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 125 line 96 – 126 line 103.

While we might find little surprise in this statement, we must consider that Gregory IX saw it as a disappointment. Negotiation with Vatatzes had already failed to return him and his church to obedience, and now the threat of force was doing little to advance the goals of papal policy. Gregory IX's only hope for a positive outcome rested with a successful crusade against the Empire of Nicaea.

Vatatzes and the Return to Militarism

John III Vatatzes responded to the failure of the *disputatio* in 1234 by promptly entering into an alliance with the Bulgarian ruler, John II Asen. The alliance gave Vatatzes the goodwill and services of the most powerful force in the Balkans. Since his victory over Epiros at Klokotnitza in 1230, John II Asen had emerged as the most powerful ruler in the region, and the most potent threat to Constantinople.[34] A positive relationship had already developed between Vatatzes and John II Asen by 1233, as evidenced by the mission of Christopher of Ankyra, the exarch of Germanos II in the Balkans.[35] A letter from Christopher indicates that John II Asen was considering abandoning his allegiance to Rome, and recognizing the authority of the patriarch in Nicaea.[36] Christopher's efforts gave Vatatzes an obvious avenue to pursue following the collapse of talks with the pope in 1234.

Vatatzes found in John II Asen a ready ally against the Latins.[37] The Bulgarian tsar had recently been insulted by the Latins of Constantinople in 1228, following the

[34] For Bulgarian gains following the battle of Klokotnitza, see George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 42 line 15 – 43 line 3, trans. Macrides, 25.179. See also ch. 1, 54-56.
[35] For more on the mission of Christopher of Ankyra, see Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical controversy between Nicaea and Epiros*, 91; Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 123-24 note 5.
[36] See Christopher's letter to John II Asen in Kurtz, 'Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II,' 141-42.
[37] Sources disagree about who first sought the alliance. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 22 – 49 line 5, trans. Macrides, 31.191, suggests that it was Vatatzes who first sent an embassy to propose an alliance, while Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 29 lines 15-18, stated that an embassy from Bulgaria

death of Robert of Courtenay. John II Asen offered a union between his daughter and the Latin emperor Baldwin II.[38] Instead of accepting the offer, the Latin barons invited John of Brienne to be co-emperor in Constantinople, marrying his daughter, Mary, to Baldwin II.[39] The decision did not elicit the goodwill of John II Asen for the Latin regime.[40] Vatatzes further enticed the Bulgarian ruler with an offer of elevated status for the prelate of Trnovo from archbishop to patriarch.[41] In exchange, Bulgaria would help the Empire of Nicaea to seize Constantinople.[42] The proposal proved enough for John II Asen to agree to the alliance, which was sealed by the union of his daughter Helen to Theodore, the only child of Vatatzes and Eirene Laskarina.[43]

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was sent to meet Vatatzes. Comments on the origin of this alliance in Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 295 lines 1-2 are vague, but give the initiative to Asen.

[38] Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 292 lines 23-24. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 54, emphasizes that John II Asen was encouraged to make the offer by his father-in-law, Andrew II of Hungary. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453* (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964), 524, comments that, if the marriage had taken place, John II Asen would have been the father-in-law of the Latin emperor, and thus had a good chance of claiming Constantinople without bloodshed. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 294-96, agrees, noting that John II Asen hoped to insert himself as regent of the Latin regime through the agreement. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 138-39, points out that the strategic opportunities of the Empire of Nicaea would have been dramatically diminished had the union become reality.

[39] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 44 lines 6-25, trans. Macrides, 27.184; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 933 lines 34-36; Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 63 lines 19-24; trans. Baird, 18; Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 175 lines 3-6; Marino Torsello Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. J. de Bongars, in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), vol. 2, 73 lines 3-12, trans. P. Lock, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, the Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross, Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Aldershot, 2011), 125; Gheyn, 'Lettre de Gregoire IX concernant l'empire latin de Constantinople,' 230-34. For the agreement making John of Brienne Emperor of Constantinople, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, no. 273, 265-70, and *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 290, 175-76. See also Longnon*, L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 170.

[40] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 147-48, also suspects that the increasing threat of Mongol invasions encouraged John II Asen to seek a strong ally.

[41] Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1282, 88-89, no. 1285, 93; *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 1, no. 186, 436-442;

[42] Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 478, lines 18-26, makes clear that the title of patriarch for Trnovo was given in exchange for military assistance against Constantinople. Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 105-106, gives a full discussion of the division of the spoils from the join military action, the majority of which was to go to the Empire of Nicaea, including Constantinople and the ancestral estates of the Vatatzae near Didymoteichon.

[43] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 48 line 22 – 49 line 5, trans. Macrides, 31.191, portrays events in a way that makes it seem as if the convenience of the marriage was the inspiration for the alliance. See also Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsidis, vv. 8196-8202; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 29 line 15 – 30 line 12; Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1282, 88-89; Angelov, 'Prosopography of the Byzantine World in Bulgarian Sources,' 116-17; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 148-49; Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1746, 14. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 26, calls the union between Theodore and Helen the most successful marriage alliance under the diplomacy of John III Vatatzes.

George Akropolites recorded that the two rulers sealed the agreement at Kallipolis, which Vatatzes had recently seized from Venetian control.[44] While we do not know the exact date of their meeting – either late 1234 or early 1235 – we can rest assured that Vatatzes approached the prospect of alliance with Bulgaria as a result of the failed *disputatio* with the friars in 1234.[45] No source relating to those talks indicates whether Nicaea and Bulgaria had already reached an agreement and planned for an attack on Constantinople. In the report of the friars, Vatatzes never makes mention of his relationship with the Bulgarian ruler, nor does he attempt to use that relationship to threaten the friars as papal representatives, or as representatives of Latin Constantinople. While it is impossible to make an argument *ex silentio*, one might expect Vatatzes to have used the alliance to exert pressure on the friars to be more amenable to a compromise. We must, therefore, consider that no alliance yet existed during negotiations with the friars.

After Theodore and Helen were married in Lampsakos,[46] the new allies proceeded to occupy Latin territory in Thrace. They then settled to besiege Constantinople itself. Byzantine sources give few details for this joint action in 1235. George Akropolites gave only vague statements about overrunning Latin positions, taking much booty and turning the land into a 'Scythian desert.'[47] Nikephoros Gregoras stated that Vatatzes inspected the walls of Constantinople during the

[44] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 50 lines 9-19, trans. Macrides, 33.194.
[45] Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 105, and Dölger, *Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1745, 14, put the alliance at the end of 1234. Perry, *John of Brienne*, 173, comments that Vatatzes sought the alliance with Bulgaria immediately following the *disputatio* of 1234. Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople,' 219, puts the alliance in 1235. In a letter to the king of Hungary under the year 1235, Gregory IX mentions the seizure of Gallipoli by Vatatzes, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 249, 140-41. Presuming that the pope was well and promptly informed, we can safely conclude that the alliance between Vatatzes and John II Asen was confirmed in early 1235 at the latest.
[46] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 50 lines 19-25, trans. Macrides, 33.194, recorded that Vatatzes, along with Helen and her mother, crossed to the Asian side of the Hellespont, where they met with the empress Eirene and Theodore, and the 'union of the children was concluded.'
[47] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 51 lines 7-13, trans. Macrides, 33.195. His comments on the alliance and division of Thrace between Vatatzes and John II Asen are largely repeated by Ephraem, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Lampsidis, vv. 8184-8288.

summer of 1235 before returning home.[48] No mention is made of the siege or the alliance with John II Asen.[49] A very different image of the siege of 1235/36 emerges from Latin sources that frequently give numbers of the opposing forces and discuss outcomes of specific engagements. This suggests that Byzantine authors preferred to overlook the details of the failed attack on Constantinople.[50]

The particulars of the siege of 1235/36 need not delay us here.[51] It is sufficient to note that the alliance between Vatatzes and John II Asen nearly brought Constantinople back into Byzantine control almost three decades before Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the city in 1261.[52] The Latin empire was only saved by the timely arrival of naval reinforcements from Italy and Frankish Greece.[53] What is most significant for our purpose is that Vatatzes, rebuffed in his overtures to the pope,

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[48] Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 30 lines 6-12.

[49] Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 106, 109, notes that the much later work of George of Pelagonia, *Life of Vatatzes*, ed. Heisenberg, 222, is the only Byzantine source to describe the military engagements of 1235.

[50] Perry, *John of Brienne*, 157, refers to the siege of 1235/36 as the 'defining event' of the reign of John of Brienne as Latin emperor. This is apparent in the numerous descriptions of the conflict found in western sources. Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 122 note 2, gives a survey of these sources, which include the letters of Gregory IX, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 2872, 217-18; Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 269, 140-41, as well as narratives sources, Martin de Canale, *La chronique des Veniciens*, ed. Galvani, 362-67; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 938 line 39 – 939 line 9; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 295 lines 1-13; Walter of Sens, *Historia Susceptionis Corone Spinee*, ed. P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1877), 48-56; Andrea Navagiero, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 992; Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 147; Marino Sanudo the Younger, ed. Muratori, *RIS*, vol. 22, col. 549-52; Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 613 v. 29026 – 616 v. 29121, 620 v. 29238 – 622 v. 29289. Langdon also includes Marino Torsello Sanudo, ed. Bongars, vol. 2, 73; trans. Lock, 125, among the western authors who described the 1235 siege of Constantinople. In this case Langdon is guilty of a liberal reading, as Marino Torsello Sanudo never mentions John II Asen or any alliance with the Bulgarians, but instead identifies the ally of Vatatzes as Frederick II. Thus, it seems more likely that he is describing a later siege, perhaps in the 1240s.

[51] A full discussion of the siege, its sources and problems, can be found in Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 105-135.

[52] Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 105, says that Vatatzes came within 'an ace' of gaining Constantinople.

[53] Venice dispatched twenty-five galleys to Constantinople in 1235, Martin de Canale, *La chronique des Veniciens*, ed. Galvani, 365; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 295 lines 8-13; Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 147; Marino Sanudo the Younger, ed. Muratori, *RIS*, vol. 22, col. 552. As discussed previously, Vatatzes was actively aiding rebellions against Venetian rule in Crete at this time, see ch. 1, 77-79, thus we should consider this episode as part of the larger conflict between Nicaea and Venice. Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 620, vv. 29238-29245, described reinforcements coming to Constantinople from Pisa, Genoa, Venice, and from Geoffrey II Villehardouin. Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 938 line 45 – 939 line 9, discussed the reinforcements from Frankish Greece in some detail.

responded to the events of 1234 with a diplomatic triumph that nearly ended the story of Latin Constantinople. For a few concessions, he had gained the cooperation of his most powerful European neighbour who, because of the marriage between their children,[54] would likely pose no great threat in the years to come, after Constantinople had been restored to Byzantine control.[55] Even if the alliance failed to take the capital, it firmly established the Empire of Nicaea on European soil, and thus was a masterstroke of Byzantine diplomacy.

This manoeuvre was complemented by a new militaristic spirit in the Empire of Nicaea. As we have seen, Theodore I Laskaris suspended costly military efforts against the Latin empire in order to explore diplomatic opportunities for increasing his

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[54] John II Asen did appear to have second thoughts about the alliance. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 52-53, 54-57, trans. Macrides 34.197-98, 36.200-201, explained that John II Asen forcibly retrieved Helen from her husband before their marriage was consummated. He joined forces with Latin Constantinople and participated in an attack against the Nicaean position of Tzouroulos in Thrace, Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 187, 125. However, according to Akropolites, a series of sudden deaths convinced John II Asen that he was being divinely punished for breaking his oath to Vatatzes. He promptly returned Helen to her husband and abandoned his alliance with the Latin empire.

We are left to consider the motivations of John II Asen, and why he frequently shifted position. Akropolites stated that the Bulgarian ruler 'very much feared the advancement of the Romans, since the people he ruled had been subject to the Romans of old.' – *τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδίει πάνυ τὴν εἰς τὰ βελτίω προκοπήν, ἔθνους ἄρχων ὑποτεταγμένου πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 52 lines 24-26, trans. Macrides, 34.197. We also know that John II Asen was under tremendous pressure from Gregory IX to reject his alliance with the schismatic Vatatzes. In a letter dated 24 May 1236, the pope commanded that the Bulgarian tsar be excommunicated if he did not break his alliance with Vatatzes, Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 255, 144; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 214, 290; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 3156, 391. Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 118, notes that Gregory IX's letter refers to John II Asen with positive language, *nobili viro Assano*, while the Byzantine emperor is simply *Vatacii excommunicati*. Papal pressure led John II Asen to request that representatives from Rome be sent to him to begin negotiations, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 226, 302-303. John II Asen appears to have been quite adept at playing off his Latin and Byzantine neighbours against each other, Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 171. For more on John II Asen's change of heart, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 199 note 7.

[55] The Bulgarians attacked the Empire of Nicaea only once more before 1261, taking advantage of the death of Vatatzes in an attempt to reclaim lost territory. The conflict, lasting from 1254-1256, is discussed at length by George Akropolites, who was present during the campaigns, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 107-127; trans. Macrides, 54.281-62.304. The treaty ending this war is described in a letter from Theodore II Laskaris, Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, Appendix I, 279-82, and briefly in a letter from Niketas Karantenos to the abbot of St John's monastery on Patmos, M. Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ νομικοῦ τῶν Παλατίων Νικήτα Καραντηνοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (1256),' *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* 2 (1966), 286-308. See also Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1833, 27; Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 165; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 218; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 304-305.

influence over Constantinople. Vatatzes was required to engage in violent clashes at the outset of his reign, but within a few years of coming to power, he too largely withdrew from military conflict with the Latins and began to court papal favour as a means of returning Constantinople to Byzantine control. When these negotiations failed, Vatatzes again resorted to martial devices to attain his objective. This return to the militaristic approach is discernible in the court literature of the period. The *Imperial Statue*, a 'mirror of princes' by Nikephoros Blemmydes, written c. 1250,[56] emphasized the need for military readiness by both land and sea.[57] Blemmydes described the importance of proper training for military manoeuvres.[58] An ideal commander-in-chief, Blemmydes related, was 'well-versed in all matters pertaining to his command,'[59] and thus able to take advantage of any situation, not losing the initiative to fear or delay.[60]

Excellent examples of Vatatzes' speed and skill as a commander-in-chief are found in the account of his campaigns described in the history of George Akropolites, where we find much discussion of efforts against Nicaea's rivals.[61] Akropolites wrote

[56] The dating is the conclusion of J. Munitiz, 'War and peace reflected in some Byzantine *Mirrors of Princes*,' in *Peace and war in Byzantium, essays in honor of George T Dennis,* ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington D.C., 1995), 55-56. Early in the work, Blemmydes emphasized that a ruler should not be a slave to his sexual desires, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Imperial statue*, ed. and trans. H. Hunger and I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικος Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zuum Verstandnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine* (Vienna, 1986), 122-25. We might interpret this as an allusion to the scandal surrounding Marchesina, the emperor's mistress, usually dated to the late 1240s, see below, 326-27. This would corroborate the conclusion of Munitiz that the *Imperial Statue* dates to c. 1250.

[57] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Imperial statue*, trans. Hunger and Ševčenko, 121-47. Munitiz, 'War and peace in Byzantine *Mirrors of Princes*,' 55-56, adds that Blemmydes almost never used the word 'peace,' and thus displayed little appreciation for the diplomatic efforts of Vatatzes. Munitiz concludes that the work is a product of its time, when the Empire of Nicaea was almost constantly engaged in warfare.

[58] 'Previous training in all matters pertaining to war is an absolute necessity; one must not begin with military preparations at the time of military action, but rather learn the preparatory exercises well and beforehand, as a multiplication table of sorts, for the sake of accomplishing great things with more ease,' Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Imperial statue*, trans. Hunger and Ševčenko, 136.

[59] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Imperial statue*, trans. Hunger and Ševčenko, 139.

[60] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Imperial statue*, trans. Hunger and Ševčenko, 137-39.

[61] George Akropolites stated that Vatatzes took advantage of division among the ruling Greek families in Epiros and Thessalonike. When John II Asen released Theodore Doukas, who had been imprisoned since his capture at Klokotnitza in 1230, the former emperor deposed his brother, Manuel, and installed

that, when Vatatzes returned from these campaigns, he was 'marvelled at by all and celebrated for so speedy and great a victory, not only by his own people but also by foreigners, for the achievement and the accumulation of trophies seemed to be beyond natural order and to have been accomplished by the providence of God rather than by strategic methods.'[62] What concerns us, however, are campaigns undertaken against the Latin empire. Vatatzes is believed to have made several attempts to capture Constantinople that were, unfortunately, not reported by Akropolites. When describing the defeat of the Nicaean navy between May and June 1241, Akropolites does not mention that these ships were part of a larger assault on the capital.[63] Further fighting against the Latins occurred in 1247 around Tzouroulos and Bizye.[64] Once more, however, it appears that Akropolites omits mention of an attack against Constantinople during this campaign. He stated that a Byzantine fleet under John

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his son John as ruler in Thessalonike, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 41 line 11 – 42 line 15, 60-61, trans. Macrides, 25.178, 38.206-207. Manuel made his way to Nicaea, where he was welcomed by Vatatzes. He eventually returned to the Balkans in what was clearly a conscious effort by Vatatzes to split his Greek opponents, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 61-62, trans. Macrides, 38.207. Vatatzes then began an offensive against the Greek states in the western Balkans in 1241, gaining the submission of John Komnenos Doukas, who accepted the title of despot, before returning to Anatolia. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 66-67, trans. Macrides, 40.216, explained that Vatatzes returned east after hearing news that the Seljuk Turks had just been defeated by the Mongols. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 10-11, suggests that the account by Akropolites refers to two battles between the Mongols and Seljuk Turks, one in 1242, and another, the famous encounter at Köse Dağı, on 26 June 1243. The concern of Vatatzes over these encounters led to an agreement between Nicaea and the Seljuk Sultanate to cooperate against the Mongol threat. Vatatzes met with Kay-Khusraw II in the Meander Valley, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 68 line 20 – 70 line 12, trans. Macrides, 41.220-21, and their agreement culminated in an alliance in 1243, Dölger, *Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1776, 19; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 41 lines 1-22. A similar agreement was reached between the Latin empire and the Seljuk Turks, Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 220, 142. In the summer of 1243, Vatatzes returned to the Balkan region, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 71, trans. Macrides, 42.223, and after learning of the sudden death of the Bulgarian ruler, Kaliman, son of John II Asen and Mary of Hungary, proceeded to annex several towns and strongholds, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 72-79, trans. Macrides, 43.225 – 44.232, and took direct control over Thessalonike, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 79-83, trans. Macrides, 45.235-38.

[62] *Θαυμαζόμενος ὑπο πάντων καὶ κλεϊζόμενος τῆς ταχινῆς οὕτω καὶ μεγίστης νίκης, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· ὑπὲρ φυσικὴν γὰρ τάξιν ἔδοξε τὸ κατόρθωμα καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον, καὶ θεοῦ μᾶλλον προνοίᾳ ἢ στρατηγικαῖς μεθόδοις ταυτὶ διαπράξασθαι*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 83 line 23 – 84 line 1, trans. Macrides, 46.242.

[63] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 56-57, trans. Macrides, 37.203-204. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 206 note 18, points out that more information about this siege is found in Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 298 line 10-14 and Martin de Canale, *La chronique des Veniciens*, ed. Galvani, 366.

[64] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 85, trans. Macrides, 47.245.

Gabalas attacked the city, but insinuates that Vatatzes was in Anatolia at the time.[65] Another anonymous source described Vatatzes personally attacking the city with the aid of Cuman allies in July 1247.[66] With such uncertainty in the source material, it may be impossible to calculate precisely how often Constantinople was besieged by the armies of Nicaea.[67]

The Rise of Nicaean Power in Europe

The campaigns Vatatzes directed in the Balkans in the 1230s and 1240s transformed the balance of power in the region. Before the negotiations with the papacy in 1234, the Empire of Nicaea had no stronghold in Europe; less than a decade later Nicaea had emerged as the foremost power in the Balkans. Nicaea's military success provoked a frenzy of political realignment between the Greek and Latin states of the region. As the influence of the Empire of Nicaea grew, new opportunities arose for the tested tools of Byzantine diplomacy to secure recent gains. In addition, Nicaea's rapid rise to power in Europe caused tremendous alarm for the Latin regime in Constantinople, which sought to entrench itself against the Byzantine advance. Through a combination of military and diplomatic manoeuvring, Vatatzes proceeded to isolate the Latin empire, in preparation for the conquest of the capital.

The regime of the Latin empire responded to the rise of Nicaean power by pursuing closer ties with friendly neighbours, namely the Principality of Achaia. The support of the Villehardouin princes had already played an important role in beating

[65] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 86 lines 1-7, trans. Macrides, 48.246.
[66] F. Evangelatou-Notara, 'Πολεμικές ἐπιχειρήσεις στὴ Θράκη τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1247,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 14 (1989), 189.
[67] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 100, addresses this problem further, identifying several instances in which Akropolites appears to overlook episodes in which Vatatzes besieged Constantinople.

back the siege of 1235-1236. Their intensified relationship assured continued reinforcement from Achaia.[68] One Prince of Achaia, William II Villehardouin, posed a particularly serious challenge to Nicaean interests. George Akropolites related that William II participated in a Genoese attack on the island of Rhodes in 1249.[69] He was very impressed by the actions of those who served under the prince, explaining that they plundered much of the island.[70] There can be little doubt that by creating closer ties to the Principality of Achaia, the Latin empire was attempting to ensure its survival through the goodwill of a local power, which had already proven its value in combating the Empire of Nicaea.

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[68] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 89, discusses the monetary and military support provided to Constantinople by Geoffrey II Villehardouin, especially in 1235 and 1236. He adds that the Principality of Achaia was the only power in Frankish Greece to provide such support. Aubry of Three Fountains stated that Geoffrey II's brother, William, who would succeed him as prince of Achaia, was married to the daughter of the powerful baron of the Latin empire, Narjot of Toucy. It is tempting to consider this marriage as a reward to the Villehardouin family for their service to Constantinople, but Aubry did not indicate if the marriage occurred before or after the siege of 1235-1236. After describing the help provided by the Villehardouin against the alliance of John II Asen and Vatatzes, Aubry simply remarked that the prince of Achaia had a brother, William, who was married (Aubry uses the present tense) to a daughter of Narjot of Toucy, a granddaughter of Theodore Branas and Agnes-Anna of France. *Frater eius Guilemus, qui custodit terram suam, habet filiam Nargaldi, natam de filia Livernas et sororis Regis Francie*, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 939 lines 3-5. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 177 note 80, finds that Narjot of Toucy adopted the title of caesar, in the example of his father-in-law, around 1228, and identifies this as the date of Narjot's marriage to the daughter of Branas. See also F. Van Tricht, 'The Byzantino-Latin principality of Adrianople and the challenge of feudalism (1204/6-ca. 1227/8),' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2015), 333-34. If true, the bride of William could not have been more than eight years old in 1236. This was not the first time the Villehardouin family had married into the ruling elite of Constantinople. In 1217, Geoffrey I Villehardouin married Agnes, the daughter of Peter of Courtenay, *Chronicle of the Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904), 166 v. 2472 –175 v. 2590; trans. H. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York and London, 1964), 144-46. See also J. Longnon, 'Frankish States in Greece, 1204-1311,' in *A history of the crusades*, ed. K. Setton, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1962), 242.

The cooperation between the Villehardouin and Latin Constantinople heralded a stronger presence of the princes in the Aegean Sea, enhancing the security of the Latin states in that region against Nicaea expansion. This is further indicated by the Latin rulers of the Archipelago, who became vassals of the Villehardouin in 1238, Angold, 'Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean,' 31. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 89, puts their submission to the Villehardouin princes in 1236.

[69] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 86 lines 24 – 87 line 5; trans. Macrides, 48.246. William II Villehardouin was on his way to Cyprus to join the crusade of Louis IX. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 247, 248 note 7, discusses the problems dating this event. Frederick II wrote to Vatatzes to congratulate him on repelling the Genoese attack in 1250, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 18, 72; N. Festa, 'Le lettere greche di Federigo II,' *Archivo storico Italiano* 13 (1894), no. 3, 22; Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 322. See also Jacob of Ochrid, ed. Mercati, 88-89. Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1798, 21, places William II with Louis IX on Cyprus on 24 May 1249.

[70] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 87 lines 5-13; trans. Macrides, 48.246-47.

Cooperation between Latin Constantinople and the Principality of Achaia could not impede the rise of Nicaean power in the Balkans, where diplomatic initiatives by Vatatzes and his son, Theodore II Laskaris, complemented and secured gains won on the battlefield. The Empire of Nicaea absorbed Thessalonike in the early 1240s, and began to impose its will on the rulers of Epiros soon after. A subjugated Epiros provided Nicaea with a buffer against any aggression from the West or from Greece, and thus must be considered a corollary to Vatatzes' policy regarding Latin powers. George Akropolites described a marriage alliance negotiated by Vatatzes between his granddaughter, Maria, and Nikephoros, the son of Michael II Komnenos Doukas, Despot of Epiros.[71] It may well be the case the Vatatzes bestowed the title of despot on Michael II as part of the agreement, as he had done for John Komnenos Doukas of Thessalonike a few years earlier.[72] This agreement greatly enhanced the security of Nicaea's border, as Vatatzes had already come to terms with other potentially hostile neighbours (Bulgarians and Seljuks Turks).[73] With Epiros suitably pacified, Vatatzes could focus all his energies on Constantinople,[74] but events disrupted his plans.[75] The marriage between Maria and Nikephoros was not sealed

[71] Michael II was the illegitimate son of Michael I Doukas of Epiros, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 214 note 18; D. Polemis, *The Doukai, a contribution to Byzantine prosopography* (London, 1968), 93-94. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 88 line 15 – 89 line 2, trans. Macrides, 49.249, related that Nikephoros was brought to Pegai by his mother, Theodora. There the children were betrothed. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 149-50, argues that the marriage was brought about more through the efforts of Theodora than anyone else. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 25, calls the union of Maria and Nikephoros the 'most ambitious' marriage alliance pursued by Vatatzes. For more on this marriage, see Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1840, 28.

[72] Some uncertainty surrounds how and when Michael II came to the title of despot. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 244 note 9, points out that George Akropolites first referred to Michael II as despot in the context of this marriage, but provided no explanation for how the title came to him. Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: historical outline,' 84, argues that Michael II negotiated the union in 1249, began using the title of despot in 1252, and did not allow the marriage to take place until 1256.

[73] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 89 lines 10-11, trans. Macrides, 49.249, remarked that the Bulgarians posed no threat, and that Vatatzes maintained a truce with the Seljuk Sultanate.

[74] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 148-49.

[75] The agreement with Michael II was more precarious than Vatatzes probably expected. According to George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 89 lines 4 – 92 line 24, trans. Macrides, 49.249-51, Michael II was encouraged to break his agreement with Vatatzes by his uncle, Theodore Doukas. The result was an extended campaign against Epiros that ended in humiliation for Michael II. Much territory was ceded to the Empire of Nicaea, and Michael II's troublesome uncle went into a final captivity.

until the reign of Theodore II Laskaris, the bride's father. Akropolites related that the new emperor travelled to Thessalonike in September 1256 to celebrate the union.[76] However, after meeting with the groom's mother, Theodora – who again claims an active role in this meeting of Epiros and Nicaea – Theodore II altered the agreement. At the last minute, Theodore II required the surrender of yet more territory from Epiros, giving Michael II no choice but to accept the new terms.[77] The episode is emblematic of Nicaea's influence and ability to exert its will on its European neighbours following the events of 1234.

Although this interaction with Epiros was not without its setbacks, the net result was entirely positive for Nicaea. Vatatzes secured and enhanced his foothold in Europe, and imposed his will on a difficult neighbour, who had always challenged Nicaea's imperial claims. Nor was the union of Maria and Nikephoros the only example of Nicaean inroads into Epiros. Between 1249 and 1252, Theodore Petraliphas, the brother-in-law of Michael II,[78] was married to a daughter of Demetrios Tornikes, a chief advisor to Vatatzes.[79] Petraliphas defected to Vatatzes during the conflict in the winter of 1252,[80] and continued to hold divided loyalties.[81] Unions such as these are small examples of Byzantine diplomacy at work, creating

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Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 259 note 41, points out that this is the last mention of Theodore Doukas in the sources. See also Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 153.

[76] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 132 line 30 – 133 line 7; trans. Macrides, 63.308.

[77] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 133 lines 8-18; trans. Macrides, 63.308, stated that Theodora was forced to cede Dyrrachion and Servia to the Empire of Nicaea. He added that Michael II accepted the new agreement for fear that his wife and son would not be returned to him. Theodore II Laskaris remarked on the addition of Dyrrachion to the Empire of Nicaea in a letter to Nikephoros Blemmydes dating to 1257/58, Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 44, 56-59; Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 293. See also Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: historical outline,' 84.

[78] Theodore Petraliphas was the brother of Michael II's wife, Theodora, Life of St Theodora of Arta, *PG* 127, cols. 903-908.

[79] George Akropolites did not specify any office or title held by Demetrios Tornikes, but he is known to have maintained a close relationship with both Vatatzes and Theodore II Laskaris, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 254-55 note 19.

[80] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 91 lines 6-11; trans. Macrides, 49.250, remarked that the defection of Theodore Petraliphas did much for the morale of the Nicaean army.

[81] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 151, 215-16, discusses the conflicting role of the Petraliphas family between Epiros and Nicaea.

partisans for the interests of Nicaea among the Balkan powers. Certainly, it would be wrong to suspect that these cases indicated direct authority over Epiros, but the complex and evolving network of marriage alliances restored a semblance of unity to Byzantine Europe,[82] and served to counter any support that might come to the Latin empire from Frankish Greece.[83]

Byzantine diplomacy under Vatatzes also deflected the efforts of the Latin empire to win over the support of the Seljuk Turks. As early as 1240, Baldwin II began making overtures to the Seljuk Sultan, Kay-Khusraw II.[84] The Latin emperor wrote to Blanche of Castile, mother of Louis IX, king of France, asking that she provide a bride to marry to the sultan in order to seal the agreement.[85] No response to this letter survives, but an agreement was eventually reached between the Latins and Seljuk Turks.[86] Whatever settlement was made between the two, we can be certain that the support Baldwin II hoped to receive from his Anatolian ally never materialized.[87] To make matters worse, circumstances beyond Baldwin II's control put the Seljuk Turks squarely in the Byzantine camp. On 26 June 1243, Kay-Khusraw

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[82] Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile* , 25, 286; D. Nicol, 'Symbiosis and integration. Some Greco-Latin families in Byzantium in the 11th to the 13th centuries,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), 134.

[83] Failure to keep the interests of western powers separated led to the grand alliance of Epiros, Achaia and Sicily, which opposed Nicaea at Pelagonia in 1259, Prinzing, 'Epiros, 1204-1261: historical outline,' 84. S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century* (Cambridge, 1958), 47; Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 749.

[84] Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 219, 141-42. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople,' 223, remarks that it was Kay-Khusraw II who sought closer ties to Latin Constantinople. Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 70 notes 121, agrees, suggesting that Kay-Khusraw II likely asked for Latin mercenaries to fight for him against the Mongols. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 184, notes the apparent advantages of an alliance between Constantinople and Iconium.

[85] Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 221, 143; Vredius, *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*, vol. 1, 218-19; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol. 5, 424-26.

[86] Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 220, 142, refers to the agreement as a 'pact of friendship.' Baldwin II, in his letter to Blanche of Castile, states that Kay-Khusraw II was represented by an admiral, Vredius, *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*, vol. 1, 218; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol. 5, 425 B.

[87] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople,' 223.

II suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Mongols at Köse Dağı.[88] As George Akropolites related, the conflict with the Mongols forced the Seljuk Sultan to seek help from Nicaea.

> He sent ambassadors to the emperor John, seeking to obtain the best advice from him so that he might turn back the adversary and be relieved of this burden a little, saying that this would be a salvation for both; for, if the Muslim people were destroyed by the Tartars, the access to Roman territories would be left open to the enemy. This was certainly very true.[89]

In the autumn of 1243, Vatatzes and Kay-Khusraw II met at Tripolis on the Meander river,[90] and there sealed an alliance against the Mongols.[91] Akropolites stated that the two rulers agreed to join forces against the Mongol threat.[92] As it happened, that threat receded following their agreement,[93] but the Mongol invasion of Anatolia had a

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[88] Simon of St Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. J. Richard, *Documents relatifs a l'Histoire des Croisades publies par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 8 (Paris, 1965), XXXI, 139, 62-63; George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 67 lines 1-3, 68 line 20 – 69 line 9; trans. Macrides, 40.216, 41.220. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 10-11 note 21, argues that Akropolites muddles events in his history, combining two separate battles in 1242 and 1243 into a single event.

[89] *ἐν στενῷ γοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων κομιδῇ γεγονὼς πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην βουλῆς τε ἀξιῶν ἀρίστης ἐξ αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἀποτρέψαιτο τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ μικρὸν κουφισθείη τοῦ βάρους αὐτοῦ, σωτηριῶδες τοῦτο φάσκων τυγχάνον ἀμφοῖν· τοῦ γὰρ γένους τῶν Μουσουλμάνων παρὰ τῶν Ταχαρίων ἀπολωλότος ἄνετος λείπεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἡ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρῶν ἔφοδος. καὶ ἦν τοῦτο πάνυ γε ἀληθές*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 69 lines 9-17, trans. Macrides, 41.220-21.

[90] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 69 line 17 – 70 line 12, trans. Macrides, 41.221.

[91] Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1776, 19; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 41 lines 1-22.

[92] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 70 lines 5-7, trans. Macrides, 41.221. Simon of St Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Richard, XXXI, 144, 70 lines 15-16, stated that Vatatzes provided the Seljuk Sultan with four hundred troops. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 181-82, comments that the agreement went against Nicaean tradition, but Vatatzes was increasingly concerned with the advance of the Mongols in Asia, and 'the world was becoming used to treaties with infidels.' This agreement was renewed by Theodore II Laskaris in 1254, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 106 lines 1-2, trans. Macrides, 53.277; Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 56 lines 4-7.

[93] The Mongols advanced against the Seljuk Turks again in 1257, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 157 lines 11-19; trans. Macrides 76.343. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 111, remarks that they came dangerously close to the Empire of Nicaea. That same year, Theodore II Laskaris concluded a treaty with the Mongols, George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 187 line 22 – 189 line 30, which was renewed by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1260, George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 185 lines 22-24. The Byzantines and Mongols had already been in contact with one another. When William of Rubruck represented Louis IX at the court of the Mongol Khan Mangu in December 1253, he encountered there an embassy from Vatatzes, William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, in *Sinica Francescana: Itinera et relations fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV,* ed. A. Van den Wyngaert (Florence, 1929), 247; trans. P. Jackson, *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck, his journey to the court of the Great Chan Mongke, 1253-55* (London, 1990), 175, 227. The peace between Byzantium and the Mongols was eventually formalized by the marriage between Maria, illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos, and Abaqa khan, Ilkhanid ruler of Iran, in 1265, George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 235 lines 11-21. See also Eastmond, 'Diplomatic gifts: women and art as imperial commodities in the 13th century,' 106; Runciman, *A history of the crusades*, vol. 3, 319-20.

dramatic effect on the survivability of the Latin empire. Mongol invasions put the Seljuk Sultanate at the mercy of Nicaea, which now had almost no reason to worry about its eastern border and could divert more resources to regaining Constantinople for Byzantium.[94]

The Empire of Nicaea had pacified each of its neighbours using either military means, diplomatic pressure, or both. At the same time, the Laskarid emperors temporarily ceased any attempt to gain influence over Constantinople through peaceful methods, such as marriages or church-union negotiations.[95] The result was the near complete absence of any local power willing or able to support Latin Constantinople in open defiance of Nicaea. This isolation forced the Latin regime to look further afield, to Western Europe, for continued support. In order to gain the financial and material aid needed to defend Constantinople, Latin Emperor Baldwin II journeyed to the courts of the West seeking aid.

Numerous contemporary authors mention Baldwin II's visits to the West. George Akropolites commented that Baldwin II travelled to the court of Louis IX in 1236. The French king 'was related to him by blood; as a fellow-countryman, he was, furthermore, a great enemy of the Romans, and for this was ready to assist.'[96] Matthew Paris suggested that the arrival of the Latin emperor in England in 1238 was

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[94] Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 111, remarks that the Seljuk defeat at Köse Dağı 'transformed' the relationship between Nicaea and Iconium. Langdon, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, 84 note 212, identifies this agreement as the main reason for the fall of Byzantine Anatolia some decades later. He argues that peace with the Seljuk Turks allowed Vatatzes to ignore his eastern frontier, which continued to be overlooked by the Palaiologoi.

[95] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 85, trans. Macrides, 47.245, related a story about Eudokia – sister-in-law of Vatatzes, who had married Anselm of Cahieu – who was present in the town of Tzouroulos when the Nicaean army attacked in 1247. Anselm, who commanded the Latin garrison, apparently abandoned his wife in the city, thinking Vatatzes would not attack while she was present. According to Akropolites, Vatatzes 'disregarded such considerations' and attacked anyway, taking the city and sending Eudokia to join her husband in Constantinople. We must consider, therefore, that marital links with the Latin empire were not allowed to hinder the militaristic policy that followed after 1234.

[96] *προσῳκειμένον τούτῳ καθ' αἷμα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ξυμφυλέτην ἄγαν τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸν καὶ βοηθεῖν διὰ ταῦτα ἕτοιμον*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 57 lines 25-27, trans. Macrides, 37.203. On the large sums of money provided to Baldwin II by Louis IX, see J. Richard, *Saint Louis. Crusader King of France*. English translation by J. Birrel, (Cambridge, 1992), 90-91.

accompanied by some controversy.[97] These problems were apparently overcome, and Baldwin II departed from England with large donations.[98] Other sources that comment on Baldwin II's time in the West make frequent comment on his financial need.[99] Philippe Mouskes recorded that Louis IX gave a large sum to the Latin emperor, who used his lands in France as security.[100] An anonymous minstrel, describing the sorry state of Baldwin II, noted his apparent childlike appearance and poverty.[101] During his second visit to England in the 1240s, Matthew Paris described Baldwin II and his entourage as 'empty and hungering foreign nobles, gaping with open mouths for the

[97] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 480-81; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 125, incorrectly stated that Baldwin II arrived seeking the assistance of Henry III of England because he had been 'expelled and banished' (*expulsus et proscriptum*) from his own lands. He continued to relate that Baldwin II was informed upon his arrival at Dover that it was inappropriate for such a prince to arrive without prior permission. The account by Paris does not tell us who delivered this warning to Baldwin II, but it does indicate that the comment was given on behalf of the king. Paris went on to explain that some of the negative feelings for the Latin emperor stemmed from a previous encounter with John of Brienne in 1223. According to Paris, John of Brienne had accepted many gifts from the English, but then returned to France and expressed an ungrateful attitude, even plotting against the king of England.
[98] Baldwin II was eventually reconciled to the king, and after meeting on 22 April 1238, he departed England 'enriched with many costly presents, and carried away with him about seven hundred marks' – *cum multis et preciosis donativis ditatus, septingentas circiter marcas reportavit*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 481; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 125.
[99] The financial woes of the Latin empire, and the need for financial support from abroad, are well documented. Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 939 lines 2-3, recorded that, in addition to direct military assistance, Geoffrey II Villehardouin provided Constantinople with an annual stipend of 22,000 hyperpyra. Gregory IX required the clergy of Frankish Greece to donate much of their revenues to the defense of Constantinople, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, nos. 3408-09, 521-23; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 217, 292-93, and did so again in 1238, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, nos. 4035-36, 858-60; see also E. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276,' *Traditio* 14 (1958), 108-109. According to the *Chronique de Flandre et des Croisades*, ed. J. de Smet, *Collection de Chroniques belges inedites*, vol. 3 (Bruxelles, 1856), 676, Blanche of Castile provided Baldwin II with 20,000 livres in the 1240s so that he would not be required to sell his claim to lands in France. See also Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 237, 150-51. The most noteworthy example of the Latin empire's poverty was its sale of relics. At least nineteen relics housed in Constantinople before 1204 were sold or mortgaged to the West during the reign of Baldwin II. P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, (Geneva and Paris, 1877-1904), vol. 2, 289-302, provides a table listing the end location of each of these relics, as well as the commemorative feasts, which usually relate to the date the relics was received. The most famous of these is the crown of thorns, which was pawned to Venice in exchange for over 13,000 hyperpyra in 1238, and then redeemed by Louis IX in 1239. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, no. 296, 346-49; Walter of Sens, *Historia Susceptionis Corone Spinee*, ed. Riant, 48-56; Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 947 lines 6-8; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 297 lines 21-24. For more on the sale of relics by the Latins, see L. Robbert, 'Rialto businessmen and Constantinople, 1204-61,' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 57; Barber, 'Impact of the Fourth Crusade, distribution of Relics,' 326; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 168-70.
[100] Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 663, vv. 30453-58.
[101] *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizieme siècle*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1876), XLI.437, 224.

king's money.'[102] We are left to imagine Baldwin II less as a proud ruler, and more an unfortunate beggar, entirely dependent on the goodwill of his hosts.[103]

Baldwin II's efforts in France certainly met with some success. George Akropolites and Aubry of Three Fountains described the emperor's return from abroad, accompanied by a large army of French crusaders.[104] In 1240, this army succeeded in the capture of Tzouroulos, taking the Nicaean garrison as captives.[105] That same year, Matthew Paris recorded that Baldwin II sent an update to the king of England, informing him of the victory he had gained with his French army.[106] The gains made as a result of these begging missions in the West were short lived. The generosity of western rulers, even Louis IX, seems to have been exhausted when Baldwin II, and his wife Mary, continued begging in the 1240s.[107] We cannot discount the possibility that Vatatzes himself played a role in dissuading the powers of the West from continuing to support Latin Constantinople. The Continuation of the history of William of Tyre recorded that an embassy from Nicaea met with Louis IX in 1250, but does not record their purpose.[108] It seems likely that Vatatzes was aware

[102] *Ipso quoque tempore applicuerunt in Anglia vacui et esurientes, aeri regio patulis rectibus inhiantes, quidam magnates advenae*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 625-26; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 228. According to Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 124, and Barber, 'Impact of the Fourth Crusade, distribution of Relics,' 325, Matthew Paris was particularly harsh in his descriptions of Baldwin II because of his own anti-French prejudices.

