



Eugenius IV sends Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini to Frederick III

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

BY

JOSEPH GILL, S.J.

PROFESSOR OF THE PONTIFICAL ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
ROME



CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1959

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Gill, Joseph, 1901-
The Council of Florence.

Reprint. Originally published: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959. With new corrigenda inserted.

"The Decree of union, *Laetentur caeli*, 6 July 1439": p.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Council of Florence (1438-1445) I. Title.

BX830 1438.G49	1982	262'.52'09024	78-63345
ISBN 0-404-17016-1			AACR2

First published 1959.

Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press, from the edition of 1959, Cambridge, from an original in the collections of the Ohio State University Libraries. Trim size and text area have been altered. [Original trim: 15 × 2.7 cm; original text area: 10.5 × 18.5 cm.]

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

CONTENTS

<i>Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>Introduction</i>	vii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
I The Background	I
II Martin V and the Greeks (1414-31)	16
III The Council of Basel and the Greeks (1431-7)	46
IV The Greeks Arrive and Discourse on Purgatory	85
V The Addition to the Creed	131
VI Florence and the Dogmatic Discussions	180
VII Union: The Procession of the Holy Spirit	227
VIII Union: The Addition, Purgatory, the Eucharist, the Primacy	270
IX The Council Goes on, and Ends in Rome	305
X The Reception of the Union in the East	349
Epilogue	389
<i>Appendix</i> The Decree of Union <i>Laetentur caeli</i> , 6 July 1439	412
<i>Bibliography</i>	416
<i>Index</i>	433

ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE. Eugenius IV sends Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini
to Frederick III

Pinturicchio (Detail), Siena, Libreria del Duomo. (Photo: Alinari)

PLATE I. The Greek signatures on the original Decree of Union

Medicea-Laurenziana Library, Florence, Cassetta Cesarini

facing page 295

CORRIGENDA

[The following emendation and corrections were written by the author. Father Gill accepted an erroneous dating of a document. Consequently, when he referred to it in the text, he discussed it out of its correct chronological place in his narrative. At Father Gill's request, AMS Press prints herewith the emendation which will correct the error. The following should be substituted for page 384, "But his action . . ." through page 386 ". . . the rest of the monks."]

But his action did not stop the progress of events. The people (demos) had accepted union,⁴ presumably by some public decision. Scholarius writing to the Despot Demetrius gives his version of how. The legate Isidore "found them already for a long time agitated by fear and the extravagant utterances of the Latin-minded. He increased their agitation by harangues promising great hopes, which the populace believed without questioning and repeated like echoing jars, while threats and clamour were raised against us."⁵ The *archontes* would have preferred a compromise — to commemorate the Pope in the Liturgy and not to promulgate the decree of union,⁶ but as events showed, they yielded to Isidore's insistence. Even the anti-unionist clerics "had lost heart, foreseeing that they would not be able to do anything to save the situation."⁷ It was a promising occasion to gain their adherence, particularly of their leaders who formed the Synaxis. They were summoned to a meeting with the Emperor in the Xylalas palace on 15 November.

But Gennadius was beforehand with a letter of admonition.⁸ He did not know the real purpose of the meeting, but if the cardinal was to be present or if arrangements were to be made for a statement from him or a discussion, they should come with a horse and fetch him, and meanwhile neither hear nor answer anything without him. If, however, the purpose was merely to get an approval from the ecclesiastics for the union the people had already accepted, they should leave him in peace, for they all — Emperor, im-

perial consellers and ecclesiastics—had long known his decision. He judged the Council of Florence as God, the truth and all genuine eastern Christians judged it, as like the pseudo-synod of the days of Constantius: “who should commemorate the pope or be in communion with one who commemorates him or should counsel such action or approve it” was in his opinion on a par with Beccus and those condemned in the numerous synods held in Constantinople, for commemoration of pope or bishop is no small thing, nothing less than spiritual communion with co-religionists and complete submission to lawful pastors. Communion must be shunned with those whose opinions are abhorrent. Let it not be that their Church should become heretical by accepting the commemoration of the Pope, which would mean the branding of their forefathers as heretics. There was talk of conditions attached to the union and of it being only provisional; but there was no place for that kind of thing in the faith. If both Churches should recite the same Creed, the Latins omitting the *Filioque* and the Greeks omitting “from the Father only” and the *Filioque*, that condition might be acceptable, but not a provisional deferring of discussion and meantime a provisional acceptance of the union of Florence. The only help for the city was from on high. What the Great Duke (Notaras) and the Emperor intended was only evil and would not lead to union. What should be done, but what they (the Synaxis) had rejected, was that he (Gennadius) before the Senate, the Church and the people, with as many Venetians and Genoese present as liked, should prove the inexpediency of what the Cardinal proposed. The best thing would be for the ecclesiastical situation on the one side and the other to remain unchanged in the then disturbed state of things. But as they promised help, when peace had returned with or without their aid, let authorized delegates from the Latins come to a council in Constantinople or let at least six of the outstanding ecclesiastics from Constantinople go there, to consider the question of union in regular fashion. Then, decisions arrived at freely and spiritually would be acceptable to God and man. But if they (the ecclesiastics), setting their hopes on western aid and Latinism, deceived the people with conditions and expectations of words and discussions, the results would be as he had often foretold. “If all the East should go to the West, I shall not go.” If they became Latins, he

would remain silent. He had already expressed all that at length in his letter to Notaras, who had replied: 'You are labouring in vain, Father etc.' He had done what he could: for the future he would keep silent.⁹

NOTES

4. Schol. III, p. 167.
5. Schol. III, p. 177.
6. Leonardus Chiensis, 'Historia Constantinopolitanae urbis a Mahumete II captae,' *P.G.* 159, 929D-930B. Leonardo, Latin archbishop of Mitylene, had accompanied Isidore to Constantinople and was there throughout the siege. He also asserts that the reason for the hesitations of the *archontes* was not theological, but national pride; that Scholarius and Notaras from personal ambition wanted to present themselves later to the Pope as artificers of the union, and that, at his suggestion, Constantine made the gesture of appointing judges against Scholarius, Isidore the monk, Neophytus and their accomplices.
7. Schol. III, p. 177.
8. Schol. III, pp. 166-70.
9. Gennadius ends most of his polemics of this time with 'for the future I will be silent.' What his silence meant he disclosed to Demetrius: 'And the excuse for the letter, for it was a defence of the supposed silence, yet when was I ever silent in the preceding period?' (Schol. III, p. 178)

ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS

- xi Note 2, for '10' read '9'
- 17 1.14: for 'who certainly was no more than an antipope', read
'who, however, reigned for barely a year'
- 21 1.13: Omit 'and was buried': read ',' (i.e., a comma)
- 47 note 4, last line: for '21', read '29'
- 54 note 2, line 6: For '353', read '333'
- 71 1. 6 from bottom of text: for 'full session', read 'congregation'
5 from bottom of text: For 'Cesarini and Cervantes, the
two papal presidents', read 'Cesarini, the papal presi-
dent and the legate Cervantes'
- 72 para. 2, 1.4: Omit 'other'
- 77 last line to p. 78 1.2: For 'accompanied by John Dishypatus
and Manuel Boullotes . . . March)', read '(John Dis-
hypatus and Manuel Boullotes, who had gone to
Basel sometime probably in March, had left on 30
April)'
- 97 1.15: For 'Religious', read 'other Regulars'
- 114 1.6 from end: Add, after 'Bessarion of Nicaea', 'Methodius
of Lacedaemon,'
- 130 note 2: For 'p. 330', read 'p. 33'
- 140 1.7: For 'Lusignon', read 'Lusignan'
- 147 note 1, last line: Add ')' after '123'
- 162 para. 3, 1.3: After 'prohibition', add ',' (i.e., a comma)
- 172 112: alignment of the first letter of the line 12
- 179 note 1, para. 2, 1.2: For 'dependents' read 'dependants'
- 183 1.4: For '25', read '27'
- 186 1.2: For 'and kept the *populani*', read 'and the *populani*
being kept'
- 190 1.7: After 'meetings' add 'a week'
- 191 1.10 from end of page: Omit 'which' (last word of line)
- 195 note 2 continued from previous page, 1.4: For '(viii, 1' read
'(viii, 5'