[103] Barber, 'Western attitudes to Frankish Greece,' 113, 123-24, argues that the image of the Latin empire in the west was increasingly 'pathetic' due to the sight of Baldwin II and his 'begging bowl' throughout Europe. Lock, 'Latin emperors as heirs to Byzantium,' 302, notes that the begging missions of Baldwin II contrasted deeply with the 'fabled wealth of Byzantium.'

[104] The two do not agree on the size of Baldwin II's army. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 57 line 27 – 58 line 3, trans. Macrides, 37.203, claims that as many as 60,000 Franks marched across Europe, through Hungary and Bulgaria, to attack the Empire of Nicaea. Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 946 lines 44-46, 947 lines 5-9, puts the number at 700 knights and 30,000 infantry. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 204 note 3, explains that this army was part of a crusade called by Gregory IX, which is discussed below, 320-23.

[105] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 58 line 16 – 59 line 3, trans. Macrides, 37.203; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 54-55; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 295..

[106] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 54-55; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 295.

[107] Mary, the cousin of Louis IX, visited the French king while he was on crusade in Cyprus in 1248, *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, ed. de Wailly, XLI.436, 224.

[108] *Eracles*, in *RHC*, vol. 2, 624 lines 12-14.

of Baldwin II's efforts abroad and began to exert his own diplomatic influence among western rulers.[109]

Hohenstaufen and Laskarid: A Natural Alliance?

The only remaining secular ruler in Europe with the capability of affecting a positive influence for the Latin empire was Frederick II Hohenstaufen. In this section, we will examine how Vatatzes not only avoided the potential threat of the western emperor, but cultivated a relationship with Frederick II that protected his interests and advanced Byzantium's foreign policy goals over those of Latin Constantinople. The western emperor had a keen interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. As king of Sicily and Jerusalem, Frederick II had a role in the affairs of the region. Some suggest that he inherited and enhanced the vision of a Mediterranean empire held by his father, Henry VI.[110] It is ironic, therefore, that the role of his uncle, Philip of Swabia, should have been so influential, as is alleged, in the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople,[111] since the establishment of the Latin empire did nothing to further

[109] K. Amantos, 'Ιωάννης Δούκας Βατάτζης (1222-1254),' *Πλάτων* 14:2 (1955), 244, suspects that Vatatzes warned the French king against further support for Latin Constantinople, which was increasingly at his mercy.

[110] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 9; Nicol, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires, 1204-1261,' 275; Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 558; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 279. T. Madden, 'Vows and contracts in the Fourth Crusade: The Treaty of Zara and the attack on Constantinople in 1204,' *International History Review* 15 (1993), 443 note 3, questions the idea that the Hohenstaufen held grand designs for a Mediterranean empire.

[111] Various sources refer to Philip's assistance to his young brother-in-law, Alexios Angelos, son of Isaac II Angelos, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly, ch. 91, 31 – ch. 93, 32; Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, XXIX.36-XXXI.39; *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, ed. and trans. Andrea, A., 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a special perspective on the Fourth Crusade: an analysis, new edition and translation,' *Historical Reflections* 19 (1993), 133; *Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH SS 23 (Hanover, 1874), 118 lines 6-17; *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, trans. J. Gordon, 'The Novgorod account of the Fourth Crusade,' *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 306-307; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. Riant, 84-85; trans. Andrea, 90. For the debate surrounding Philip's role in urging the crusade to help Alexios restore his father to power in Constantinople, see M. Angold, 'Byzantine politics vis-à-vis the Fourth Crusade,' in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences,* ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 62-63; J. Folda, 'The Fourth Crusade, 1201-1203: some reconsiderations,' *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965), 283-86; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 19; Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 190-91; A. Andrea and I. Motsiff, 'Pope Innocent III and the

Hohenstaufen policies in the East.[112] Frederick II began his own intrigues in the Byzantine world in 1224. Benvenuto di San Giorgio recorded that the western emperor gave large sums to William VI, marquis of Montferrat, who was leading an expedition to defend Thessalonike from Theodore Doukas.[113] When William's efforts failed, Frederick II seems to have shifted his position, using Theodore Doukas to advance his policies in the Balkan region. Matthew Orsini, count of Kephalonia, served as intermediary between Frederick II and Theodore.[114] In November 1229, Theodore employed Orsini as a *nuntius* to Frederick II, who brought with him gifts and 'several Greek soldiers.'[115] Frederick II responded favourably to the overtures from Theodore. He sent reinforcements to join the Epirot army that was eventually

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diversion of the Fourth Crusade army to Zara,' *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972), 13; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, 33-35.

[112] T. Madden, 'Outside and inside the Fourth Crusade,' *International History Review* 17 (1995), 727, argues that Hohenstaufen designs on Constantinople go back to Frederick I Barbarossa. See also Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 279.

[113] Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *Historia Montis Ferrati*, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 376 C-E; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 2, 425-27. William had invaded to defend the interests of his half-brother, Demetrios, King of Thessalonike. When Demetrios died in Amalfi in 1230, he ceded his claims to Thessalonike to Frederick II, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *Historia Montis Ferrati*, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 382 A-B. Demetrios had found refuge in the court of Frederick II, and even accompanied the emperor on crusade, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 3, 206. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 88, insists that Frederick II's support for William VI had more to do with the fact that the marquis was a vassal of the emperor, and that Frederick II had not joined the Latin cause in the Balkans. Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 384-85 note 127, rejects this interpretation, insisting that Frederick II's loan to William VI was part of a larger ploy by the Hohenstaufen emperor to increase his influence over Latin Constantinople. See also Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 280.

[114] Matthew Orsini was the obvious choice to mediate between the two rulers. As king of Sicily, Frederick II was naturally interested in holding sway over the Orsini territories, Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 558; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 281-83. Orsini was also the brother-in-law of Theodore Doukas, having married his sister at some point before 1229, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 938, line 44; Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 58. The marriage is reported in a Greek document of the Latin bishop of Kephalonia, Bees, 'Ein politisches Treubekenntnis von Benedictus, dem romischkatholischen Bischof von Kefalonia (1228),' 166-67. Angold, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, marriage strategies,' 58, puts the marriage around 1222, and argues that it signaled the transfer of Orsini's allegiance from the Latin emperor in Constantinople to Theodore of Epiros.

[115] *Tunc quidam comes Maio de Romania cum nonnullis Grecis militibus de Romania ex parte Commiano ad Imperatorem cum magnis muneribus nuntius uenit.* Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 164 lines 13-14; Dölger, *Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1721, 10. Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 196, argues that this embassy was from Nicaea, not Epiros.

defeated by John II Asen in 1230.[116] The defeat of Theodore at Klokotnitza meant that Epiros was no longer a suitable ally for advancing his policies, forcing Frederick II to find new partners in the East.[117]

It is important to understand why Frederick II, if he was seeking to expand his influence in the East, did not pursue closer ties with the Latin empire of Constantinople. Hohenstaufen influence in Constantinople could theoretically have resulted in a union of the eastern and western empires, which would have done much to advance Frederick II's alleged imperial designs in the Mediterranean. Two issues seem to have separated Hohenstaufen interests from those of Latin Constantinople. First, Frederick II was very protective of his imperial prerogative, even against his fellow Latins. When Peter of Courtenay was crowned as Latin emperor in Rome in 1217, it was the Hohenstaufen envoy, Ulrich of St Gallen, who insisted that the coronation not take place in the same church as that of the western emperor.[118] Second was the presence of John of Brienne in Constantinople. A marriage alliance between the Hohenstaufen household and the ruling elite of Constantinople would certainly have improved Frederick II's attitude towards the Latin regime. Marino Torsello Sanudo, related a story in which Frederick II offered his daughter Constanza as a bride for the young Baldwin II.[119] If true, then the western emperor was certainly

[116] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 41 lines 18-24, trans. Macrides, 25.178, recorded that Theodore Doukas commanded an army of 'Romans and Italians.' Gregory IX excommunicated all Latins who fought with Theodore Doukas, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 1, no. 332, 204-205. See also Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 109, 112 note 12; A. Kiesewetter, 'Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III. Batatzes von Nikaia (Ende 1240 oder Anfang 1241) und der Angriff des Johannes Batatzes auf Konstantinopel im Mai oder Juni 1241,' *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999), 246-48 note 19; Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 133 note 55.

[117] This does not mean, however, that diplomatic communication between Frederick II and the rulers of Epiros ceased. The letters of Frederick II attest to continued diplomatic contacts, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, part 1, 442, 529, 586 and 630.

[118] Conrad of Fabaria, MGH SS 2, 171 lines 37-38. See ch. 1, 48 note 108.

[119] Marino Torsello Sanudo, ed. Bongars, vol. 2, 73 lines 12-17, trans. Lock, 125. Only one other source suggests the possibility of a marriage alliance between the western empire and the Latin empire of Constantinople. *Ex Chronico Universali Anonymi Laudunensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 26 (Stuttgart, 1882), 453 lines 39-45, recorded that, following the death of Agnes of Montferrat, Latin

insulted when the Latin nobility selected John of Brienne as the new ruler of Constantinople in 1229.[120] Because Frederick II and John of Brienne were perpetual enemies, the choice of bride for Baldwin II had cost Latin Constantinople any hope of future aid from the western empire.

John of Brienne and the Latin regime in Constantinople did, however, receive support from the pope, who represented the chief challenge to Frederick II in the West. Several historians have commented on the extensive conflict between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen emperors, especially Frederick II.[121] In 1228, while the emperor was on crusade in the East, Gregory IX moved against him in Italy and arranged a rival king to oppose him in Germany.[122] Hostilities between pope and emperor ceased with an agreement in July 1230,[123] but tensions erupted again in the 1230s over imperial control in northern Italy, resulting in another excommunication in 1239. The conflict between Frederick II and the papacy made it highly unlikely that the emperor would actively support the Latin empire, but it also meant that

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emperor Henry I sought a daughter of Philip of Swabia as a wife. Ciggaar, 'Flemish Counts and Emperors,' 45, notes that the potential bride was a granddaughter of Isaac II Angelos, thus potentially enhancing Henry I's position in Constantinople. According to the *Chronicon Laudunensis*, the proposed union failed when Philip of Swabia insisted on overlordship over the Latin empire.

[120] For the agreement making John of Brienne the new Latin emperor and regent for Baldwin II, see above, 284-85. Frederick II and John of Brienne had been in conflict since the western emperor married John's daughter, Isabella, in 1223. As soon as the union was achieved, Frederick II claimed the title of his father-in-law as king of Jerusalem, Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 107; Bartholomeus of Neocastra, *Historia sicula (1250-1293)*, ed. G. del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori sincroni Napoletani editi e inediti, Storia della Monarchia Svevi*, vol. 2 (Napoles, 1868), 413 line 60 – 414 line 4; Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 2, part 2, 921-24; *Eracles*, in *RHC*, vol. 2, 358; Ernoul, *Chronique*, ed. Mas Latrie, 451.

[121] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 187, 412, explains that the western emperor increasingly viewed the pope not as a spiritual leader, but as a temporal rival, and adds that Frederick II considered an end to papal interference in secular matters a necessary step to maintaining imperial authority. For the dispute between pope and emperor, and the two excommunications of Frederick II, see ch. 3, 147-49.

[122] *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Waitz, 260-61. Papal forces attacking Frederick II in Italy were led by John of Brienne, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 925 lines 21-27.

[123] Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 167-169. See also Loud, 'The Papal 'Crusade' against Frederick II in 1228-1230,' 92, 103; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 231-32.

Hohenstaufen and Laskarid interests naturally coincided.[124] Both opposed the regime in Constantinople; both opposed papal foreign policy.

Frederick II's correspondence with the Byzantine emperor reveals his belief that Vatatzes shared his position regarding the division of secular versus ecclesiastical authority. In a letter dated to 1248, Frederick II apprised Vatatzes on the progress of his conflict with the pope. He described 'hateful prelates' who plotted against him in secret, urging his subjects to rebellion.[125] The letter is based in the belief that it is the responsibility of princes to resist the evil ambitions of the church. Frederick II even expressed his envy for Vatatzes, free from the intrigues and plots of the pope.[126] Another letter, dated to 1250,[127] described 'manifest deceit and snares, which those who pretend to be at the head of the church have woven against us, and perjuries, which they make every day, being committed to our death and taking the assurance of our stability and good health, they incited everyone to make difficulty for us.'[128]

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[124] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 144.

[125] 'Indeed we have all the kings and princes of the world, especially of the orthodox religion and zealous faith, to the common and general, but hidden, hatred for prelates and the special disagreement with the primates of our church. Indeed, they embrace the misuse of destructive freedom, the abuse of our good things through hidden treacheries and removing our titles by the turn of our summons to service and while they do not benefit from our loss, they openly take up arms and secretly swear that holy sacrilege is stirred up in the shipwreck of our life, and that their rebellion and cunning will injure us to greater effect, they in turn separate us from mistress and devoted ones, he abandons the former lord to the changed dominion' – *Habemus enim omnes reges orbis et principes, presertim orthodoxe religionis et fidei zelatores, odium publicum et commune cum prelatis et cum Ecclesie nostre primatibus speciale dissidium, sed occultum. Illi quidem pestifere libertatis abusum ambiunt, isti per latentes insidias bonis nostris et titulis detrahentes a vice devocionis nostre beneficiis abutuntur, et dum in nostra dispendia per se forte quorumlibet nocumenta non prosunt, arma communia capiunt et occulte conjurant ut in ipsius vite nostre naufragium sacra sacrilegia misceantur, utque seditions et calliditates ipsorum efficacius noceant, dominis et devotis nos ab invicem separant, mutato dominio veterem dominum abjicit*, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 685 line 21 – 686 line 2.

[126] 'Oh happy Asia, oh blessed powers of the East who do not fear the arms of the subordinate ones and do not dread the pontifical inventions!' – *O felix Asia, o felices orientalium potestates que subditorum arma non metuunt et adinventiones Pontificum non verentur!*, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 686 lines 5-7. See also J. Martin, 'O felix Asia! Frédéric II, l'Empire de Nicée et le "césaropapisme",' *Travaux et Memoires* 14, *Melanges Gilbert Dagron* (2002), 473-83.

[127] *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii aevi*, Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 19, 75, date this letter to October, while Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 3, 333, suggests a date in July.

[128] *Γνωρίζομεν τοίνυν αὐτῇ ὅτι οἱ τῆς Μάρκας καὶ Ῥωμανιόλας πιστο ἡμῶν, τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ ἐπιτερπεστέρου μέρους τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄντες, μαθόντες τὴν φανερὰν ἀπάτην καὶ τὰς δολοπλοκίας, ἃς οἱ δοκοῦντες προεστάναι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔρραπτον καθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιορκίας ἃς ἐποίουν καθ' ἑκάστην τὸν ἡμέτερον βεβαιούμενοι θάνατον, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσταθείας καὶ εὐεξίας λαβόντες πληροφορίαν,*

Beyond this emphasis on the evils of ambitious churchmen, Frederick II stressed an ideology in which the secular authority was directly granted by divine will, without the need for clerical intervention, and thus is superior to the sacred. 'Our majesty,' he told Vatatzes, 'is strengthened by providence from on high.'[129] In another letter, Frederick II stated that 'the power of our majesty is mercifully exalted everyday by his [the Lord's] all-powerful authority.'[130] These comments indicate that the western emperor expected a sympathetic response from Vatatzes as a fellow prince who had himself suffered from the schemes of the papacy.

Therefore, the accord between Vatatzes and Frederick II can be viewed as a natural alliance. The western emperor had a history of disagreement with the papacy, and the emperor in Nicaea had recently failed to reach an agreement with papal representatives. In this regard, we must consider the alliance between Vatatzes and Frederick II, much like the alliance with John II Asen, as the direct result of the failure of the *disputatio* of 1234. That meeting's failure to end the schism and return Constantinople to Byzantine control had prompted Vatatzes to seek out others who opposed papal influence.[131] In Frederick II, he found a powerful western ruler who had already developed an ideology opposing papal authority over secular affairs.[132]

ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ηὐτομόλησαν δεσποτείαν, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 3, 332 lines 10-17. See also *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii aevi*, Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 19, 75, and Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 4, 29.

[129] *Οὕτω γοῦν ἡ ἐκ θεόθεν βασιλεία ἡμῶν, τῇ ἄνωθεν προμηθίᾳ κρατυνομένη*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 3, 334 lines 33-34; see also *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii aevi*, Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 19, 76, and Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 4, 30.

[130] *τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κράτος ἡμῶν τῇ παντοκρατορικῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ φιλευσπλάγχνως καθ' ἑκάστην ὑπερυψοῦται*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 4, 336 lines 6-7. See also *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii aevi*, Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 17, 69, and Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 2, 17.

[131] This does not negate the possibility that Vatatzes and Frederick II had already laid the foundation for cooperation before 1234, Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 196; Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 113.

[132] Frederick II needed allies to oppose the designs of the papacy, Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 285. Even before his first excommunication, Frederick II had formulated and issued a strong statement listing the papal abuses done upon him in 1226. His letter does not survive, but its contents can be gleaned from the reply of Pope Honorius III, *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 296, pp. 216-22; Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia*

That the two would join their efforts against their common enemies is hardly surprising, yet it remains to be seen how the allies related to one another. In other words, what was the nature of the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance?

It has been argued that Vatatzes was very much the junior partner in this alliance.[133] While there is some evidence to suggest that the Byzantine emperor paid the utmost respect to Frederick II, it would be wrong to forget that theirs was an agreement between rulers who mutually needed the goodwill of the other. Both benefited from cooperation, and were willing to indulge their ally to maintain the alliance. As we saw with the agreement between Bulgaria and Nicaea, it does not follow from an alliance that the two parties are at once in harmony and with single purpose. It was all too common that disagreements emerge, and that alliances break apart. That this does not happen under Vatatzes and Frederick II testifies to the importance both rulers placed on continued cooperation.[134]

Only one source indicates Hohenstaufen hegemony over Nicaea. Philippe Mouskes stated that Vatatzes – along with Theodore Doukas and John II Asen – paid homage to Frederick II between 1235 and 1237.[135] 'Theodore, Vatatzes and Asen and all the Greeks… made all homage to him as vassals.'[136] Mouskes went on to explain that Frederick II fulfilled his obligations by threatening the Latin empire, and Baldwin

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diplomatica Friderici secundi, vol. 2, part 1, 588-99. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 173, says of the papal response that 'rarely had the papal Chancery produced a letter more richly adorned with rhetorical locutions, with more cutting satire, with more bitter irony, than that which it now prepared in reply to Frederick.'

[133] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 558.

[134] The Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance would not survive long after 1250. Neither Theodore II Laskaris, the son and successor of Vatatzes, nor Manfred, Frederick II's son and eventual successor in Sicily, continued the policy of their fathers, D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282: a study in Byzantine-Latin relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 119-85; D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge, 1993), 39-89.

[135] A date is not explicitly mentioned in the text, but can be established by events mentioned in the text of Mouskes, namely the allied Nicaean-Bulgarian attack on Constantinople in 1235, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 643 vv. 29875-29882, and the death of John of Brienne in 1237, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 643 v. 29899. See Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 3, no. 1760, 17.

[136] *Que Todres, Vatace et Auscens et tout li Griu et leur assens orent mandé l'emperéour de Roume, par moult grant amor, qu'il li feroient tout ommage*, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 642 vv. 29859-29863.

II in particular.[137] Several problems exist with the passage. Firstly, Theodore Doukas was no longer in power following his defeat by John II Asen in 1230. Mouskes may have confused various agreements between Frederick II and the rulers mentioned that existed at different times, but certainly not at once. Indeed, if Theodore and Vatatzes had joined forces to expel the Latins from Constantinople, history might have been very different. Second, Vatatzes himself often pursued policies that countered the goals of his Hohenstaufen ally. If he had been the vassal of Frederick II, we might expect him to more faithfully observe the wishes of his overlord and not transgress them by making his own arrangements with third parties.[138] Finally, Frederick II never mentioned an agreement of vassalage in his correspondence with Vatatzes. He continuously referred to the Byzantine emperor as a partner, not a subject. If a relationship of vassalage had existed, we might expect the western emperor to remind Vatatzes of his obligations. Thus, we must view this passage by Mouskes with extreme suspicion.[139]

While the content of the correspondence between Frederick II and Vatatzes does not support the claims presented by Mouskes, one aspect of their exchange can be understood as further evidence that the western emperor was the senior ally. Both rulers laid claim to the same title, 'emperor of the Romans,' and their correspondence shows the claim to be a point of contention. In his letters to Vatatzes, Frederick II referred only to himself with the title, never to Vatatzes,[140] suggesting that he saw

[137] Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 642 v. 29864 – 643 v. 29898. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 323-24, accepts the story of this agreement of vassalage.
[138] See below, 328-31.
[139] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 275 note 35, is particularly hesitant to refer to the alliance as an agreement of vassalage.
[140] The most common appellation Frederick II used for Vatatzes was 'John, the most distinguished emperor of the Greeks' – *Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Γραικῶν βασιλεῖ*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 322 lines 1-2, no. 3, 332 lines 1-2, and no. 4, 336 line 2. Only once does Frederick II neglect to address Vatatzes with an imperial title, identifying him as *Batacio Graecie*, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 921 line 1. In a letter to an anonymous military commander, Frederick II referred to Vatatzes as *Calojohannes illustris imperator*

himself as the senior partner in the alliance. It is impossible to imagine that Vatatzes did not use the title in his letters to Frederick II.[141] Unfortunately, none of these letters survive. The only correspondence from Vatatzes to have come down to us is the 1237 letter to Gregory IX, in which he referred to himself as 'faithful emperor and autokrator of the Romans.'[142] We can only wonder at Frederick II's reaction when he saw letters from Vatatzes that almost certainly employed a title they both claimed. The only instance in which Frederick II referred to the subjects of Vatatzes as 'Romans' was in a letter that once again attacked the actions of the pope.[143] This exception is a curious one, and suggests that Frederick II was attempting to emphasize common cause with Vatatzes, who had begun a new series of negotiations with the Roman Church.

It is tempting to interpret the contention over titles as a scandalous issue between the two allies, but it is probably best not to overemphasize the problem. Frederick II was not alone among Latin contemporaries in referring to Vatatzes as 'emperor of the Greeks.'[144] Nor was Frederick II the first to make the oversight. A famous incident from the tenth century is found in the *Legatio* of Liudprand of Cremona, in which Liudprand was forced to answer for a papal letter that addressed

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Grecorum, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 762 line 7. When writing to Michael II of Epiros, Frederick II again referred to Vatatzes as *βασιλεύς Ἰωάννης*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 320 line 26. Neither the edition of this letter in Merendino, nor in Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 1, 14, give an appellation for Michael II. However, in the edition found in *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 16, 68, he is addressed as *κυρίος*.

[141] Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 372, takes from the fact that Frederick II says 'emperor of the Greeks' and not 'emperor of the Hellenes,' that Vatatzes did not address himself as a Hellene in his own letters.

[142] *πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων*, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, 121 lines 1-2.

[143] Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 322 lines 19-20.

[144] Examples include Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 466 line 22; *Annales Placentini Ghibellini*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 18 (Stuttgart, 1863), 479 lines 36-37; and John of Joinville, ed. de Wailly, ch. 116, 212 E.

Nikephoros II Phokas as 'emperor of the Greeks.'[145] According to Otto of Freising, Conrad III of Germany referred to John II Komnenos as 'emperor of the Greeks' in his correspondence.[146] Another precedent is seen in Odo of Deuil, the chronicler of the Second Crusade, who frequently referred to Manuel I Komnenos as 'emperor of Constantinople,'[147] or the 'Greek emperor,'[148] and his subjects as Greeks. When we consider that Pope Innocent III had referred to Theodore I Laskaris, the predecessor of Vatatzes, merely as *nobili viro*,[149] Frederick II's appellation appears much more courteous. The western emperor may have considered himself the more powerful of the two allies, and thus felt more entitled to the claim the imperial title of Rome, but the fact that neither partner made an issue of the matter suggests that they both wanted the alliance to go forward, each taking pains to remain courteous. In fact, Frederick II was the only western ruler to acknowledge the imperial title of Vatatzes.[150] This acknowledgement helps us to understand how Vatatzes might have been willing to overlook the issue entirely, especially when one considers the potential of continued goodwill and cooperation. That he and Frederick II tolerated the use by the other of the title 'emperor of the Romans' allows us to conclude that both found the rewards of ignoring possible scandal well worth the annoyance.

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[145] Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, ed. Chiesa, 207 line 760 – 208 line 785; trans. Squatriti, 267. For more on this see C. Schummer, 'Liudprand of Cremona – a diplomat?' in *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 197-98.

[146] In one letter, Conrad III referred to John II Komnenos as *Constantinopolitano imperatori*, Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Pertz, Book 1, ch. 23, 363 lines 17-18. A later letter to Manuel I Komnenos referred to the Byzantine emperor as 'Manuel, born in the purple, Komnenos, illustrious and famous king of the Greeks' – *Manueli Porphyrogenito Comiano, illustri et glorioso regi Graecorum*, ed. Pertz, Book 1, ch. 24, 364 lines 45-46; trans. Mierow, 54, 57.

[147] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 10 lines 13-14; 108 line 8.

[148] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 48 line 20; 50 line 2.

[149] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61.

[150] Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the thirteenth century*, 43-44, adds that Henry I, king of Cyprus, was the only Latin ruler to refer to Vatatzes as 'emperor of the Romans,' Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, no. 26, 177 lines 2-3, and no. 27, 178 lines 2-3. The only other possible exception is the 1219 treaty between Venice and Theodore I Laskaris, Pieralli, *Corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 1, 116-18, which addressed Theodore I Laskaris as both 'emperor of the Romans' and 'emperor of the Greeks.' See ch. 1, 63 note 174.

Any trouble caused over the issue of titles could easily be ameliorated by a conciliatory letter or capable envoy. The most successful envoy from Frederick II to Vatatzes was Berthold of Hohenburg. We know of two occasions in which Berthold represented the Hohenstaufen family in Nicaea – the first is attested by the letters of Theodore II Laskaris in 1246/7,[151] and the second by the Ghibelline chronicler Nicholas of Jamsilla in 1253/4.[152] Berthold was particularly successful in charming the Byzantine court, especially the young Theodore II Laskaris. The co-emperor wrote gleefully about a scholastic debate held between the Byzantines and the German embassy.[153] It may even be the case that Berthold was chosen to represent Frederick II specifically because he possessed knowledge and didactic abilities that would impress Vatatzes and his court.

Frederick II drew material benefit from this alliance through the service of troops sent by Vatatzes to fight under the western emperor against the Lombard and papal forces in northern Italy.[154] Although numerous sources mention the service of Nicaean troops in Italy, they give few details about the composition or actions of these soldiers other than their mere presence. The *Annales Placentini Ghibellini* is the first, describing an army from Nicaea that joined an international force supporting Frederick II's campaign in 1238.[155] 'There were knights of the kings of England, France and Spain, [the] count of Provence with one hundred knights; also knights and

[151] Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 40, 51-52, and no. 125, 174-76.
[152] Nicholas of Jamsilla, *Historia de rebus gestis Frederici II. Imperatoris ejusque filiorum Conradi et Manfredi Apuliae et Siciliae regum (1210-1258)*, ed. G. del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori sincroni Napoletani editi e inediti, Storia della Monarchia Svevi*, vol. 2 (Napoles, 1868), 117 lines 23-42. For more on this embassy, see below, 360-61.
[153] Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 125, 174 line 12 – 175 line 28, and no. 40, 52 lines 7-19. For more on this 'philosophical debate,' see Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 374.
[154] Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 410-12.
[155] For more on the international elements of Frederick II's army, see Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 414, who describes these as 'mere adventurers, restless and predatory men.' Merendino, 'Federico II e Giovanni III Vatatzes,' 373, emphasizes that it was a point of pride for Vatatzes that his troops joined those sent by other rulers.

money from Vatatzes, emperor of the Greeks, and other diverse nations.'[156] We might also interpret the words of Philippe Mouskes as testifying to the Byzantine role in this campaign, focused against Milan and its allies.[157] These troops took part in the failed attack against Brescia in the summer of 1238,[158] but no source identifies the role of the detachment sent by Vatatzes in the fighting, nor gives a clue to their fate after the siege had ended.

Other sources indicate Greek troops fighting in Italy at different times. Salimbene de Adam described a Greek contingent fighting under Frederick II at Parma in 1247. He remarked that 'a large number of people came to the assistance of Frederick… from Burgundy, Calabria, Apulia, Sicily, Terra di Lavoro, and Greece.'[159] It is unfortunate that Salimbene is not more exact in his description, as 'allies from Greece' could point to troops from Epiros just as easily as from Nicaea.[160] The latter seems more likely, as the situation in Epiros had changed dramatically since 1230. In addition, there is little evidence to suggest that the relationship that existed between Frederick II and Epiros in 1229-1230 continued after the imprisonment of Theodore Doukas,[161] whereas troops from Nicaea had fought in Italy at least once since 1238, if not more often.

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[156] *milites regis Anglie, Francie et Yspanie, comes Provincie cum centum militibus; milites quoque soldani et Vatacii Grecorum imperatoris, aliarumque diversarum gentium*, *Annales Placentini Ghibellini*, ed. Pertz, 479 lines 35-37. Only one other source, Pandolfo Collenuccio, *Compendio de le Istorie del Regno di Napoli*, ed. A. Saviotti, (Bari, 1929), 141, stated that Vatatzes gave money to Frederick II, this time in 1248.

[157] *Droit viers Melans, ù il estoit, et tout essiller les voloit*, Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 643 vv. 29884-29886.

[158] *Annales Placentini Ghibellini*, ed. Pertz, 479-80; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 415-16; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 308-309.

[159] *in adiutorium Friderici venerunt multe gentes... Et fuerunt cum eo et de Burgundia et de Calabria et de Apulia et de Sicilia et de Terra Labouris et Greci*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 296 lines 21-26; trans. Baird, 186.

[160] As we saw above, Theodore Doukas had sent troops to Frederick II under the command of the count of Kephalonia, Richard of San Germano, *RIS,* vol. 7, ed. Garufi, 164 lines 13-14; Dölger*, Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1721, 10.

[161] Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 283, explains that Manuel Komnenos Doukas made overtures to the papacy after 1230, thus it seems unlikely that Epiros would continue to send troops to Frederick II to fight for him in Italy.

Further evidence that Vatatzes sent military assistance to Frederick II appears in 1250. Three letters from Frederick II confirm the presence of these troops in Italy, and give precious clues to how they were used, why he wanted them in Italy, and even how they reached the battlefield. The first of these letters was written to Michael II of Epiros, asking that this army from Nicaea be given safe passage across his territory on their way to Italy.[162] For the first time, we are given a description of the armament of these troops, which Frederick II identifies as 'archers and foot-soldiers.'[163] In a later letter to an anonymous captain, Frederick II again referred to these troops mainly as archers, but also as 'other people.'[164] The emphasis on archers in the Nicaean detachment may suggest that these particular troops were originally from Philadelphia in Anatolia. George Akropolites remarked on the skill of the men of Philadelphia in military matters, and archery especially, which they frequently practiced in protection of the boundary with the Seljuk Turks.[165] In a third letter, dated September 1250, Frederick II mentioned his victory over Cremona with the help of *τῶν καρτερικωτάτων Περγαμηνῶν*.[166] It would be tempting to translate this as 'the most steadfast of Pergamon.' However, given that this letter also describes the contribution

[162] Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 318-20; Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 1, 14-16; *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii aevi*, Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 16, 68-69. A Latin edition of this letter can be found in Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 760-61. Frederick II makes reference to 'the coming spring' in this letter, suggesting it should be dated to the early months of 1250, most likely February, Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 150.

[163] *τοξοτῶν καὶ ὁπλιτῶν*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 320 line 28.

[164] 'Also, Kalojan [i.e. Vatatzes], illustrious emperor of the Greeks, our dear son-in-law, recently sent to us a great number of archers and other people to greatly reinforce our men' – *Nuper etiam ad roborandas in melius vires nostras Calojohannes illustris imperator Grecorum, dilectus gener noster, magnam nobis quantitatem archeriorum et gentis alterius destinavit*, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 762 lines 6-8.

[165] 'This is a great and populous city with inhabitants who are capable of bearing arms and who are especially trained in archery. Since the city is situated on the Persian boundary it causes them always to be fighting with the enemy and makes them familiar with war.' – *μεγίστη δὲ αὕτη πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ ὁπλίζεσθαι δεδυνημένους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσα καὶ μάλιστα τοξείαν ἀσκοῦντας· ἀγχιτερμονοῦσα δὲ τοῖς Περσικοῖς ὁρίοις ἀεὶ διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τούτους ποιεῖ καὶ ἐθάδας πολέμων ἐργάζεται*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 105 lines 22-26; trans. Macrides 53.277. It should also be noted, that Niketas Choniates, writing much earlier, highlighted the archery skills of the inhabitants of the city of Plousias. He described Plousias as 'a city of archers and warriors' – *τοξότιδα πᾶσαν οὖσαν καὶ μάχιμον*, Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 640 line 15; trans. Magoulias,

[166] Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 4, 336 lines 17-18.

of soldiers from elsewhere in Italy, we might take *Περγαμηνῶν* to refer to men from Bergamo. Thus, the best evidence we have suggests Philadelphia and its environs as an origin for the troops Vatatzes sent to Italy in 1250.

That these troops were from Anatolia, if not Philadelphia, is also indicated by the fact that they travelled to Italy via Epiros. We find this in the letter from Frederick II to Michael II of Epiros.

> And because the men being sent will pass through your territory, we call upon your pure love, which we wish you always to keep untroubled and unshaken, in order that you give to them safety through your territory, to pass through undisturbed and unmolested to Dyrrachium, giving to them counsel and aid for the sake of our love, to preserve them speedily. For behold, we send sufficient ships to Dyrrachium for them to cross to Brindisi.[167]

Numerous questions arise from the fact that the army was making their way to Italy via this route. Why did they not simply sail to Italy from a port in Anatolia, such as Smyrna? How did previous armies from the Empire of Nicaea reach Italy? Did each army dispatched by Vatatzes since 1238 travel over Epiros?[168] While Frederick II did not address these issues in his letter to Michael II, he did explain his desire to join these forces to his own army in Italy.

> In order that our eminence might take respite from the labours of our enemies, and all our subjects might conduct themselves in peace, we have chosen to gather a good number of soldiers from every place, not only from the subject provinces and cities of our majesty, but also from those friends and relatives of different nations who love our name.[169]

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[167] *καὶ ἐπεὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας σου οἱ ἀποσταλέντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι διελθεῖν, παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν καθαρὰν ἀγάπην σου, ἣν ἀθόλωτον καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτον διαφυλάττειν ἀεὶ βουλόμεθα, ἵνα παραχωρήσῃς αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς χώρας σου σώους ἀνενοχλήτους καὶ ἀζημίους διελθειν ἄχρι τοῦ Δυρραχίου, δοὺς αὐτοῖς βουλὴν καὶ βοήθειαν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀγάπην τοῦ διασωθῆναι αὐτοὺς διὰ τάχους. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ξῦλα ἱκανὰ ἀποστέλλομεν πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον διὰ τὸ περάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ Βρεντήσιον*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 320 lines 28-35.

[168] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 150, argues that the detachment of 1250 was the first Nicaean army to march unimpeded across Epiros.

[169] *ἵνα ἡ αἰθριότης ἡμῶν τῶν πολεμικῶν πόνων ἄνεσιν λάβοι καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἅπαν αὐτῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγοιτο, συχνὴν χεῖρα ὁπλιτῶν πανταχόθεν, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαπώντων <τὸ> ἡμέτερον ὄνομα φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 318 lines 4-9.

We gather from this statement that it was Frederick II's intention to intimidate his enemies by a show of the wide breadth of support for the Hohenstaufen cause. He went on to explain that his desire for these reinforcements was not out of necessity, but simply as a tool of propaganda.

> We do this so that our enemies may learn how great is our power, not only drawn from its own people, but also from our genuine friends and relatives who have mastery over foreign lands, and not because our forces need the help of others in numbers, forces of soldiers and infantry to decimate our enemies, nor because our treasury, being reduced, is unable to provide necessities in abundance to our army.[170]

Again, Frederick II described his use of the troops from Vatatzes as a tool of intimidation, and not necessarily vital for success on the battlefield. We must be careful before accepting this explanation. The fact that he himself undertook the expense of transporting them across the Adriatic Sea suggests a genuine need for extra manpower. In the letter to his captain, Frederick II spoke of the good service and the great multitude of troops sent by Vatatzes. [171] One might find it strange, therefore, that Frederick II never made reference to the service of his Byzantine troops in his correspondence with Vatatzes. The western emperor sent frequent updates on his military affairs in Italy to his ally in Nicaea, but he never explicitly commented on the condition of the army sent by Vatatzes, or the actions in which they took part. This should not surprise us. To do so would communicate the need which, in his letter to Michael II of Epiros, Frederick II was so careful to explain did not exist. If every battle was lost or won only by the strength and bravery of this Byzantine detachment, Frederick II would surely never have admitted so to Vatatzes, to whom the Hohenstaufen ruler never expressed a single statement of gratitude. Even if we take

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[170] *οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἡμετέρων δυνάμεων ἔν τε πλήθει καὶ δυνάμει στρατιωτῶν καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς τελείαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν συντριβὴν ἑτέρων ἐπικουρίας δεουσῶν, οὐδ' ὡς τῶν θησαυρῶν ἡμῶν μείωσιν ἐχόντων τοῦ μὴ ἀφθόνως ἐποχετεύειν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡμῶν τὰ χρή*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 318 lines 10-13.

[171] *ad roborandas in melius vires... magnam quantitatem*, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 762 lines 6-8.

Frederick II at his word, and accept that the presence of foreign troops in his army was only meant to scare his enemies, we must suspect that such a measure was successful to some degree. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that the Nicaean detachment sent to Italy in 1250 did much to advance the Hohenstaufen war effort, either on or off the battlefield.

Although the majority of our information on the army sent to Italy by Vatatzes comes from the letters of Frederick II, certain questions remain unanswered. Who commanded these Byzantine troops? It may have been the case that Vatatzes sent one of his own to serve as a general under Frederick II. Matthew Paris reported that the English contingent fighting under Frederick II in Italy was commanded by Henry of Trubleville, who was appointed to the post by the king of England.[172] Might not someone similar have been selected by Vatatzes to command his soldiers? Another matter left without clarification is how often Vatatzes sent military aid to Frederick II in Italy. It has been suggested that, beginning with the Brescia campaign in 1238, Vatatzes continuously sent soldiers west until Frederick II's death in 1250.[173] Since our sources only attest to such movements in 1238, 1247 and 1250, we may never know for certain. These and other questions continue to surround the issue of Nicaean troops serving Frederick II in Italy.

Even if the armies sent to Frederick II were only a token military force, we can imagine that Vatatzes went through a great deal of effort to send them west. This leads us to wonder if Frederick II ever reciprocated. Alliance with the Hohenstaufen emperor certainly did much to enhance the image of the Empire of Nicaea on the

[172] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 485 line 22 – 486 line 6; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 129.
[173] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 557.

world stage, especially in regards to the papacy,[174] but what could Frederick II offer beyond prestige? Did Frederick II bring any material benefits in his alliance with the Empire of Nicaea? As we have seen, there is evidence that Frederick II sent military aid to his Epirot ally before 1230. Did he do the same for Vatatzes?