- 199 At the end of the first para. of the column headed TEXT
UPHELD BY THE GREEKS add, after 'that he is
second', 'to the Son'
- 224 note 1, last full line: For 'palaeological', read 'palaeographi-
cal'
- 227 1.2 of the narrative: After '10 June' add '1439'
- 228 1.21: Omit 'the' between 'about' and 'preposition'
- 263 note 2: Add at the end (after 'expected') 'But in that case,
how did Eugenius manage not to deliver his written
votum?'
- 277 para. 2, 11.8/7 from the end: For 'too was perhaps present',
read 'on some occasion did the like'
- 291 note 1: Add, immediately after 'Syr.', 'x, 4, p. 283;'
- 298 last para. of note 1.3: Before 'Vatican Council', add 'first'
- 307 note 2: middle line: For 'As', read 'Thus'
- 311 1.7: For 'nineteen', read 'eighteen'
- 1.17: Omit 'probably'
- 1.17: For 'seven', read 'thirteen'
- 1.18: For 'thirty-seven', read 'twenty-six'
- note 2: After '326,' add '346, 528, 1132.'
- 326 note 2: For 'I 6', read '136'
- 328 1.15: For 'Emperor', read 'King'
- 337 1.12: For 'through', read 'from' (the Son)
- 341 1.7 from end of narrative: Before 'proposed', add 'no longer'
- Same line: Omit 'now not'
- 356 para. 2, 1.1: After 'union', add 'in the capital'
- 366 4th line from end of long (previous) note: For 'But the son
. . . June 1444', read 'But the son could not have
been born in 1444 because Sphrantzes's wife lived in
Constantinople and he left Sparta only in June 1444
and did not arrive in Constantinople till November
1444.'
- 372 note 3 1.1: For '122', read '124, 129.'
- 375 note 1: the last number is '54'
- note 2: read 'pp. 125,'
- 377 1.6 from end of narrative: Omit superior '5' (i.e. note num-
ber)

Additional Corrections

note 4: at end: omit '191-3' and put full stop for previous comma.

Omit note 5 altogether.

389 immediately before the quotation: For 'later he continues',
read 'earlier he had written'

400 11.7/8: For ', and the cardinalate and a pension to Bessar-
ion and Isidore', read 'and Bessarion, and the cardi-
nalate to Bessarion and Isidore.'

430 1.9 from end: For 'septembre 1434', read 'septembre 1934'

450 After 'John of Segovia' omit 'O.P.,'

INTRODUCTION

THE Council of Florence made the Reformation inevitable. A dictum like that is a challenge to discussion rather than a statement of fact, because no one can say what would have happened in the three-quarters of a century that separated these two events, if the first of them had never taken place. It is, however, certain that the Council of Florence changed the course of history. Before it, the cry heard on all sides was 'Reform in head and members', to be achieved by a General Council that as regards faith, heresy and reform was superior to a pope. After it, though the need for reform was no less great, the demand for it was less vocal, and the definition of Florence about the primacy of the papacy had dealt a death-blow to Conciliarism. Yet Basel had passed many a decree of reform, whereas Florence had enacted not even one. The best part of a hundred years passed before the next Council met. By that time the reformation that Basel or Florence might have accomplished was on the point of turning into a revolt against Rome in the Reformation initiated by Luther.

The Council of Florence is memorable for other reasons too. It was the last and the greatest endeavour to unite the separated Churches of East and West, an attempt conceived on a grandiose scale. It envisaged union of the Latin Church with all the Christians of the East, Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Nestorians. And the attempt succeeded, even if its results were short-lived. The decree of union of July 1439 bore the signatures of both Greeks and Latins. The delegations of Armenians and the rest accepted that same decree augmented and applied to their separate cases. Had subsequent historical events been slightly different—had, for example, the battle of Varna been a victory for the Christian arms instead of a defeat—the union might have survived, Constantinople might never have been taken, the development of ecclesiastical relations on both sides of the world would have been vastly different. Varna was, however, a defeat.

Constantinople was captured by the Turk. The union that had been accomplished and that was already very insecure was thereby doomed. But that does not mean to say that the Council has remained completely ineffective. It is one of the General Councils recognised by the Western Church. Its decree of union with the Greeks abides as the definition of certain theological truths and as a norm of doctrine to guide the minds of those who hope, as all good Christians wherever they may be do hope, to heal the schism yet. It has, indeed, already served as such in the union with Rome of Churches of oriental rite, such, for example, as the Ruthenian (1596) and the Rumanian (1700), arranged on the basis of the principles enunciated at Florence.