Various scholars have argued that Frederick II did indeed provide the Empire of Nicaea with military support, doing much to strengthen the prospect of Constantinople's return to Byzantine control.[175] John Langdon has been the strongest advocate for the presence of a Hohenstaufen fleet participating in a Nicaean assault on Constantinople in 1242.[176] Langdon bases his conclusion on the work of two authors, Andrea Dandolo and Lorenzo de Monacis, both of whom wrote their histories long after the events they described.[177] In addition, both authors spoke of this fleet in connection with a marriage alliance between Frederick II's daughter and Vatatzes in the 1240s. According to Andrea Dandolo, 'In the 13th year of the ducate [of Tiepolo], John Vatatzes, who had joined himself to the daughter of the emperor Frederick, with twenty-five galleys and other ships by sea, and with a great multitude of horses and foot [soldiers] on land, besieged the city.'[178] Lorenzo de Monacis corroborated this, stating that 'in the thirteenth year of the ducate [of Tiepolo], John Vatatzes, who had accepted as wife the daughter of Frederick II, emperor of the Romans, with twenty-

[174] Frederick II's letters to both Vatatzes and Michael II of Epiros frequently describe his wish to punish the pope for his unjustified actions against the Byzantines, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 320 lines 22-24; no. 2, 322 line 13 – 324 line 45; no. 3, 334 lines 25-27. Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 285, argues that Frederick II provided moral support to Vatatzes.
[175] Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 285.
[176] Frederick II is supposed to have given these ships to Vatatzes as part of the dowry of his daughter, Constanza-Anna, Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 230; Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 115, 130 note 44; Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 245.
[177] Both wrote in the mid-fourteenth century, one hundred years after the alliance between Frederick II and Vatatzes, Angold, 'Venetian chronicles and archives as sources,' 66-67; G. Saint-Guillain, 'Tales of San Marco: Venetian historiography and thirteenth century Byzantine prosopography,' in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), 288-89.
[178] *anno Ducis XIII Johanes Vatacius, qui Federici imperatoris filiam sibi copulaverat, cum galeis XXV et aliis navigiis per mare, et cum multitudine copiosa equitum et peditum in terram, urbem obsedit*, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 298 lines 10-12.

five galleys, and other ships, and with a great multitude of horses and foot [soldiers], besieged the City [Constantinople] by land and sea.'[179] The close association of the two sources is obvious. Aphrodite Papayianni argues that Langdon has mistranslated the texts, insisting that a closer reading of the Latin contradicts his assertion that Frederick II sent a fleet to aid the attack on Constantinople. The key is in keeping in mind the fact that both authors referred to Vatatzes in the nominative case, while Frederick II is in the genitive. In other words, Vatatzes is the one acting, not Frederick II. Vatatzes attacked Constantinople with twenty-five ships, not Frederick II. Neither Dandolo nor de Monacis stated explicitly that Frederick II sent ships to serve under Vatatzes. They did not even say that he sent his daughter to marry the Byzantine ruler. They simply mention Frederick II to clarify to the reader his relationship to Vatatzes. As a result, we cannot accept the paradigm of Hohenstaufen military assistance to Vatatzes as presented by Langdon.

Only one other source suggests that Frederick II offered military support to his Byzantine ally. Andrea Navagiero remarked that, in 1235, Frederick II sent a fleet of twenty-five galleys to aid Vatatzes in combat against Baldwin II in Constantinople.[180] Because Navagiero was writing much later, in the fifteenth century, and because his information, like that of Lorenzo de Monacis, was derived from the work of Andrea Dandolo, we should view this comment with extreme suspicion.

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[179] *anno Ducis terito decimo Johannes Vatazi, qui filiam Frederici Secundi Romanorum Imperatoris acceperat in uxorem cum galeis vigintiquinque, et aliis navigiis, et cum multitudine copiosa equitum, peditumque terra marique Urbem obsedit*, Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 147 lines 36-40.

[180] *Del 1235. Federigo Secondo Imperadore de' Romani sdegnato contra Balduino Imperadore di Costantinopoli per avere ricusato pigliar per moglie una sua sigliuola, e presa una del ReGiovanni eletto di Gerusalemme, sece lega col Greco Imperadore Vatazzo aspirante all'Impero di Costantinopoli, e diede in matrimonio essa sua sigliuola a un sigliuolo di esso imperadore, al quale promise tutto il favour suo, per acquistare il detto Impero. Condotta la detta lega, in brevissimo tempo adunarono grandissimo esercito terrestre, e armata da mare di Galere 25*, Andrea Navagiero, *RIS*, vol. 23, col. 992 A-B.

No contemporary source, therefore, attests convincingly that Frederick II provided direct military support for Vatatzes. Frederick II himself never mentioned having provided such assistance in his correspondence. We must, therefore, conclude that no Hohenstaufen soldiers aided the Byzantine cause against Latin Constantinople by land or sea. Any assistance provided by Frederick II to the foreign policy goals of the Empire of Nicaea were either through a third party,[181] or took place solely in Western Europe. In other words, the most notable service Frederick II provided to Vatatzes was in obstructing papal efforts directed against Nicaea.

As we have noted, Pope Gregory IX responded to the failure of the *disputatio* of 1234 by calling new crusades to support Latin Constantinople, directed primarily against Vatatzes and his allies. These efforts failed to check the expansion of the Empire of Nicaea, largely because Frederick II hindered the advance of new crusades to the Latin East and ensured the decline of the Latin empire.[182] The best evidence for this activity can be traced to a letter from Gregory IX to Frederick II, dated 12 March 1238, urging the emperor to provide assistance to the new expedition.[183] The pope began by depicting the Byzantines as promoters of schism and heresy, thus justifying Latin hegemony over Constantinople.[184] This document has attracted much attention

[181] Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 113, argues that Frederick II may have exercised his influence over al-Kamil, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, to supply aid to Vatatzes. Marino Sanudo the Younger, ed. Muratori, *RIS*, vol. 22, col. 550 A-B, recorded that a Venetian squadron intercepted thirty-two Muslim ships on their way to join Vatatzes and his siege of Constantinople in 1235. It may be too much, however, to conclude that al-Kamil dispatched these forces at the request of Frederick II, since direct relations between Nicaea and Egypt had been established by an embassy from Vatatzes in 1227. See C. Cahen, 'Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au xiii siècle,' *Selçuklu Arashtirmalari Dergisi* (*Journal of Seljuk Studies*) 3 (1971), 147-49.

[182] Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 285, argues that Frederick II kept the Latin empire in a state of perpetual weakness. Merendino, 'Federico II e Giovanni III Vatatzes,' 373, notes that obstructing the advance of new crusades is not a new policy undertaken by Vatatzes, but was a continuation of diplomacy practiced by the Komnenoi.

[183] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, part 1, 180-81; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 4153, 918.

[184] 'After the Greek people turned aside from obedience to the Roman Church, they not only encouraged schism against the same Church but also degenerated so from a son to a step-son and tied themselves up by vain and various bonds of diverse heresies that they infected Greece almost entirely with the thistle of heretical depravity. Wherefore in their abominations, the Lord, having been

for its use of heresy as a justification for crusade against the Greeks,[185] but we should also note the implication of the charge. If Frederick II impeded the new crusade, he would not merely be aligning himself with enemies of the papacy, but with schismatics and heretics. The message was certainly meant to warn Frederick II from such negative associations. In another letter to the western emperor, dated only a few days later,[186] Gregory IX explicitly stated such a warning.

> Therefore, we ask your serenity with the apostolic messenger and writing, that you allow free passage to the aforementioned crusaders through your land. Indeed, as we understand, when your highness opposes our request with the obstacle of difficulty, thus again we offer a more careful request and warning, may you give free and safe passage to the crusaders aiding the city of Constantinople through the aforementioned land and empire, while wisely noticing, that by refusing passage in this way to the spirit of God and to the men of your fame, you will incur detriment, as you seem in your error to favour those who are called schismatic.[187]

Gregory IX's comments make it clear that he considered the emperor an impediment to the success of the crusade, but it is unfortunate that he did not specify exactly how Frederick II was hindering the expedition. He mentioned no effort by the

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provoked to anger against them, so that his blood might come upon them, after the evil men were completely cast out, he gave his vineyard to be cultivated by other farmers, consigning the Empire of the Greeks into the hands of the Latins.' – *Postquam Grecorum populus ab obedientia Romane ecclesie declinavit, non solum contra eamdem ecclesiam schisma fovit, verum etiam sic degeneravit de filio in privignum et vanis ac variis diversarum heresum nexibus se ingessit quod Greciam pene totam heretice pravitatis zizania infecerunt, propter quod in abominationibus suis contra eos Dominus ad iracundiam provocatus ut super eum sanguis venerit ipsius, vocavit electos suos et ingressi sunt portas ejus, per quos perditis male malis vineam suam locavit aliis agricolis excolendam, tradens Grecorum imperium in manibus Latinorum*, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, part 1, 180 lines 1-10; translated in Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 168.

[185] Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 168; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 116-17.

[186] 17 March 1238, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 236, 314-15; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 10542, 893; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, vol. 2, no. 4110, 902-903; *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Rodenburg, vol. 1, no. 725, 623-24; Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, 181-83.

[187] *Quare serenitatem tuam apostolicis nuntio et scripto rogavimus, ut crucesignatis praedictis per terram tuam transitum liberum indulgeres. Verum cum, sicut intelleximus, precibus nostris obicem difficultatis opponas, imperialem celsitudinem, sicut iterum, sic attentius rogandam duximus et monendam, quatenus prudenter attendens, quod huiusmodi denegando transitum apud Deum animae ac apud homines famae tuae, eo quod dictos schismaticos in suo videris errore fovere, incurreres detrimentum, crucesignatis Constantinopolitanae civitati succurrentibus per terram praefatam et imperium transitum concedas liberum et securum*, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 236, 315 lines 1-11.

Hohenstaufen emperor to block ships in his ports, or to delay armies marching across his territory.[188] One clue to how Frederick II was achieving his aims comes from Philippe Mouskes, who related that the commander of the crusade, John of Bethune,[189] was imprisoned by the western emperor in Germany.[190] John of Bethune was released soon after,[191] but died before the crusade was to depart.[192] Matthew Paris gave another possible indication of how Frederick II might hinder the advance of new crusades. He recorded that, in the early part of 1239, Frederick II asked the crusaders bound for Jerusalem to delay their departure until his conflict with the pope had passed, at which point he would join them.[193] When they refused his offer, 'the emperor, in anger, forbade any vendible articles of food from being supplied or conveyed, on any terms, to the French army, from his adjacent fruitful territories, namely, Apulia and Cyprus.'[194] Clearly, Frederick II was capable of employing various means to disrupt the progress of any crusade heading east, and he did so to good effect. When Gregory IX excommunicated the western emperor for the second time on 20 March 1239, his list of reasons included the impediment placed on crusades heading to the Holy Land and to the Latin empire.[195]

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[188] In both the letters from 12 and 17 March 1238, Gregory IX mentioned a representative sent to Frederick II, *melius et efficacius promovendum dilectum filium magistrum Gregorium subdiaconum et notarium nostrum*, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, part 1, 181 lines 9-10 and *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 236, 315 line 13-14. We must imagine that specific details were discussed in person. Merendino, 'Federico II e Giovanni III Vatatzes,' 372-73, suggests that Frederick II obstructed the crusaders by prohibiting their use of his ports in southern Italy.
[189] John of Bethune had come West with Baldwin II from Constantinople, Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 179.
[190] Mouskes, ed. Reiffenberg, vol. 2, 632 line 29581 – 633 line 29589.
[191] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 118, suspects that John of Bethune's release was the result of Gregory IX's pressure on Frederick II.
[192] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople,' 221; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 118; M. Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: a call to arms and its consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005), 150-51.
[193] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 627; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 244.
[194] *indignans imperator prohibuit ne exercitui Francorum victualia de terris suis uberrimis finitimis, Apulia scilicet et Cipro, et aliis terris suis venalia ministrarentur, vel sub ulla forma transportarentur*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, 627 line 25 – 628 line 4; trans. Giles, vol. 244-45.
[195] *Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus eumdem pro eo quod per ipsum impeditur negotium Terre Sancte et reparatio imperii Romanie*, Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 5, 288 lines 17-19. For more on the reasoning behind the second excommunication of Frederick II, see Watt, 'The Papacy,' 134-36.

Although a crusader army did reach the Latin East under Baldwin II in 1240, we must judge Frederick II's efforts in blocking the progress of the crusade a significant success. His manoeuvres delayed the expedition for a few years, giving Vatatzes the time he needed to expand and consolidate his position in the Balkans. It is important to note that the first group of Nicaean troops to fight under Frederick II did so in the summer of 1238, only a few months after Gregory IX wrote to the western emperor asking that he permit the crusaders to cross his territory to Constantinople.[196] Vatatzes, therefore, had good reason to believe that the alliance was bringing positive results, attacking papal interests in both the east and west, and limiting the prospects for Latin Constantinople.

The fullest expression of the alliance between the two emperors came with the marriage in 1241 between Vatatzes and Constanza, who took the name Anna, the illegitimate daughter of Frederick II and Bianca Lancia.[197] As we have seen, the cooperation between Hohenstaufen and Laskarid predated this marriage. Several alliances discussed in this work were initiated by a marriage between the families of two rulers. Why then did this union come so late? The simple answer is that no member of the Nicaean ruling household was available for marriage. Theodore II

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[196] Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 284.

[197] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 2, 535 lines 9-12; trans. Baird, 351, related that Frederick II and Bianca were married before death. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 168, argues adamantly that Frederick II regarded his children by her to be legitimate. No source, Latin or Byzantine, indicates that Vatatzes was dissatisfied with the match because of the bride's illegitimacy.

The dating for this union has presented something of a problem for historians, who have placed it anywhere between 1241 and 1245. Kiesewetter, 'Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III,' 239-50, has conclusively shown the marriage to date between May and June 1241. She notes that a donation to the monastery of Lembos dated to March 1242 was made during the reign of Vatatzes and his new wife, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 4, no. 20, 66 lines 4-5. In addition, two contemporary authors, Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 147, and Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 298, placed the marriage in the thirteenth year of the reign of Doge Jacopo Tiepolo of Venice, i.e. 1242. Both authors described the union using the pluperfect, 'having already taken place,' Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 275 note 19. *Anno Ducis tertio decimo Johannes Vatatzi, qui filiam Frederici Secundi Romanorum Imperatoris acceperat in uxorem*, Lorenzo de Monacis, *RIS*, vol. 8, ed. Cornelius, 147 lines 36-68; *Anno ducis XIII Iohanes Vatacius, qui Federici imperatoris filiam sibi copulaverat*, Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 298 line 10.

Laskaris, as we have discussed, was married to Helen, daughter of John II Asen. Vatatzes himself was united to Eirene, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris. However, Eirene died in 1239,[198] allowing Vatatzes to enter into a marriage with Frederick II's daughter.[199]

Since the two rulers already enjoyed a productive relationship, one might also wonder why the marriage was necessary. While historians have presented various answers,[200] western authors, writing closer to the event, do not agree on the reasons behind the union. Marino Torsello Sanudo described the alliance between Frederick II and Vatatzes as a result of the Latin barons of Constantinople rebuffing his attempt to marry Baldwin II to his daughter, thus the Hohenstaufen emperor naturally married his daughter to the Latin empire's chief enemy.[201] When Matthew Paris described the marriage, he stated that the union 'caused great annoyance and offence to our lord the

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[198] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 62 lines 19-21, trans. Macrides, 210. On the date of Eirene's death, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 213-14 note 12; Brezeanu, 'Notice sur les rapports de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen avec Jean III Vatatzès,' 584; Munitiz, *A Partial Account*, 21 note 61.

[199] The union proceeded despite the disparity in their age. Nicholas Eirenikos, *Τοῦ λογιωτάτου χαρτοφύλακος κυροῦ Νικολάου τοῦ Εἰρηνικοῦ τετράστιχα εἰς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστεμμένων μεγάλων βασιλέων Ιωάννου τοῦ Δούκα καὶ Ἄννης τῆς εὐγενεστάτης αὐγούστης, ἄνευ τῶν δύο πρώτων στίχων τοῦ καταλέγματος, οἷς καὶ τὰ τέλη ὅμοια*, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit* (Munich, 1920), 101 line 30, described Frederick II's daughter as a 'delicate young girl' – *τὴν ἁπαλὴν νεᾶνιν*. Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 45 line 4 – 47 lines 12, 92 lines 1-6, described the bride as rather young, while George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 117 lines 5-7, 245 lines 1-6, said that Vatatzes was very old at the time of his second marriage. Although he does not discuss his reasoning at length, D. Nicol, 'Mixed marriages in Byzantium in the thirteenth century,' in *Studies in Church History* 1 (1964), 164, concludes that Vatatzes was 52, and Constanza-Anna 12 at the time of their marriage.

[200] Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 372, regards the union as the best way possible for Vatatzes to annoy the pope. C. Diehl, *Byzantine Empresses*. English translation by H. Bell and T. de Kerpely (London, 1964), 262, suggests that 'the young Princess Constance was the pledge of this political accord, and she was to become its victim.'

[201] 'After such provocation the Emperor of the Germans gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor of the Greeks and of parts of the East. Both men joined in such an alliance, moved against Baldwin and the Venetians on land and sea and captured the cities and almost all the forts belonging to Baldwin and the Venetians, leaving him only the walls of the city of Constantinople' – *Ex praemissis autem Exagorarum Imperator quam plurimum prouocatus, filiam suam in coniugem dedit Imperatori Grecorum, partium Orientis, qui ambo tali affinitate coniuncti contra Balduini & Venetos terra mariq; exercitibus praeparatis, deuictisq; eorundem Balduini & Venetorum urbibus prope in ibi, & fere fortilitiis uniuersis, ei solum urbis Constantinopolis moenia remanserunt*, Marino Torsello Sanudo, ed. Bongars, vol. 2, 73 lines 12-17, trans. Lock, 125.

pope and the whole Roman court.'[202] This attitude is reflected by Innocent IV, who listed the marriage between Vatatzes and Constanza-Anna as one reason for his condemnation of Frederick II in 1245.[203]

Byzantine sources are strangely silent on the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance in general, and mention it only in the terms of this union.[204] The most notable are comments made by Nicholas Eirenikos, who wrote *prokypsis* poems on the occasion of the wedding.[205] If Byzantine authors mentioned the marriage of Vatatzes to Constanza-Anna, why do they omit any comment about the alliance with the bride's father? It seems that acknowledging the Hohenstaufen role in advancing Byzantine interests before 1261 would run counter to the paradigm authors constructed about the years of exile, and about Vatatzes in particular.[206] We have shown that, even if Frederick II did not provide direct military assistance to Vatatzes, the alliance with the western emperor did much to enhance the prospects of the Empire of Nicaea and protect it from possible reprisals from the Latin West. It may even have been the case that Hohenstaufen cooperation made possible the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. If this is so, we can hardly be surprised that few Byzantine authors writing after 1261 would be eager to mention the contributions of Frederick II to the Byzantine cause. A narrative in which the Empire of Nicaea stood bravely and alone against the Latin menace was more appealing than one in which the glory must

[202] *Quod domino Papae simulque toti curiae Romanae molestum videbatur et grave*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 299 lines 11-12; trans. Giles, 490.
[203] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Tanner, vol. 1, 282 lines 36-39. Also see the much later comments by I. Affo, *Vita di Frate Elia, Ministro Generali de Francescani* (Parma, 1783), 93, who wrote that the marriage caused the pope great distress.
[204] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 103 line 23 – 104 line 6, trans. Macrides, 52.271, only mentioned the 'German wife' of Vatatzes in reference to the scandal that followed. Two Greek authors who depended on the history of Akropolites, Theodore Skoutariotes and Ephraem, made no mention of their marriage at all, Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 274 note 19. The marriage was mentioned by Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 45 line 8-9, 92 lines 1-3, and George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 245 lines 2-4, but not by George of Pelagonia, or the later hagiographical work by Nicodemus Hagiorites.
[205] Nicholas Eirenikos, ed. Heisenberg, 100-105.
[206] For more on the legacy of Vatatzes in the later thirteenth century, especially under Michael VIII Palaiologos, see Macrides, 'Saints and sainthood,' 69-71.

be shared with a foreign ruler who challenged their imperial legacy. Even Frederick II's reputation as an enemy of the papacy was inconvenient for Byzantine consumption in the years following 1261, when so much depended on the goodwill of Rome to fend off potential threats. If we accept the testimony of Matthew Paris – that the marriage caused the papacy great consternation – we come to understand why Byzantine authors in the circle of Michael VIII Palaiologos would wish to disassociate their history from such a polarizing figure.

One episode Byzantine authors were more inclined to discuss was the scandal that evolved when Vatatzes engaged in an affair with Marchesina,[207] an attendant of Constanza-Anna who came with her from Italy. George Akropolites remarked that Vatatzes 'was so dependent on her love that he gave her red-coloured shoes to wear and a saddle and bridle of the same colour, as well as more people to escort her than the proper empress had; he did much else too, a slave to her desires.'[208] It seems that what alarmed Akropolites most was not the fact that the emperor engaged in extramarital escapades, but that he allowed his mistress to adorn herself in red, the trappings of imperial status. Nikephoros Gregoras also commented on the imperial mistress, but used the episode to display the remorse of a penitent emperor.[209] Neither expressed concern that the affair would have diplomatic repercussions.

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[207] Some uncertainty has surrounded the name of this mistress. Heisenberg, *Curriculum Vitae*, xxi note 2, and Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 169-170, suggested that Marchesina was not a name, but a title, 'Marchioness.' This has been successfully disputed by J. Munitiz, 'A "wicked woman" in the 13th century,' in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32:2 (1982), 534, and Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 276 note 20.

[208] *καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτῆς ἐξεκρέματο, ὡς καὶ πέδιλα ὑποδεδέσθαι δοῦναι ταύτην κοκκοβαφῆ καὶ ἐφεστρίδας τοιαύτας καὶ χαλινά, ἕπεσθαί τε αὐτῇ πλείους ἢ τῇ κυρίως δεσποίνῃ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐποίει ταῖς ἐκείνης δουλεύων ὀρέξεσι*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 104 lines 6-10, trans. Macrides, 52.271. Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 45 lines 15-17, also mentioned that Marchesina was allowed to wear imperial regalia.

[209] 'The emperor began to weep and sigh deeply and was full of all dejection and came to a moment of contrition' – *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔνδακρυς γενόμενος καὶ βύθιόν τι στενάξας καὶ πάσης μεστὸς κατηφείας καὶ κατανύξεως ἐν βραχεῖ καταστὰς*, Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 45 line 4 – 47 line 12, especially 47 lines 4-6.

The fullest discussion of the affair and subsequent scandal comes from Nikephoros Blemmydes, who seems to have been at the centre of an uproar over Marchesina.[210] He had no great love for the imperial mistress, and referred to her in the harshest of terms.[211] For all his remarks about the infidelity represented by Marchesina, however, Blemmydes never expressed sympathy for the situation of the young empress, Constanza-Anna. Neither did he seem concerned that Frederick II would be angered by the treatment of his daughter.[212] As it happens, the western emperor never gave any indication that he knew or was upset by the scandal.[213] Following the death of Vatatzes in 1254, Constanza-Anna was held at the Nicaean court so that she could be used against her brother, Manfred of Sicily.[214] She finally left for Sicily, and later went on to Aragon, where she died in 1307.[215] Her marriage

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[210] Munitiz, *A partial account*, 84 note 130, places this altercation in 1248. Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 70, 35 – ch. 71, 36; trans. Munitiz, 83-84, related that Marchesina made a disruption while services were being celebrated. She 'made a noisy entrance into the monastery with a great retinue and much display, rushing into the church while the holy and mystic sacrifice was being celebrated' – *ῥαγδαίως οὐ προειδόσιν εἰσέφρησε, μεθ'ὅσης πομπῆς, μεθ'ὅσου φρυάγματος, εἴς τε τὸν νεών, τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μυστικῆς τελουμένης θυσίας, ἐσήλατο*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 70, 35 lines 5-8; trans. Munitiz, 83. Blemmydes reprimanded the lady, and she left weeping, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 70, 35 line 8 – ch. 71, 35 line 1; trans. Munitiz, 83. In an open letter on the subject, Blemmydes defended himself against critics who accused him of acting too harshly, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Appendix, 91-94; trans. Munitiz, 139-43.

[211] According to Blemmydes, Marchesina was a 'cursed woman' – *ἐναγής*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Appendix, 92 line 20; trans. Munitiz, 140, an 'adultress' – *μοιχαλίδα*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Appendix, 92 line 22; trans. Munitiz, 140, and was 'the licentious female, the evil-doer, the world's stumbling-block, the universal disgrace' – *τὴν ἀσελγῆ τε καὶ φαρμακόν, τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πρόσκομμα, τὸ παγκόσμιον σκάνδαλον*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Appendix, 91 line 6-8; trans. Munitiz, 140. In essence, Blemmydes depicted the mistress as one of the many villains sent against him by the devil.

[212] Yet, Blemmydes did view Marchesina as 'the rival of the Empress' – *ἡ γὰρ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀντίζηλος*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 70, 35 line 4; trans. Munitiz, 83.

[213] Frederick II only mentioned Constanza-Anna once after the marriage, referring to the pope's condemnation of the union, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 324 lines 35-39.

[214] Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, 92 lines 3-11, recorded that Theodore II Laskaris would not let her depart for her brother's court. George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 1, 247 lines 11-29, reported that Michael VIII fell passionately in love with the widow of Vatatzes, and sought to marry her as part of an alliance with Sicily, but he was rebuffed. For more on this alleged affair, see Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus and the West*, 144-45.

[215] G. Schlumberger, 'Le tombeau d'une Imperatrice Byzantine a Valence en Espagne,' *Byzance et croisades* (Paris, 1927), 57-86. Constanza-Anna was finally released by Michael VIII Palaiologos in exchange for Alexios Strategopoulos, who had been captured by Michael II of Epiros, Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus and the West*, 144-45. She eventually surrendered her rights as a Byzantine empress, which included estates in 'Laquera, Estilar and Camares.' For the document in which she conceded her rights, see J. Miret y Sans, 'Tres Princesas Griegas en la corte de Jaime II de Aragon,'

to the Byzantine emperor was the epitome of a political union. It served to bring allies closer together, and had the added incentive of greatly troubling their common enemy, the pope. That the union was apparently not a happy one does not diminish the diplomatic gains of the marriage, which were apparently of paramount interest for husband and father-in-law.

The cooperation between Vatatzes and Frederick II did not dictate that they followed the same policies in all matters. At times they pursued different and even contradictory goals, especially with regard to third parties. The Italian maritime republics are an excellent example. While both rulers were usually at odds with Genoa and Venice, they conducted their affairs towards these powers independently of one another. Despite joining forces with Frederick II in 1238, Vatatzes attempted to open negotiations with the Genoese in 1239.[216] There is nothing to suggest that Frederick II was aware of these negotiations. Indeed, when Vatatzes succeeded in repulsing a Genoese attack on Rhodes, the western emperor wrote to him with congratulations.[217] It is possible that the two rulers coordinated their efforts against

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Revue Hispanique 15 (1906), 717-19; Dölger*, Regesten,* no. 1780, 19. For more on Constanza-Anna as a widow, see W. Miller, 'Σημείωσις περὶ τοῦ τάφου τῆς βασιλίσσης τῆς Νίκαιας ἐν Valentia,' *Neos Hellenomnemon* 18 (1924), 13-17; C. Marinesco, 'Du nouveau sur Constance de Hohenstaufen, impératrice de Nicée,' *Byzantion* 1 (1924), 451-68.

[216] A representative from Vatatzes came to Genoa in that year, but being unable to negotiate a favourable agreement, he returned east – *qui Grecus tandem post multa verba hinc inde interposita, complere non potuit quod volebat, et ita recessit*, *Bartholomaei scribae annales*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 18 (Stuttgart, 1863), 190 lines 21-25

[217] 'With much cheerfulness we received the letters delivered to our eminence from the regions of your empire… containing delightful things exceedingly pleasing to our eminence about your health and success and concerning those, about how much was achieved on the island of Rhodes to the present' – *Τὰς ἀποκομισθείσας γραφὰς τῇ ἡμῶν αἰθριότητι ἐκ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας σου μετὰ τοῦ παιδαρίου παιδοπούλλου αὐτῆς μετὰ πολλῆς εὐθυμίας ἐδεξάμεθα. Θυμήρη γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς περιείχετο καὶ τῇ ἡμετερᾳ αἰθριότητι λίαν ἐπιτερπῆ περί τε τῶν σῶν ὑγειῶν καὶ εὐοδώσεων καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅσα περὶ τῆς νήσου Ῥόδου μετ' εὐτυχίας πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐτελέσθησαν*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 322, lines 5-8. The letter is also available in Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 3, 21-28; *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 18, 72-75; and a Latin version in Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 771-76.

Venice, against whom Vatatzes was continually in conflict, but evidence of joint action is uncertain.[218]

The evidence illustrating the differing approach of the allies towards the Latin empire is more perplexing. We have established that regaining Constantinople was central to the foreign policy goals of Vatatzes, and the alliance with Frederick II advanced his prospects of attaining that goal. The western emperor, however, could not be seen to overtly support the Byzantine cause, especially when he was challenged so frequently by the pope. As a result, Frederick II seems to have offered token support for Baldwin II, who desperately needed western aid to maintain the Latin regime in Constantinople. The genius of this plan, however, allowed Frederick II to depict himself as a friend of Latin Constantinople, while still helping to advance the goals of his Byzantine ally.

Baldwin II sought the goodwill of the western emperor directly. According to Matthew Paris, the Latin emperor, 'fleeing from the persecutions of the Greeks, and having nothing in his treasury to enable him to protract the war any further, or bear up against the continual assaults of the Greeks, fled to the court of the Roman emperor Frederick for advice and assistance.'[219] Frederick II responded by sending Elias of Cortona to negotiate with Vatatzes, resulting in a one year truce between Constantinople and Nicaea.[220] The account of Matthew Paris states that Frederick II

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[218] E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zeite* (Stuttgart, 1994), 541-42, suggests that Frederick II asked Vatatzes to attack Venetian possessions in the East to complement his own efforts in the West in 1240. Other secondary works have cited this information, Martin, 'O felix Asia! Frederic II, l'Empire de Nicée et le "cesaropapisme",' 475; Mitsiou, 'Ideology and economy in the politics of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254),' 196-97; Langdon, 'The forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault,' 129 note 38, but none have given a primary source to prove the claim.

[219] *cum fugisset imperator Constantinopolitanus a persecutione Graecorum, nec quicquam haberet in aerario, ut guerram amplius continuaret et Graecorum impetus continuos sustineret, confugit ad consilium et auxilium imperatoris Romanorum Fretherici*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 299; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 490.

[220] Affo, *Vita di Frate Elia*, 93. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 299; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 490, stated that Baldwin II arrived at the Hohenstaufen court in 1244, but a letter from Frederick II to the king of Cyprus describing the mission of Elias is dated to 1243, Huillard-Bréholles*, Historia*

'launched terrible threats' against the Byzantines to intimidate them into submission.[221] We must view this comment with extreme suspicion. Not only was Paris prone to exaggeration, but immediately after he described the 'terrible threats' of the Hohenstaufen against Vatatzes, Paris related the details of the marriage between Constanza-Anna and the Byzantine emperor.[222] It is more likely that Frederick II took advantage of his influence with Vatatzes to obtain the desired truce, which he then used to boost his support among western rulers. The following shows that he was concerned with gaining their support, especially in England, as his conflict with the pope continued.

In a letter to his brother-in-law, Richard, earl of Cornwall, Frederick II stated that he had made promises to Innocent IV to shoulder the burden of maintaining the Latin regime in Constantinople.

> He who now governs, having been placed on the apex of the pontificate, we made him, by our deputies, propositions much longer than before, and which no one would ever have thought right to have been refused; namely, that trusting in the omnipotence of our Lord Jesus Christ, the victorious king, we engaged to charge our shoulders with a heavy burden, loading ourselves with all the affair across the sea, moreover, with the threatening storm of the Tartars, and the perils of the empire of Constantinople.[223]

Frederick II also listed promises to help the Latin empire in a letter to the king of England, describing a compromise between the emperor and pope. Frederick

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diplomatica Friderici secundi, vol. 6, part 1, 146-47. We must be wary of the chronology given by Matthew Paris. For more on the truce, see Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 224, 144; Dölger, *Regesten,* vol. 3, no. 1781a, 19. According to Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, no. 212, 137-38, Frederick II had already made a practice of mediating between the Latin empire and Nicaea in 1241. However, this is not supported by the only primary source to mention the negotiations, Aubry of Three Fountains, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 950, lines 23-24, who made no mention of the role of the western emperor as mediator.

[221] *terribiliter comminando*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 299 lines 6-7; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 490.

[222] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 299 lines 7-16; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 490.

[223] *Istoque qui praesidet ad summi pontificatus apicem substituto, longe majora quam prius per nuntios nostros optulimus, quae nunquam credere debuit aliquis respuenda; videlicet, quod totum transmarinum negotium, necnon et imminentem Tartaricam tempestatem ac imperii Constantinopolitani discrimen*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 305 lines 6-12; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 495. Matthew Paris dates this letter to 27 February 1244, while the edition found in Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 1, 254-59, is dated to 27 February 1245.

promised to 'give such and so much assistance, both military and pecuniary, to any prince of Christendom as shall seem expedient to his holiness the pope.'[224] Baldwin II even testified personally to the king of England of Frederick II's goodwill and promises for support.[225]

Any agreement or communication between Frederick II and Baldwin II must be viewed in relation to the continuous conflict between the western emperor and the pope. By supporting, or being seen to support, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Frederick II was ingratiating himself with the pope, who was always concerned with the Latin empire. Baldwin II played a role in the negotiations between Frederick II and the papacy, and at the Council of Lyons in 1245 he sat at the right hand of the pope.[226] By appealing to Baldwin II, Frederick II was appealing to the pope. When that effort failed, however, the western emperor gave up any pretence of helping the Latin empire.

Renewed Dialogue with the Papacy

The papacy was always the silent partner in the alliance between Frederick II and Vatatzes. The relationship between the emperors was balanced against their interactions with Rome. The more animosity between the pope and Frederick II, or the pope and Vatatzes, the closer the emperors became. However, if the alliance appeared to be falling short of its desired aim, either emperor was apt to consider appealing to the pope, in apparent disregard for the interests of his ally. Perhaps

[224] *Nihilominus subsidium pro isto excessu faciet in militibus vel pecunia, cuicunque dominus Papa Christianitatis quantumcunque et quale viderit expedire*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 332 line 28-31; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 518.
[225] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 371 lines 18-22; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 16.
[226] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261,' 224, goes so far as to describe Baldwin II as a confidant of the Hohenstaufen emperor.

inspired by Frederick II's attempts to compromise with the pope, or by his own initiative, Vatatzes again returned to the issue of church union late in his reign. As we examine these negotiations, it is important to keep in mind how they shaped, and were shaped, by the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance.

First, it is necessary to understand why the two parties decided to return to the issue of church union. Since the failed *disputatio* of 1234, there had been no diplomatic contact between Vatatzes and the papacy. A return to negotiations between Rome and Nicaea may have much to do with the rise of a new personality on the papal throne. Pope Innocent IV was more amenable than his predecessor, and more open to compromise to accomplish the union of the churches.[227] At the Council of Lyons, in the summer of 1245, the pope expressed his sorrow over the schism.[228] Matthew Paris explained that Innocent IV listed the separation of the churches as one of five chief plights: '[One of these] was the schism of the church of Romania, that is, the Greek church, which had, in our times, only a few years back, been torn away from the bosom of its mother, as if she were a stepmother.'[229] Also found in this description of the Council of Lyons is an unusual episode that sheds light on how the three powers (Frederick II, Vatatzes, and the papacy) interacted. Matthew Paris recorded that Frederick II was represented at this meeting by Thaddeus de Suessa, who, in an effort to make peace between pope and western emperor, 'confidently

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[227] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 216, and Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 95-96, argue in favour of Innocent IV's genuine desire for union. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 138, 169-72, does not deny this desire on the part of the pope, but he warns against too quickly accepting an 'allegedly sympathetic attitude' on the part of Innocent IV towards the Greeks.

[228] *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. T. T. Haluscynskyj and M. M. Wojnar (Vatican, 1962), no. 22, 50-51.

[229] *Alium, quem pro schismate Romaniae, id est, Graecae ecclesiae, quae nostris temporibus et paucis evolutis annis a gremio matris, suae, velut novercae, insolenter et insolerter decisa est et aversa*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 434 lines 20-24; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 67-68. The concept that the two churches were in union until, 'in our times, only a few years back,' suggests that the papacy believed the schism to be a recent phenomenon. We can infer that Innocent IV believed that a union of the churches had been achieved after 1204, but then some event in the early thirteenth century returned the two churches to a state of schism. It seems likely that the *disputatio* of 1234 is the event to which he is referring.

offered to recall the whole of Romania, that is, the empire of Greece, to the unity of the Roman church.'[230] We should be cautious in our understanding of this statement. Matthew Paris, as we have seen, was prone to exaggeration, and it is doubtful that Frederick II had the ability to will his ally and son-in-law into such a drastic decision. The episode does, however, indicate that the allies actively used their relationship against the policies of the papacy, as Thaddeus was using the alliance between Vatatzes and Frederick II as a means to elicit the goodwill of the pope for the western emperor. In short, either because of the pressure created by the eastern and western emperors, or because of a genuine desire to heal the schism of the churches, Innocent IV was prepared to return to negotiations for church union.[231]

Understanding the motivations of Vatatzes is somewhat more difficult. It is possible that he had become disillusioned by the prospects of his alliance with Frederick II. Cooperation between the two had allowed Vatatzes to conquer much territory in the Balkans, but the prize, Constantinople, remained out of reach. Thus, he appealed to Innocent IV because he had become convinced that Frederick II was unable to help him achieve his ultimate goal.[232] Vatatzes, who always looked for opportunity, was certainly open to overtures toward the papacy to enhance his prospects in regards to Constantinople, even if it transgressed the interests of

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[230] *Pro cujus pace et pristinae amicitae reformatione optulit pro domino suo confidenter ad unitatem Romanae ecclesiae totum Romaniae, id est, Graeciae imperium, revocare*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 432 lines 31-34; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 66. Innocent IV, pointing to Frederick II's tendency to make promises he could not keep, turned down the offer, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 433; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 66-67. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 370, suggests that Thaddeus made this offer with an eye toward Baldwin II, who was also in attendance.

[231] It is interesting that the well-being of the Latin empire does not seem to have factored into Innocent IV's decision to return to church-union negotiations. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 216, suggests that Innocent IV had come to see Latin Constantinople as a liability. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 160, agrees, noting that Innocent IV did nothing to bolster the prospects of the Latin empire as they diminished over the 1240s.

[232] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 555. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 161, clarifies that Vatatzes did not expect Innocent IV to literally remove the Latin Emperor in Constantinople. Instead, the Byzantine emperor sought papal compliance with the regime change in Constantinople that appeared increasingly likely as the situation in the Latin empire became increasingly desperate, as well as recognition from Rome for the Byzantine emperor and patriarch.

Frederick II.[233] Besides, there was no assurance that the western emperor would prevail in his struggle with the papacy and its allies, as evidenced by the Hohenstaufen defeat at Parma in 1248.[234] Vatatzes could not have been expected to forsake any possibility of a positive relationship with the papacy on account of his alliance with Frederick II. Keeping open the option of a compromise with Rome was good foreign policy.[235]

Another possible cause for Vatatzes to return to union negotiations is found in his sister-in-law, Maria Laskarina, the wife of Béla IV, king of Hungary.[236] Before January 1247, Maria had written to Innocent IV, asking permission to contact Vatatzes and urge him to seek union with the Roman Church. The pope responded enthusiastically, asking that she use her influence 'to return Vatatzes and his people to the bosom of the mother Church.'[237] He went on to ask that she not delay the dispatch of messengers to Vatatzes to begin efforts to restore him to union, preparing the way for Innocent IV's own representatives.[238] Although we have no direct evidence that Maria Laskarina ever heeded these instructions,[239] it is well within the realm of possibility that she played a role in turning the mind of Vatatzes once more toward church union.[240]

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[233] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 161, emphasizes the skill of Vatatzes as a diplomat who would not allow ecclesiastical problems to prevent him from gaining mastery over Constantinople.
[234] Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 398-400; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, 507-12; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 161.
[235] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 161.
[236] On the marriage of Maria Laskarina and Béla IV, see ch. 1, 69-70.
[237] *Quod pro tuis insistis viribus et labouras, ut ad sinum matris Ecclesiae redeat Vatacius*, *Acta Innocentii Papae IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 34, 77 lines 11-12. See also Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, vol. 1, no. 377, 203. The letter is dated 30 January 1237. The original letter from Maria to Innocent IV has not come down to us.
[238] *Ut igitur, carissima in Christo filia, effectus huiusmodi negotii facilius subsequatur, Excellentiam Tuam requirimus et rogamus, quatinus aliquos nuntios, viros providos et discretos, ad praefactum Vatacium non differas destinare, quorum diligentiae studio et sollicitudinis industria praedictus Vatacius ad unitatem matris Ecclesiae revertatur*, *Acta Innocentii Papae IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 34, 77 lines 16-21.
[239] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 88.
[240] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 555.

In 1248, Vatatzes wrote to the pope, inviting him to send a representative to discuss union between the Greek and Roman Churches.[241] Although no such letter from the Byzantine emperor to Innocent IV is preserved, the request from the Byzantine emperor is described by Salimbene de Adam. According to his account, 'having heard of Brother John of Parma's holiness, Vatatzes, Emperor of the Greeks, sent a message to Pope Innocent IV asking him to send the Minister General Brother John to him, for he hoped that, through Brother John's example, the Greeks would return to the discipline of the Roman Church.'[242] This message was delivered to Innocent IV by two friars – Thomas the Greek, a lector at Constantinople,[243] and Salimbene, a half-Greek, half-Italian friar.[244] Who was John of Parma, and why did Vatatzes specifically ask that he be sent to Nicaea to discuss union?

John of Parma, Franciscan minister general from 1247-1257, was widely acclaimed for his knowledge in religious matters. He was 'distinguished in knowledge and divine law, the best disciple of poverty and humility.'[245] Salimbene de Adam

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[241] Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 1, 219-228.

[242] *Vattatius similiter, imperator Grecorum, audiens sanctitatem fratris Iohannis de Parma, misit ad papam Innocentium quartum rogando quod mitteret ei fratrem Iohannem generalem, quia sperabat quod per eum Greci redirent ad precepta Romane Ecclesie*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 466 lines 22-26; trans. Baird, 304.

[243] Salimbene de Adam described Thomas the Greek as a pious man, fluent in both Latin and Greek – *Erat autem tunc temporis Lugduni lector Constantinopolitanus frater Thomas Grecus ex Ordine Minorum qui sanctus homo erat, et Grece et Latine optime loquebatur*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 lines 7-9; trans. Baird, 321. A few years later, in 1253, William of Rubruck, who represented Louis IX at the Mongol court, recorded that a Byzantine envoy recognized one of the Franciscan friars in his company. It has been suggested that the Franciscan in question was Thomas the Greek, Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 1, 229-30; Roncaglia, *Les Freres mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 100-114; Jackson, *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck, His Journey to the Court of the Great Chan Mongke, 1253-55*, 175 note 3.

[244] The half-Greek, half-Italian, also named Salimbene, is described as well versed in Latin, Italian and vernacular Greek, but not very learned – *Et cum fuimus Vienne, invenimus nuntium Vattacii, quem miserat ad papam pro generali ministro. Hic erat ex Ordine fratrum Minorum et dicebatur frater Salimbene sicut et ego, et erat Grecus ex uno parente et Latinus ex altero; et optime loquebatur Latinis verbis, cum clericam non haberet; optime etiam in vulgari; noverat Grecam et linguam Latinam*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 lines 18-24; trans. Baird, 321. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 160, discusses the role of Salimbene on this mission, but not that of Thomas. See also Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 299;

[245] *vir scientia et religiositate praeclarus, maximus paupertatis et humilitatis amicus*, *Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, in *Analecta Franciscana sive Chronica Aliaque Varia Documenta ad Historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*, ed. a patribus collegii S.

described him as a learned and holy man,[246] and included an anecdote describing John of Parma's reception by the Henry III of England. The king humbled himself before the lowly friar, after which his retainers insisted that he had done more honour than was necessary. Henry III insisted that he could not pay too much respect to such a holy man.[247] We can infer, therefore, that Vatatzes was attracted to John of Parma as a spokesman for the Roman Church for the same reason Germanos II had been so impressed by the Franciscans in 1232.[248] It is even possible that Vatatzes, as well as Patriarch Manuel II, were already in direct contact with John of Parma, corresponding over the issue of church union.[249] Michael Angold suspects that Vatatzes was advised to ask for John of Parma by Thomas the Greek and Salimbene, the two friars he sent as envoys to Innocent IV.[250] In either case, it seems that the minister general's reputation was well known, and Vatatzes apparently viewed these attributes as encouraging.

Innocent IV again reacted eagerly to the prospect of renewed negotiations with the Greek Church.[251] Salimbene de Adam described the meeting in which the pope

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Bonaventurae, vol. 3 (1897), 697 line 13-14. Similar praise for John of Parma is found in the *Vita* of Innocent IV. 'John of Parma, minister general of the Order Minorum, famous in life, distinguished doctor of theology' – *Iohannem de Parmen, generalem ministrum ordinis minorum, vite maturitate preclarum, doctorem in theologia egregium*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. F. Pagnotti, *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria* 21 (1898), 92 lines 28-29. For more on John of Parma, see R. Brooke, *Early Franciscan government: Elias to Bonaventura* (Cambridge, 1959), 255-72.

[246] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 268 lines 33-35; trans. Baird, 166.

[247] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 467 lines 19-29; trans. Baird, 305.

[248] See ch. 3, 155-56.

[249] *Ipse recepit litteras a Manuele dicto, patriarcha Constantinopolitano, et a Iohanne dicto, imperatore Graecorum, de Ecclesia adunanda*, *Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ministrorum*, 697 lines 20-21.

[250] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 555. It has also been argued that Vatatzes contacted the Franciscans in Constantinople for the express purpose of summoning John of Parma to the East, Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 88; Roncaglia, *Les Freres mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe au XIIIe siècle 1231-1274*, 102.

[251] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 88-89, says that the pope could not respond to the invitation from Vatatzes fast enough. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 163, emphasizes that the pope's decision to embrace negotiations with the Empire of Nicaea was 'a decisive step away from the use of crusading as the papacy's dominant policy in Frankish Greece.'

charged John of Parma with the task of negotiations with the Greek Church.[252] The papal embassy was promptly dispatched to the East, travelling with the two envoys sent by Vatatzes, and joined by other friars who, like those who argued the Latin cause in 1234, were skilled in disputation and the Greek language.[253] Nicholas da Calvi stated that John of Parma was accompanied by many Franciscans who, like him, were wise and accomplished doctors of theology.[254] Two letters, both dated 28 May 1249, outline John of Parma's powers as papal representative.[255] The first advised him to be cautious when dealing with the Greeks and 'the noble man Vatatzes,' but also to encourage them to 'return to the obedience and reverence of the Roman Church, mother and mistress of all the faithful, from which they have for long withdrawn themselves.'[256] The second letter gives more detailed information, clarifying John of Parma's office and giving us a greater understanding of Innocent IV's priorities. At the pope's instruction, the coming *disputatio* would focus on the procession issue,

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[252] According to Salimbene, when they met in Lyons, Innocent IV declared to John of Parma, 'We have happy news: the Greeks wish to be reconciled with the Roman Church. Therefore, I want you to go to them with a good company of the Brothers of your Order, and it may be that with your mediation God may deign to do some good for us. And you may have whatever help you wish' – *Utiles habemus rumores, scilicet quod Greci reconciliari velint cum Romana Ecclesia; quapropter volo quod vadas ad eos cum bona societate fratrum Ordinis tui, et poterit esse quod, te mediante, aliquid boni Deus dignabitur operari. Ex parte autem mea omnem gratiam quam volueris habeas*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 lines 32-3; trans. Baird, 321.

[253] These included Dreux of Bourgogne and Bonaventure of Iseo. Salimbene de Adam, described Dreux of Bourgogne, Franciscan minister to Burgundy, as 'a fine, noble man, who was learned and holy, an excellent lector in theology, who was ready to preach to the Brothers every day' – *Duxit etiam secum fratrem Drudonem, ministrum Burgundie, qui erat nobilis homo, pulcher et litteratus et sanctus. Nam magnus lector erat in theologia, et qualibet die fratribus predicare volebat*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 489 line 11 – 490 line 14; trans. Baird, 321. Bonaventure of Iseo was 'a famous man, who had in the past been Minister of various provinces' – *Duxit similiter secum fratrem Bonaventuram de Yseo, qui erat famosus homo et antiquus minister in diversis provinciis*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 490 lines 14-16; trans. Baird, 321. Salimbene stated that many other qualified individuals made up the papal embassy, but he neglects to mention them, *Duxit et multos alios ydoneos fraters, quorum nomina ponere non expedit modo*, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 490 lines 16-17; trans. Baird, 321. See also Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, 299; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89.

[254] *Dans ipsi socios et sequaces eiusdem ordinis fratres viros sapientia doctos pariter et maturos*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 92 lines 30-31.

[255] *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 70, 122-24 and no. 71, 125-26.

[256] *cum Graecis ipsis et specialiter cum nobili viro Vatacio et Praelatis, diligenter tractare procures, ut ad Ecclesiae Romanae, matris fidelium omnium et magistrae, oboedientiam et devotionem, a qua se diutius subtraxerunt, provide revertantur*, *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 70, 123 lines 10-14; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 88-89.

'because never will it be possible for the Churches to be united wholly and perfectly, unless the error that they hold about the Holy Spirit is corrected.'[257] John of Parma was instructed to convince the Greek Church to adopt the *filioque*,[258] and to discuss no other matters.[259]

To attain this goal, Innocent IV granted John of Parma the authority to convene a council in the East.[260] Although various historians have noted the permission to convene a council,[261] few have fully explored the implications of this evolution of papal policy from 1234 to 1249. This was a power not available to the friars who negotiated with Germanos II at Nicaea and Nymphaion. Indeed, the friars on that occasion maintained that they were not permitted to take part in a council at the *disputatio* of 1234,[262] and that their mandate was as *simplices nuncios*, undertaking a more casual form of conversation on dogmatic and liturgical divergence.[263] The role of John of Parma almost fifteen years later was apparently very different. His authority was certainly closer to that of a legate, fully empowered to negotiate on behalf of the pope.

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[257] *quia nunquam salubriter et perfecte ipsi possunt Ecclesiae conuniri, nisi prorsus erroneum, quem circa Spiritum Sanctum habent*, *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 71, 125 lines 6-8.
[258] *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 71, 125 lines 10-13.
[259] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89, suspects that Innocent IV issued this command as a result of the lessons learned from the *disputatio* of 1234. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 163, argues that this restriction was apparently lifted before the negotiations began.
[260] *Et quia nonnulli Graecorum ipsorum sapientes, sicut verum est, asserunt, Romanum Pontificem, penes quem solum convocandi Concilia manet auctoritas, posse congregato Concilio sua et ipsius Concilli auctoritate nostrum et eorundem Graecorum Symbolum concordare, discretioni Tuae convocandi et celebrandi propter hoc in illis partibus, si oportuerit, Concilium et auctoritatem in illo vice nostra tribuendi, ut in praefato Graecorum Symbolo scribatur ad observantiam perpetuam de processione ipsius Spiritus Sancti sicut in praedicto Ecclesiae Romanae Symbolo continetur; necnon contradictores super hiis per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellendi, plenam et liberam concedimus potestatem*, *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 71, 125 lines 14-24.
[261] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 555; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 163.
[262] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 429 lines 1-4; see ch. 3, 209-210, 227-28.
[263] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 2, 428 line 28 – 429 line 1.

John of Parma and his companions probably arrived at Nymphaion in late 1249, and the meetings with Patriarch Manuel II and his clergy, presided over by Vatatzes, began early the next year.[264] Salimbene de Adam related that the emperor presented the Franciscan with several expensive gifts, all of which he refused on account of his Christian humility.[265] That Vatatzes would offer gifts to the papal representative is not at all surprising. George Akropolites noted the emperor's penchant for generosity toward foreign representatives,[266] and gift-giving was a standard practice of Byzantine diplomacy. However, the bestowal of gifts to the papal representative in 1250 stands in sharp contrast to events in 1234, in which the friars who arrived at Nicaea and Nymphaion mentioned no specific gifts from the emperor or patriarch. In their report of 1234, the friars made frequent mention of their gratitude shown to Vatatzes for the honours and hospitality he had given to them, but they never explicitly made reference to any gifts that may have changed hands. The friars would not have missed the opportunity to highlight their own 'Christian humility' in refusing gifts, thus we must conclude that Vatatzes was notably more generous to John of Parma than he had been to the papal representatives in 1234.

Scant information exists to describe the *disputatio* of 1250. We are given no indication of the setting for the renewed proceedings, other than the fact that they took

[264] For these dates, see A. Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio (1249-1254) La legazione di Giovanni da Parma* (Rome, 1981), 66-67; Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 556; Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 126; Munitiz, *A partial account*, 119 note 82. Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 490 lines 17-18; trans. Baird, 321, says only that John of Parma's embassy left after Easter.
[265] Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 466 lines 26-32; trans. Baird, 304. John of Parma eventually accepted a quirt, which he later realized was a symbol of imperial authority and protection for him and his entourage, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 466 lines 32-9; trans. Baird, 304.
[266] 'Gifts he [Vatatzes] made less use of for his own subjects, but to foreigners, and especially to those who came as ambassadors, he extended a more open hand, that he might be praised by them' – *δωρεαῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἧττον ἐχρᾶτο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ὡς πρέσβεις ἀφικομένους δαψιλεστέραν τὴν χεῖρα προύτεινεν, ἵν' αὐτῶν ἐπαινοῖτο*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 103 lines 20-23; trans. Macrides, 52.271.

place in Nymphaion.[267] We know from the report on the *disputatio* of 1234 that the patriarch maintained a residence there, but we cannot rule out that the meeting in 1250 took place in the imperial palace.[268] Despite the number of capable and learned friars representing Innocent IV at this *disputatio*, no Latin report describing these meetings has survived.[269] The only Byzantine to provide a thorough discussion of the *disputatio* of 1250 was Nikephoros Blemmydes, who once again was present and championed the Greek Church against Latin arguments.[270] It is ironic that, just as in 1234, so too in 1250 Blemmydes was initially prohibited from speaking at this meeting. He explained that the scandal involving Marchesina was rather recent, and 'had not yet been completely resolved.'[271] Thus, he had his detractors, who sought to exclude him from the proceedings.[272]

After much discussion, Blemmydes tells us that the friars presented the following argument – 'The Father is active through the Son, and the Son through the Spirit. But as the Son is *from* [*ἐκ*] the Father, the Spirit must also be from [*ἐκ*] the Son.'[273] At the centre of the friars' claim was the idea that *διὰ* (through) was the same

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[267] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 lines 9-10; trans. Munitiz, 120.

[268] Munitiz, *A partial account*, 119 note 82, imagines that the *disputatio* of 1250 took place in the imperial palace in Nymphaion, and deduces from this a larger role of the emperor than of the patriarch. However, the setting of the imperial palace is never specified.

[269] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89. This makes our report of the *disputatio* of 1234 all the more important.

[270] For his second discussion with papal representatives, see Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 – ch. 60, 73; trans. Munitiz, 119 – 125.

[271] 'The discussion with the Roman representatives began, but I was silent as I had not been given permission to speak. My tiff with the anti-Empress [Marchesina] had not yet been completely resolved, as the adventure was of recent date' – *ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης διάλογος γίνεται, μενόντων ἡμῶν, ὡς μὴ λέγειν ἐπιτετραμμένων, ἐν σιωπῇ, τῆς διὰ τὴν ἀντιβασιλίδα μενοῦν γε καὶ ὑπερβασιλίδα δυσφορίας, ἐπείπερ ὑπόγυον ἔτι τὸ τόλμημα, μήπω διαλελυμένης ἐς τέλεον*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 lines 10-14; trans. Munitiz, 120.

[272] These detractors likely included the patriarch, Manuel II. Munitiz, *A Partial Account*, 119 note 85, points out that Blemmydes did not identify the patriarch by name, but only by a wanting comparison with his predecessors. See Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 50, 67 lines 5-9; trans. Munitiz, 119.

[273] *Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐνεργεῖ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὁ Υἱὸς, ἐπεὶ γοῦν ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 51, 68 lines 2-4; trans. Munitiz, 120.

as *ἐκ* (from).[274] The assembled clergy were unable to respond to this assertion.[275] Vatatzes, according to Blemmydes, repeated the statement to give them time to consider a rebuttal,[276] but still the Greek clergy were silent. Finally, both the emperor and others looked to Blemmydes to respond to the friars.[277] He answered that *διὰ* should be not understood as indicating causality by the Son, as this was a hypostatic property belonging only to the Father. Instead, *διὰ* was used by patristic fathers to show the unity of the God-head.[278] The account by Blemmydes gives us no impression of the reaction by John of Parma and his companions, although it does indicate that their argument remained fixed around the issue of procession, as instructed by Innocent IV.[279]

Except for the commentary from Blemmydes about theological debate, there is no further direct information describing the *disputatio* of 1250.[280] We can only speculate about what else transpired and what matters were discussed. As we saw in the *disputatio* of 1234, theological debate was an intrinsic element of diplomacy. Thus, we might imagine that John of Parma took the opportunity to draw Vatatzes

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[274] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 126.
[275] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 556, suggests that the Greek clergy were 'stunned' by this statement.
[276] As we saw during the *disputatio* of 1234, Blemmydes depicted the emperor as taking an active role in these theological discussions.
[277] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 51, 68 lines 4-13; trans. Munitiz, 120.
[278] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 52, 68 – ch. 60, 73; trans. Munitiz, 120-125. For more on the rebuttal by Blemmydes in 1250, see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89-90; Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 126.
[279] Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 75-82, and Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164, argue that the topics for debate in 1250 went beyond the *filioque*.

The *disputatio* of 1250 apparently inspired Blemmydes to consider the problem of procession further. See his two treatises on the subject in Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 258-73, and 304-53. G. Mercati, 'Blemmidea,' *Bessarione*, 31 (1915), 236, has argued that these documents were composed before 1250, but Munitiz, *A partial account*, 119 note 82, and Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 239-42, have proven otherwise, explaining that the arguments of Blemmydes would have carried little weight following the Marchesina scandal in 1248. The discussions with John of Parma in 1250 meant that Blemmydes was again in demand. For more on the arguments of Blemmydes, see Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 126.
[280] A brief mention of the *disputatio* of 1250 is found in the panegyric by Theodore II Laskaris for his father, dated 1250, *Opuscula rhetorica*, ed. Tartaglia, 56. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 66 note 134, agrees that the *disputatio* described is that involving John of Parma, and not the previous *disputatio* in 1234, which took place when Theodore II was still a child.

away from his alliance with Frederick II.[281] This was almost certainly part of Innocent IV's intention in dispatching the embassy.

His efforts were apparently successful, as John of Parma returned west in the company of a huge embassy sent by Vatatzes to the pope. This in itself indicates to the positive outcome of the *disputatio* in 1250. As we have seen, the friars who represented Gregory IX in 1234 refused to permit a Byzantine embassy to return to Rome with them, noting the continued disagreement of the churches.[282] 'Solemn *nuncii* of the Greeks, archbishops, bishops and other nobles,' arrived at the papal curia in November 1251 to continue the talks.[283] The Byzantine representatives included four archbishops, sixteen bishops, and several dignitaries and officials.[284] While this embassy should be considered a positive step in the relationship between Nicaea and Rome, we cannot take it as evidence that the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance was beginning to falter. Indeed, at almost exactly the same time Vatatzes that sent this embassy to Innocent IV in 1250, he sent additional troops to fight under Frederick II in Italy.[285] It seems, therefore, that this embassy was an attempt by Vatatzes to explore his options, keeping open all possibilities for bringing Constantinople back under Byzantine control.

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[281] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 608; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 89, 275 note 39.

[282] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 lines 21-26, see ch. 3, 257-58. We can, therefore, imagine that some progress had been made at Nymphaion in 1250 for John of Parma to permit Vatatzes to send his representatives. Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 556, surmises that an 'irenic atmosphere prevailed' in 1250.

[283] *Isto namque tempore sollempnes Grecorum nuncii, utpote archiepiscopi, episcopi et alii nobiles milites ex parte Bathacii super primis eorum tractatibus iterato ad Romanam curiam pervenerunt*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 112 lines 25-27. The embassy to Innocent IV was delayed by the Hohenstaufen rulers of southern Italy. See below, 357-61. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 1, 70, suggests that the embassy reached the pope around Easter 1251, while Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 90 argues for a date later in 1251.

[284] Based on the size and rank of the participants of this embassy, Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164, maintains that this embassy was second in grandeur only to that which arrived at the Council of Florence in 1439.

[285] See above, 313-17.

The embassy to Innocent IV carried an amiable letter from Patriarch Manuel II.[286] This letter, indirectly, indicates a positive conclusion to the *disputatio* in Nymphaion in 1250. Manuel II praised the pope's desire for peace and reconciliation. 'We approve with all our hearts and desire in Christ the healing of the long-standing schism; indeed we seek rather the complete union of the one Church of Christ, and an unbreakable bond of communion, or, it would be more fittingly said, of a unity of nature of the separated parts to last for all ages.'[287] He went on to explain that whatever was agreed between the Byzantine envoys and Innocent IV would be accepted by the whole of the Greek Church.[288] This letter indicates that a strong foundation for union negotiations had been established at Nymphaion, and that emperor and patriarch were mutually prepared to continue towards a compromise with the papacy.

Unfortunately, no record describing the negotiations that took place at Perugia exists. However, a document found in the correspondence of Pope Alexander IV, referring to negotiations in the early 1250s, may shed some light on the *disputatio* as it unfolded at either Nymphaion, or later at Perugia. The document, the *Capitula*,[289] is

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[286] For this letter, see *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, appendix, 195-99. The dating of this letter is problematic. G. Hofmann, 'Patriarch von Nikaia Manuel II an Papst Innozenz IV,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 19 (1953), 64-65, gives the date 1250, while Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1319, 126-28, prefers 1253. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 275 note 46, admits that the letter can date to the later embassy of 1253, but he too prefers to date this document to 1250/1. See also Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 217 note 78.

[287] *ἐναγόμενοι καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι κράτιστα καὶ ἐπιποθοῦμεν κατὰ Χριστὸν τὴν τοῦ προγεγηνημένου σχίσματος συῤῥαφήν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ὁλικὴν συνουσίωσιν τῆς μιᾶς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, καὶ δεσμὸν ἀλληλουχίας ἢ συμφυΐας εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, ἐπιζητοῦμεν τῶν διεστώτων εἰς αἰῶνας τοὺς σύμπαντας ἀδιάῤῥηκτον* , *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, appendix, 198 lines 16-24; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 90-91.

[288] *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, appendix, 199. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 91, argues that, by leaving final agreement up to Innocent IV, Manuel II was effectively presenting a complete recognition of papal primacy. Theodore II Laskaris, referring to this embassy in a letter to Nikephoros Blemmydes, expressed some concern that such action signified obedience to the Roman Church, Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 18, 24-25.

[289] *Capitula* is how the document is referred to by Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164.

a list of proposals for a union of the churches.[290] Recent scholarship has had trouble pinpointing the origin of the text. Joseph Gill suspects that it was the work of later negotiations in 1253.[291] Nikolaos Chrissis disagrees, suggesting that the document was drawn up when the overtures between Vatatzes and the papacy were first renewed at Nymphaion in 1250.[292] Neither interpretation is entirely satisfactory. Both examine the document as the product of a single meeting, or moment in time, and not as the result of a series of meetings and correspondence over a long duration. Let us first examine the document, and then consider its origin.

The *Capitula*, as preserved in the register of Alexander IV, begins by identifying four of the chief Byzantine representatives – the archbishops of Cyzicus and Sardis, the Count Angelus, and 'the Great Interpreter Theophylactus' – who presented the measures to Innocent IV on behalf of Vatatzes.[293] It continues by presenting nine points, outlining the responsibilities of both parties required to achieve the union. Points one through eight all reflect the requirements of the Greek Church in regard to papal primacy. These included obedience to the pope, the right of appeal to the Roman See, a place of honour for the pontiff in any council of the church, and other aspects that acknowledged papal primacy.[294] The only measure that directly benefited the Byzantines was the final point:

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[290] For various editions of the *Capitula*, see *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 39-44; Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 83-87; F. Schillmann, 'Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV,' *Römische Quartalschrift* 22 (1908), 115-18; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 21, anno 1256, par 48-55, 516-18. See the translation in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 92-93.

[291] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 92-93, repeats the old assertion by Norden, *Papstitum und Byzanz*, 367. B. Stolte, 'Vatatzes versus Baldwin, the case of the sovereignty of Constantinople, 'in *The Latin Empire: some contributions*, ed. V. van Aalst and K. N. Ciggaar (1990), 128, goes even further, suggesting that the *Capitula* refers to negotiations in 1254.

[292] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164.

[293] *Quisicen, et Sarden, archiepiscopis, et Angelus comes, ac Theophylaceus magnus interpres*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 39 lines 1-3. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 276 note 53, correctly points out that Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1223, 30, is mistaken in dating the mission of these envoys to 1219.

[294] Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Churches,' 608, notes that these concessions by the Byzantines were unprecedented in the history of church-union negotiations.

> Besides this, the same envoys requested that the sovereignty of the city of Constantinople should be restored to the oft-mentioned Kalojan,[295] and the rights of the patriarchal Sees both there and elsewhere to the [Greek] patriarchs, and that the Latin Emperor and Patriarchs should be removed from the same city and Sees, the Patriarch of Antioch being left in that city for his lifetime.[296]

Although this is the only measure to benefit the Byzantine position, the implications of its inclusion in the *Capitula* are staggering.[297] Ratification of this document would allow Vatatzes to claim the central objective of Byzantine diplomacy, sought since 1204. What do we make, however, of the request that the eastern patriarchates claimed by Latins (Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople) be returned to the Greek Church?[298] This is an issue that had not arisen in 1234. It indicates that Vatatzes and Manuel II had begun to consider the practical problems that would arise once Latin control in Constantinople had ended, specifically how they might administer a patriarchate claimed by two prelates. This had been a problem in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean since the First Crusade. Thus, it is easy to see why Vatatzes would take this opportunity to settle the question before he entered Constantinople, and also advocate for the rights of his church in areas under Latin control. Doing so would greatly enhance his prestige as protector of eastern Christendom, and bolster his claim to the Byzantine imperial ideal by fulfilling the role of the Komnenoi emperors. However, the return of Constantinople to Byzantine rule in exchange for obedience to the Roman Church was the most important proposal in the *Capitula*. For Vatatzes, it represented the fulfillment of his ultimate foreign policy objective, and here it was presented to the pope for approval.

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[295] i.e. Vatatzes.

[296] *Ad haec iidem nuntii saepedicto Caloiohanni Constantinopolitanae civitatis imperium et patriarchis (graecis) ibidem et alibi patriarchalium sedium iura restitui petierunt ac imperatorem et patriarchas latinos ab eisdem civitate ac sedibus amoveri, Antiocheno patriarcha in illa ecclesia, dum viveret, tollerato*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 39 line 29 – 40 line 2; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 93.

[297] Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 119-29.

[298] The one exception was the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, a nephew of Innocent IV, who would be allowed to keep his office for his lifetime, Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 165.

How do the contents of the *Capitula* help us to understand when it was written, and by whom? Firstly, the inclusion of the fate of Constantinople makes it unlikely that the document was approved or discussed by John of Parma at Nymphaion in 1250. His mandate did not permit him to discuss any issue other than the *filioque*, which is noticeably absent from the *Capitula*. This document may have come about as a result of John of Parma's time in Nymphaion, but his direct influence in the work seems to be limited. Still, we must consider that the *Capitula*, or some version of its central agreement – obedience to Rome in exchange for control of Constantinople – came about rather early in the negotiation process. The restoration of Byzantine control in Constantinople was the beginning of the matter for Vatatzes. It would not have been put off until 1253, as Gill suggests. Rather, the obedience in theological and liturgical matters required by the pope would have been matched to the political demands of the Byzantine state quite quickly in the process of negotiations.[299] Therefore, we should consider that the main themes of the *Capitula* were the product of Vatatzes, Manuel II, and the Greek clergy, independent of John of Parma, but composed during or shortly after his time in Nymphaion. These proposals were then carried by the Byzantine embassy that met with Innocent IV in Perugia in 1251-1252.

Further evidence testifying to the fact that the *Capitula* was of Byzantine origin comes from the *Responsum*,[300] Innocent IV's reaction to the proposals, again conveyed in the correspondence of Alexander IV.[301] According to the evidence from Alexander IV's letters, the *Responsum* articulated two main reservations regarding the

[299] Stolte, 'Vatatzes versus Baldwin,' 127, explains that any agreement for union would have required a *quid pro quo* situation, i.e., union in exchange for the restoration of Constantinople.
[300] *Responsum* is how the document is referred to by Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 165.
[301] *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 40-41; Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 194-99. No individual document exists reflecting Innocent IV's response to the *Capitula*, it is only understood through the same letter from Alexander IV.

Capitula – the *filioque* and the legality of replacing one ruler in Constantinople with another. Alexander IV thought the omission of the *filioque* from the *Capitula* to be problematic, and he indicated that Innocent IV felt likewise.

> Our predecessor considered it very illogical, that in a council that article alone of the Nicene Creed, in which the Greek Church seems to differ somewhat from the Roman about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, was excepted by the aforesaid orators from the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, because the Greek Church would not agree to its definition in a council, unless this should establish what was defined by the witness of authentic scripture or a divine utterance. For the grounds on which the Greek Church was moved to refuse him on this one article the power of defining that it does not deny to him in the other articles of the faith did not seem reasonable.[302]

Put succinctly, Alexander IV (and, presumably, Innocent IV) thought it 'unreasonable' that the papacy should be given authority to clarify questions of faith, but not in the area of the procession.[303]

Innocent IV's second reservation concerned the pope's authority to depose the Latin emperor in Constantinople.

> Further, in regard to the aforesaid sovereignty, the same envoys received this reply from the same predecessor: that on that count, if the Latin Emperor has not been cited, right given by law does not allow of anything being settled, because a settlement would seem to be voided unless it were a process against one who either had pleaded guilty or been convicted. But so as not to omit anything that might conduce to the reconciliation of the Greek Church, he offered his earnest services to bring about a composition between Kalojan and the Emperor, confident that by his efforts he would succeed.[304]

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[302] *idem praedecessor satis absonum reputavit, quod in concilio celebrando ille solus articulus simboli Nicaenae synodi, in quo de processione Sancti Spiritus Graeca ecclesia aliquantulum a Romana dissonare videtur, per praefatos nuntios a Romani Pontificis excipiebatur iudicio, adiicientes, quod diffinitioni eius in concilio Graeca non acquiesceret Ecclesia, nisi quod diffinitum esset per Scripturae autenticae testimonium vel divinum oraculum comprobaret. Non enim videbatur rationabilis causa, qua Graeca Ecclesia movebatur, ut diffiniendi potestatem, quam Romanum Pontificem habere non negat, in ceteris fidei articulis, velit eium in hoc uno articulo non habere*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 40 lines 18-28; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 94.

[303] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 217-18, notes that Vatatzes safeguarded the position of the Greek Church on the issue of procession by making acceptance of papal decisions contingent on their agreement with the gospels and canons.

[304] *Porro de praedicti imperii negotio iidem nuntii hoc receperunt ab eodem praedecessore responsum: quod super eo, non vocato imperatore latino, contra ipsum iuris ratio non patitur aliquid diffiniri, quia diffinitio irrita videretur, nisi adversus citatum confessum procederet vel convictum. Sed ut nichil di hiis, quae reconciliationi Orientalis Ecclesiae cooperantur, omitteret, paratum se obtulit ad compositionem inter praefatum Caloiohannem et imperatorem eundem interponere studiosius partes suas, confidens eam per sum stadium provenire*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 40 line 37 – 41 line 3; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 94.

The pope made it clear that he could not depose Baldwin II and install Vatatzes in Constantinople unless the Latin emperor was guilty of some wrongdoing.[305] That Innocent IV had the authority to depose a secular ruler, or at least thought he had such authority, is made evident by his deposition of Frederick II at the Council of Lyons in 1245, not long before meeting the Byzantine embassy at Perugia in 1251.[306] In the case of Frederick II, however, Innocent IV was convinced of the Hohenstaufen emperor's guilt, as evidenced by his excommunication. Still, Innocent IV's *Responsum* to the proposals of the Byzantine embassy does not exclude the possibility of a resolution. We see that he offered his 'earnest services' to bring about a compromise between Baldwin II and Vatatzes. What he intended here is unclear,[307] but the offer indicates that the pope was desperately trying to keep negotiations alive, despite refusing to fulfil the main requirement of Vatatzes.[308]

At this point, negotiations had been extremely encouraging, but had fallen short of the hopes of both sides. Never did the representatives of the Greek Church promise to make an oath of obedience to the pope,[309] nor did they agree to accept the *filioque*. For his part, Innocent IV was unwilling to make promises in regards to sovereignty over Constantinople. The embassy Vatatzes had sent to Perugia returned to Nicaea empty handed. This explains a pause in the negotiations between Rome and Nicaea that has confused scholars who struggle to explain subsequent actions,

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[305] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 94-95; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 218; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 165.
[306] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Tanner, vol. 1, 278-83. Indeed, it may have been the case that Vatatzes expected the pope to use the same mechanism to depose Baldwin II. See Stolte, 'Vatatzes versus Baldwin,' 127.
[307] Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 208-212, suggests that Innocent IV was promising to find in favour of Vatatzes and his claims to Constantinople, thus abandoning his support for the Latin empire. Stolte, 'Vatatzes versus Baldwin,' 128, envisages the offer as something closer to legal mediation between Vatatzes and Baldwin II.
[308] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 166-67, argues that the fact that Innocent IV was willing to entertain the subject of Constantinople at all was already a victory for Vatatzes.
[309] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 95.

especially by the papacy.[310] Innocent IV, apparently concerned about Byzantine reprisals in 1252, began limited measures to bolster the Latin empire following his refusal to ratify the *Capitula*. He directed the prelates of Frankish Greece to divert revenue to the Doge of Venice and the Prince of Achaia – the two chief supporters of Latin Constantinople.[311] In February 1253, the pope called on Latin mercenaries serving the Empire of Nicaea to abandon their employer, offering to lift their excommunications.[312] Most telling was Innocent IV's decision, in the same month, to appoint a new Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. The previous Latin Patriarch, Nicholas of Castell'Arquato, had died in 1251.[313] It seems likely that Innocent IV had kept the post vacant in the hopes that an agreement on union with the Greek Church was imminent, and that it would be facilitated by the absence of a Latin claimant to the patriarchal throne in Constantinople. By filling the position, Innocent IV can be understood to have become less optimistic.[314]

These measures did little to enhance the security of Latin Constantinople.[315] The desperate situation of the Latin empire is made most evident by Baldwin II's decision to mortgage his own son and heir, Philip, to Venetian merchants in exchange

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[310] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 91, does not clearly explain why he believes Innocent IV temporarily withdrew from union negotiations after 1252. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 168, suspects that the pope was alarmed by the Nicaean advance into Epiros in 1252, and thus moved to secure Latin Constantinople against possible attack.

[311] E. Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* (Paris, 1884-1897), no. 5923, 100; *Acta Innocentii Papae IV,* ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 82, 44-45.

[312] *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, no. 6337, 176.

[313] Nicholas had attended the Council of Lyons in 1245, and apparently never returned east. He died in Milan, Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 123 note 190; R. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1 (1954), 290-92; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 168, note 119.

[314] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 556, argues that, by appointing a new Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Innocent IV made his position 'crystal clear' regarding union with the Greek Church. See also Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 92; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 168. The new Latin Patriarch of Constantinople was a Venetian, Panteleone Giustiniani, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, no. 6804, 273-74. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 168, suspects that, by appointing a Venetian, Innocent IV was attempting to elicit greater commitment by Venice to the defense of Constantinople.

[315] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 92, notes that the only aspect of the situation to change in Constantinople from 1252-1253 was that it became even poorer, while Vatatzes became even stronger.

for much needed funds.[316] Still, we might wonder why Innocent IV felt the need to direct more aid to Constantinople after the momentary stall in union negotiations with Vatatzes. The simple answer is the precedent posed by similar events in 1234. After the *disputatio* in Nicaea and Nymphaion failed, Vatatzes responded with a massive assault against Constantinople that nearly brought about the end of the Latin empire.[317] Innocent IV apparently feared that Vatatzes, who was in an even stronger position in 1252, would again attempt similar action. The direct impact of theological negotiations on political reality had been proven in 1234, and the pope was not interested in seeing history repeat itself. Again, this is indicated by the correspondence of Alexander IV.

> Assuredly, with the counsel of his brethren (when I [Alexander IV] was of lesser rank than I am now), Our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Innocent, approved the aforesaid offer and declaration in order that, through acceptance of such goodwill for the welcome progress resulting from so great a reconciliation, the whole community of the faithful might be rejoiced, hoping that, once the aforesaid Church had by God's grace returned to the embrace of maternal peace, by a spontaneous dilation of its love it would widen the bounds of its offer and declaration.[318]

This interpretation depends on viewing Alexander IV's recollection as being not of a single event, but a series of events. Innocent IV was initially disappointed by the terms offered after the *disputatio* of 1250, but when he realized that his only advantage in bargaining, Latin control in Constantinople, was about to be lost, he was forced to become more open.

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[316] R. Wolff, 'Mortgage and redemption of an emperor's son: Castile and the Latin empire of Constantinople,' *Speculum* 29 (1954), 45-84.
[317] See above, 284-91.
[318] *Sane oblationem professionemque praemissas felicis recordationis I. pp. praedecessor noster de fratrum suorum consilio, nobis tunc in minori officio constitutis, ut per huiusmodi benignitatis assensum desiderabili tantae reconciliationis incremento, tota laetaretur fidelium universitas, approbavit, sperans, quod postquam praedicta ecclesia in maternae pacis amplexum, dante Domino, rediisset, oblationis et professionis suae terminos per liberam dilectionis latitudinem ampliaret*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 40 lines 3-10; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 93.

Talks resumed when another embassy from Vatatzes arrived at Anagni in Spring 1254.[319] Once again, no source explains how or why Vatatzes decided to send a new embassy to the pope, or what was discussed. It is possible, therefore, that Innocent IV had reached out to Vatatzes, inviting him to send another delegation to pick up where they had left off at Perugia. The only source for the meeting at Anagni, the *Vita* of Innocent IV by Nicholas da Calvi, gives only sparing details. The author was mostly concerned with the detention of the Byzantine embassy by Conrad, son of Frederick II, on their way to the Roman curia.[320] After travelling to Rome, Assisi, and finally Anagni, the pope gave to the envoys a letter of response for Vatatzes, and they returned east.[321] We are given no indication of the contents of this letter, or the reaction from Vatatzes.

It is difficult to explain why the meeting at Anagni failed to bring about a union of the churches. Greek sources that discuss the negotiations of the 1250s suggest that it was the papacy who backed away from an agreement. George Metochites remarked that the pope feared a Latin civil war should he accept the terms for union.[322] George Pachymeres stated that union would have been achieved had the Latins accepted the agreement.[323] We should not be too quick to imagine that fault lay only with the pope. Alexander IV, referring to these events in his letter only two years later, stated that various unforeseen obstacles, as well as the emperor himself, stood in

[319] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 217; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 92, suggests a date of arrival in 1253.
[320] *Qui quidem per ipsum per plures menses in ipso regno Apulie detenti fuerant ne venirent*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 112 lines 28-29. From there, Nicholas de Carbio delved into a denunciation of Conrad, comparing him to his heretical father, 112 line 20 – 113 line 15. For more on this detention, see below, 360-61.
[321] *Inde vero Grecorum nuntii, qui de urbe Roman secuti sunt dominum papam usque Assisium, et de Assisio usque ad dictam civitatem Anagnie, petita licentia et obtempta ipsius summi pontificis ad ipsorum dominum Bacthacium cum responsivis domini pape licteris sunt reversi*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 114 lines 19-23. Note that the letter is addressed to 'their lord Vatatzes,' while no mention is made of a message to the patriarch of the Greek Church.
[322] George Metochites, *Λόγος Διαλαμβάνων*, ed. A. Maius, *Novae Patrum Bibliothaece* (Rome, 1871), vol. 8, part 2, 28.
[323] George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 2, 471 lines 9-22.

the way of union.[324] Vatatzes was in an increasingly strong position in the 1250s, and may have concluded that church union was no longer necessary to regain Constantinople.[325] Any agreement that was reached, or may have been reached, was made obsolete by the sudden death of each of the players involved in the union negotiations, within a few months of each other. Patriarch Manuel II died at some point between August and October 1254.[326] Both emperor and pope died soon after – Vatatzes in early November and Innocent IV almost a month later.[327] Although it is difficult to extrapolate what might have happened had each of these men lived, we must consider that further dialogue, if not a fully developed agreement on union, would have been likely.[328]

It was up to their successors to carry on the talks. Alexander IV was not as invested in Romania as Innocent IV had been. The demands of his pontificate forced his attention elsewhere.[329] Thus, it was Theodore II Laskaris who initiated the next round of talks. In 1256, he dispatched an embassy to the pope consisting of the *nuncios* Theodore Dokianos and Demetrius Spartenos,[330] who requested that the pope

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[324] *sed eodem principe sublato de medio et aliis intervenientibus praepeditionum obstaculis, progressum non habuit res optatum*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28a, 44 lines 11-13.

[325] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 96, is particularly convinced that it was the 'intolerant Greeks' who opposed union.

[326] For August, see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 95. For October, see Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 218, and Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164.

[327] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 218; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 95; Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 250-59; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164.

[328] Stolte, 'Vatatzes versus Baldwin,' 127. The opposite view is held by Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal Discussions in 1234,' 230, who argues that the negotiations of the 1250s were 'fruitless' because neither party would ever live up to their end of the bargain, and that the talks themselves were merely political ploys to further strategic ends.