An event of the importance of the Council of Florence deserves a more detailed study than it has hitherto received. This book is an attempt to remedy that deficiency. There have been in the past a few scholarly examinations of certain aspects of the Council and some more general, and rather superficial, accounts. But even where the writers attempted to utilise all the sources at their disposal (and that was by no means always the case), they laboured under the disability that the texts of the main sources were not certainly accurate for lack of critical editions and that the minor sources had in great measure not yet been published at all. That defect has now been largely eliminated owing to the initiative of the late Fr Georg Hofmann, S.J., who some twenty years ago conceived the idea of editing in a series entitled *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores* new and critical editions of the documents already published and of adding to them what relevant matter could be found in archives, sermons, theological dissertations, diaries—in a word, whatever would help to a better knowledge and understanding of the history and the theology of the Council. It is because that series is now largely complete that I felt emboldened to embark on this book, relying on the knowledge I had acquired from my part in that work and on the resources that the labours of my colleagues had put at my easy disposal.

The main documents for the history, as for the theology, of the Council of Florence are three. They are the *Greek Acts*, the so-called *Latin Acts* and the *Memoirs* written by Silvester Syropoulos. The

Greek Acts, written of course in Greek and often therefore referred to by their Greek name of *Practica*, are well known, for they are to be found in all the great Collections of Councils that have been published since the beginning of the seventeenth century—the Vatican Edition, Labbé, Hardouin, Mansi. They narrate the events from the arrival of the Greeks in Venice till their departure from that same city. They have usually been considered the product of a single author, an active participant in the Council, who utilised official documents, though to what extent and with what accuracy could not be ascertained. As a historical document, therefore, they were assessed as no more than a personal, and by many critics as a biased, narrative of the events. That idea must now be abandoned. The close study of all the known manuscripts of the *Practica* that I undertook for my recent edition¹ of them has made it quite certain that the *Practica* are not a composition in which an author borrowed material and adapted it to his purpose by changing it, but a compilation, that is, an inter-weaving without change, of elements taken from different sources, and that there are three such elements. In other words, in the *Practica* are to be found three historical documents, each of which must be evaluated independently, without prejudice from its association with the others. The largest of these elements consists of the discourses delivered in the public sessions in Ferrara and Florence. This part is the authentic protocol of the sessions, the product of three Greek notaries who compiled it by collating their separate versions of the speeches written down as they were delivered during the sessions, and by checking their common account with the corresponding Latin narrative. It is, then, the most authoritative document of the discourses made in the sessions that there is, and this part alone of the *Practica* really merits the title of ‘Greek Acts’. However, to make the history of the Council more complete, for this protocol-part gives very little beyond the texts of the speeches, an early copyist, John Plousiadenus, added to it in the appropriate places an introduction describing the course of events from the arrival of the Greeks in Venice up to the first doctrinal session, an account of the negotiations about the transfer of the Council from Ferrara to Florence, and a diary-like record of what went on in the interval

¹ J. Gill, A.G.

from 24 March 1439 till the promulgation of the union and the departure of the Greeks. This second element I have called the *Description*. The copyist was not himself the author of these additions. He took them from a larger work, which he refers to as the 'second book', written by a participant in the Council, a Greek metropolitan, perhaps Dorotheus of Mitylene. The rest of the 'second book' is unfortunately lost. The third, and very small, element of the *Practica* consists of a very brief introduction, the work doubtless of some scribe, and a few almost certainly authentic documents added to the protocol. In my edition of the *Practica* these three elements are clearly distinguished in the text as they occur.

What goes by the name of the *Latin Acts* is an account written by Andrew da Santa Croce.¹ The official Latin Acts have been lost and long search, beginning at least in the early years of the sixteenth century, has failed to bring them to light. Andrea da Santa Croce was a papal protonotary who, as he tells us, 'wrote down faithfully the words of the Greeks as communicated by means of the interpreter and those of the Latins as they came directly from the mouths of the speakers'.² Whether he was one of the three Latin notaries appointed to compile the Latin protocol that corresponded to the Greek protocol now embodied in the *Practica* is not certain. What he has recorded would seem rather to be only what he himself took down during the sessions, unchecked by comparison with any other version, but it agrees so closely with the text of the *Greek Acts* that its accuracy is guaranteed. These two, the *Greek Acts* and the *Latin Acts*, supplement each other, for each has omitted sessions which the other gives at length. Unfortunately the *Latin Acts* contain little more than the speeches delivered in the sessions from October 1438 to March 1439, i.e. the same material as that of the Greek protocol. A short introduction in the beginning describing the arrival of the Greeks in Ferrara and the inauguration of the Council, and one or two bits of information with the texts of a few documents at the end, dealing with the negotiations between Latins and Greeks that led up to the decree of union, are a valuable addition to our very limited knowledge of these events, especially from the Latin side, and make us regret that S. Croce did not record all the details that he certainly knew.

¹ G. Hofmann, *A.L.*

² *Ibid.* p. 39.

The third main source is the *Memoirs* written in Greek not earlier than the year 1444 by Silvester Syropoulos,¹ a deacon and official of the Great Church of Constantinople, who came to Italy in the *entourage* of the Patriarch Joseph II. He was, therefore, an eye-witness of events and in many of them an active participant. His book is not a full and all-round account of the Council. He apparently made no systematic recording of what took place during his stay in Italy. He nowhere indicates that he was writing from notes: indeed, he implies the opposite.² He had, however, access to some archives in Constantinople, but he used them very little. Instead he refers readers eager for information on the more public events to read the *Practica* for themselves. The public sessions in Ferrara and Florence, which form more than three-quarters of the *Practica*, he dismisses in less than a dozen pages. The rest of his long account, which begins with the earliest negotiations under Martin V and ends, apart from a kind of appendix, a few months after the Greeks' return to Constantinople, is almost entirely concerned with the interplay of relations among the Greeks themselves. It is a picture of what went on behind the scenes on the Greek side of the stage.

Opinion on the historical value of these sources, particularly of the two Greek documents, is widely divided. The reason is that they differ so greatly in tone. The *Practica* breathe a spirit of conciliation at the beginning, and at the end clearly approve of the union that was effected. The general impression conveyed by the *Memoirs* is well summed up in the title that their first editor, the English Bishop Robert Creyghton, invented for them, *Vera historia unionis non verae*. The gist of them is that the Greeks signed the decree of union under duress. The Latins wore them out with interminable debates and forced one concession out of them after another by withholding the means of sustenance and reducing them to want and misery, keeping them in Italy and making union the price of their return home. The Emperor, aided and abetted by a few treacherous Latinisers among the Greeks, and intent solely on obtaining aid for Constan-

¹ Edited by R. Creyghton under the title: *Vera historia unionis non verae* (Hagae Comitum, 1660). Creyghton's Latin translation, or rather paraphrase, is so inaccurate that it is altogether unreliable. Recourse must always be had to the original Greek text.

² *Ibid.* VIII, 10, p. 231; XII, 9, p. 345.

tinople for which union was a necessary condition, himself managed the whole Greek side of the affair, overriding the Church, allowing no freedom of speech, gaining the consent of the prelates by threats or by cajolery as occasion served. All this is conveyed in a series of incidents (there is very little theological discussion at all to be found in the *Memoirs*), described with such a wealth of circumstantial detail as to convey a *prima facie* impression of truth. What, then, is to be said about them?¹

Comparison should no longer be instituted between the *Practica* as a whole and the *Memoirs*. That was justified, albeit mistakenly, only so long as the *Practica* could be considered the work of a single author, even though it was agreed that here and there he had incorporated into his personal account bits of authentic protocol. Now that the various elements that were combined to form the *Practica* have been clearly and decisively distinguished, the only legitimate question still open to discussion is the relative values of the *Description* and the *Memoirs*, for the protocol-part, the Greek Acts proper, is the official Greek transcript of the speeches, and so not open to suspicion of Latinising tendencies. And, in point of fact, the passages of the *Practica* that have led some critics to accuse them of a pro-Latin bias have been taken from the *Description*.

The *Memoirs*, however, are not so self-evidently truthful in every detail, still less in their overall picture, as to justify the condemnation of the *Description* out of hand. If one of the two sources is to be distrusted (and both cannot be wholeheartedly accepted, they differ too much), it should be the *Memoirs*. They are, in fact, an *apologia* for those Greeks who signed the Florentine decree in Italy and repudiated their signatures in Constantinople. And Syropoulos was

¹ For a detailed study of this question cf. J. Gill, 'The "Acta" and the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos as History', in *O.C.P.* xiv (1948), pp. 303-55; also T. Frommann, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kircheneinigung* (Halle a/S. 1872), pp. 45-62; L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 1 (Paderborn, 1923), pp. 65-7, 69-74.