[329] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 97, notes that papal conflict with the Hohenstaufen in Italy had worsened since Frederick II's death in 1250, thus the new pope was too distracted with other matters to consider union with the Greek Church. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 172-74, agrees that Alexander IV was overwhelmed by his other responsibilities, and only considered the needs of Latin Constantinople in a 'token letter,' B. de la Roncière, *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV* (Paris, 1895-1959), vol. 1, no. 34, 9-10.

[330] The envoys from Theodore II Laskaris are identified by Alexander IV in his reply, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28b, 49 lines 31-32.

send a representative to the East to continue the talks.[331] Alexander IV's choice as papal legate, Constantine, bishop of Orvieto, apparently had previous diplomatic experience with the Empire of Nicaea.[332] He may have travelled with John of Parma and taken part in the *disputatio* of 1250, or served as a papal envoy at some other stage of the negotiations. The pope's instructions for Constantine's mission were quite clear. If he found the Byzantines more generous than they had been in 1250-1254, he was to negotiate a better deal. If they remained fixed on the terms of the *Capitula*, Constantine was to settle and seal that agreement.[333]

Constantine carried with him two letters from Alexander IV. The first, addressed to Theodore II Laskaris, referred to the emperor in Nicaea as the 'most beloved son in Christ, T(heodore), illustrious emperor of the Greeks.'[334] This is the first known occasion since 1204 in which a pope referred to a Byzantine ruler as 'emperor.'[335] The letter itself is very positive. The pope expressed his hope that renewed negotiations would liberate the eastern Church from the 'serpent' who holds

[331] Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, no. 143, 202-204; *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, appendix, no. 1, 125-26. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 98, notes the vague language of this letter, indicating that much more was communicated verbally to the pope.
[332] In his letter to Constantine, Alexander IV made reference to his previous service, *felicis recordationis I(nnocentius) papa, praedecessor noster, de consilio fratrum suorum ad prosequendum auspicia cepti negotii cum nuntiis quondam I(ohannis) Graecorum principis, qui ad id studiose videbatur intendere, te illuc providerat destinandum*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28a, 44 lines 7-11.
[333] 'However, we wish you brother, bishop of Orvieto, whom we have sent with the office of legate to the regions of the Greeks, to proceed carefully to that which they put forward. If you are able to obtain more advantageous and honourable in these for the Roman Church and more proper for the negotiation of reconciliation from the Greeks, do not precipitously rush to the articles previously related or even accepted by them' – *Volumus autem, ut tu frater Urbevetane episcope, quem cum legationis officio ad partes Graecorum transmittimus, iuxta ea quae praemissa sunt caute procederes, si plura hiis utiliora et honorabiliora Romanae Ecclesiae ac aptiora reconciliationis negotio a Graecis impetrari potueris, non repente prosilias ad praemissa capitula exponenda illis vel etiam acceptanda*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28, 41-42, here quoted 41 lines 28-33. See also Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 98; Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 83-90; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 174.
[334] *Carissimo in Christo filio T. Imperatori Graecorum illustri*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28b, 48 line 1.
[335] It is, of course, possible that Innocent IV referred to Vatatzes as *imperator* in his correspondence, but that has not come down to us.

it in schism,[336] but is careful to make no promises regarding control over Constantinople. The second letter delivered by Constantine – addressed to the new patriarch, Arsenios Autoreianos[337] – contained a strong expression of papal primacy, along with enthusiasm for the proposed union.[338]

Perhaps the most unusual evidence for the *disputatio* of 1256 comes from George Akropolites. What he says about the meeting has caused some confusion. Akropolites reported simply that he 'dismissed the pope's emissaries by imperial order.'[339] This comment has given rise to the argument that Theodore II Laskaris refused to see the papal envoys, and they were simply sent home.[340] Recent scholarship has proven, however, that the emperor did indeed meet with the legate Constantine in Thessalonike in September-October 1256.[341] Theodore II was in the city to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, Maria, to Nikephoros, the son of Michael II of Epiros.[342] What is more unusual about the report of the embassy from Rome in the history of Akropolites is that he mentioned their presence at all. Akropolites never commented on negotiations with the Roman Church, nor did he provide a substantive explanation for the presence of papal envoys in 1256. They

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[336] *si, Orientali Ecclesia in maternum gremium redeunte, dolente scissura, in qua diuturnum receptaculum sibi constituit coluber tortuosus, virulentus in agro christiani nominis dissentionis et odii seminator et convulsor invidus sinceritatis catholicae, de medio tolleretur*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28b, 49 lines 10-20.

[337] Before he became patriarch, Arsenios may have been a member of one or both Byzantine embassies to meet with Innocent IV in the 1250s. Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 511 lines 12-14, identified Arsenios as a representative of the Greek Church in negotiations with the pope, but this is not corroborated by other sources, e.g. George Pachymeres, ed. Failler, vol. 2, 471 lines 13-17. For more on the debate over the earlier role of Arsenios in church-union negotiations, see Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 367 note 62; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 373-74 note 8.

[338] *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 28c, 52-55; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 99, notes the more theological nature of this letter.

[339] *ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ τοῦ πάπα πρέσβεις, οὓς ἀπεκβαλεῖν βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἔμελλον*, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 139 line 25 – 140 line 1; trans. Macrides, 67.321.

[340] Schillmann, 'Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV,' 112; Laurent, 'Le pape Alexandre IV,' 42.

[341] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 322 note 3, explains that the verb used by Akropolites, *ἀπεκβαλεῖν*, included a technical meaning for the dismissal of ambassadors. See also Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 99-100, who notes that a subsequent correspondence between patriarch and pope proves that Constantine and his fellow representatives were given an audience.

[342] See above, 293-94.

simply appear in the narrative, and then disappear almost as quickly. This anomaly in the history of Akropolites has not been noted before, and leaves the reader to wonder why papal representatives were mentioned in this case. It has been noted that Akropolites frequently interjected himself into his work, enhancing his own image through discussion of his offices and responsibilities.[343] Describing his diplomatic duties in 1256 could thus be considered another example of this practice. It may also have been the case that church-union negotiations had greatly occupied the attention of the Byzantine court on this occasion, more so than previous examples, and more than Akropolites could ignore. Without more evidence, either interpretation is possible.

Unfortunately, neither George Akropolites, nor any other source, gives us a report of what was discussed at Thessalonike in 1256. The best indication comes from a letter of reply from Arsenios to Alexander IV,[344] which was to be returned to the pope via his embassy.[345] Like the letter from pope to patriarch, the reply of Arsenios was largely positive and hopeful.[346] Arsenios explained that, although Constantine was a duly authorized legate of the pope, he still did not have the authority to grant the terms required by Theodore II for union – namely the return of Constantinople to Byzantine control.[347]

> He [Theodore II] was set on examining the scheme of the negotiations (what they had to say, I mean) and on bringing it to completion in act, if the legate of Your Holiness was empowered for a full and effective exercise of your

[343] Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 5, 12.
[344] This letter was written on behalf of Arsenios by Manuel Disypatos, metropolitan of Thessalonike, L. Pieralli, 'Una lettera del patriarca Arsenios Autorianos a papa Alessandro IV sull'unione delle chiese,' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998), 178-85. For an older edition of this letter, see *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, appendix, no. 6, 133-36.
[345] Constantine, bishop of Orvieto, never returned to report on the proceedings to Alexander IV. He died while still in the Balkans, and his body was carried back to Italy, V. Laurent, 'Le pape Alexandre IV (1254-1261) et l'empire de Nicée,' *Échos d'Orient* 34 (1935), 47-55; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 277 note 9; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 175 note 145.
[346] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 99, explains that the majority of the letter includes musings on peace, unity and schism, with very few details about the *disputatio* of 1256.
[347] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 100; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 174-75.

> authority. He had, indeed, some of the authority of Your Holiness – nay, rather, not even some; for to receive he was the complete legate, but to give in return he had no power, not the slightest. Hence, the words remained words, without acquiring the cover of a deed.[348]

The letter goes on to express the hope of Arsenios that Alexander IV would grant the necessary powers, and return the delegation to a council in the east.[349] This never came to pass. It is clear that during the *disputatio* – indicated by the exchange of what the letter refers to as 'cautious words' – it had become apparent that sovereignty over Constantinople was the only impediment to union. Alexander IV's offer to mediate between Baldwin II and Theodore II, a repeat of the offer originally made by Innocent IV, was still not enough to end the schism. Theodore II, eager and confident, was not willing to trust his foreign policy agenda to the goodwill of the papacy.[350] Thus, when no reply from Alexander IV followed the *disputatio* of 1256, Theodore II gave up on the project of church union.

One element that had always worked against the achievement of union was the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance. When Vatatzes sent a delegation to meet with Innocent IV following John of Parma's visit to Nymphaion in 1250, he wrote to his ally and father-in-law, Frederick II, asking that he provide transportation for the embassy from Dyrrachion to Brindisi. Frederick II granted the request, but took the opportunity to scold Vatatzes for unilaterally entering into negotiations with their common enemy.

> Our eminence wishes, in a paternal way, to check your son-like status. How did you wish to send *apokrisarii* to the pope without paternal permission? It was necessary that your love should have sought first our counsel. For we are

[348] *εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σκιάν, τοὺς λόγους φημὶ χρηματουργῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν ἐντελὲς, εἰ καὶ ὁ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου λεγάτος τὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας σου ἐπεφέρετο δύναμιν ἐνεργῆ καὶ τελείαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος μέρος μὲν εἶχε τῆς τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου ἐξουσίας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μέρος· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ δέξασθαι τετελειωμένος ἦν λεγάτος, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀντιδοῦναι οὐκ εἶχε τί λεγάτον οὐδὲ πολλοστημόριον, διατοῦτο καὶ οἱ λόγοι μεμενήκασι λόγοι τὸ τοῦ ἔργοῦ εἶδος μὴ προσδεξάμενοι*, Pieralli, 'Una lettera del patriarca Arsenios,' 183 line 102 – 184 line 1; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 277 note 10.

[349] Pieralli, 'Una lettera del patriarca Arsenios,' 184-85.

[350] Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 175.

> experienced in these things, and the wickedness of such people does not escape us, and as we do not wish to accomplish or attempt anything without your counsel with respect to the cases which spring up often in those places, as those places neighbouring you are better known to your majesty than to us.[351]

Clearly, Frederick II was alarmed by the possibility of rapprochement between Rome and Nicaea. He warned his son-in-law not to pursue further negotiations without seeking his advice, reminding Vatatzes that he had more experience with the 'wicked' tactics of the papacy and its underlings. Frederick II couched these warnings in the guise of fatherly concern. Even when writing to Michael II of Epiros, the western emperor was apt to point out the unjustified actions of the pope, especially against the righteous Greeks. In 1250, Frederick II remarked that the pope had 'moved his licentious tongue, calling the most pious Greeks "impious" and the most orthodox "heretics."'[352] His paternal warnings, however, do not change the fact that Frederick II's opposition to church union was rooted in concern for his own interests. It was for this reason that Frederick II, and later his sons, detained the Byzantine embassies travelling to meet with the pope in the 1250s.

The first detention occurred in 1250. As requested, Frederick II transported the embassy from Vatatzes across the Adriatic Sea, but separately from the papal representatives. When they arrived in Italy, the friars were allowed to continue their journey, while the Byzantines were held for questioning.[353] Nicholas da Calvi

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[351] *Βούλεται δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰθριότης ἡμῶν πατρικῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ὑικήν σου ἐλέγχειν διάθεσιν, πῶς ἄνευ πατρικοῦ βουλεύματος ἐθέλησεν ἀποκρισιαρίους πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν στέλλειν. Ἔδει τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν ἡμετέραν πρῶτον ἔχειν βουλήν, πεπειραμένοι γὰρ τῶν ὧδέ ἐσμεν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ κακία ἡμᾶς οὐ λανθάνει, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν φυομένων πολλάκις ὑποθέσεων τῶν αὐτοθι μερῶν ἄνευ τῆς σῆς βουλῆς πράττειν τι ἢ ἐπιχειρῆσαι οὐ βουλόμεθα, ὡς τὰ γειτνιάζοντά σοι μέρη γνωριμώτερα τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου ἢπερ ἡμῖν*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 2, 330 lines 96-103. See also *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 18, 72-75; Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 3, 21-28. For the Latin version, see Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. 6, part 2, 771-76.

[352] *τὴν ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ γλῶσσαν ἐκίνησε καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀσεβεστάτους τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους Γραικοὺς καὶ αἱρετικοὺς τοὺς ὀρθοδοξοτάτους καλῶν*, Merendino, 'Quattro lettere greche di Federico II,' no. 1, 320 lines 22-24. See also Festa, 'Lettere greche di Federigo II,' no. 1, 14-16; *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, vol. 3, no. 16, 68-69.

[353] *Ipse receipt litteras a Manuele dicto, patriarcha Constantinopolitano, et a Iohanne dicto, imperatore Graecorum, de Ecclesia adunanda. Sed Legatis solemnibus, ut audivimus, Ministro agente,*

recorded that, in order to prevent an agreement between the Roman and Greek Churches, Frederick II held the embassy from Vatatzes captive for a year and a half.[354] In a letter dated 8 August 1250, Innocent IV, awaiting their arrival in Lyons, wrote of his anticipation of their meeting.

> Hence it is that We await your arrival with the joyous approval of apostolic congratulations, hoping that your feet may bring and carry back the hoped-for peace, and with suppliant prayer begging the mercy of divine goodness that it may crown with the desired result the efforts of your labours and the goodwill of your intention.[355]

There is no evidence that Vatatzes pressed Frederick II for the release of this delegation, or that he expressed any anger at the actions of his father-in-law. It seems that he did not want to risk damaging an already beneficial alliance for a potential gain in negotiations with the papacy. Frederick II died in December 1250, but the Byzantine embassy remained in Hohenstaufen captivity.[356] Frederick II's son, Manfred, came to power in southern Italy,[357] but he was more concerned with consolidating his position than impeding church-union negotiations, and the embassy was finally released.[358]

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a Graecis cum apparatu magno ad Sedem apostolicam destinatis spoliatis et impeditis in via ideoque redire comulsis, quamvis aliis alio tempore rursum missis peccato impediente, negotium non processit, *Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ministrorum*, 697 lines 20-24.

[354] The embassy was only releasaed following Frederick II's death, *prima facie in regnum Apulie pervenerunt; ubi per adversarium dicte Ecclesie Fredericum, ne posset concordia pervenire inter Grecorum Ecclesiam et Latinam, per annum et dimidium sunt detenti. Tandem, intercedente morte ipsius tyrampni, ad presentiam summi pontificis aput Perusium pervenerunt*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 107 lines 23-27. See also Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bizanzio*, 182-87; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 288; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 162.

[355] *Hinc est quod adventum vestrum laeto excipimus Apostolicae congratulationis applausu, sperantes, quod pacem desiderabilem ferent et referent pedes vestri, et supplici prece divinae pietatis implorantes clementiam, ut labourum vestrorum studia et piae intentionis vota*, *Acta Alexandri P.P. IV*, ed. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 76, 136 lines 25-29; translated in Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, trans. in 275 note 45.

[356] Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 5, 190 lines 16-30; trans. Giles, vol. 2, 404; Andrea Dandolo, ed. Pastorello, 303 line 23; Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 2, 530-32; trans. Baird, 347-49.

[357] A. Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273* (Oxford, 1988), 264; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 408-413.

[358] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 90; Borsari, 'Federico II e l'Oriente bizantino,' 288; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, 164.

The death of Frederick II had a dramatic impact on the prospective union of the Greek and Roman Churches. As stated previously, Innocent IV retreated from a possible compromise when he met with the representatives from Nicaea in 1251, less than a year following the death of the western emperor. It is possible that the pope viewed the death of Frederick II as an opportunity, as the pressure exerted upon him by the Hohenstaufen-Laskarid alliance had waned. Frederick II's power and influence, especially in Italy, had forced Innocent IV to be more conciliatory to Vatatzes. With Frederick II removed from the scene, Innocent IV suddenly found that he could afford to require more in exchange for a compromise on union.[359]

The second delegation sent to meet Innocent IV, in 1253-1254, was also detained by the Hohenstaufen rulers of southern Italy. The account of Nicholas da Calvi gives us few details on this occasion, saying only that they were held for several months in Apulia.[360] It is possible to understand the detention of this second embassy in the context of the marriage between Vatatzes and Constanza-Anna. In the hostile environment that followed Frederick II's death, his sons Conrad and Manfred were at odds. One western source, Nicholas of Jamsilla, stated that many notables fled to Nicaea and the safety provided by Constanza-Anna, who was Manfred's sister.[361] Conrad even sent an embassy to Vatatzes under Berthold of Hohenburg, asking that he expel Manfred's family from Nicaea.[362] Detaining the Byzantine embassy may have been part of Conrad's efforts to extract fugitives from Vatatzes. We have no

[359] Angold, 'Byzantium in exile,' 557, argues that the death of Frederick II gave Innocent IV new freedom in his dealings with Vatatzes, thus deadlocking union negotiations.
[360] *Qui quidem per ipsum per plures menses in ipso regno Apulie detenti fuerant ne venirent*, Nicholas de Carbio, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. Pagnotti, 112 lines 28-29.
[361] Nicholas of Jamsilla, ed. del Re, 117 lines 23-35. See also Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea*, 178.
[362] *Qui omnes exeuntes Regnum, cum se ad Imperatricem Romaniae sororem ipsius Principis contulissent, misit Rex postmodum Bertoldum Marchionem de Konebruch in Romania, qui praedictos Gualvanum, et fratres ab Imperatore Romaniae fecit de Imperio suo licentiari, multum displicuisse Regi asserens, s. Imperator eos circa se retineret*, Nicholas of Jamsilla, ed. del Re, 117 lines 35-42.

information on the reaction by Vatatzes, but the sudden death of Conrad in 1254 may have settled the matter.[363]

The detention of representatives going from Nicaea to Rome is a strong indicator for Frederick II's position on the issue of church-union between east and west. An end of the schism between the churches was not in his interest. If an agreement had been reached between the pope and Byzantine emperor, and Constantinople had been turned over to Vatatzes, Frederick II would surely have lost a key ally against the papacy. For Vatatzes, the continued conflict between Innocent IV and Frederick II, and then his sons, only served to enhance Byzantine interests. As long as the secular authority in Italy was at odds with the sacred authority of the pope, Vatatzes could play the two sides against each other to achieve his goals, which is nearly how events developed.

[363] Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273*, 264; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 410.

CONCLUSIONS

Dialogue toward church union played a constant and potentially constructive role in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy after the Fourth Crusade. The chronological approach executed in this study shows the progression of the East-West relationship, and emphasizes the use of the *disputatio* as a tool of diplomacy. Instances of theological dialogue, most notably that which took place in 1234, had important implications both for the prospects of ecclesiastical unity and the goals of Byzantine foreign policy.

In the years immediately following the crusader conquest of Constantinople, the subject of church union was pursued in an environment of hostility. The nearly constant fighting between Byzantine and Latin powers after 1204 made the possibility of ending the schism unlikely, and yet, certainly by 1214, the *disputatio* had firmly established itself as a crucial aspect of diplomatic activity. Nicholas Mesarites' account of the *disputatio* of 1214 strongly suggests a close relationship between theological and political negotiation. Likewise, the report of Pope Gregory IX's representatives in 1234 shows clear signs of a conflux between the interests of the ecclesiastical establishment and those of Nicaea and Latin Constantinople. The pressures of the political sphere, so present in a document largely focused on theological evidence, serve to highlight the role of the *disputatio* as an extension of diplomacy. And again, in the period following the *disputatio* of 1234, we find clear indications that ecclesiastical and political interests coincided when church union negotiations returned to the forefront. Under Vatatzes, the Empire of Nicaea emerged as the premier power in the region. His alliance with Frederick II simultaneously put pressure on Latin Constantinople and the papacy, giving the Byzantines an advantage in future negotiations. Scattered Latin sources indicate that the meetings of the 1250s

nearly brought about a union of the church in which the key element was Byzantine control of Constantinople.

This study has identified certain trends that become apparent in the development of the *disputatio* from 1204 to 1261, thus highlighting the use of ecclesiastical dialogue in Byzantine-Latin diplomacy. It was not the purpose of this analysis to assign blame for the failure of church-union negotiations. The role of the historian is not to find fault in specific individuals or groups. It is not sufficient to suggest, as does Milton Anastos, that 'proud nationalism' of the Byzantines doomed prospects for ending the schism.[1] Nor can we argue, as does John Doran, that papal primacy was the constant and ever-present issue that continuously prevented a union of the churches.[2]

In the discussions of church union that took place in the years immediately following the Fourth Crusade, we find that the Roman Church approached the schism of the churches from a very particular position. Crusaders had seized the greatest city of the Byzantine world, and the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople had fled the scene. It is easy to see how the Latins approached the talks from a position of strength, but we have also seen how the Greeks of Constantinople rejected attempts at church union because of ongoing Latin occupation. These attitudes shifted dramatically during the reign of John III Vatatzes, as reflected by the *disputatio* of 1234. The willingness of the friars, as papal representatives, to discuss and examine the theological problems of the schism denotes a willingness of the papacy to explore non-military options in the East. The altered military scenario for Latin Constantinople had shifted the priorities and policies of the Roman Church. When the military scenario deteriorated even further following the collapse of talks in 1234, the

[1] Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome,' 60.
[2] Doran, 'Rites and wrongs in 1234,' 131.

papacy became even more open to the prospect of compromise with the Greek Church. The success of Vatatzes, and the pressure placed on the pope by his alliance with Frederick II, brought new urgency to the *disputatio*, which nearly ended the schism of the churches in the 1250s. The ultimate failure of these discussions is not nearly as important for our understanding of the diplomacy of the period as is the frequency of their occurrence and the apparent faith that theological dialogue would solve the problems of both the ecclesiastical and political world.

Byzantine diplomacy from 1204 to 1261 was, in essence, no different from the diplomacy practised by emperors both before and after this period. The same tools and methods were employed to bring about the aims of Byzantine foreign policy. The only major innovation in the diplomacy practised during this period was a singular goal – the return of Constantinople to Byzantine control. This aim provides an analysis of diplomacy from 1204 to 1261 with a degree of clarity that is lacking when we inquire about other periods, other emperors, and even other neighbours of Byzantium.

The church-union negotiations of the early thirteenth century, especially that of 1234, offer intriguing possibilities for the future of research into both the diplomatic history of Byzantium as well as the ecclesiastical relationship of the churches of East and West. The emphasis on the issues of the *filioque* and azymes in the report of the friars testifies to the importance of those matters as causes of the schism. This may validate those who examine polemical texts over theological issues for a possible start date of the division of the churches. By looking backward from 1234 at disagreements over procession and the Eucharist, we may more confidently identify a beginning of the schism. Further evidence found in the report of the friars, specifically the comment by Vatatzes that the schism was three hundred years old,

offers tantalizing evidence that has been overlooked by scholars who search for a beginning of the schism.[3] An attempt to reconcile his estimation of the tenth-century origin of the schism could potentially reveal dramatic results, calling into question 1054 as the definitive date of schism, as well as paradigms that look back to the Photian Schism as an origin of the separation between East and West.

Another rewarding path of research would be a longer view of ecclesiastical dialogue between the churches, including early thirteenth century examples examined here with subsequent attempts at church union. Are there similarities between the meetings that took place between 1204 and 1261 and the discussions undertaken by the monk Joasaph, the former emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, and the papal legate in 1367?[4] How does the *disputatio* of 1234 compare to the negotiations at Ferrara-Florence two hundred years later?

Most notably, this study holds implications for how historians understand the field of Byzantine diplomacy. We can no longer continue to consider the 'techniques' of Byzantine diplomacy, as Alexander Kazhdan referred to them, as marriages, gifts, commercial agreements, and other similar developments belonging to an imagined secular world.[5] Any attempt to draw a dividing line between the sacred and the secular in Byzantine society is precarious and dangerous, and the same can be said of Byzantine diplomacy. Ecclesiastical affairs were a very real part of the foreign policy pursued by every emperor from the fourth to the fifteenth century. The Laskarids were no different. Historians must re-examine Byzantine diplomacy, including early

[3] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 21, 452 line 39 – 453 line 8.
[4] On these talks, see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 216; Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the rise of the papacy,' 30; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine theology: historical trends and doctrinal themes* (New York, 1979), 104. The text of this exchange can be found in J. Meyendorff, 'Projets de Concile Oecuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), 169-77.
[5] Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy,' 6.

thirteenth-century examples in their analysis, and accounting for the ecclesiastical element in Byzantium's foreign policy with the Latin West.

APPENDIX

Notes on Translation

The following is a translation of the report of the friars describing the negotiations between the Greek and Roman Churches in Nicaea and Nymphaion in 1234. It is based on the edition by G. Golubovich, published in 1919. My intention has been to remain as faithful as possible to the Latin text, with little flourish, although I have taken liberties at times for the benefit of clarity. Punctuation, division of paragraphs, and any italicized or capitalized words or phrases reflect what is found in the text by Golubovich. A full commentary has been provided in the footnotes.

In order to understand the nuances of the diplomatic context of the *disputatio*, a strong contrast must be made between the various types of envoys – identified as *nuncios*, *apocrisarii* or *legati*. Some of these were fully empowered to represent their principal, while others were mere messengers with no ability to negotiate or bind those who sent them to new agreements. For this reason, when the diplomatic office is given, I have included it in the original Latin, and in the case of the *apocrisarii* have left the term untranslated.

Another problem in the report of the friars is the relationship between meals and the time of the day. In reading the friars' testimony, one is struck by the importance they placed on eating in their recollection of events. Often, the friars described a meal with the simple phrase *prandium*, which often denotes a midday meal, but can mean any meal eaten at any other time of day. An examination of the Latin Vulgate shows eight uses of the word in the Old and New Testament,[1] but again with flexible meanings. For this reason I have translated the word simply as 'meal.' I have also given the original Latin noun or verb indicating that a meal was eaten.

[1] Tobias 2:1, Tobias 2:3, Tobias 12:12, Daniel 14:33, Daniel 14:36, Matthew 22:4, Luke 11:37-38 and Luke 14:12. See also *prandii* in Daniel 13:13, and *prandissent* in Daniel 14:13.

Finally, I must note that one section of the text, the treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit by Nikephoros Blemmydes found in chapter 11, has also been preserved in its original Greek, which has been edited by P. Canart in 1959, and more recently by M. Stavrou in 2013. I have chosen to follow more closely the Latin translation in order to better gauge the understanding and interpretation of the friars. However, I frequently give references to the Greek version in order to better understand the text.

The Disputatio *of the Latins and Greeks*

Part I. *Held at Nicaea in Bithynia*

1. – In the year of the Lord 1233,[2] in the month of January, we from the Order of Dominicans,[3] Brother Hugo and Brother Peter; and from the Order of Franciscans,[4] fr. Aymo and fr. Rodulphus, messengers[5] of the lord Pope, were sent to the archbishop of the Greeks. We reached Nicaea on the first Sunday after the week of Epiphany,[6] at about the evening hour, but before we reached the city, many imperial messengers sent by the Emperor himself came often to meet us, greeting us on behalf of the Emperor and notifying us of the joy in his heart at our arrival. In addition, messengers from the Patriarch himself came honourably and often to meet us. And finally the canons of the greater church themselves, coming a distance from the city, cordially received us with joy and they all together led us to the city with honour and reverence.[7] And when we begged for the sake of prayer to be led to the great church, they led us to another church, where the first council was celebrated,[8] revealing to us the holy Fathers, the ones present at the same council, depicted on the walls. Then after a tour of the city, accompanied by the clergy and a multitude of people, we were led to the hospice[9] which the lord Emperor had honourably made ready for us. In this hospice, as men overcome by travel, we found comfort in the necessities of the body prepared in abundance.

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[2] 1234.

[3] *Ordine fratrum Predicatorum*, i.e. Dominicans, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 428 lines 1-2.

[4] *Ordine fratrum Minorum*, i.e. Franciscans, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 428 lines 2-3.

[5] *nuntii*. Queller, 'Thirteenth-century diplomatic envoys,' 198, identifies *nuntii* as messengers or ceremonial representatives, even referring to them as 'speaking letters.'

[6] 15 January 1234.

[7] References to *nuntii Imperatoris*, *nuntii ipsius Patriarche* and *ipsi canonici ecclesie* being sent to greet the friars denotes the importance placed on these meetings by the Byzantines.

[8] It is not clear which church in Nicaea is referred to as 'the greater church,' (*maiorem ecclesiam*). It is most likely the Church of St Sophia in Nicaea, the setting for the council of 787. See Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council,' 32. Clearly, the church the friars were taken to (*ubi primum celebratum fuit concilium*) is where the Byzantines believed the first council had taken place in 325. Eusebios of Caesarea identified this as a wing of the imperial palace, *Vie de Constantin*, ed. Winkelmann, 3.10.362-64; trans. Cameron and Hall, 264. The structure was later adapted as a shrine, and decorated with images of individuals said to be present at the First Council of Nicaea. From these images the church took its name, the Church of the Fathers. This structure suffered a great deal of damage in its many centuries. Prokopios, *De aedificiis*, ed. Dindorf, V.3.313 line 19 – 314 line 14; trans. Stewart, 130-31, indicated that Justinian rebuilt or restored the structure along with other buildings in the city. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 405 line 18 – 406 line 31; trans. Mango and Scott, 560-61, stated that the church was damaged along with large parts of the city after an Arab siege in 727. The account of Theophanes mentions the images of the council Fathers on the walls of the church. Finally, Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. Pérez Martín, 68 lines 12-24; trans. Kaldellis and Krallis, 15.5, 166-67, reported that both the Church of the Fathers and St Sophia were brought down in an earthquake in 1065. C. Mango, 'The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council,' 33, believes that what remained of the Church of the Fathers in the thirteenth century was a domed *oaton*, or egg-shaped building, which had been attached to the original imperial palace of the fourth century.

[9] It is notable that the friars were lodged in what they refer to as a *hospitium*. Many embassies to the Byzantine capital of Constantinople before 1204 were housed in large residences or palaces. Liudprand of Cremona, serving as an envoy from Otto I to Nikephoros II Phokas in 968, complained that he was housed in an 'ugly, waterless, wide-open' residence that, nonetheless, was built of marble (*domum marmoream*), indicating that it was indeed a palace – *domum marmoream, invisam, inaquosam, patulam,* Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, ed. Chiesa, 187 line 33; trans. Squatriti, 23.

2. – On the following Monday,[10] the lord Patriarch summoned us. We presented ourselves before him and his congregated clergy, greeting the Patriarch himself first on behalf of the lord Pope, and then for our own part. Having then for a while enumerated the reasons in our way, and after we made thanksgiving for the honours and kindness bestowed on us by him, we offered the letter from the lord Pope to the same [Patriarch].[11] He accepted the letter, kissed the bull, and looking back at his own clergy he added: << *Peter, Paul* >>.[12] Consequently he posed to us a question along these lines: whether we were legates of the lord Pope, and whether we wished to accept the honour due to legates. To this we answered, testifying that we were simple messengers,[13] and that we did not wish to receive the honour of legates. Also, taking into consideration such a multitude of clergy, and that we wished to avoid their usual tricks and stratagems, again with protestations we said that we were not sent to a council, but to the Patriarch himself.[14] When we refused the honour offered to us, [the Patriarch] still asserted that great reverence and honour be shown to the lowliest messenger of the lord Pope.[15] After many words were professed by both sides in public, finally we said goodbye to him and we were honourably restored to our aforementioned hospice by his own clergy.

3. – On Tuesday,[16] at a proper and fitting hour, we received imperial messengers who summoned us to appear before the Emperor.[17] Therefore, having been properly presented, we greeted him, and after we thanked him for the kindness and honours presented to us, we were amicably received. There we found the Patriarch with his clergy, and we related the reason for our arrival and business, adding that the

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[10] 16 January 1234.

[11] This is the letter from Pope Gregory IX to Patriarch Germanos II dated 18 May 1233, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.

[12] The reference to 'Peter, Paul' may be a reference by Germanos II to the Greek and Roman Churches. Peter's association with Rome is evident, and Paul's association with the East is likely from his missionary work in the Aegean and elsewhere. Germanos II made this allusion to Peter and Paul, and their disagreements, often in his correspondence with Gregory IX, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 240, and again when writing to the Cardinals of the Roman Church, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 251.

[13] *simplices nuncios*. That the friars deny they held the powers of a legate is strange considering their subsequent statements.

[14] The mandate for the friars' mission becomes clear as they insisted that they were sent specifically to have dealings with the Patriarch, and not his assembled clergy.

[15] That the friars would find it necessary to include in their report to Rome the Patriarch's insistence on giving *magnam reverentiam et honorem etiam minimo nuncio domini Pape*, indicates the extent to which Germanos II (and likely the emperor John III Vatatzes) wished the proceedings to go well.

[16] 17 January 1234.

[17] The involvement of Vatatzes shows his interest in the proceedings, but is by no means unusual. The practice of the Byzantine emperor presiding over ecclesiastical meetings has a precedent going back to Constantine I and the Council of Nicaea in 325, Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 542; Pelikan *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, vol. 2, 24, 168; Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 153, 162, 297; F. Dvornik, 'Emperors, popes and general councils,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951), 1-23; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 68. Manuel I Komnenos showed his influence in the Byzantine church during a council in Constantinople in 1166, S. Sakkos, *Ὁ Πατήρ μείζιων μού ἐστι: Β΄ ἔριδες καὶ σύνοδοι κατὰ τὸν ιβ΄ αιῶνα* (Thessalonike, 1968); Mango, 'The conciliar edict of 1166,' 317-330; Magdalino, 'The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 178; Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 139. Another Emperor of Nicaea, Theodore I Laskaris, presided over and participated in the church-union debates at Herekleia Pontike in 1214/15, Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 line 30 – 34 line 15.

Patriarch had received a letter containing all these things.[18] Then a question about our authority was related to which we responded thus: << The tenor of our authority is made known to you through the sending of letters from the lord Pope; and this we add, whatever we will successfully negotiate about, it will be considered ratified and pleasing by the Roman Church >>.[19] They said: << Then let us proceed in this business >>. And when many lines of reasoning had been put forward from one side to the other as to whether we or they should begin the question, we said: << We have not been sent to debate with you about some article of faith, about which we or the Roman Church are in doubt, but rather that with you we may have a friendly debate about your doubts. Therefore it will be yours to reveal and ours, by the grace of God, to illuminate >>. To which they answered thus: << May you say what they are >>. Thus considering that they were attempting to gain time, we answered: << Although it is not for us to relate your questions in public, lest we waste this time fruitlessly, this is what the Roman Church especially wonders: It is true that it is agreed by all, that the Greek Church was subordinate, just as the other Christian nations that are spread far and wide throughout the whole world. Therefore, what was the method or reason whereby they were taken from obedience to the Church of Rome? >> Nor did they wish to respond to that, but they asked that we explain our case.[20] Therefore we considered their sophistry, and since the Greeks applaud parables, we put forward the following example to the public: << Behold the lender and the creditor, who took the debt from the creditor; which of these should give an account to the other, why the debt has not been paid? >> Finally, confused by this parable, a discussion was held and they gave the following response: << We say that there are two reasons: one is the *procession of the Holy Spirit*, the other is *the Sacrament of the altar* >>. To this we responded thus: << If these are the reasons and not others, why have you removed yourselves from obedience to the Church of Rome? Let us see if these are or ought to be sufficient causes for such disobedience >>. And we added: << Since this is a difficult subject, and our meagre station will not be able to reach to that, where His Majesty is inclined, tomorrow we will be free for prayer and with the celebration of mass invoking the Holy Spirit, that through grace it be poured into our mind and disclose to us the truth of its procession. But because we do not have a place or

[18] It seems that there was no letter sent from the pope to the emperor. Because of the threat Vatatzes posed to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, it is surprising that Gregory IX did not take advantage of this opportunity to correspond directly with the emperor in Nicaea in the hopes of alleviating that danger, Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: the Greek rump states and the recovery of Byzantium,' 738-39; Langdon, 'Vatatzes and the Venetians,' 231; Van Tricht, *The Latin* Renovatio *of Byzantium*, 368, 386. The absence of correspondence between the pope and Vatatzes on this occasion is even more significant when one considers previous attempts of the pope to elicit Nicaean support for the Latin Empire, such as Innocent III's 1208/9 letter to Theodore I Laskaris, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61-64.

[19] *Quod quicquid super isto negotio bene fecerimus, ratum habebit et gratum Ecclesia Romana*. This statement contradicts what the friars had previously said about their diplomatic powers, suggesting that their authority was indeed that of 'legates' of the pope. Had they been mere *nuncios* they would not have had the power to ratify anything on behalf of the Roman Church. See Schmutz, 'Medieval papal representatives,' 458.

[20] Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 9-10, comments that the Byzantines were constantly 'reacting' to Western developments, putting the Eastern Church 'at a distinct tactical disadvantage, since their Latin counterparts almost always came to the table better prepared and with the benefit of doctrinal unanimity.'

oratory or church, we ask that the lord Patriarch assign an oratory to us. >> And he assigned to us a church[21] adequately close to our residence.

4. – That morning,[22] when we celebrated the divine things in the aforementioned church, the Latins, French, English and diverse nations assembled that they might hear the divine rites. But having finished the mass, and after the rites were accordingly celebrated, a certain lamenting and weeping Latin came to us, saying that his own priest had condemned him, because he had attended our mass.[23] Listening to this we grieved, and taking counsel we sent two of our brothers to the Patriarch, telling him of this dreadful action that had been taken as an insult to God and the whole church. When he heard this, the Patriarch wished to conceal rather than correct this dreadful deed. Seeing that we thought this action to be a great insult, he sent that priest to us with other priests, who deprived the aforementioned priest of his priestly robes, and thus stripped, they paraded him through the town all the way back to the home of the Patriarch. And because some said that [the priest] did it out of naivety and not out of malice, we, being content with these punishments, asked the Patriarch himself to make allowance for the aforementioned priest.

5. – Because of this, on Thursday,[24] when we had assembled in the imperial palace[25] for the debate, we wished first to discuss the Sacrament of the altar, so that we might understand what they thought about our Sacrament. Refusing, they stubbornly insisted that first we discuss the procession of the Spirit. And thus the debate began with them asking whether we wished to propose or to answer. We said: << It will be yours to state your doubts about this article, and ours will be to respond to these doubts >>. To

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[21] Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 110, identifies numerous Byzantine churches mentioned in textual sources but which cannot be located today. Without a specific place reference, it may never be possible to identify what church was offered to the friars or where they stayed whilst in Nicaea.

[22] Wednesday, 18 January 1234.

[23] Apparently, this Latin had been attending the services of an Greek priest, who was upset when his parishioner had joined the services of the friars. There is a precedent for such harsh treatment. In the late twelfth century the Byzantine ecclesiast Theodore Balsamon decreed that those who did take communion in leavened bread should be barred from orthodox services, G. A. Rhalles and M. Potlis, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἱερῶν Πατέρων* (Athens, 1852-1859), vol. 4, 462-63. Chadwick, *East and West,* 239, wrongfully states that the 'weeping Latin' was excommunicated by his Greek priest.

The reader is left to wonder about this *Latinus exulans*. What was he doing in Nicaea? How long had he attended Greek religious services? A considerable group of Latins was almost certainly affiliated with the Nicaean court from its inception after 1204, most notably as mercenaries, and rising to some limited status, Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, 75. A company of Latin mercenaries fought under Theodore I Laskaris against the Seljuk Turks at Antioch-on-the-Meander in 1211, gaining the praise of more than one Byzantine author, see George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 16-20; trans. Macrides, 9.129-10.131; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 454-57. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile*, 106, identifies a community of Latins in the Smyrna area who served in the Nicaean army and whose political importance was disproportionate to their numbers. Other evidence indicates that a Latin community remained in Nicaea for some time. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 71-72, describes a mass grave of thirty-seven men 'of a Nordic type foreign to Anatolia' buried in the theatre in Nicaea. Foss suspects that these men – whose remains show evidence of a violent death – were Latin mercenaries in the service of the Empire of Nicaea who fell victim to factional or mob violence. See also Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 89-90.

[24] 19 January 1234.

[25] Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 7, 49 line 6 – 50 line 2; trans. Munitiz, 97-98, also testified to the presence of an imperial palace in Nicaea.

these the Patriarch said: << And you will listen >>. Therefore, raising up in their midst the Cartofilax, who is called the treasurer of the patriarchal church,[26] at the command of both the Patriarch and the Emperor, he thus began to speak: << Do you believe that one God is in three persons? >> We answered: << We believe >>. And he added: << Do you believe that the Father is unbegotten, that the Son is the only begotten, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father? >> We answered: << We believe, and you say thus >>. But the Cartofilax, appearing truly naïve, raised his hands to heaven and began to bless God in a loud voice, and when he had repeated the same words a second and a third time, as we repeated the same reply, he added: << Here we find no controversy between you and us; God be blessed through all things! >> To this we began a reply in this way: << If in this article you do not find disagreement between the Roman and the Greek Church – and through the grace of God we do not believe that disagreement is found in the Sacrament of the altar, and there were no other reasons for the schism like that one – then the schism is without cause, and the Church of the Greeks removed itself from obedience to the Roman Church unjustly and without cause >>. After these words, having received the advice of the wise men, the Emperor said: << We hear you speak in the same way as us; but what the lord Patriarch asks is if you say anything more, because we have heard that you have added something to the creed composed by the holy Fathers in council:[27] and they forbade under anathema that anyone should dare to add or to alter either a letter or a syllable or phrase >>. To which we said: << Let the lord Patriarch show to us that writing >>. Then the Patriarch answered and said: << I beseech your charity, that today you spare me for a while, because I am weary and infirm: tomorrow, God willing, I will recover and will show to you that which I have promised >>.[28] And thus we mutually retired.

6. – On Friday,[29] at an early hour, after celebrating mass and solemnly completing those things pertaining to the hours, we came to the debate. To begin we asked that the Patriarch keep his promise. He instructed one of his learned men to read the letter from Cyril[30] to John, Patriarch of Antioch, which begins: *Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad*.[31] And he began to read the middle of the letter. But the tenor of the reading was as follows: *Concerning God and the Virgin Mother, and about the means of incarnation necessary for the Son, we shall say briefly what we know and declare, not by way of addition, but as a sort of confirmation, in accordance with the divine scriptures, as previously received, and in accordance with the tradition of the holy Fathers, adding nothing to the creed promulgated by those who were at the Council*

[26] The word *thesaurarius* is somewhat misleading. The chartophylax oversaw the notarial duties of the patriarch and served as an intermediary with lower clergy, especially at conciliar gatherings, Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, 508; Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on paper and in court,' 69; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 415-16. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 423 gives the name Aulinus for this individual. This identification is verified by the profession of faith of the Greek synod at Nymphaion in spring 1234, authored and signed *Chartophylax summae Dei ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae Aulinus*, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 319 A.

[27] The First Council of Nicaea in 325 AD.

[28] One cannot help but wonder if the Patriarch was playing for time – hoping to delay the proceedings until he could identify the texts he intended to use because they were not at hand. Chadwick, *East and West,* 240, states that the friars thought the patriarch's claims of illness to be a diplomatic ploy, but such a feeling is never indicated in the friars' report.

[29] 20 January 1234.

[30] Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 375-444). E. Ferguson, *et al.*, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (London, 1997), 249, refers to Cyril as the 'main architect of patristic Christology.'

[31] The letter in question is *Epistle* 39 in *PG* 77, cols. 173-82.

of Nicaea, that this is enough for all religious knowledge, and for the rebuttal of every evil and heretical opinion.[32] – Here it is said that one must not add to the published creed of the holy Fathers of Nicaea. Then why have you added? >> To which we responded in this manner: << This Cyril does not say no one should add, but he says: *We will speak briefly, adding nothing to the creed published at the synod of Nicaea by the fathers.*[33] It is not because of that authority of yours that it is not permitted for us to add, nor has the Patriarch kept his promise >>. Having said this, they began to more keenly examine what had been related, and went back to that letter. After a short delay, they began to read, of which reading the idea was as follows: *The creed as defined is in no way moved by individuals, namely the creed which was laid down by our holy Fathers, who gathered in Nicaea for the occasion; nor indeed do we allow ourselves or others to alter even a phrase of what was ordained there, or to change one syllable, being mindful of him who said: Nor will you transgress the eternal boundaries, which your fathers ordained.*[34] *It was not they who were speaking, it was the Spirit of God the Father, who proceeded from the Father himself. However, he is not alien to the Son in accordance with the following ontology.*[35] – Notice, he said, that neither he nor anyone was allowed to alter or change the saying or syllable from these which were laid down in the Nicaean creed. To which we gave the following response: << On that we have altered nothing in the faith, nor have we changed either syllable or iota. This authority of yours is for us and against you, who say that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, which you will find nowhere by your saints or by anyone. Again, nor did he prohibit anything to be added to the Nicaean creed. Therefore, seeing that they were unable to show their own proposition, they made for us the following question: << We ask if you have added something to the creed >>. We said: << Let the creed be read and you will understand >>. And a certain man began to read the creed of Constantinople, which had been made in the second council.[36] In truth we planned to extract the reason for our addition from their own mouth, we said << First was the promulgated creed of Nicaea, and in that you said that nothing should have been added, and blessed Cyril had not dared to add, and he forbade that anyone should alter or change the phrase or syllable, or transgress it. Therefore, we wish to hear that first >>. While they put up much resistance to our request, finally [the creed] of Nicaea was read first, which contained the entire creed in full up to this passage: *I believe in the Holy Spirit*, and the following, namely as it is contained in that creed. This having been read in full, [the creed] of Constantinople was then read, in which they had added in addition things which they left out in the first creed.[37] We recognized that the second synod had added to the Nicaean creed, and we posed the following question: << If the truth is what you say, that your saints forbade anyone to add to the Nicaean creed or to change or alter anything, who added or had the audacity to add to it, those things which are added to the Nicaean creed in the Council at Constantinople? >> Because they were afraid to answer that question, they laboured to divert to another. And we all the more insisted on that question. Finally, after lengthy consultations and ploys, they were compelled to answer that it had not been an addition, but an expression of truth. Then with us asking whether it

[32] *Epistle* 39, *PG* 77, col. 175 C-D.
[33] *Epistle* 39, *PG* 77, col. 175 C-D.
[34] Proverbs, 22:28.
[35] *Epistle* 39, PG 77, col. 179 D – 182 A.
[36] First Council of Constantinople, 381 AD.
[37] The 'additions' to the creed of the Council of Nicaea made at the Council of Constantinople are illustrated by Stevenson and Frend, *Creeds, councils and controversies*, 114-15.

was a different creed from the first one on account of that expansion, they answered that it was the same creed, not an alteration, because the expression of truth does not make a different creed, nor does it alter, nor does it make an addition to the creed. From the things already said we had our conclusion to our work and the saying confirmed, because that addition which they say that we made, namely the *Filioque*, is not some addition, nor an alteration to the creed, nor do we make a different creed, providing that what was enlarged was true. Therefore, they insisted on asking what we had added to the creed. And although we could have replied successfully and truly: << We have added nothing >>, in accordance with the explanation which they gave to us, we nevertheless answered securely in what follows: << We ask whether it was right for us to believe, in accordance with the truth of the creed? >> They answered: << It is permitted >>. << And that which is permitted for us to believe, is it possible that it is permitted for us to write that? >> << It is permitted >> they answered. << Likewise, what is permitted to believe and to write, is it not permitted to sing and to preach?>> They answered: << On the contrary, it is permitted >>. << But that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son is in accordance with the truth of the creed. Therefore, for us it is permitted to believe that, to write that, to sing and to preach that. For this reason we believe and we sing in the creed, *who proceeds from the Father and the Son*, and therefore we preach >>. To this they answered: << Prove that it is true >>. We answered: << Let your saints prove it. Let us listen to blessed Cyril in the first sermon on worship, where he said thus: *The Holy Spirit is in no way changeable; but if it is changeable, it is a mark of weakness, that flaw would overflow to the divine nature, seeing as it is of God the Father and moreover the Son, which is in its essence poured out from both*.[38] The same is in the letter to Nestorius, which begins thus: *As our savior says* etc:[39] *Even though the Spirit exists in its own hypostasis, and it is understood through itself in accordance with the fact it is the Spirit and not the Son; nonetheless it is not alien to the Son. Indeed it is called the Spirit of truth, and Christ is truth, and is poured out from him just as it is from God the Father* >>.[40] To these authorities they answered that *to be poured out* is not *to proceed*.[41] But blessed Cyril refuted them, saying that it also is *poured out*. For the same Cyril, in his exposition on the creed of Nicaea: *Completing the sermon about Christ the blessed Fathers make reference to the Holy Spirit. Indeed, they said that they believed in him just as in God the Father and the Son, for he is consubstantial with him, and is poured out, in other words, he proceeds*.[42] – Also Athanasios[43] in his declaration of faith, which begins *I believe in one unbegotten God*,[44] in the end it says the following: *Likewise the Holy Spirit is an entity destined to proceed from the Father and to proceed from the Son, through whom he fulfilled everything*[45] – With these authorities it is plain that the Holy Spirit is from the Son just as it is from the Father. And thus the debate on Friday was ended.

[38] *De Adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, *PG* 68, col. 147 A.
[39] *Epistle* 17, *PG* 77, cols. 105-122. Translated with Greek edition in Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria, select letters*, Wickham, 12-33.
[40] *Epistle* 17, *PG* 77, col. 118 C; ed. and trans. Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria, select letters*, 26-27.
[41] *Profundi* versus *procedere.* Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 126, suggests that it was Nikephoros Blemmydes who pointed out errors in friars' interpretation of the works of Cyril of Alexandria.
[42] *Epistle* 55, *PG* 77, col. 315 D.
[43] Athanasios of Alexandria (ca. 300-373), Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 110-12.
[44] For the exposition on the faith by Athanasios, see *PG* 25, col. 199-220.
[45] *PG* 25, col. 207 A.

7.[46] – They delayed the disputatio for the Sabbath[47] until after the meal[48] because they observed it almost in the same manner as the Jews:[49] whence after they had finished eating and drinking, imperial messengers were sent to us, and they summoned us to the disputatio. And considering what we had said on Friday against those many authorities of saints and plentiful multitude of Greek books, which we had carried with us from Constantinople,[50] they devised how they might be able to confuse us with little questions or deceive us with words: indeed they did not care much to rely on a discussion of truth. Therefore, when both parties gathered on either side, there arose a certain great philosopher.[51] He made a great and lengthy prologue, finally coming to that which he had intended, he burst forth in these words: << You, venerable apocrisiarii[52] of the most holy Pope of old Rome, we understand that you are men of piety and letters, and you value peace and truth, and it is not shameful for a catholic to profess his creed. Tell us: who added, when and where, and for what reason was it added what you say, namely, *filioque* in the creed? >> And we recognized their strategy, since they believe that we could neither understand nor answer these questions, they thought to bewilder us before the multitude, thus it would be obvious to all that they had won. The question which they devised we

[46] The exchange reported here corresponds to that found in Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 26, 57 lines 1-9; trans. Munitiz, 107.
[47] 21 January 1234.
[48] *post prandium*, can be taken to mean after any meal of the day. However, we see below that the friars were referring to events late in the date, as the discussions move well past sundown. Thus, we can deduce that this meal took place in the evening.
[49] The friars may be referring to the concept of when the Sabbath begins, when the first stars appear in the night's sky at dusk. See E. Boring, *An introduction to the New Testament: history, literature, theology* (Louisville, 2012), 142; Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1096.
[50] Several libraries existed in Constantinople before 1204, especially in churches and monasteries, from which the friars could have gained access to Greek theological texts. In 1239, only five years after the friars' *disputatio* in Nicaea, the Nicaean philosopher Nikephoros Blemmydes embarked an extended tour looking for different volumes. On this tour he visited Mt. Athos, Thessalonike, Larissa, and even the distant Epirot territories. During this tour, Blemmydes claimed to have found several volumes that were unknown in Nicaea, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 1, ch. 63, 32 line 1 – ch. 64, 33 line 16; trans. Munitiz, 79-80. See also Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, 16. Moreover, it appears that the Latin monastic orders in Constantinople before 1261 were active in assembling their own libraries, Fisher, 'Monks, Monasteries and the Latin Language in Constantinople,' 394. The use of Greek texts at the meeting with the Byzantines attests to the skill of at least one of the friars in the Greek language.
[51] We know the names of only a few Byzantine ecclesiasts and learned men who took part in this debate. Unfortunately, the friars never give a specific name for this individual. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 437 note 2, stops short of definitively identifying who is indicated here. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 271 note 68, and Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 211, are confident that the 'great philosopher' specified here is Demetrios Karykes, who held the title *hypatos ton philosophon*, or 'chief of the philosophers.' Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 6-7, 12, comments that Karykes, after failing to uphold the orthodox position against the Latins in 1234, likely lost his position as *hypatos ton philosophon*. For more information on the position of *hypatos ton philosophon*, see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 964; Macrides, 'Nomos and Kanon on paper and in court,' 70.

The best evidence supporting the identification of this philosopher with Karykes comes from the account of Nikephoros Blemmydes, who was also present. According to Blemmydes, Karykes was the first individual appointed to advocate the position of the Greek Church, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25, 57 lines 6-10; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 25.107, but he was soon 'put to shame' by his poor performance. After this episode Karykes absconded from Nicaea and did not return to the *disputatio*, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28, 58 lines 1-10; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28.108.
[52] The Byzantines are careful to address the friars as *apocrisiarii*, rather than legates.

turned back on them in this way: << You said rightly that a catholic ought not conceal his faith, but publicly confess what he believes. Therefore, if you believe that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, you are obliged to confess by our questions. We ask, therefore, if you believe and say that it is not from the Son? >> They answered: << We do not believe that it is from the Son >>. And us: << We do not question this, but want to know if you believe what you say, that the Spirit is not from the Son? >> And with this they plainly refused to confess, they were convicted by their own words, because what they believed they dare not confess. Therefore, they insisted that we answer their question. Since we saw that it was now night, we believed it would not be good to begin such a question. We suggested a delay, and not to respond at that time. But they insisted, lighting candles and oil lamps throughout the palace as they laboured to turn the night into day. When we saw everyone's determination, we gave the following response: << So that you may know that the creed of the Roman Church does not seek subterfuge even by way of debate, and neither is it shameful for us to confess our creed, we will answer your questions in this manner. Your first question was: who added it and who said it? We say it was Christ. When and where? In the Gospel when it said: *When the Spirit of truth comes he will show you all truth*.[53] Why? For the instruction of the devout and confusion of heretics, who denied this article; and whoever would deny this creed is on the road to ruin. And that what we say is true we prove through the Gospels, through the Letters of Paul, through the stories of your saints, and through ours, if you are willing to admit them, Augustine,[54] Gregory,[55] Jerome,[56] Ambrose,[57] Hilary[58] and many others >>. When we said these things they were astonished. And as all were made silent, the emperor said in Greek: << *Calo* >>. He added, after having a long discussion with his wise men: << Show us where that is said in the Gospel, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son >>. And scrolling through the Bible, someone began to read that of John: *When the Spirit of truth comes he will show you all truth*.[59] And he added: << When it said *Spirit of truth*, it said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from truth, and we wish to prove this >>. At this point they introduced a certain philosopher for the purpose of answering, that he may hinder our plans. We began to oppose him in this manner: << *The Spirit*, exactly as it is taken in this place, it is taken as which spirit? >> He answered: << As the Holy Spirit >>. << Likewise *of truth* as it is taken here, for which truth is it taken, for Christ or not? >> He answered: << There is a variety of truth, some of compounds, others of simplicity etc. >>. << And you say that the truth as it is taken in this passage, is it said to be compounded, or is it actually compounded? >> And then he answered that it is not. But we said: << Does it suppose Christ or not? >> He answered: << Not >>. And we in reply: << Even the truth, as it is used here, does it suppose created truth or uncreated? >> And he said << Created >>. And we said: << Therefore it is a creation >>. And we added: << From this followed the heresy of Macedonius,[60] condemned at the second council >>. And terrified he began to conceive the truth, saying: << *The Spirit of truth*, it is the Holy Spirit, which is the Spirit of Christ >>. And us: << The Holy Spirit is and is called the Spirit of Christ the Son of God, as you profess. For

[53] John 16:13.
[54] Bishop of Hippo, 354-430, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 121-26.
[55] Gregory I the Great was pope from 590-604, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 488-91.
[56] Author of the Latin Vulgate, died c. 419, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 484-86.
[57] Bishop of Milan, died 397, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 30-32.
[58] Bishop of Poitiers, ca. 315-ca. 367, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 425-26.
[59] John 16:13.
[60] Bishop of Constantinople, died c. 362, Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, 1018; Pelikan *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, vol. 2, 27.

what reason do we ask? >> Having taken counsel, they answered that the substance of the Spirit is the same as the substance of the Son. To this we said: << If this is a sufficient and right reason, why is the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of the Son, because it is consubstantial with him, but the Father is consubstantial with the Son. Therefore, the Father is and ought to be called the Spirit of the Son. That is false. First then, from which this follows, namely that this is the reason why it is called the Spirit of the Son, because it is consubstantial >>. And with these words we mutually departed: we believe it had already come to almost the second watch of the night.[61]

8.[62] – On Sunday[63] we kept ourselves free for the service to the Lord. Early on Monday,[64] in the second week, we returned to the debate at the palace of the Emperor, and when we undertook the debate against their philosophers, the Emperor rebuked us saying: << Your task is simply to show, without philosophy, the truth of the question. Nor are you to proceed syllogistically, since from such debates arise controversies and quarrels. It is well that you proceed simply >>. To which we responded as follows: << Since the Apostle[65] does not say, *the servant of God ought not to quarrel*,[66] it pleases us more to reveal the truth simply, than to hasten to quarrels or stalemates.[67] And we are able to say with the Apostle *we have become fools, but you compelled us*,[68] since in replying you have given not simple people, but many sophist individuals. But since your purpose requires that you should learn the truth in simple terms, we will make matters clear readily and briefly by way of demonstration >>. And the Emperor answered in Greek: << *Calo* >> which is translated: it is good. << Yesterday we sought from your philosophers, how the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son from eternity; to which question only three causes can be assigned: either because he is of the same substance, as your wise man replied; or because the Son sends the Spirit into created things; or because it proceeds from him. That it is not the Spirit of the Son from eternity is apparent because by the same reasoning, the Father is the Spirit of the Son, because he is consubstantial. Likewise, it is not because the Son sends the Spirit into created things, because the Holy Spirit was the Son from eternity; but from eternity the Son did not send the Spirit into created thing; then that was not the reason why it is said that the Spirit of the Son is from eternity, because from eternity the Son did not send the Spirit into eternity. Therefore, the third reason remains, because the Spirit proceeds from the Son, therefore it is called the Spirit of the Son >>. When they had listened to this rationale, they asked that a copy of this reasoning be given to them in writing.[69] It first being given in Latin, they requested that it be translated into Greek for them. And thus it was done. Afterwards they asked

[61] i.e. midnight.
[62] The exchange reported here corresponds to that found in Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 27, 57 line 1 – ch. 28, 58 line 14; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, 27.107-28.108.
[63] 22 January 1234.
[64] 23 January 1234.
[65] Paul.
[66] 2 Timothy 2:24.
[67] The Latin term *obviationes* brings to mind an almost martial contest, with an army blocking their enemy in a strategic position.
[68] Cf. 2 Corinthians 12:11.
[69] According to Blemmydes, this is the last action taken by Demetrios Karykes as advocate of the Greek Church before he departed from the *disputatio* in shame, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28, 58 lines 1-10; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, 28.108.

for a truce[70] to ponder over this line of thought, and they had the respite for Monday and Tuesday.[71]

9. – On Tuesday,[72] about the evening hour, we were instructed to go to the home of the Patriarch, and we went. But when we came his clergy had assembled, and he ordered that a large and copious writing be brought up, in which he said that the tenor of his reasoning was contained in opposition to us. In view of the fact that we had proposed a simple line of reasoning in every day language, we did not believe that they would write something in response to us, but that they would simply agree to acknowledged truth. But since we recognized that they proceeded wickedly, we wished to hear his own reply in which we heard many reasons and falsehoods and untruths and many childish things, which we were not able to hear without surprise, because they were more ridiculous than true. Therefore, having taken counsel among us, whether we would accept that very ridiculous writing, or if it was proper that we answer without time to consider his arguments (because even then we were prepared to respond to the things the pronounced in our presence). Then, more for confusion than for our consolation, because they had offered their writing to us, we proposed to listen. When they saw that we attached little value to their writing, they said: << You may retire with the grace of God, and we will send the writing to you without delay >>.[73] After we had retired, they began to discuss whether they should compose a new writing, and having altered the great part of the first writing, new and different from that which was recited a little before, on the advice of their philosophers they wrote and caused a delay in the alteration of the writing, that when we ought to have been going to bed they sent their writing to us, and because the time of night had passed, we refrained from translation until the next day.[74]

10.[75] – But Wednesday,[76] after celebrating mass according to our rite, we gave attention to the task of translating from Greek into Latin. Meanwhile, the Patriarch sent word to us, that we might spare him, because he was unwell, and he was not able to arrive for the disputatio on that day. Then the Emperor excused himself, sending messengers telling us not to approach, because the Patriarch was not able to be present. But after they had finished eating, the Emperor sent for us to come to the home of the Patriarch to continue the disputatio. When we came to the home of the Patriarch, the first question was whether we had considered their latest draft. And in their presence we read aloud the fraud, which they had contrived in that writing, as was the truth. Nevertheless we said: << Because we do not wish to waste time with that document, let the writing be read to us publicly, and we will give an answer >>.

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[70] *Indutias* – Another allusion to combative language.
[71] Blemmydes reported that the patriarch was greatly depressed by this exchange, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 28, 58 lines 10-14; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, 28.108.
[72] 24 January 1234.
[73] The implication being that the Byzantine philosophers considered their treatise so complex that the friars, whose disdain for the product was clear, could not understand its gravity.
[74] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 66, asserts that the first document presented to the friars was the work of Demetrios Karykes, whereas the revised work was composed by Nikephoros Blemmydes. There is no evidence that Karykes was the author of the earlier treatise. No evidence exists to suggest that Karykes had authored the earlier treatise. The only thing we know for certain is that Blemmydes wrote the document which the friars eventually received and translated. See below, ch. 11, 377-82.
[75] The exchange reported here corresponds to that found in Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 29, 57 line 1 – ch. 28, 58 lines 1-10; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, 29.108-29.109.
[76] 25 January 1234.

One of their philosophers[77] got up and began to read. The beginning was such that it contained a falsehood. Then he added another falsehood. He introduced a heresy in the third that Christ was not from eternity, except in the way he was called the king from eternity. Fourthly, concerning the argument which we had produced to demonstrate that the Spirit was from the Son, they pretended it was a false syllogism, when it was not our intention to reason syllogistically, as the writing which we gave to them demonstrated adequately, even though, if we had wished to, we were able to form a good syllogism from that rationale, but we intended to arrange a simple and common account. The tenor of the Greek treatise was as follows:

11.[78] – You, honourable legates[79] of the most holy Pope, have proposed to us a problem along these lines: << Why is the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of Christ from eternity? Three causes alone can be said. First, that it is consubstantial with Christ. Second, that it is sent from himself into creation. Third, because he proceeds[80] from himself. However, it is well known that the first reason is not sufficient, because from this follows that the Father is the Spirit of the Son, because he is consubstantial with the Son. That the second cause is not true is clear because the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ from eternity; but he was not sent into creation from eternity; then this is not the reason why it is called the Spirit of Christ. Therefore, the third reason remains the reason why it is called the Spirit of Christ, because it proceeds from him >>.

To which we responded as follows:

Not every principle of theological, or natural, or mathematical, or of whatever science or art, requires a demonstration. Indeed it is a common and universal saying, that principles are indemonstrable. For if you seek the principle of a principle you will not find an end. However, the principle of the faith of the orthodox Christians, in so far as it pertains to truthful theology, are the words of Christ, spoken by God, from which we are taught to believe in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit: and certainly concerning the Son, that he has his being from the Father, and the name itself bears witness to the paternity.[81] However, concerning the Spirit, since it is not a relative condition,[82] Christ taught us, without syllogism, from whence he has existence,

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[77] It is tempting to identify the 'philosopher' reading this text aloud with the author of that document, Nikephoros Blemmydes. This is the conclusion of Munitiz, *A Partial Account*, 108 note 41, and Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 211 note 54.

[78] A nearly complete Greek version of this treatise is available in and Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184-205. An older edition can be found in Canart, 'Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire,' 319-25. Blemmydes discussed his own work at length in his autobiography, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, Book 2, ch. 29, 58 – ch. 40, 63; trans. Munitiz, Book 2, 29.108-40.114.

[79] The word *legati* presents us with numerous problems. The friars had previously rejected the label, but here have identified themselves as legates, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 1. The Greek word in question is *ἀποκρισιάριοι*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184 line 1. Are we to understand that the friars considered an *apocrisarios* as the equivalent of a legate? Or is it possible that the friars did indeed considered themselves as legates, and on this instance they forgot their earlier modesty?

[80] The Latin here uses a third singular active verb, *procedit*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 5, while the Greek verb is middle, *ἐκπορεύεται*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184 line 7.

[81] The Latin term is *filiationis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 20, while the Greek term is *υἱότητος*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 186 line 10.

[82] Here the relative conditions – *ditio habitudinalis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 21; or *λέξις σχετική*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184 line 11 – indicate a Byzantine conception of Aristotelian conditions. For more on this see Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 2; Bucossi, Introduction, *Sacred Arsenal*, xxviii; K. Ierodiakonou and D. O'Meara,

saying: The Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father. Christ said, the Spirit of Truth; and I[83] accept without syllogism that he is the Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, certainly of Christ. He said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father: and I[84] accept without syllogism that he has existence from the Father. We said beforehand that the principles are indemonstrable. Both the Apostles and every holy synod observed this doctrine without transgression all the way to the end, and in Baptism we promise to believe thus in Christ, and we will be required to make this confession in the presence of the judgement of Christ, if we preserved it without transgression.

Thus we have met the objection of your wisdom.[85] You have given this reason; Why is the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of Christ? Now first we say: What sort of Scripture called the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Christ from eternity? Indeed, we were aware of holy Scripture calling him the Spirit of Christ, but not with addition, as you say: the Spirit of Christ from eternity. Nor does Christ have co-principality with the Father and the Spirit, but according to the godhead alone,[86] according to which he is Christ, and the Spirit does indeed exist before the ages, but his unction is recent, just as Christ, receiving it in himself, uttered the saying of Isaiah: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me.[87] So be it, therefore, by your leave. Should this then be called the Spirit of Christ from eternity? However, if this is indeed said, it can be said, just as it is understood, as King before the ages, when the things over which he reigned had not been introduced, and Creator before the ages, when those things which were created were not yet made, and Benefactor, when the things he benefited did not exist. And thus it may be called the *Spirit of Christ before the ages*[88] because of ancient counsel and because of his economy in the flesh, according to which Immanuel was anointed by the Spirit.

You said that there can be only three reasons. The first because he is consubstantial with Christ: and casting it down, as it seemed, you rejected this, saying that this reason is not sufficient: because from this it follows that the Father is the Spirit of the Son, because he is consubstantial with the Son; and that reason or rationale – that it is called the Spirit of the Son on account of the fact that he is consubstantial with him – is not our word, but that of the saints and the God-bearing Fathers. For Basil the Great,[89] in his eighteenth chapter to Amphilochius,[90] gives this line of reasoning when he says the following: << He is the Spirit of Christ, just as he is appropriated or familiar according to his nature >>.[91] Blessed Cyril, in his

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'Philosophies,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys with J. Haldon and R. Cormack (Oxford, 2008), 714.

[83] While the Latin uses the singular *recipio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 24, the Greek uses the plural *δεχόμεθα*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 186 line 14.

[84] Again, where the Latin says 'I', *recipio*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 25, the Greek uses 'we,' *δεχόμεθα*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 186 line 17.

[85] The Latin and Greek verb tenses diverge at this point. The Latin uses the perfect *obviavimus*, indicating that the objection had been addressed, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 31, whereas the Greek uses the present *ἀπαντωμεν*, indicating that what comes next is intended to answer the question, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 186 line 24.

[86] i.e., Christ only receives the appellation 'from eternity' when he is situated in the godhead.

[87] Isaiah, 61:1.

[88] My emphasis.

[89] Basil of Caesarea, 330-379 AD, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 139-41.

[90] Amphilochius of Iconium, died after 394, Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 80; Basil of Caesarea, *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, XVIII, Caput XVIII, *PG* 32, cols. 147-54. For a newer edition of Basil's word on the Holy Spirit, see B. Pruche, *Basile de Cesaree, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris, 1968); trans. B. Jackson, *St. Basil the Great on the Holy Spirit* (Crestwood, NY, 1980).

[91] *PG* 32, col. 151 B.

exposition on the Gospel of John[92] says the following: << How then does he who proceeds from the Father become the Spirit of truth? On account of his likeness and identity of substance, this as he is truth and is called truth, he will have a beginning >>.[93] And the same saint, in the exposition on the aforementioned Gospel: *When the Spirit of truth comes it will show all truth to you*: << Indeed he calls the Spirit of truth his Counselor, that is to say that he himself is truth, so that we may recognize that the Holy Spirit is not foreign from the substance of the Unbegotten, nor is he other from him, in accordance with the consubstantiality argument >>.[94] Saint Basil, from the letter to his brother Gregory,[95] says: << He who is the Spirit alone, included in that phrase also that of which he is the Spirit: namely of Christ, and he included the one from whom: namely from God, according to what the Apostle said >>.[96] See how it is only in the Son.

For this reason, overflowing as we are with many different incontrovertible witnesses, on account of which we pass over them in summary. Indeed, we answered these theologically, using the great testimonies of the holy fathers more than syllogistic demonstration, thus they do not need excessive inquiry, for these are the words of the most Holy Spirit.

Let us speak also according to that method of false wisdom, proclaiming which some have ruined their faith, as Paul says.[97] You said that by saying: The Spirit of Christ is called the Holy Spirit because it is consubstantial. It follows from this that the Father is the Spirit of the Son, because he is consubstantial with the Son. Thus, reasoning syllogistically: the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son because it is consubstantial; the Father is consubstantial with the Son; therefore the Father is the Spirit of the Son because it is consubstantial. These indeed have the appearance of a syllogism. Listen then for how a syllogism is formed in nature, if this can be called a syllogism at all. Firstly, you have shaped this syllogism of yours in the second form, from a premise of similar form, and in no way should propositions of this type have similar forms; but by necessity one premise must always be affirmative, while the other is negative in the second form. Therefore, you mangled the predicate in the major premise; saying in the minor premise: the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son as it is consubstantial, leaving out the first term of the predicate,[98] that is the Spirit, you accepted the rest. These are the errors in the premises. But in conclusion, it is necessarily deduced from the established premises – setting aside the absurd, that is, the Spirit is the Father – that you have made all conclusions. Therefore, the thing which appears to be a syllogism is not only not a syllogism in truth, but it is not at all like a syllogism. Also, if we do not grant that this is a syllogism, but only a repetition, we say that the repetition is mistaken, and incompatible with logical methods. For neither if the Spirit is

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[92] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Ioannis Evangelium*, Book X, *PG* 74, cols. 283-446.
[93] *PG* 74, col. 443 A-B.
[94] *PG* 74, col. 443 A-B.
[95] Basil of Caesarea, *Epistle* 38, *PG* 32, cols. 325-340.
[96] Basil of Caesarea, *Epistle* 38, *PG* 32, col. 331 C; 1 Corinthians, 11.10-12; John, 4:2.
[97] Both the Latin and the Greek text here are fairly convoluted. Munitiz offers an insightful solution. He suggests that Blemmydes was 'behaving badly' in this instance, altering the biblical phrase 'by rejecting conscience, certain persons have made shipwreck of their faith,' I Timothy 1:19, into 'by advertising sophistry, certain persons have made shipwreck of their faith.' Munitiz adds that Golubovich, editing the Latin text without the Greek for references, was 'quite lost,' Munitiz, 'A reappraisal of Blemmydes' first discussion with the Latins,' 22 note 19.
[98] The Latin translation here – *dimittentes predicati*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 440 line 16 – struggles to make sense of a Greek genitive absolute – *ἀφέντες του κατηγορομένου*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 194 line 20.

consubstantial with the Son, nor is what is consubstantial with the Son entirely his spirit. This alteration can only occur in things equal and proper, but in cases where one thing is true in a general sense, it cannot occur at all in another particular sense. And the Spirit does not signify the same thing as consubstantiality in accordance to number, nor is consubstantiality particular to the Spirit, so that it also is able to be changed. On the one hand this matter indicates the same essence, and on the other the identity according to person and hypostasis. And this is shared by the three, while that is particular to one of the three. For the Father is also called consubstantial to the Son and Spirit, and the Son with the Father and the Spirit, and again the Spirit consubstantial with the Father and the Son: and indeed this indicates a consubstantial hexis,[99] but the other is said without qualification. One has the status of an antecedent, the other of a consequence: For if the Spirit of Christ is also consubstantial with him, not if he and the Spirit are consubstantial.[100] However, we learned from those who said thus, that if the antecedent is also a consequence, it does not follow that the consequence is also an antecedent. For if a man is also a beast, it does not follow that a beast is also a man. Thus, if that statement of yours is rejected, it becomes clear that the rationale is true which says that the Spirit of Christ is consubstantial with him.

But let us see also the reason according to which your wisdom says that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ, which is this: clearly, the procession of the Spirit from the Son. Listen then. Because it is for this reason that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ, because he proceeds from him, and in everything which is called the spirit of something, it proceeds from it; and there will be, according to this rationale, spirits of the prophets having existence from the prophets themselves. And we likewise say this, that it is not only on account of consubstantiality that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son – just as the holy fathers taught – but also because of the economy[101] of spiritual anointing.[102] This economy, having been made man, was poured out to all the faithful by the only-begotten, just as the first of the apostles, Peter, told about Christ, saying: Having been raised up by the right hand of God, and having received the promise of the Holy Spirit from the Father, he now poured it out to you who see and hear.[103] And Paul, the chief of the apostles, agreed with this, writing to his disciple Titus: God saved us through the font of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he abundantly poured into us through Jesus Christ our Savior.[104] – And it is said again: the Spirit of Christ is anointing.[105] The Father anoints him with the Holy Spirit according to the flesh.[106] – And again it is called the Spirit of Christ because it was always with Christ, not as *energy*[107] – that is the one

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[99] The term *hexis* here is translated from the Latin *habitudinem*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 440 line 34, and the Greek *σχέσιν*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 196 line 15.
[100] The Greek here reads slightly differently – 'If the Spirit of Christ is also consubstantial with him, not if he is consubstantial, is he also the Spirit.' *εἰ γάρ, Πνευμα Χριστου, καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῳ, οὐ μὴν εἰ ὁμοούσιον, καὶ Πνευμα*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 196 lines 17-18.
[101] *Administrationem* in Latin, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 441 line 13, *οἰκονομία* in Greek, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 198 line 11.
[102] This paragraph, until this point, is largely missing from the Greek text, and is found only in the Latin.
[103] Acts 2:33.
[104] Titus 3:5-6.
[105] Isaiah, 61:1.
[106] Once more, the previous phrase, 'And it is said again: the Spirit of Christ is anointing. The Father anoints him with the Holy Spirit according to the flesh,' is not found in the Greek text.
[107] The Latin term here, *energon*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 441 line 24, is a transliteration from the Greek, *ἐνεργοῦν*, from *ἐνεργέω*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 200 line 23-24, literally meaning 'the one acting/operating/influencing.'

working in – but as the testimony translated in honour, according to the theological voice. In all the ancient divinely inspired scriptures the Holy Spirit is not found referred to as the Spirit of Christ. When the only-begotten was made man, anointed by the Holy Spirit, and when he poured this out to the faithful, then the Spirit is called of Christ.

In addition we say: If the Holy Spirit was called the Spirit of Christ – because it is understood to be said that he proceeds from him – then many inconsistencies descend from this. It is right to accept some things by way of explanation. The honour and confession among theologians is common, that in the holy and superessential[108] Trinity, certain properties are natural, while others are hypostatic and personal. The natural properties belong equally to the three hypostases, and they have no other difference or division in accordance with them. But the hypostatic properties are particular and unique to each, in accordance to which the hypostases are distinguished and come into number and into division. And because procession is the mode of existence, from this it is evident that procession is a hypostatic property. If it were a natural property, it would be common to the three hypostases, and all would be subject to procession: but this is absurd and repugnant to theological conceptions of the mind. Procession is, therefore, not a natural property, but is instead hypostatic, and belongs to one of the three. Therefore, it is agreed that it belongs to the Spirit. And indeed, theological learning separates procession in this way. Therefore, procession is the hexis between the one proceeding and that from which it proceeds, considered just as generation is between the one being begotten and the one begetting. If procession belongs to one, it is clear that emission also will belong to one. But procession is of the Spirit alone, thus it is clear that emission is of one alone, and this will be either the Father or the Son, and not both. But from the holy Gospels we are taught that it proceeds from the Father. From this then the Spirit has the procession from one. And if it is also from the Son, the property will be made common, and can no longer be hypostatic, but is conveyed to the natural and shared properties, and it is clear that it will be common to all three. That is shown to be impossible. And yet, if the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, then the Father and Son will be reduced to one person, or the Spirit itself will be not be one in number, but will be divided into the two persons. If it is one and simple, it will come from one. But if it comes not from one, it is not one and simple. Indeed, the Holy Spirit is one and simple. Therefore, it is from one number. Likewise, if there are things different in number and differing in accordance to their hypostatic properties, by all means they will emit things different and various in number, and there will be two Spirits: this from the Father, and that coming forth from the Son. Also, it is considered by the theologians that the Holy Trinity is at once one and a Trinity; and not on the one hand a unity, and then a duality, and after this a Trinity. Therefore, when your honour says there are two principles, the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit consubstantial with them, they will need some other principle before themselves which gathers them into one. For unity must proceed duality, and it follows in your theology that there will be four deities. Just as we Greeks say: The first principle is the Father, and the two consubstantial principles appear, appearing the principle of the two consubstantials, and uniting the duality which comes from it with itself and with each other, and it does not need anything else, because it does not seek for itself anything more basic than unity. Just as you say, however, positing a dual principle, it is necessary for something single to precede before that other thing

[108] *Superessentia* in Latin, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 441 line 35, *ὑπερούσιος* in Greek, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 200 lines 5-6, meaning 'supersubstantial.' See Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 162.

itself. Thus unity is before duality in nature. But for duality to precede unity, and this is simple, is against nature and impossible. And if that which is according to nature is good, in all ways and places, that which is against nature is likewise evil.

12. – The emperor, however, heard that they could not defend their own writing. Thus, he wished to cover up their disgrace and said: << Let that writing be disregarded, because it produces only controversy. Let us proceed to your case and show through the writings of the saints that these things which you say are true >>. And straightaway one of our brothers, to whom the Lord had bestowed favour in the literature of the Greeks,[109] opened the book of blessed Cyril on the ninth anathema and began to read in Greek. Such was the sequence from this reading: << Blessed Cyril says: *if anyone says that the one Lord Jesus Christ is glorified by the Spirit as if by some foreign power, which through him using and by him receiving is able to work against the unclean spirits, and to fulfill in men the divine signs, and not rather his own Spirit, through which he worked the divine signs, let him be anathema*.[110] Likewise, later on, he says these words explaining the matter more openly: *having become man, he remained the Unbegotten Word of God, and thus God, being everything that the Father was, except alone the Father, and having as his own the Holy Spirit, which was from him and essential in nature with him, he performed the divine miracles.*[111] – In this authoritative opinion of Cyril, the Holy Spirit is said to be the Spirit proper to the Son, who is essentially from the Son; but he is not able essentially to be either by birth or procession, because there are not many modes of being in the Trinity, one person from another. But he is not able to be from him through birth, because then there would be two Fathers and two Sons in the Trinity. Therefore, what remains is from him through procession. And Cyril says that those who do not believe this are anathematised >>.

Then, being confused by this decree, not having here anything to criticise, they said: << Read on, you will hear what the saint opposes: *And they brought a certain heretic, Theodoticus by name,*[112] *who had been condemned in the fifth council,*[113] *who spoke against the saint as a heretic saying: << Cyril, who said the Holy Spirit was the proper Spirit of the Son, blasphemed not only men, but the Seraphim and God himself. To which words blessed Cyril answers saying: Behold how he spoke, he who knows only how to accuse. And again he repeated what he said previously >>*.[114]

And when they saw that they did not have anything they could rightly contradict, the Emperor began to excuse them saying: << There Cyril spoke against the heretic, and for that reason he spoke more than was proper >>.[115] To which we responded: << Is it possible that blessed Cyril lied on account of the heretic? >> He

[109] The text specifically refers to the literature, or *litteratura*, of the Greeks, as opposed to merely Greek letters.
[110] Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, col. 307 C-D. See the translation in Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 186.
[111] Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, cols. 307 D – 310 A; trans. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 186.
[112] Theodoret of Cyrus. 393-c. 460, bishop of Cyrus, was an avid supporter of Nestorius. His writings in opposition to Cyril of Alexandria were anathematized as part of the Three Chapters, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 889-91; Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, 1600-1601; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2049.
[113] Second Council of Constantinople, 553.
[114] cf. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 5, cols. 82 D – 83 D, and vol. 6, cols. 414-18. See also R. Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553 with related texts on the Three Chapters controversy* (Liverpool, 2009), 281-82.
[115] For the first time, Emperor John III Vatatzes personally contributes to the arguments.

answered: << No >>. << Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as he himself says, and he who does not believe this is anathema >>. And when these things were said we mutually retired.

13. – On Thursday,[116] as they laboured to disguise their own confusing and contriving excuses for their sin, we responded that we no longer wished to debate over this article with them, because we revealed clear rationales and authoritative opinions of the saints, in which the truth of this question is sufficiently revealed. And: << If you flagrantly do not wish to assent to the truth, what more will we be able to show to you, to which you may be willing to acquiesce? And the lord Emperor is about to retire from this city[117] tomorrow; we wish in his presence to debate on the second reason you gave, namely disobedience[118] >>.