It can be said in general that Catholics prefer the *Practica*, non-Catholics the *Memoirs*. The attitude of the oriental Churches is well reflected in these words of A. N. Diamantopoulos: 'The trustworthiness of the exposition of the events by Syropoulos is beyond all doubt, his impartiality so manifest that his work is one of the best historical works of that unfortunate time, the most reliable of the sources known till now of the history of the union in Florence.' (Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός καὶ ἡ ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ σύνοδος (Athens, 1899), p. 27.)

one of them. The Metropolitan of Ephesus, Mark Eugenicus, was opposed to union throughout, did not sign the decree and would, if necessary, have taken the consequences of refusal. Syropoulos, according to his own account, was as hostile to union as Eugenicus. But he signed when Mark did not. He was not made of the stuff of martyrs. He was, doubtless, ashamed of his own weakness. He was, too, suspect to others when he returned to Constantinople. He had to rehabilitate himself in the minds of men like John Eugenicus, Mark's brother, who wrote to him chiding him about his 'sad fall in Italy'.¹ The *Memoirs* are his defence. That does not necessarily mean that all, indeed that any, of the incidents he narrates are fictitious. Most probably every single one of them is based on fact. But it does mean that he viewed the events from a definitely personal angle; that unconsciously at least he selected his material and so was led to confine his narrative largely to the less happy incidents, the squabbles, the intrigues, the weaknesses of his colleagues; that he gratuitously attributed motives, sometimes demonstrably false, at other times open to grave suspicion but for lack of other sources of information suspicion that cannot be settled one way or the other. It means that his dissatisfaction with himself caused him to forget the light and remember only the shadow in the picture, the weariness, the want, the homesickness. It means that he tended to emphasise anything that would exonerate himself and to exaggerate his anti-unionism. It means, in other words, that even though all the events he narrates may be factual, his readers must allow for his perspective and his apologetic purpose.

The *Description*, on the other hand—or at least that part of it that has been preserved in the *Practica*—is in an altogether different style. With the exception of the early part that recounts the reception of the Greeks in Venice, where the anonymous author tries to record his admiration of the pageantry of the scene, it consists of synopses of speeches and short entries on events, for all the world like the notes of a diary. Dates are very frequent, less commonly of the month, more often the day of the week and of a particular week specified by its name in the liturgical calendar. There is little of that background of personal relations in which the *Memoirs* abound, but it is not

¹ Lambros, I, p. 191.

altogether lacking. In short, there is little room in the *Description*, taken by and large, for prejudice one way or the other. What is regarded as an indication of tendentiousness is that the author does not go into detail on some points of friction that certainly arose between Greeks and Latins, that he records only in passing the divisions within the Greek community, and that, being at least towards the end of the Council an ardent supporter of union, he recounts with approval the activities of the unionists. His account is limited to the narration of the more important public events, and what he states in it positively would seem, generally speaking, to be true. That he does not dilate on the intricacies of personal relationships is owing to the character of the work he was composing.

The historian has to evaluate his sources and then to utilize them in accordance with his judgement. My opinion about the main sources of the history of the Council of Florence is recorded above. The *Greek Acts* combined with the *Latin Acts* furnish safe material for the record of the public sessions. The *Description* offers a chronology of the other events so consecutive and so closely integrated with the events themselves, which are outlined rather than described, as to dispel suspicion of conscious distortion. So, in what follows in this book, I accept the positive statements of the *Description* unless error can be proved, filling them out and supplementing them from the *Memoirs*, references to which will be found in great numbers in almost every chapter. I have tried to omit nothing of importance from Syropoulos' work, but it is so long that much abbreviation and no little omission were necessary. Where it was possible, I have checked the more seemingly exaggerated of the Greek Deacon's assertions: where that could not be done—and unfortunately it could not be done often—I have recorded what he says for what it is worth, leaving the reader to assess it for himself. Such, at least, has been my intention and such, I hope, my execution.