At last, although unwilling, in a certain way they agreed that we should move on to the *Sacrament of the altar*. And they said: << You speak >>. To which we responded thus: << Since this pleases you, we will say what we oppose, beginning as follows: we heard from you that it seems very tedious to you to debate syllogistically or philosophically. This is not surprising, because often it begets quarrels and unduly tender consciences. Therefore, we thought simply on such a Sacrament, but nevertheless truthfully and faithfully, to plead the case of truth. Therefore, in the beginning we will propose to you a simple question, in which the truth will appear immediately, if you answer correctly >>. And they answered: << That manner greatly pleases us; you may speak >>. But wishing to divert to other questions on the azymes and fermenting and trifles and nonsense, they spun out the time all the way to the hour for the midday meal.[119] Finally the Patriarch said: << Show us how and in what material you work, and we will answer you >>. Therefore, when we showed our method and material, he begged a truce until after lunch.[120] When we agreed to delay the disputatio until after lunch, he answered saying: << These are difficult questions. And we have our brothers, the Patriarch[s] of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, without whose counsel it is not for us to answer those things. We will assemble a council for approximately the middle of March. We ask that you be present at that council, and you will hear what we will offer for an answer to these questions you pose >>. To this we answered in this way: << We have sufficiently explained to you that the lord Pope, of whose holiness we are servants, sent us to no council or to another Patriarch, but to you. For this reason we do not dare, nor do we wish, to extend beyond his mandate to something else, which might be prejudicial to his holiness or to the Church of the Romans. Nevertheless we will have regard for your interests, so bring together your brothers. May you have good and effective and timely counsel about the peace and reformation of the Church, and then write to us in Constantinople. In that place we will remain until your petition in the middle of March, and we will await your answer, so that we may know what we can report for certain on this matter to him who sent us. And may God grant to us to hear such things to report, that it may be to the glory of

[116] 26 January 1234.
[117] Nicaea.
[118] *Inobedientie*. It is unclear what the friars meant by 'disobedience.' They may well have been referring to the issue of papal primacy, a recurrent issue in ecclesiastical negotiations between East and West, especially after 1204, but this is never identified as a 'reason' for schism by either sides. Indeed the 'second reason you gave' suggests that the friars wanted to move on to the problem of azymes.
[119] *prandendi*, from *prandeo*, likely refers to a midday meal. See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968), 1450.
[120] Again, the term to denote a meal, *prandium*, is ambiguous. However, if we are correct about the earlier mention of a midday meal with *prandendi*, we can interpret *prandium* here in the same way.

his name and to the shared joy of each Church; and may God be blessed in all and through all >>. And thus we mutually retired.

14. – On Friday,[121] after celebrating mass, we were received at court, that we might take leave from the Emperor, since he was about to depart early the next morning.[122] And finding at the same time the Emperor and Patriarch, the Emperor began to converse with us, under which form the Patriarch and the Church of the Greeks might be able to be reconciled with the Church of the Romans. To which we gave the following answer: << It may be able to be reconciled in this way, if it believed and preached the way the Church of the Romans believes (whether or not he sings as the Church of the Romans would not make much difference, we believe),[123] and if the Church of the Greeks obeyed the Church of the Romans in the same way, and in those matters to which it obeyed before the schism >>. And the Emperor added: << If the lord Patriarch wished to submit to the Church of the Romans, would the lord Pope restore to him his right?[124] >> To this we answered in this way: << If the Patriarch pays the obedience which he owes to his mother, we believe[125] that he will find greater mercy than he expects, in the presence of the lord Pope and the whole Church of the Romans >>.[126] And accepting his leave, we withdrew from Nicaea and left for Constantinople.[127]

15. – About the middle of March, the Patriarch sent a messenger with letters inviting us, so that we might come to a certain *Leschara*[128] of Vatatzes, where he promised to

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[121] 27 January 1234.

[122] The friars give no indication of a reason for the emperor's departure from Nicaea. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 68 lines 1-2, 85 lines 1-2; trans. Macrides, 41.220, 47.245, related that Nymphaion was a favoured residence of Vatatzes, especially during winter. As these events were taking place in January, we might imagine that Vatatzes was preparing to make his way there. For more on Nymphaion as an imperial residence, see Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 87-88.

[123] Notice that the friars are careful only to answer what they 'believe' (*credo*) would be the circumstances required for a reconciliation between the Greek and Roman Churches. They are conscious that their response to the inquiry from Vatatzes might well come up in future negotiations between Rome and Nicaea, and they do not want to bind Gregory IX to an offer or agreement to which he did not consent.

[124] The Latin word *ius* leaves this question open to interpretation. Vatatzes may have been asking whether the Greeks would be allowed to keep their customs and liturgy in the event of a restored union. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226, is convinced that *ius* actually refers to the patriarch's rightful see in Constantinople. Therefore, the true intent of Vatatzes' question to the friars would be 'if the Patriarch submitted to the Church of the Romans, would the Pope restore Constantinople to us?'

[125] Again, the careful use of *credo*.

[126] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226 speaks much about the friars skill at putting forth straightforward yet 'evasive answers' in this response.

[127] Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226, thinks that Vatatzes, who had high hopes for the results of the *disputatio*, was greatly discouraged by this exchange. Wolff argues that, from this point on, the Greek Emperor, who had 'maintained a friendly attitude toward the envoys,' becomes increasingly angry with them.

[128] The word *Leschara* here represents a problem. Nothing the friars say about the location indicates if it is a building or a settlement. Their spelling of the word varies, giving *Leschara*, *Leschera*, *Alescheran*, *Lescherea* and *Lescaram*. An eighteenth century edition of the friars' report, Quetif and Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* vol. 1, 919, refers to this place with the Greek word *Λέσχερα*, Quetif and Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* vol. 1, 919. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 4, suspects this comes from the Greek word *λέσχη*, indicating a place for 'study, meetings, entertainment and lodging.' If this is correct, Golubovich maintains that *Leschara* was a palace or lodging built, or possibly inherited by Vatatzes. However, Golubovich leaves open the possibility that *Leschara* denotes a village, in which case he puts its location just south of Lopadion on

unite his own prelates and patriarchs, and to convoke a council. And as if forgetting the meeting which happened between us in Nicaea, in every way he said in his own letters that we were to go there. Therefore, astonished by such a command, we wrote back in reply that we were very much surprised. Seeing as at this time we awaited his answer, and now he said he would summon his prelates to council, and he asked us to come to his council, when we ought to directly return to the Roman Curia. But lest our work be unfruitful, and because we are compelled by the love of God, which *does not seek its own, but that which is Jesus Christ*,[129] it puts common good before individual advantage, for your sake we shall wait again until the end of March. Therefore, we requested of him as much as we were able, that he do what he was going to do as quickly as possible.

Part II. *Deeds at Nymphaion in Lydia*

16. – At the end of March, he wrote back to us saying that he had received the letters, but he could scarcely hear[130] them because of the pain in his heart, because their tenor filled his heart with sadness. And because he was alone in Nicaea, and he could not respond to us because the reconciliation and reformation of our peace and discussion of our faith pertains to everyone collectively, << but now I came to believe that all these things were being discussed between them and you together. Thus, if you are about to depart, it will seem to us that you have not come for peace, but in order to test us >>. He even wrote to our Brothers, namely brother *Benedict*, Minister of Romania,[131] and brother *Jacob of Russano*,[132] who were then present in Constantinople, that they should in every way put to us what he had in mind, promising that if we went to the council, we would return to the curia with great

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the road to Nymphaion, about one day's journey. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 216 note 74, agrees, describing *Leschara* as a village not far from Nymphaion.

This suggestion by Golubovich does not coincide with what is said later by the friars. They state that *Leschara* was a four day journey, not one day, from Nymphaion, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 18, 447 lines 18-19, and see below, ch. 18, 388. Thus, we must look elsewhere for the location of *Leschara*. One possibility is that the word itself is a corruption of Achyraous, a fortress overlooking the tributary to the Makestos River and controlling the road from the Propontis and the Mysian plain to the regions of Lydia and Ionia. For the fortress of Achyraous, originally built under John II Komnenos, see Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, 33 lines 65-67; trans. Magoulias, 19. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 93-94, 133, notes that Achyraous was referred to as *Esseron* or *Sycheron* by the Latins, which could easily become *Leschara*. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 27-28; trans. Macrides, 15.149, stated that Achyraous came under Latin occupation following the victory of Henry I over Theodore I Laskaris in 1212. Germanos II, who spent time in Achyraous at the monastery of St George Paneumorphos before being elevated to the patriarchate, makes reference to the Latin occupation, Xanthopoulos, *PG* 147, col. 465 C; Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ β′, πατριαρχὴς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας*, 216 lines 10-19. For more on Achyraous, see Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 156; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications*, 146; Foss, 'The defenses of Asia Minor,' 161-66; Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 152 note 14.

[129] 1 Corinthians 13:5; Philippians 2:21.

[130] *audire poterat*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 445 line 29. We gather from this that the letter was read aloud.

[131] Benedict of Arezzo, Franciscan provincial minister of the East, Salimbene de Adam, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, 63 lines 16-17; trans. Baird, 18. See also Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226.

[132] Jacob of Russano, a Franciscan missionary who was delivering papal letters to the king of Georgia, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, no. 9141, 783; Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 1, 162-63; Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, vol. 2, 299-300; Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 226.

joy.[133] And in addition, we received letters from the Emperor,[134] who asked in every way that we return to him at *Leschara*, because he had prepared a ship for us, and all necessities for our crossing, and that of his own messengers, whom he intended to send to the presence of the lord Pope.[135] In addition, the land of Constantinople was as if abandoned by all protection. The lord emperor *John*[136] was poor. All mercenary soldiers had departed. Ships of the Venetians, Pisans, Anconians and other nations were preparing to withdraw, and indeed some had already departed.[137] Considering, therefore, the desolate land, we feared danger, because that land was situated in the middle of its enemies. *Asan*,[138] king of the Bulgarians, in the North, *Vatatzes* from the East and South, and *Manuel*[139] surrounded it from the West.[140] For this reason we proposed to discuss a truce between the Emperor of Constantinople and Vatatzes to last till the end of the year.[141] Having been compelled by these reasons, it was the desire of all that we return to the land of Vatatzes. Nevertheless, lest we should attempt these things merely at our own behest, we consulted the chapter of Holy

[133] It is unclear if Germanos II was only attempting to pressure officials of the Franciscan Order to win over the friars, or if he intended to appeal to the government apparatus of Latin Constantinople to achieve his end. If the latter, then it is notable that he knew enough of the governmental hierarchy of Latin Constantinople to know to whom to direct his appeal.
[134] John III Vatatzes.
[135] That Vatatzes would prepare a ship to sail to Italy for the sole purpose of union negotiations is significant. It was not uncommon for diplomatic embassies to find travel aboard commercial vessels. M. McCormick, *Origins of the European economy, communications and commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001), 237-43, notes the fluid boundaries between merchant and ambassador. See also M. McCormick, 'Byzantium on the move: imagining a communications history,' in *Travel in the Byzantine World, Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 6. Therefore, we can deduce from the offer from Vatatzes to take up the expense of outfitting a vessel specifically for the sake of continued union negotiations that he placed a high priority on those proceedings, and that he was optimistic that those discussions would succeed.
[136] John of Brienne, died 1237, king of Jerusalem and Latin emperor of Constantinople, father-in-law to both Frederick II and Baldwin II. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 44 line 6 – 45 line 22; trans. Macrides 27.184-85, commented on the rise of John of Brienne as Latin emperor; For the agreement making John of Brienne senior emperor in Constantinople, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, no. 273, 265-270. For more on John of Brienne's career see Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,' 214-15; Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 164; Lock, *Franks in the Aegean*, 62-63; Perry, *John of Brienne*, 157-88.
[137] This remark indicates a truly desperate situation. The friars suggested that several Italian ships had already abandoned Constantinople by March of 1234. Modern scholarship has shown that sailing before March was a dangerous proposition. J. Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war: studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), 88, comments that it was only in the thirteenth century that new technology made the sea voyage from east to west in winter safer to attempt, but still was a prospect to be avoided. According to McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, 450-53, the optimal sailing season began in April. Thus we must consider that the Italians in question were quite eager to depart from the Latin Empire.
[138] John II Asen.
[139] Manuel Komnenos Doukas, ruler of Thessalonike, George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 43 line 19 – 44 line 5; trans. Macrides, 26.182.
[140] The friars' description of the enemies of the Latin empire is strikingly similar to that found in a letter of Henry I over two decades earlier, Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel,' 411-18.
[141] The friars here appear to have accepted the task of envoys from the Latin Empire – an occupation which was likely not part of their mandate from the pope. This was their only mention of serving as representatives of the Latin empire. They did not indicate if they were successful in gaining the aforementioned truce.

Sophia and the prelates of the land, and moreover the Emperor himself,[142] about this matter, who all unanimously bestowed upon us the same advice.

17. – Therefore, on the third Sunday in Lent,[143] the final Sunday in March,[144] we began the journey to *Leschera*, and the next day, after crossing the sea, we came to the place of *Chalogerorum*,[145] situated on the sea. From here we sent two pairs of letters through different messengers to the Patriarch of Nicaea,[146] asking that he hasten to the aforementioned place, because at that place he would find us prepared, as he had requested in his letters. Departing from that place we sent a messenger with our letters to the Emperor, apprising him of our approach. Thus that *Laetare Sunday*[147] we were near *Lopadion*,[148] and departing from there on Monday,[149] we came to *Alescheran*. And because that place was assigned to us as much by the Emperor as by the Patriarch, we paused there.

But when our arrival had been announced to the Emperor, promptly he sent his own messenger to us, who came to us on the evening of that Thursday.[150] They delivered to us the beseeching letters of the Emperor that we might come to *Nymphaion*,[151] because he awaited us there. But because we had heard no definite reports of the Patriarch or other prelates, we answered that we were not able to respond to him about this, before we had received a messenger from the patriarch.[152]

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[142] John of Brienne.

[143] Literally, the 'third Sunday in 40' – *tertia Dominica in XL*. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 446 line 20.

[144] 26 March 1234.

[145] i.e., 'the place of monks,' Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 446 note 7, identifies this as Kios, modern Gemlik, in the Gulf of Myrlea on the Sea of Marmara, due west of Nicaea. See Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 180. The friars almost certainly lodged in a monastery in the area, as the word *locus* likely refers to a monastic institution, Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 70 note 1.

[146] It is interesting that the friars here referred to Germanos II as the 'Patriarch of Nicaea', *Nicee Patriarcham*, rather than the patriarch of Constantinople. Germanos II referred to himself as archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople in his 1232 letter to Gregory IX, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179a, 240 lines 2-3, and in his letter to the Roman Cardinals that same year, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 179b, 249 lines 1-2.

[147] i.e., the fourth Sunday of Lent, 2 April 1234.

[148] Lopadion, modern Ulubad, is on the banks of the Rhyndakos river. This fortress, not far from Lake Apollonias, was built in 1130 and protected a bridge which comprised an important link between the Marmara, Hellespont and Aegean regions. See Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 78-83; Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 2; Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 160; Foss, 'The defenses of Asia Minor,' 159-61; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications*, 145.

[149] 3 April 1234.

[150] 6 April 1234.

[151] George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 175 lines 22-26; trans. Macrides, 84.369, explained that the Nicaean emperors spent a good deal of time at Nymphaion since 1204, and indicated that it was a winter residence; Jacoby, 'Economy of Latin Constantinople,' 207, and Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium*, 5, describe Nymphaion as the winter residence of the Laskarids. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 87-88, proves, however, that the presence of the Laskarids at Nymphaion was not merely determined by the seasons, and that it was more of a regular imperial residence. Angold, 'Administration of the Empire of Nicaea,' 13, notes the government operation at Nymphaion. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine capital and its praises*, 65 refers to Nymphaion as the 'regular base of operations' for Vatatzes. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 447 note 6, describes Nymphaion as 'the particular seat of the Greek emperors' of Nicaea. Cağaptay, 'How Western is it? The Palace at Nymphaion and its architectural setting,' 357 points out that two emperors, Theodore II Laskaris and Michael VIII Palaiologos, were first proclaimed there.

[152] The friars' insistence on waiting for word from the patriarch again emphasizes the ecclesiastical nature of their mission.

On the following Sabbath[153] a messenger from the Patriarch arrived with letters from him, in which he indicated his arrival to us and beseeched us that we may go before him to *Nymphaion*, and that he would hurry up and follow us immediately.

18. – Therefore, departing from *Lescherea* on the Sunday of the Passion,[154] after four days we arrived at *Nymphaion*. Finding the Emperor there, we awaited the arrival of the Patriarch, who reached *Nymphaion* on Thursday[155] at about the evening hour.

On Friday,[156] after a meal,[157] we approached him, asking that he expedite our business, should he be able. To which he answered: << I am prepared, and behold the prelates who have assembled, likewise they desire to commence, so that they might be able to be in their own churches on those holy days[158] >>. And as we considered the word of so great a man to be infallible, we happily returned to our lodging.

On the Monday[159] after the Sunday of Palms,[160] we waited for him to send for us. But when he did not send for us, we sent two of our Brothers to the Patriarch, wishing to learn why he did not send for us. He answered them that his own prelates had not yet assembled. The Brothers, thinking that he intended to prolong the business, sharply urged that he should summon us. For that reason, being provoked against the Brothers, he said: << We are amazed by the Brothers, when we have 30 headings against you, and you wish to be summoned in a moment >>. And he added: << Let the Brothers come tomorrow if they wish, and we will have the disputatio >>. After hearing that, we went to the Emperor, telling him everything in sequence, believing that he would compel them to keep their promise. At first he began to excuse the prelates for not having assembled, because some of them came from considerable distance, and the Patriarch of Antioch[161] had only just arrived: << In addition, this is a time of prayer and great affliction. You should not be surprised if they are reluctant at this time to take part in the disputatio >>. And after much he said: << I ask that you wait until after Easter; while the prelates and the Patriarch are assembled, so that Monday they will answer you >>. And thus he obtained a truce from us.

19. – Those days passed, and the Monday[162] after Easter the prelates were assembled after a meal[163] in the home of the Patriarch,[164] and his own messengers were sent to

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[153] 8 April 1234.
[154] Departing on 9 April 1234, which was the fifth Sunday of Lent, and arriving on 12 April 1234.
[155] 13 April 1234.
[156] 14 April 1234.
[157] *prandium* here probably signifies an early meal, i.e. breakfast, indicated by the urgency the friars place don their business in the following text.
[158] i.e. Lent.
[159] 17 April 1234.
[160] i.e. the sixth Sunday of Lent.
[161] Symeon II, patriarch from 1206-1235, was likely of Syrian origin, and was elevated to the patriarchate as the result of a conflict between the prince of Antioch, Bohemond IV, and the Latin patriarch, Peter I of Angouleme. When the prince and patriarch reconciled, Symeon II was exiled from Antioch, and eventually sought refuge in the Byzantine court at Nicaea. See V. Grumel, *Traité d'études Byzantines:* I*: La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 448; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 612-19; Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 221, 313-21; Prawer, *Crusader institutions*, 71-73; Jamil and Johns, 'An original Arabic document from Crusader Antioch (1213 AD),' 167-68. Symeon II was eventually made to do penance for his submission to the Latin patriarch, Peter II of Ivrea, before being restored to communion with the Greek Orthodox Church, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1220, 28.
[162] 24 April 1234.
[163] *prandium*, may again refer to breakfast, as the report of the friars continues to express their eagerness to proceed with the discussions.

summon us. When we had gathered among them, the Patriarch said: << It is known to you that we had the disputatio in Nicaea about the Holy Spirit, but at that time I was alone. Our prelates who are now present would gladly hear about the progress on that question >>. From these words we deduced that he was dissembling in answering our question, wishing to bring us back to the issue of the Holy Spirit. We then began to tell the reason for our journey, and how it was discussed in Nicaea, and how the Patriarch himself promised to send for us around the middle of March, making an answer to the question put to him about our Sacrament, and how often he altered our agreement. And then, wishing in their presence not to appear compelled by promises or by the orders of our superiors, but only by goodwill and love of peace and harmony, and the promises of the Patriarch, which he showed to us in his own letters, that if we came, he would make us return happy to those who sent us to him. << Therefore, convinced by the hope of such good things and the brotherly love of charity, we did not make excuses with the weariness of distant journeys, nor the loss of time, nor the dangers of the sea, nor the labor of the flesh, but we preferred rather to temper our will through many physical discomforts, rather than to satisfy our own advantage. We have come to listen to your answer >>. And they said: << On what? >> << On the question about which the Patriarch promised to consult you >>. And they said: << We were not present for the question. We did not hear >>. And we answered: << This was the question, and we ask the same from you: whether we are able to accomplish the body of Christ in azymes, or not? >> To which they answered: << There were two questions between us and you, namely about the procession of the Holy Spirit, and about the body of Christ. Let us first, therefore, discuss the procession of the Holy Spirit in the presence of the whole council, because that question precedes the other, and then we will answer you on the other question >>. To which we answered: << You answered the question on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and we know perfectly well what and how progress was made on that question.[165] But the question was on the body of Christ, and this was not yet answered. For that reason we now seek a response from the whole council >>. But with evading question, that they might not answer the aforementioned question, they said: << Thus the order of theology is confused, if it was not discussed earlier in that which is of higher importance >>. And we answered: << The order which you seek was maintained in what was done in Nicaea, when it was right and proper to debate both matters, but we came to hear only your response on the second matter. Whence, we do not care for your rationale on the order of reasons which you present >>. Therefore, when they had frequently gone over the same rationale, a certain Calogerus, in the dress of their philosophers,[166] came forward and said: << God was

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[164] This comment indicates that the patriarch had a permanent residence in Nymphaion, where the Nicaean emperors, especially, John III Vatatzes, often held court. However, it is also possible that the residence was a monastery or a private home made available to the patriarch on this and other occasions. The comments of the Latin friars do not attest definitively to the status of this 'home of the patriarch.'

[165] One can almost hear the friar snickering as he makes the statement.

[166] At first glance, this phrase appears inherently redundant. The Greek word *καλόγηρος*, transliterated here to 'Calogerus,' often signified a monk. In addition, an individual 'in the dress of their philosophers' can also be understood to indicate a monk. Thus, it is possible to interpret this phrase as saying 'a certain monk, in the dress of one of their monks.' In order to resolve this redundancy, we must reconsider what the friars meant by 'Calogerus.' Their report introduces other Byzantine speakers, but never as 'Calogerus' or 'a calogerus.' In addition, the individual is described as 'in the dress of one of their philosophers.' It is possible, therefore, that the friars overheard this individual referred to as a 'calogerus,' and mistook that appellation for his name. Thus, we can understand the

without beginning and from eternity, one in essence, three in persons. The flesh of Christ began in time, and had a beginning. But that which is without beginning is earlier, and that from time is later. Therefore, one ought to come into question on the Holy Spirit which is eternal, before discussion of the body of Christ, which was from time. That order is indeed natural, and if we do not protect this order, we will sin against the order >>. To which we answered: << That which is in the body of Christ about which we speak is the deity itself, for there is true deity and true humanity. Therefore, he spoke concerning the body of Christ, just as we asked, and thus we deal with both.[167] Likewise, such is the order in the Gospel, for Matthew began from the incarnation of Christ, and in the end of his Gospel spoke on the Trinity saying: *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit*.[168] And that is the order which we seek >>. And having said these things, that philosopher became silent, and later was not present.

Then the Patriarch spoke, saying: << Since you compel us, we will write our response to each question, and give it to you >>. Therefore, we realized that they did not want to answer the question, but passing over it by dissembling, and disguising it with their writing, we answered: << We are not concerned about your writing, since we are present. Please answer us in a living voice. Writing is done namely for those who are absent and not for those present. Therefore, seeing as we are present, answer us as though we were present >>.[169] To which the Patriarch said: << If you wish to recite, in the presence of the whole council, the order and sequence of the entire disputatio which was conducted in Nicaea, in a like manner we will answer your question >>. To which we answered with the following: << Provide us an answer to this question, whether or not we are able to accomplish the body of Christ in azymes. And having satisfied us on this question, we will recite to you the progress and sequence of the question on the Holy Spirit, and we will answer every doubt, which has been brought about by the question >>. And the patriarch, rising with the other prelates, withdrew together to take counsel. And returning thence they answered: << We beg a truce until Wednesday, and then we will answer you just as we have promised >>. And because we have often found them false – lest they deceive us – we said: << So that we might not prolong these words and assemblies, behold we repeat our demand >>. And again, repeating our position, they approved it, and thus we mutually retired.

20. – On Wednesday,[170] about the first hour, we came to the home of the Patriarch where the council had assembled. And when we were in the middle of the council, the Archbishop of Amastris[171] in Paphlagonia began to speak thus: << It is known to you,

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phrase as saying 'a certain individual, with the name of Calogerus, who was in the dress of their philosophers…'

[167] A possible corruption in the text makes it difficult to interpret this sentence.

[168] Matthew 28:19.

[169] In the 1136 *disputatio* in Constantinople, the western advocate, Anselm of Havelberg, noted that everything in the *disputatio* was taken down in writing by appointed notaries, but he himself asked that his speech not be translated literally in a word for word manner, as he might be misunderstood, Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, col. 1164 A-B; trans. Criste and Neel, 85-87. The friars never made a statement about concerns over being misunderstood, indicating their confidence with the Greek language, as well their eagerness to complete their business and depart.

[170] 26 April 1234.

[171] It is possible to identify this individual as Nicholas Kaloeidas, metropolitan of Amastris, who had previously served as the representative from Germanos II to Epiros, and condemned the assumption of the imperial title by Theodore Doukas, Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1248, 55. His service to the patriarch is mentioned in a letter of Germanos II, Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, vol. 6, 483-86.

venerable apocrisarii of the lord Pope, that the most holy aforementioned Pope sent through you a letter to the lord Patriarch,[172] upon hearing the tenor of which, we were amazed to no small extent by a certain phrase[173] that he had placed at the end of the letter. From this phrase[174] it seems to us that he wants to suggest that our Sacrament in leavened bread and your Sacrament in azymes are two Sacraments. He says that our Sacrament and yours are indicated through the two disciples running together to the tomb, saying: *Greeks, running in front with the younger disciple to faith, and not ungrateful for the bestowal of such great grace, which God, having compassion for the suffering of man, willed to be a man, subject to suffering, choosing daily to keep that in mind, he arranged to offer the leavened host. Whereas the Latins, obeying the senior Peter, observed the record of the letter, from which the spiritual sense proceeds, entered first, and saw the linen cloth which was wrapped on the sacred body, which designates the Church, and he saw the face cloth which had covered the head lying to the side, thus he chose to celebrate the more miraculous sacrament of the glorified body in the azymes of sincerity*.[175] From these words it seems to us that the lord Pope wishes to suggest two traditions. Therefore, we seek from you, if this is your faith, whether these disciples signify two traditions in the Sacrament of the Greeks and Latins >>. We carefully considered their scheme that they were displaying in whatever way to avoid the response, and thus the opportunity, presented by the letter, to direct us towards the other question.[176] We briefly answered: << The truth is that we bore a letter from the lord Pope, and if you take the time to carefully examine the writing in this letter, you will find that it elegantly dissolves the uncertainty of your question. But because it is written in the law – His is to interpret, whose it is to write – the letter of the lord Pope is not for us to interpret. But if there is something unclear to you, write it in a letter to the lord Pope and he will explain it to you >>. And they answered: << On the contrary, you are the messengers,[177] you ought to explain >>. Therefore, they began to seriously insist, and frequently to go over the same question, and we repeated the same response. After wasting time on that nonsense and trifle up to the evening hour, we were afflicted by boredom and weariness of the heart, and not wishing to endure their malice any longer, we answered them: << We see you are wasting time and that you labour to avoid the question and to profess your faith and that you will not listen. Henceforth our judgement will be available to you by our open speech, and we will let you know what we think of you. Now we have determined that you think badly of our Sacrament in azymes. We know this first through your writing, which was full of this heresy. Second, because you do not intend to answer the question put forward on the

[172] *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed Tautu, no. 193, 266-68.
[173] *verbo*, literally 'word,' but the friars here seem to be translating from the Greek word *λόγος*, with its more varied meaning.
[174] *verbo*.
[175] John 20.4-7; 1 Corinthians 5.8; Find the phrase in *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. Tautu, no. 193, 267 lines 25-36. Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 170-71, describes this as a 'typical position' held by the Latin Church. It acknowledges the symbolism behind the Greek usage, but maintains the preference for unleavened bread. Pope Innocent III used this analogy in a letter dated 13 November 1204, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hageneder, vol. 7, no. 154, 264-70; translated in Andrea, *Contemporary sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 119-21.
[176] The other question, i.e. the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Byzantines may well have been trying to dissemble in their comments, or they may have been expressing genuine concerns over the unity of the Church as demonstrated by the Eucharist. For more on the importance of this matter, see Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 171.
[177] *nuntii estis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 451 line 8.

Sacrament, lest your heresy be laid bare. Third, because your deeds prove it. You wash your altars after the Latins celebrate on them.[178] Fourth, because you compel Latins who come to your Sacrament to forsake and repudiate the Sacraments of the Roman Church.[179] Fifth, that you expelled the lord Pope from your diptychs, but we know that you only expel excommunicates and heretics; therefore you consider him to be excommunicated and a heretic. Sixth, because once each year you excommunicate him, as some have reported to us what they heard >>. Then the Cartofilax[180] rose in the middle of the council and said: << As for your accusation that we excommunicate the lord Pope, we say that is false. Whoever says it, let him depart or he will suffer evil things. You should not be surprised by the other thing we do, because when your Latins seized Constantinople, they shattered churches, demolished altars, stealing gold and silver, throwing relics of the saints into the sea, they trampled holy icons and they made churches into stables for mules, so that the prophecy appeared fulfilled: *God, gentiles came into your inheritance, they defiled your holy temple, they laid low Jerusalem* etc. >>.[181] And after these the Patriarch said: << If you are surprised that we expelled the Pope from our diptychs, I ask how he expelled me from his own diptychs? >> And undertaking to answer the last objection, we said: << The lord Pope never expelled you from his diptychs, because you were never there. But if you ask about your predecessors, please read whether the Pope expelled you before you expelled him >>.[182] Neither did they reply at all to this. << As for the other things which you lay upon the Roman Church, you lay nothing, these deeds were not done with the agreement or command of the Roman Church. But if these were done, the people who did them were laity, sinners, and excommunicates, performing these acts on their own authority. The whole Church should not be charged, for these were done presumptuously by certain wicked persons. But that which we say about you is true, and you testify to these things by your words and deeds. And your Patriarchs and archbishops did it first, and afterwards the bishops, and the other prelates of your Church. You commit these acts, and you teach that they be done. Hence you do not have an excuse for your sins. And because we find such hateful things among you, with no desire for the errors done to this point to be corrected, behold we are returned to him who sent us >>. And thus we withdrew from the council.

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[178] A very common complaint among Latins, both clergy and laity, was that the Greeks washed altars after Latins had performed their ceremonies upon them. Odo of Deuil famously complained of this in his report on the Second Crusade, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry, 54-55. The practice was condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Tanner, vol. 1, 235-36. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 104, comments on Greek priests who continued the practice while under Latin occupation from 1204-1261.

[179] See above, ch. 4, 369, for the earlier incident involving the 'certain Latin' chastised by his priest in Nicaea.

[180] The aforementioned Aulinus, see above, ch. 5, 370 note 26.

[181] Psalms 79:1. For a thorough description of the Byzantine interpretation of 'Latin' atrocities committed at the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, see Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dietan, pp. 585-95; trans. Magoulias, pp. 322-27; Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios,' ed. Heisenberg, 45-47.

[182] When Pope Urban II enquired in 1089 with the Byzantines about why his name had been omitted from the diptychs, no one could present a definitive reason, Kolbaba, 'The legacy of Humbert and Cerularius,' 51, 59-60; Kaplan, 'La place du schism de 1054,' 36; Louth, *Greek East and Latin West*, 316-17.

21. – That same day, after lunch,[183] we came to the Emperor, relating to him everything which was done in sequence, with truth leading the way. After reporting this, we asked that he grant us conduct beyond his own land. Then the Emperor, speaking as an eloquent man, clever and provident, modest in words, amazingly began to make excuses for his own people, and to promise improvement, adding that if the disputatio had been in his presence, it would not have devolved to insulting words. << I do not wish you to depart in such discord. I wish to hear you and them concerning your question, and then you will depart having completed the business with peace and love. And behold my galley is prepared to convey you to Apulia with my messengers, whom I will send with you to the most holy Pope. Indeed, I intend, as is proper, to show as much respect as is possible to the lord Pope with messengers, gifts and obedience, because I wish him to consider me a friend and intimate and son of his holiness >>. To these words we responded: << Lord, we henceforth wish not to hide the truth from you. It is written: *the Lord had regard for Abel and his gifts*.[184] At first it says 'to Abel', then to 'his gifts', as the Lord does not receive men because of their gifts, but he receives their gift because they are men. Thus we know that the lord Pope will not receive you because of your gifts, but when you are welcomed by him through the unity of faith, then your gifts will be acceptable to him. Please do not believe that the lord Pope wishes to accept you as a friend and son, if there is not first agreement in faith, and unity. Indeed, if you were to give all your gold and silver, he would not accept you as a son or friend, as long as you are contrary to the faith of the Roman Church. Therefore, how can we lead your messengers to the curia, when we do not dare present them to the lord Pope? Indeed, if by chance they came, we would be right to stand against them in the presence of our Lord >>. Then the Emperor, his expression changing to grief, spoke thus: << I see that the Emperor *Manuel*,[185] *Theodore*[186] and many other Emperors had friendship with the Pope during the schism. Nevertheless, if you insist that I not send my messengers,[187] I will not send them >>. To this we responded: << We neither insist, nor warn, but know this, that we will not lead your messengers,[188] except under hope of an agreement >>. And again the Emperor said: << If you do not wish to lead them, I am unwilling to send them, because I do not wish my men, nor ships, nor property to be exposed to harm >>. And

[183] Because this meal took place after part of the day had been devoted to substantial meetings with the patriarch and his clergy, *prandium* likely indicates a midday meal.
[184] Genesis 4:4.
[185] Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-80. For his relationship with the papacy see Magdalino, 'The phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos,' 178-85; Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 87-95; Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204*, 211-15, Rowe, 'The papacy and the Greeks,' 124.
[186] Theodore I Laskaris, 1205-1221, founded the so-called Empire of Nicaea after the Fourth Crusade. See the letter from Innocent III to Theodore I, dated 17 March 1208, which addressed the Nicaean emperor as 'noble man', and calls on Theodore I to recognize the imperial title of Henry I, *Die Register Innocenz III*, vol. 11, no. 44(47), 61-64. For more on the correspondence between Innocent III and Theodore I, see Papayianni, 'The papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the correspondence of the Nicaean emperors with the popes,' 158-62. Mesarites, 'Der Bericht,' ed. Heisenberg, 33 line 30 – 34 line 10, claimed that Theodore I spoke so eloquently about peace between the two churches at the talks in Herakleia Pontike in 1214/15 that he moved the Latin representatives to tears. Despite any supposed 'friendship' between Theodore I and Rome, the eastern policies of both Innocent III and Honorius III continued to champion the Latin rite and to use the Latin Empire of Constantinople to support crusader ventures in the Holy Land, Spence, 'Gregory IX's attempted expeditions to the Latin empire of Constantinople,' 165-66.
[187] *nuntios meos*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 453 line 3.
[188] *nuntios vestros*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 453 lines 4-5.

he added: << The schism has remained for nearly 300 years,[189] and because it has endured so long, it will not be possible to dissolve it in such a short time. Wait. Tomorrow I will speak to the prelates, and I will ask them to answer your question >>. And we withdrew from him.

Thursday,[190] after the evening hour, the Emperor sent his messenger to us asking that tomorrow, Friday, we come before him. And we agreed. When the messenger of the Emperor withdrew, a messenger from the Patriarch came asking that tomorrow we be before him in the palace of the Emperor.[191] And we answered: << Tomorrow we will be before the Emperor; if he is present, he will find us there >>.

22. – On Friday[192] morning we approached the palace of the Emperor, where the council had assembled. And at first the Emperor began to speak, saying: << Even if the prelates had promised to answer you, it is still not surprising if they wished first that the confusions they had over the letters of the lord Pope should be explained to them >>. To that we answered: << We said then and we still say now that after they have satisfied us on our question, we then will be prepared to reply not just to that ambiguity, but to all other doubts which come in the question >>. Then after the Emperor and other prelates took counsel, at first the Patriarch answered: << And we also will answer you >>. Next, the archbishop of Amastris began to speak in this way: << You ask if the body of Christ can be completed in azymes; and we answer that it is impossible >>. Therefore, wishing perfectly to understand his meaning, we asked if they were saying it was not possible because it cannot be done rightly, or because it cannot be done at all. And they answered: << Indeed, because it cannot be done at all, because we know that the Lord did perform it in leavened bread, and so gave it to the Apostles. Whence the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians, chapter 11: *I accept from the Lord, that which I passed on to you, that the Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took arton*[193] etc. Peter and the other Apostles, just as they accepted from the Lord, in

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[189] It is tempting to interpret the period of three hundred years, *CCC*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 453 line 9, as Vatatzes' understanding of the duration of the schism between the eastern and western churches, putting the beginning of the divide somewhere in the tenth century. The beginning of the schism is sometimes argued to have been 1054, a century later than the estimation by Vatatzes. We must not take this comment too seriously. Dates in medieval texts are notoriously untrustworthy. Even if we take it for granted that this is a faithful report of words spoken by Vatatzes, it remains entirely possible that a scribe added a *C* or took one away. A date four hundred years before, in the ninth century, would coincide with the so-called Photian Schism, while a date two hundred years before, in the eleventh century, would link Vatatzes' comments to the clash between Kerularios and Humbert in 1054. Either date fits modern conceptions of when the schism between the churches may have begun, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 1; Kolbaba, 'The legacy of Humbert and Cerularius,' 51-52; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 28-54; Pelikan *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, vol. 2, 147; Ryder, 'Changing perspectives on 1054,' 20-37; Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 43, 59.

[190] 27 April 1234.

[191] The redundancy of a messenger from the emperor, and later one from the patriarch, both requesting the same action from the friars, is striking. It is possible that the administrations of the emperor and patriarch simply lacked communication on who was to send the message, or the episode could indicate a power play going on behind the scenes.

[192] 28 April 1234.

[193] 1 Corinthians 11:23; *Artos*, the Greek word for bread. The text makes a clear differentiation between the Greek word and *panis*, the Latin word for bread. Schabel, 'Unleavened bread in western theology, 1234-1439,' 91, comments that the two words came to denote two distinct concepts. Greeks insisted that *artos* specifically denoted leavened bread, whereas the Latins argued that *panis* was a generic word used for all bread. The two groups continue to argue this point below in ch. 25, 403-406. In order to convey the implications of the argument, I have chosen to leave the word *arton* as it appears in Golubovich's text.

the same form they also gave to the four patriarchal churches. Whence Peter gave thus to Antioch, John the Evangelist gave to the churches which were in Asia, Andrew gave to the churches in Achaia, while James gave to Jerusalem, and thus blessed Peter gave to blessed Clement, and thus it was first celebrated in the Roman Church, as we believe. Because we say this, that it cannot be done in another bread, that is in the bread of the other nature, than that in which Jesus gave, this was in the leaven >>.[194] Listening to this heresy, we asked separately from each one, first from the Patriarch of Nicaea,[195] next from [the Patriarch] of Antioch, then from each prelate, if this was their faith, and if they believed that. And they answered separately: << This is our faith, and we believe this >>. Then we added: << We ask that you write this and sign your name to your faith, and give the writing to us >>.[196] The Patriarch of Nicaea responded: << And may you write for us that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and whoever believes this is on the road to ruin >>.[197] And we agreed. Therefore. a truce was given until the next day, so that on that day the charter[198] from each side could be written. And thus we retired.

23. – On the Sabbath[199], after a meal,[200] we were summoned to the council, and both sides offered their documents. They presented their own document to us first, of which the tenor was as follows:[201] *The most honourable apocrisarii*[202] *of the most holy Pope of older Rome seek from us if it is possible to complete the anemakton, that is, the sacrifice of the body of Christ,*[203] *in azymes. And we answered that this is impossible for men who wish to follow the new grace,*[204] *in accordance with the tradition of the Savior, which is from the beginning. Indeed he passed it on to his own*

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[194] Erickson, 'Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054' 158 note 18, comments that this response by the archbishop of Amastris emphasizes the gravity of the issue for the Byzantines. At stake was the whole of 'liturgical custom and humanly established ecclesiastical discipline' – an issue which no human practice should be allowed to threaten.

[195] Again, the friars refer to Germanos II as the 'Patriarch of Nicaea' rather than the 'Patriarch of Constantinople' or 'Patriarch of the Greeks.'

[196] It is unclear why, whereas previously the friars had refused to allow the disputatio to proceed in writing, they now request to see the Greek position in written form.

[197] If this is indeed how the patriarch responded then it may indicate to what extent the negotiations had already broken down.

[198] The word used here, *carte*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 454 line 12, is open to interpretation and does not specify the nature of what was written. Most likely the 'documents' from either side were written on parchment, an expensive and valuable material, indicating that the statements of both sides were meant to be preserved.

[199] 29 April 1234.

[200] *prandium*. As this is the first mention of activity on this day, the meal indicated is likely breakfast. This is supported by the fact that the length of the description of talks on this day by the friars is quite extensive, from ch. 23 through ch. 25.

[201] As we shall see, chs. 29-30, 405-408, the Greek document translated here was kept by the friars as they departed for Constantinople. According to their recollection of events, however, the document was taken from them by force shortly after beginning their return journey. Thus, the Latin translation of this treatise is the only version to survive.

[202] Earlier, ch. 11, 379, when Blemmydes referred to the friars as *apocrisarii*, Stavrou, *Oeuvres théologiques*, vol. 1, 184 line 1, the friars changed the text to refer to themselves as legates, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 438 line 1. Here, they were content to leave the word as it was intended. Does this indicate that a different friar was translating this text as opposed to the one who translated Blemmydes? Unfortunately, the Greek text of this document has not come down to us, so we cannot know what the Byzantines themselves intended to say.

[203] *anemakton*, a transliteration from the Greek word *ἀναίμακτος* (bloodless), is a reference to the bread of the Eucharist.

[204] i.e., the New Testament.

holy disciples and apostles through leavened bread, following the tenor of the Gospels. And they likewise passed on a mystery of this kind, such as they themselves received, following the sermon of the magister Paul writing to the Corinthians thus: Brothers, I took from the Lord that which I gave to you also, that on the night the Lord Jesus was betrayed he took the arton, *and giving thanks he broke it and said: Take it and eat: This is my body, which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me. And likewise after he had dined he took the cup saying: This cup is the new covenant in my blood: Do this every time you drink in remembrance of me. Indeed as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you will announce the death of the Lord.*[205] *Because of this, therefore, we take from the famous Apostle, just as they took from Christ, and thus the four ecclesiastical dioceses*[206] *maintain right up to the present day, while we believe that the diocese of elder Rome also received thus and will continue to hold. For this reason we say that one cannot consume the sacrifice through azymes, as azymes arise from the part of the apostles, which was free of legal servitude.*[207] *– And indeed we wrote these as a summary, in accordance with the desire of the apocrisarii, who could not endure to hear more.*[208] *If, however, the authorities and evidence of our argument are required of us, then we will extend our argument from the old and new Testament.*

In the month of April, the seventh indication,[209] *I, the Cartofilax*[210] *of the most holy great church of God of Constantinople, which is universal*[211] *in accordance with the teachings of the most holy patriarchs, and of the great church of Teupolitan*[212] *Antioch, and of the bishops who were present with them.*

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[205] 1 Corinthians, 11:23-26.

[206] Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria.

[207] The end of this sentence is particularly complex. The text reads *ut azimo parte existente eius, que cessavit legalis servitutis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 455 lines 2-3. *Parte* may be translated as a 'part' or 'share,' but may also refer to a 'representation' or 'symbol.' If the latter is true, then it must be a symbol of the *legalis servitutis*, literally meaning 'of legal slavery,' most likely the genitive of accusation. Issues of legality and slavery often pertain to Jews, just as the use of unleavened bread at the first Passover before their departure from Egypt. If this is the case, then *ut azimo parte existente eius, que cessavit legalis servitutis* can be interpreted as an accusation, on the part of the Greeks, that the Roman Church indulged in Judiasing practices. Indeed more can be read into this, the Greeks may be accusing the Latins of being slaves to Jewish law. A precedent for such an accusation exists in the polemic of Niketas Stethatos, who stated that 'those who still partake of the azymes are under the shadow of the Law and eat of the table of the Jews' – *Εἰ οὖν ἔτι τῶν ἀζύμων μετέχετε, πρόδηλον ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν τοῦ παλαιοῦ νόμου ἐστὲ καὶ τραπέζαν Ἰουδαίων ἐσθίετε*, Niketas Stethatos, *Against the Armenians and Latins*, ed. Hergenroether, 140 lines 11-12; translated in Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 161.

This is a somewhat complex reading of the sentence. It is entirely possible that the meaning was not intended to be so subtle. The phrase 'free from legal servitude' may simply be an accusation that the Roman Church has strayed from the traditional use of leavened bread. The lack of clarity may come from the fact that this was initially translated from a Greek text, which the friars may not have understood or they purposely wished to misrepresent.

[208] Here we see an indication that the frustration and weariness of the friars has been plainly observed by their hosts. The patriarch and his clergy will have found their behaviour and aggravation annoying.

[209] The text here confusingly reads *mense aprilis, indict. VII, I*. What the *I.* refers to is unclear, and indeed Golubovich notes that the mark is omitted in one of the manuscripts (manuscript E, ms. 250), Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 455.

[210] Presumably, the same Aulinus, see above, chs. 5, 370 note 26; ch. 20, 392.

[211] *universalis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 455 lines 8-9, likely derived from the Greek word *οἰκουμενικός*.

[212] The name 'Theoupolis' is associated with Antioch going back to the sixth century, see Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 115.

24. – And once in the full council, they delivered to us the charter they had read aloud in testimony to their creed. Then we put forth our charter and we read it aloud in the full council. The tenor of it was as follows:[213]

In the name of the Lord. Amen.

The Father is fully God in himself. The Son is fully God begotten from the Father. The Holy Spirit is fully God proceeding from the Father and the Son, and indeed the Spirit proceeds absolutely from the Son, from the Father but by means of the Son. As for the fact that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, the Son has this from the Father. For that reason he who believes that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son is on the road to ruin. Whence S. Athanasios, when he was in exile in the west, in his statement of faith, which he had expressed in Latin words, said thus: << The Father is made by no one, nor created, nor begotten. The Son is from the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and Son, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding >>.[214] *And the same S. Athanasios in his statement of faith, which he expressed in Greek words, said: the Holy Spirit is a being, proceeding from the Father and the Son who transmits him, through whom he completed all things >>.*[215] *And whence blessed Gregory, who is rightly called Thaumaturgus,*[216] *bishop of Neocaesarea, in his statement of faith, which he had through the revelation from blessed John the Evangelist, through the mediation of the Mother of God, clearly proclaimed saying: << One God, the Father of the living Word, and existing wisdom, and the eternal virtue and stamp, the perfect parent of the perfect, Father of the only begotten Son >>.*[217] *Then about the Son he says thus: << One Lord, one from one, God from God, character and likeness of the God-head, efficacious word >> etc.*[218] *Speaking here about the Son he says: << One from one >>; the Holy Spirit is not from one; therefore he is from the Father and another, when it is from something. Although it is called from the Father and another, it is not said to be from another in accordance to essence, but in accordance to hypostasis. Gregory, bishop of the city of Nyssa,*[219] *testifies that the Holy Spirit is absolutely from the Son, while from the Father by means of the Son, saying: << In acknowledging the immutability of nature, we do not deny the difference between causative and cause, in which we understand one thing alone to be distinguished from the other. This we believe to be the causative being. But the other is from the first, and that which is his is from the cause, again we understand another distinction. One exists proximate from the first, while the other is through him who is proximate from the first >>.*[220] *Therefore,*[221] *with that, by which things differ, it cannot agree with either. It is necessary for that which is the proximate being from the first to agree with*

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[213] Both the original Latin and a Greek translation of this text can be found in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, cols. 61-66.

[214] Athanasios, *Symbolum de fide catholica*, *PG* 28, cols. 1582 B – 1583 A.

[215] Athanasios, *Expositio fidei*, *PG* 25, col. 207A. Note that the friars have translated Athanasios' Greeks words into Latin in this document. This fact may be the cause of some difficulties in the Latin formation of the statement. For more on problems associated with translation of treatises dealing with procession of the Holy Spirit, see Siecienski, *The* Filioque, 7-8.

[216] Gregory Thaumaturgus, 'the Miracle-Worker,' bishop of Neocaesarea, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 403-404.

[217] Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Expositio Fidei*, *PG* 10, col. 983.

[218] Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Expositio Fidei*, *PG* 10, cols. 983 – 986.

[219] Gregory of Nyssa, Bishop of Nyssa, 372-ca. 395, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 400-402.

[220] Gregory of Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres dii*, *PG* 45, col. 134 B - C.

[221] Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 456 note 2, notes here that, in the Latin text, a segment of words not found in the Greek text is repeated. Thus, I have omitted them in this translation.

the Son or the Holy Spirit. The saints say that between Father and Son there is no intermediary. Therefore, the Son alone exists proximately from the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit does not exist proximately from the Father. However, there is the notion of common opinion that whatever is from one, it is especially proximate to that one. Therefore, when the Holy Spirit is from one, it is proximate to that one. But it is not proximate to the Father, as was already explained. Therefore, it is proximate to the Son. Those holy Fathers of yours, and also blessed Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, and blessed Augustine, bishop of the city of Hippo, likewise Saint Jerome, the most resolute opponent of heretical depravity, are followed by blessed Cyril, and with him the whole holy and universal third synod,[222] *leaving us a written account, clearly stating that the Spirit exists from the Son. He who resists its words is not a catholic, but a deviant from the faith. Indeed, he clearly says, in his address on the proper faith to Emperor Theodosius,*[223] *through these, words that the Spirit is from the Son: << Indeed, referring to a man not yet present and not yet seen, he says that he baptizes in fire and the Holy Spirit, not sending among the baptized a Spirit not his own, in the way of a slave or servant, but as God in accordance with nature, with the highest power, which exists from him, and is his proximate >>.*[224] *What is more evident in this testimony? Here he plainly says about the Son that he sends the Holy Spirit on the baptized from himself, and his proximate. And the same thing is said in the words of Cyril to Jeremiah in the sermon to the same Jeremiah, which is entitled << On the incarnation of the only begotten >>,*[225] *and that Christ is one, and Lord, in accordance with the Scriptures. And the same Cyril, in the statement on the 9th anathema,*[226] *says the same. In the ninth anathema, speaking about the Spirit being proximate to the Son, when he sets forth the same anathema, he explains in what sense he had said the Spirit was his proximate, saying: << The only begotten Word of God, having become man, remained God, being everything the Father was, except being the Father, and having as his proximate the Holy Spirit, who was from himself and essentially innate to him >> etc.*[227] *Here again the holy father says that the Holy Spirit exists from the Son. While one ought not be doubtful of the other, that the saint here does not explain the meaning, which he had when he added the anathema. The aforementioned third holy and universal synod accepted that anathema with all other anathemas, in that sense which the saint pronounced it. It is agreed that the holy Fathers, assembled in the aforementioned holy synod, without any hint of hesitation, received*[228] *the entire third letter of the aforementioned Father to the wicked Nestorius, bishop of the city of Constantinople.*[229] *No one was in doubt, so that the final part of the aforementioned letter contains the aforementioned 12 anathemas. If anyone attempts to adduce the most wicked words of bishop Theodoret of Cyrus,*

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[222] The Council of Ephesos, 431.
[223] Cyril of Alexandria, *Liber de recta in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum fide*, *PG* 76, cols. 1133-1200.
[224] Cyril of Alexandria, *Liber de recta in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum fide*, *PG* 76, ch. XXXVI , col. 1187 A-B.
[225] Cyril of Alexandria, *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*, *PG* 75, cols 1369-1412. See ch. VI, col. 1374; ch. XIII, col. 1383.
[226] Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, cols. 307 C – 310 A.
[227] Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, cols. 307 C – 310 A.
[228] The use of the Latin word *recepisse*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 457 line 19, here indicates that the friars were aware of the Greeks' conciliar tradition and consciously appealed to it. Thus, they spoke in a language their hosts would appreciate.
[229] Bishop of Constantinople 428-451, Nestorius was opposed by Cyril of Alexandria, Meyendorff, *Byzantine theology*, 91-93, and then condemned and deposed by the Council of Ephesos, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 648.

which poured out babbling in an utter lack of modesty against the 12 articles of the aforementioned blessed Father,[230] *let him know that the 5th holy and universal synod*[231] *anathematized the aforementioned babbling Theodoret, in accordance with the words of blessed Cyril, to which the aforementioned Theodoret answered by saying: << He only knows how to accuse >>. In the eighth act the fifth holy and universal synod says thus: << We condemn and anathematize, with every other heretic being condemned and anathematized by the aforementioned four councils, and by the holy catholic church, Theodore who was bishop of Mopsuestia*[232] *and his wicked writings, and the wicked things which were impiously written by Theodoret against the correct faith and the 12 articles and against the writings of Saint Cyril at the first holy synod in Ephesus,*[233] *and whatever was written for the defense of Theodore and Nestorius by him >>.*[234] *And it is clear from these that those things Theodoret wrote against the 12 articles of Cyril are abominable and full of impiety, and he who alleges them to be true is an enemy of the faith. Cyril writes to Achacius, bishop of Malta, after the union of the churches, saying thus: << Indeed what we rightly wrote against the blasphemies of Nestorius, no speech will convince us that it was not proper to say >>.*[235] *And to his servant Donatus he wrote saying thus: << We rightly wrote what we wrote, rightly and immaculately advocating the faith, and we deny altogether none of our points. Nothing is said, as they say, unknowingly, but everything having correctitude, and agreeing in the power of truth >>.*[236]

From these things it is most evident that blessed Cyril denied nothing of those which he had said, but that he believed them in the same sense which he had said them without a mark of rebuke. Nor would he have been able to correct them by himself, even if he had wanted to do so, far be it for a saint, what the holy synod accepted with supreme confidence and without any notion of doubt. It accepted his words[237] *in the same sense that he himself had uttered. Whence he who refuses to accept the 9th article of the holy Father, which he put forth with the holy synod, in the sense he uttered it, justly falls into anathema. All holy Fathers who attended the subsequent synods honoured this holy synod, and they believed the same things which it too believed. But even the holy Fathers who preceded it were of the same opinion as it was itself.*[238]

25. – And after reading the document, we gave it to the Patriarch of Nicaea[239] and to everyone listening we said: << You have given us your writing which contains heresy,

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[230] Theodoret of Cyrus charged that Cyril's anathemas against Nestorius smacked of Apollinarianism, Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, 1600-1601; Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 889-91.

[231] The Second Council of Constantinople, 553.

[232] died 428. Theodore of Mopsuestia was yet another opponent of Cyril of Alexandria, who spoke of Theodore as 'a Nestorian before Nestorius.' See Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 888-89; Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, 1598-99.

[233] Apparently meaning the first council held in Ephesos, but still the council of 431.

[234] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 9, 375 D – 376 A.

[235] Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* XL, *PG* 77, col. 183 D.

[236] Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* XLVIII, *PG* 77, col. 250 C-D.

[237] Again, *receipt*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 458 line 12, can be interpreted as an acknowledgment of Greek traditions.

[238] At the end of this passage, in manuscript A (Cod. Vaticano, now in the Riccardiana library in Florence, n. 228), there follow the signatures of each of the four friars attesting to their belief in the contents of the document, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 458 note 6. See Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 23, col. 66 D-E.

[239] Again, 'Patriarch of Nicaea' instead of 'Patriarch of Constantinople.'

and know this, that whoever believes that which is written in your charter, the Roman Church considers such a person as a heretic. Nevertheless, because a defence of heresy makes a heretic, we wish to know why you say such things. There can be two reasons why you say this, ignorance or malice. Therefore, we are prepared to show the truth to you, exposing you to be creators of lies, so that when you have seen the truth, the heresy that you say may cease and be revoked. Or if it does not cease, we may know that this is already said out of malice, and that you are heretics. But because we do not have judges, let the books, namely the old and new Testament, and the writings of the saints, be brought forward, and let them decide between us and you >>. And it is astonishing to recall, when everyone there looked among themselves for the books, they were unable to find a single Old or New Testament. Therefore, wishing to show that they were deceitful in all things, we asked why they said that the Lord had made his body in leavened bread. And they answered: << We have that in the Gospel, that *the Lord took the arton, broke it* etc. >> And we added: << What does *arton* mean? >>[240] They answered: << It means the completed bread, the risen bread, the leavened bread >>. And we asked if *arton* everywhere stands for leavened bread. And they responded: << No, because from time to time the *arton* is put by itself, and from time to time it is put with the adjective. When it is put by itself, it stands in place of leavened bread. When with the adjective, as in Leviticus VII, unleavened *arton*,[241] there is, so to speak, a contradiction in the adjective, as when one says: a dead man >>.[242] And again we asked: << If *arton* is put by itself, does it always suppose leavened bread? >> They answered that it did not. For whenever it is placed by itself, it is kept in its proper sense, and then it is always kept in a sense of being leavened. And whenever it is used improperly, then it stands for azymes. Therefore, *arton* put by itself is kept in both senses, not always instead of the leavened sense, nor always for azymes, and sometimes for this one and sometimes for that. Therefore, the *arton* put by itself stands for bread, and does not specify. Then what you say from the Gospel stands as much for our interest as for yours. And this is what our Gospel calls bread, where you have *arton*. Likewise, we found in Leviticus 7, where it is dealing with the law of peace offerings, leavened *arton* and unleavened *arton*, according to the letter of the Greek text. When they are specifically different they are called in azymes or leavened *arton*, but *arton* placed by itself may stand for either of them in common, and equally for this one or the other. Neither genus is used more or less properly as the predicate than the other. Then your distinction, which you made about proper and improper, was non-existent. Therefore, where it is said in the Gospel: *Jesus took the arton*, it stands for bread, not specifying either bread. Likewise, having disproved your reasoning, which you thought to have on this word *arton*, we prove through the Gospel, that the Lord made his body in azymes, and not in leavened bread. It is read in the Gospel of Matthew: *On the first day of azymes they came to Jesus saying: Where do you wish us to prepare for you to eat the passover?* >>[243] Then we asked from them: << What was the first day of azymes, of which he is

[240] Note that the friars seek to clarify any difference between the Latin *panem* and the Greek *arton*.
[241] Leviticus 7:13.
[242] This is a common argument employed by the Byzantines in disputations with the Latins over which bread is proper to use in the Eucharist. The twelfth century monk Euthymios Zigabenos, when quoting John Chrysostom in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*, explained that whenever Scripture referred to man (*ἄνθρωπος*), it meant 'living man.' In the same way, whenever Scripture mentioned bread (*ἄρτος*), it meant 'leavened bread,' *PG* 130, col. 1180 C-D. Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 159, notes that, although this argument appeared conclusive to the Byzantines, it seems to have made little impact on the Latins.
[243] Matthew 26:17.

speaking? >> And they said the statement of John Chrysostom:[244] << *The first day of azymes, that is the first day before azymes* >>. And on this point, John Chrysostom says: *On the first day before azymes the disciples came to Jesus, on the evening in which the passover was sacrificed*.[245] Therefore, on that evening was the passover of the Jews, and it was mandated that the Jews should not have either yeasted or leavened bread in their homes or within their borders. Thus it is read in Exodus 12: *For seven days you will eat azymes. From the first day there will be no yeast in your homes. And whoever eats leavened bread, his soul shall perish from Israel from the first day to the seventh*.[246] Therefore, Christ made his own passover in azymes, because he observed the law up to the end of his life, as Chrysostom and Epiphianus[247] say. Therefore, he made his body from that bread which he had. And because he only had azymes, he made his body from azymes. If, therefore, your rationale is something, which you wrote, that it is not possible to make the body of Christ if not in that bread, in which the Lord made, and the Lord made it in azymes, in accordance with that which was proven, then you are not able to make it from leavened bread. And nevertheless we do not say this.[248] And so that you will learn the truth, which so far you have pretended not to learn, this that we say, that we shall show forth openly from the writings of your saints >>. But because we did not have the books at hand,[249] they refused to hear the obvious authorities. However, the authorities proving that which we say were as follows:[250]

John Chrysostom, in homily 81 *On Matthew*, discusses these words: *On the first day of azymes the disciples came to Jesus* etc. At the beginning of the homily he says the following: *He calls the first day of azymes that which is before azymes. They were always accustomed to relate the day from the evening, and he mentions it, on the evening on which passover was to be sacrificed. They came on the Thursday of the week. And here indeed Jesus himself calls this day on which they approached 'before the azymes'. But he said the following: The day of azymes has come on which it is proper for passover to be sacrificed. 'Has come', i.e. is at the door, the evening corresponds to that, namely that they began in the evening, for which reason each adds: when passover is sacrificed.*[251]

Also, the same Chrysostom proves that Jesus observed the law and ritual of the Jews at dinner, saying later in the same homily: *For this reason he fulfilled the passover through everything, showing to the last day that he was not contrary to the law.*[252]

In addition, the same Chrysostom, in homily 82 *On Matthew*, says the following: *When at the time of passover he fulfilled that mystery, so that you may learn that he himself is the legislator of the old and new Testament, and of those*

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[244] Bishop of Constantinople, 398-407, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 495-97; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1057-58.
[245] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum. Homilia* LXXXI (al. LXXXII), *PG* 58, col. 729.
[246] Exodus 12:15.
[247] Epiphianios of Cyprus, died 403, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 307-308.
[248] Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 94-95, observes that this statement by the friars is evidence that the Latins were not interested in forcing the use of unleavened bread upon the Greeks, rather their goal was to convince the Greeks to simply agree that the Body of Christ can be achieved with unleavened bread.
[249] The friars made a point of bringing Greek books with them to Nicaea, but this statement suggests that they left that material behind in Constantinople before they came to Nymphaion. See above, ch. 7, 373-75.
[250] There is no indication that these examples were put before the Greeks in the council at Nymphaion.
[251] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum. Homilia* LXXXI (al. LXXXII), *PG* 58, cols. 729-30.
[252] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum. Homilia* LXXXI (al. LXXXII), *PG* 58, col. 730.

things which are prefigured in one for the sake of the other. For this reason, where there is a figure, he establishes the truth. The evening was proof of the completion of times, and that matters are coming to the end.[253]

Likewise, blessed Epiphanius of Cyprus, in the book which is called *Panaria*,[254] where he speaks against the Ebionites,[255] beyond the typical use of language, says the following: *How is it that the madness is not shown to be false by their eating of meats? Firstly, because the Lord ate meat at the passover of the Jews. The passover of the Jews was sheep and azymes. The meat was roasted sheep. Therefore eat, just as his own disciples say to him: Where do you wish us to prepare for you to eat the passover?*[256]

Also, in the same work, here against the Marcionites,[257] in refutation 61 on the letter of the Gospel, which is in refutation, he begins thus: *Against you a cloud of arrows* etc.,[258] he says the following: *Against you, O Marcion, you introduced refutation in many ways. Rather you are compelled by truth itself. For the old passover was nothing other than the sacrificing of sheep and eating of meats, and taking living creatures along with azymes*.[259] And a little later: *Indeed the eating of meats which you detest, the Lord Jesus ate with his disciples, and when he performed the passover, he did it in accordance with the law.*[260] And *he did not say that he was going to do the aforementioned mystery when he said: I wish to eat the passover with you. Thus truth confounds you in both ways, he did not perform the mystery from the start, so that you may not deny, but he said after he had eaten, taking this and that, and he said this, and this and that, and he left no room for malice. Namely, he revealed that after the passover of the Jews, that is, after he had eaten, he came to the mystery.*[261]

Because they refused to hear those decrees of the saints, they began to oppose us from the Gospel of John: *The Jews did not enter the praetorium lest they be contaminated, but they ate the passover*.[262] To which we answered that John must not be believed to have said anything contrary to the other Evangelists. To their question we responded thus: << So that they may eat passover, that is the passover food. For thus we read that passover was so called in the old Testament,[263] and this was said on the 15th moon >>. And because a great part of the night had already passed, with the permission of the Emperor we mutually retired.

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[253] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum. Homilia* LXXXI (al. LXXXII), *PG* 58, col. 738.
[254] The *Panarion* is a refutation of all heresies, Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 714. Erickson, 'Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054,' 161, suggests that this work indicates the necessity of leavened bread in the Eucharist for Orthodox Christology.
[255] Ebionites were an early Christian sect which insisted on closely observing the Old (Jewish) Law. Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 287-88; Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, 523; Schabel, 'The quarrel over unleavened bread in western theology,' 115; M. Goulder, 'A poor man's Christology,' *New Testament Studies* 45 (1999), 332-348; Erickson, 'Leavened and unleavened: some theological implications of the schism of 1054,' 161.
[256] Ephiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 2, *PG* 41, col. 442 B-C.
[257] An early anti-Jewish Christian sect, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 568-69.
[258] Ephiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 3, *PG* 41, col. 762 B – 763 B.
[259] Ephiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 3, *PG* 41, col. 763 A-B.
[260] Ephiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 3, *PG* 41, col. 763 B.
[261] Ephiphanios of Cyprus, *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I, tom. 3, *PG* 41, col. 763 B.
[262] John 18:28.
[263] Leviticus 23:6.

26. – Then we rested from the disputatio on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.[264] Since we wondered what they were waiting for, we sent a message to the Emperor asking for his leave to depart.[265] But he began to test us through his own messenger, seeking if by means of some agreement peace might still be made between the Roman and Greek Church. But with the messenger sent to us we answered as follows: << When we are in the presence of the Emperor, and he speaks to us concerning this matter, then we will know what will be our answer to him >>.

Summoning us the next day[266] to his palace, the Emperor said: << It is the custom of kings and princes, when there was disagreement between them over the castles or provinces, for example, that someone should give up something which he considered his right, so that they can reach peace through compromise. Thus it seems to me that it ought to be done between your church and ours. There are namely two issues between us and you: first on the procession of the Holy Spirit; the other on the body of Christ. If, therefore, you want peace, you ought to give up one of these two. We will worship and hold your sacrament, while you, on the other hand, give up to us your creed, and say with us just as we say, just as we have in the decrees from the holy fathers and their council. And the part you have added you will say no longer, because it is an offense to us >>. To this we answered: << Understand this, the Lord pope and the Roman Church will not give up one iota of its faith, nor anything that is said in our creed >>. And the Emperor said: << In what way, then, will we be able to make peace? >> And we answered: << If you wish to know the way, we will briefly describe it to you. On the body of Christ we say this, that you will be required to faithfully believe, and that others will be required to preach, that the body of Christ can be thus completed in azymes just as in leavened bread. Let all books which you have written against our creed be condemned and burnt. On the Holy Spirit we say thus, that it will require that you believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son just as from the Father. And it is necessary to preach that to the people. As for the issue of you saying thus in your creed, unless you wish, the lord Pope will not compel you,[267] once you condemn and burn all books which are contrary to this article >>. After hearing our offer, the Emperor became upset and said: << I do not now hear the term[s] of peace. And therefore, I will tell the assembled prelates what you have told me >>. When they had heard [the report of our exchange with the Emperor, the Greek prelates] scorned and were transformed into sedition against us. We believe[268] they contemplated how they might confound us with treachery.

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[264] 30 April to 3 May 1234.

[265] Langdon, 'Byzantino-Papal discussions in 1234,' 226, suspects that the emperor intentionally delayed the proceedings in order to increase tension.

[266] 3 May 1234.

[267] At first glance, this does not appear much of an offer, but when taken in context of the increasingly divisive and aggressive nature of the negotiations in the council, this exchange shows that both the friars and Vatatzes continued to be open to any remaining possibility of a compromise. The friars did not require any overt action from the Byzantines. Their intention was not to force the Byzantines to change their practice or their creed. They merely asked that they refrain from condemning the Latin use of azymes and the Latin use of the *filioque*. Hinterberger, 'A neglected tool of Orthodox propaganda?' 146, argues that the same was asked of the Cypriot monks who were executed not because they believed in using leavened bread, but because they refused to stop condemning the Latins for their use of unleavened bread. Likewise, Vatatzes' offer to exchange the Byzantine position on the Eucharist for the Latin position on the procession was truly extraordinary, if perhaps a bit too pragmatic for the friars to accept.

[268] By this statement the friars were confessing that they were not privy to the initial reaction of the Greek prelates to Vatatzes' report of their exchange, and thus they only 'suspect' that the patriarch and those with him sought to act treacherously.

27. – And sending for us on Wednesday,[269] at the evening hour, they carefully[270] invited us, so that on Thursday[271] morning we would attend the council. Thus, having said farewell for the day and the council going into recess, we mutually departed in peace and affection. Early the next morning we joined the council again, and we found in the place where everyone had assembled an abundant multitude of lay people, and with the front doors still open the council sat in the atrium of the Patriarch's home. When we sat down among the others, the Patriarch said: << As long as there was hope for peace, we spoke peaceably, but since we have discovered that we are disappointed in our hope, we ask that you listen to us peaceably, and this session finally will complete the matter >>.[272] Then he added: << You gave to us, in writing, the creed of the Roman Church.[273] We examined it, and we want to proclaim it throughout our provinces and to our people and race.[274] And because it is unknown to us, we wish that all will hear and understand the faith of the Roman Church. Does this please you? >> And we answered: << It pleases us. Indeed this is our wish, that you and everyone in the eastern Church may know and learn and faithfully keep the creed of the Roman Church, which we have given to you in writing >>. And after we said this he became silent.[275]

Then one in the middle of the council rose holding a large charter, and he began to read it, the beginning of which was as follows: *The venerable apocrisarii of the most holy pope of old Rome gave to us in writing that the Father is full God in himself. The Son is full God being begotten from the Father. The Holy Spirit is full God proceeding from the Father and the Son* etc. as is maintained in the aforementioned writing.[276] *And he who does not believe this is on the road to ruin*. To this we answered that it was false. And, reading our document, we found what we had written: *He who believes that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, he is on the road to ruin*. There was among them no one who could understand the distinction of those words.[277] Then they introduced authorities to prove their faith, of which was

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[269] 3 May 1234.

[270] The adverb, *diligenter*, translated here as 'carefully,' may not be enough to convey what the friars were implying as far as the intent of the Greeks on that day. One suspects that the friars, with hindsight, accused the Greeks of plotting and scheming, as we will see shortly hereafter. One should consider the use of the word describing Herod, *diligenter* seeking among the wise men where he might find the newborn Jesus in Matthew 2:8.

[271] 4 May 1234.

[272] The patriarch's statement is heavy with meaning. Not only is it clear that he had gained a report of what had been said between the friars and the emperor, but he and the other Greeks at the council apparently interpreted the position of the friars as a list of impossible demands, not a counteroffer in negotiations. Furthermore, the statement, 'As long as there was hope for peace, we spoke peaceably' – *Dum spes fuerat pacis, pacifice locuti sumus*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 462 line 33, suggests that the Greeks were on their best behaviour until this point. Such a claim is difficult for the outside observer to accept.

[273] See above, ch. 24, 397-99.

[274] The precise translation of *gentes et nationes*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 462 lines 37-38, is clearly problematic. The reader should not view it as a comment on medieval issues of race or nationality. I would argue, however, that the words do constitute a developing concept of 'us' versus 'them.' e.g. Kolbaba, 'Byzantine perceptions of Latin errors,' 119.

[275] The silence of the patriarch may be seen as his reaction to the prospect of spreading the creed of the Roman Church so that it would be followed and kept in the East. He apparently had another goal in mind through its dissemination.

[276] See above, ch. 24, 397-99.

[277] Given the subtlety of the clarification, one can understand how the Greeks were confused by clarification of the friars. Their original statement – *He who believes that the Holy Spirit does not*

one opinion that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Among many still they introduced the decrees of Pope Damasus[278] who said: *whoever does not believe the Holy Spirit to be properly from the Father, he is anathema*.[279] To which we answered: << We believe the Holy Spirit to be properly from the Father, and he who does not believe this, let him be anathematized. We still say that the Holy Spirit is properly from the Son, just as blessed Cyril says: And he who does not believe that, likewise, let him be anathematized >>.[280] Likewise, they introduced another authority, which, if we recall correctly,[281] was blessed Basil, whose opinion was such, that the Holy Spirit was from the Father and not from another.[282] To that we answered: << That the Holy Spirit is from the Father and not from another is true. That is, he is not from any other substance, than from the substance of the Father >>. And they introduced many others, but that one[283] seemed to be the most against us.

28. – Considering, therefore, that they had accomplished nothing, the Patriarch called for silence with hand and word, because there was a great uproar among the people. He contemplated, as we believe, when silence was made, how to stir up the people against us. Therefore, we took care for ourselves, by the grace of God, and we cast their deceits back upon their own heads. For when it became silent, and the whole populace was waiting attentively, we said: << Do you believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or not? >> The Patriarch answered: << We believe he does not proceed from the Son >>. And we added: << But blessed Cyril, who presided over the third council, anathematizes all those who do not believe this. Therefore, you are anathematized. Likewise, you believe and say that the body of Christ cannot be made in azymes. But this is heretical, therefore, you are heretics. Thus we found you heretics and excommunicates, and as heretics and excommunicates we leave you >>. And after we said this we left the council, as they shouted after us: << Nay, rather you are the heretics >>. We agreed among us, therefore, that we would not eat on that day until we had leave from the Emperor to depart. We obtained it, but the Emperor showed us a countenance perturbed and distressed, as though he were saddened that we had departed without an agreement.

29. – But it came to pass that, when we gained the leave from the Emperor himself, we left from *Nymphaion* on Saturday[284] morning, and continuing our journey we came on Sunday[285] to a town called *Calamus*.[286] And when it was the time for compline, there came to us a messenger from the Emperor Vatatzes, and another

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proceed from the Son, he is on the road to ruin – specifically argued that one who does not accept the correct view of the procession of the Holy Spirit is 'on the road to ruin,' whereas the Greek recollection of the comment states that one who does not accept the correct view of the Trinity as a whole is 'on the road to ruin.' The clarification is minute, but the implications are vast.

[278] Bishop of Rome, 366-384, Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 253.

[279] Damasus, *Epistle* IV, *Confessio Fidei catholicae*, *PL* 13, col. 362, no. xvi.

[280] Cyril of Alexandria, *Explicatio duodecimo capitum*, Anathema IX, *PG* 76, col. 307 C-D.

[281] It should be noted that this is the first instance in which the friars acknowledge any possibility that their recollection may not have been the exact truth.

[282] A possible reference to Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, ed. Pruche; trans. Jackson.

[283] i.e. Basil.

[284] 6 May 1234.

[285] 7 May 1234.

[286] The village of Kalamos, modern Gelembe, lies on the way between Nymphaion and Constantinople, Ramsay, *Historical geography of Asia Minor*, 129-30. George Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 28 lines 3-6; trans. Macrides, 15.149, described it as the place where the theme of Neokastra begins.

messenger on behalf of the council.[287] Upon greeting us the messenger from the Emperor said: << My lord greets you and benevolently reproaches you for the fact that you left so suddenly, without bidding farewell to the Patriarch and council, and because you did not return to the lord Patriarch and the other prelates, that after gaining their leave and blessing, you might depart with the favour and goodwill of all >>. And to this we answered: << May the lord save the lord Emperor and preserve him for the good of his Church. He should not reproach us, for we have given him satisfaction, and left with his leave and favour. As for the leave and blessing of the Patriarch and council we care not. He himself knows the reasons why. Therefore, we do not believe we have done anything wrong in this against God or man >>. Then the messenger from the council spoke, and after repeating the same words that had been said by the [messenger from the Emperor], he added: << Behold, the writing that you gave to the council.[288] My lord Patriarch, with the whole council, sends it to you, asking you and begging that you send back to him the writing on azymes that he gave to you.[289] In addition, he sends his letter to you, which he asks you to deliver to the most holy Pope.[290] He also sends to you the whole creed of the council which he maintains and believes and preaches on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and please carry this creed to the presence of the most holy Pope >>.[291] To this we answered: << The charter, which we presented to the council, we gave for the very reason that everyone might have a mirror of the creed of the Roman Church, so that, having looked carefully at the things written there, they may believe in the heart and confess with the mouth and confess and preach to others, and we will all say the same, and there will be no schism between us. Therefore, we refuse to take back that writing, but we leave it to them by way of the mirror. Likewise, the writing that they gave to us is ours, and the mirror is rather a scandal to their faith. Therefore, we refuse to answer you, but we will offer it to the Pope and Church as a testimony of faith, and in that way they will better see the faithlessness of the Church of the Greeks, unless, as was said before, they will recall it by the agreement of the whole council >>. Then setting aside the dispute they left us that night.

In the morning[292] they approached once more, and again repeating the same words, they threatened that unless we gave it freely, they would not allow us to take it from their land. And in such matters they detained us up to the third hour of the day. Finally, after long struggles and many controversies, we answered as follows: << We are in your land. You can take from us that which you desire, but you cannot have it freely >>. And when these things were said they departed because it was time for a meal.[293]

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[287] Once again, the emperor and patriarch acted independently of each other, almost as if they were unaware of the measures the other party was taking during the negotiations.
[288] See above, ch. 24, 397-99.
[289] See above, ch. 24, 397-99.
[290] This letter has not come down to us, and there is no indication that it was ever delivered.
[291] Find this document, in both Latin and Greek, in Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 466-70.
[292] 8 May 1234.
[293] *Et hiis dictis recesserunt, tempus enim erat prandendi*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 465 lines 6-7. As strange as it may sound to us, it appears that matters of the stomach superseded a developing international incident. Considering the previous mention of the 'third hour of the day,' *prandendi* in this case can refer to either breakfast or lunch.

30. – As we and they ate, we discussed what we should do. And summoning that soldier who came on behalf of the Emperor,[294] we sought from him whether the Emperor had ordered him to hinder us on the road? And he answered: << Far be it for me and for my lord. On the contrary, I have come to speed you on your way >>. When we heard this we assembled the messengers[295] whom Vatatzes had entrusted to us, and we instructed them to prepare the horses and tackle, as we were about to depart. They did so, but the Cartofilax[296], who had come on behalf of the council, heard[297] what we had said. He approached the messengers and, setting before them his warning about handing over the charter, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication on our messengers if they helped us further in any way. When the messengers heard this, they dropped our cargo of books and refused to serve us. Therefore, we took our movable books, and entrusted our other books to the charge of the aforementioned soldier of the Emperor, and we departed alone on foot. We were in an uninhabited and pathless land, and we were six days removed from the sea of Constantinople. However, trusting in the grace of God, we advanced fearlessly on our journey. But they sent messengers after us, explaining to us the difficulty and impossibility of the journey, and the dangers to our bodies, asserting upon oath that in the mountains and the forests were peasants lying in wait for us. They would slay us if we continued to advance further without a guide.[298] Although terrified, we would not allow this to hinder us in the journey we had begun. Therefore, we crossed six or seven miles, but soon the aforementioned soldier of the Emperor followed us. And when he had come to us, descending from his horse, he abased himself before our feet, begging and pleading that we return to the lodging house from where we had come, and he would make the sentence pronounced be revoked, and whatever they said or did against us would be emended.[299] In accordance, therefore, with the will of all of us, we stopped by a certain lodging house nearby, and we sent brothers back for the books. When they came to the lodging house, where we had abandoned the books, the Cartofilax approached, and he searched every book, and all our baggage, he seized those brothers, and he led them separately into a room, and having undone the ropes[300] he finally found the charter, and taking it he said: << I have what I sought >>.

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[294] This is the first mention by the friars of a military escort given to them by Vatatzes. Whether they enjoyed such an escort on their earlier journey from Nicaea to Constantinople, or why only a single 'soldier' (*milite*) was assigned to them, are questions that encourage further research.

[295] *nuntiis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 465 line 13. It would appear that Vatatzes did indeed send a delegation along with the friars, despite their earlier discussion in which both sides agreed not to take such an action, see above, ch. 21, 396-97.

[296] Once more, the aforementioned Aulinus, find previous references to him in chs. 5, 372 note 26; ch. 20, 395; ch. 23, 400. There is no mention of the chartophylax serving as an envoy to the friars before this instance. He is apparently the leader of the embassy from the council.

[297] The verb in this case (*audissent*) is plural, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' 465 line 15. However, I am confident that this is an example of a scribe incorrectly placing an 'n' before a consonant. Thus the correct spelling should have been the singular *audisset*, making the chartophylax the subject.

[298] Mesarites, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen,' ed. Heisenberg, 35-46, who travelled this route not long before, attested to the dangers.

[299] It is unclear if the friars thought the soldier to be pleading so urgently out of concern for their safety, or if he had been charged with coaxing the friars back by the chartophylax.

[300] *cordis laxatis*, Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum,' ch. 30, 465 line 28. It is unclear what is meant by *cordis* in this phrase. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 71, suspects that the word here refers to the ropes on the packages of books the friars had left behind. However, we might interpret *cordis* to refer to the friars' clothing, i.e. belts, meaning that the friars were forcibly disrobed. This interpretation is endorsed by Roncaglia, *Les frères mineurs et l'eglise grecque orthodoxe*, 84. The idea that the chartophylax subjected the friars to a strip-search is also supported by the friars' comment that

Nevertheless, the translation of that charter, which was translated earlier,[301] we kept for ourselves.

he had already searched through their books and baggage, and then took the friars into a separate room one at a time.

[301] See above, ch. 24, 397-99.

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