The first few pages of Syropoulos' *Memoirs* have been lost, but to judge from the beginning of the part preserved they would seem to have dealt with a question of authority in the Eastern Church between the Emperor and the hierarchy, included probably by the author because he considered that it had some connection with the conduct on the Greek side of the Council. All the rest refers directly

to the Council. It starts with the negotiations about union under Martin V, continues with those between Constantinople and Eugenius IV and Constantinople and Basel, and then recounts the story of the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, the events during the Council, the departure for home and the reception in Constantinople of the union.

Syropoulus is right, historically, in beginning his account of the Council of Florence as far back as the Council of Constance, because the negotiations that culminated in the Council of union being held in Ferrara and Florence and not in Constantinople or Basel or Avignon began then, and went on in an uninterrupted series till they issued in the actual Council. I have followed the same plan. After a brief introductory chapter of broad background, I trace in some detail the relations between East and West under Martin V, then the much more complicated pattern of negotiations under Eugenius IV, before introducing the Greeks, in chapter four, into Italy. Then comes the Council proper. My treatment of it all is more historical than theological. But it was, of course, an Oecumenical Council that judged and decided points of doctrine, so theology and indeed very abstruse theology enters into the narrative. If the reader does not understand it all, he can console himself with the thought that no one does understand the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. But he will, I hope, learn something about it and come to appreciate a little better the grounds of difference in its regard between East and West, and their diverse lines of approach. Very many long speeches occur in the main sources, which I have synthesised, leaving them, however, in direct speech form, because lengthy periods of indirect speech would have made heavy reading. All—and only—exact quotations in translation are indicated by inverted commas or by small type.

I have reason to be grateful to many people for help and encouragement generously given to me while I was engaged on this book. To the late Fr Georg Hofmann, S.J., I am most deeply indebted. Besides being the initiator of the series *Concilium Florentinum*, etc., he was, too, its most prolific contributor, giving to it the fruits of long years of painstaking work in many archives. References to his volumes and to his numerous articles will be found abundantly in

INTRODUCTION

the pages that follow. Besides that, I had the advantage of his ready advice and I could draw on his secure memory and wide knowledge, even in the long months of his last illness, a privilege that I availed myself of freely. May he rest in peace. Two others also I would like to thank by name, who have read my book in manuscript and offered me many fruitful suggestions, Fr Emil Herman, S.J., and Dr J. A. Watt. To them, and to all the others who have helped me, I return my sincere thanks.

J. G.

ROME

January 1958

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Acad. Roum.</i>	<i>Académie Roumaine: Bulletin de la section historique.</i>
<i>A.A.V.</i>	<i>Acta Academiae Velehradensis.</i>
<i>A.C.A.</i>	<i>Acta camerae apostolicae et civitatum Venetiarum, Ferrariae, Florentiae, Ianae, de Concilio Florentino</i> , ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1950).
<i>A.G.</i>	<i>Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini</i> , ed. J. Gill (Romae, 1953).
<i>A.L.</i>	<i>Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis: Acta latina Concilii Florentini</i> , ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1955).
<i>Arch. O.P.</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.</i>
<i>B.Z.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>Byz.</i>	<i>Byzantion.</i>
<i>Cecconi</i>	<i>E. Cecconi, Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze</i> , vol. 1 (Firenze, 1869).
<i>D.T.C.</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Théologie Catholique.</i>
<i>E.E.B.Σ.</i>	<i>Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.</i>
<i>E.O.</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient.</i>
<i>E.P.</i>	<i>Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes.</i> 3 vols., ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1940-6).
<i>Frag.</i>	<i>Fragmenta protocolli, diaria privata, sermones</i> , ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1951).
<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Gregorianum.</i>
<i>Haller</i>	<i>Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Dokumente.</i> 8 vols., of which the first four are edited by J. Haller, the rest by various authors.
<i>H.L.</i>	<i>Hefele-Leclercq, Histoire des Conciles</i> , vol. vii (Paris, 1916).
<i>Jorga</i>	<i>N. Jorga, Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle</i> , vols. 1-111 (Paris, 1899-1902).
<i>Lambros</i>	<i>S. Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά</i> , 4 vols. (Athens, 1912-30).
<i>Mansi</i>	<i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. G. D. Mansi (1784).
<i>M.C.</i>	<i>Monumenta Conciliorum generalium saec. XV</i> (Vindobonae, 1857-86).
<i>Muratori</i>	<i>Raccolta degli storici italiani</i> , ed. L. A. Muratori (2nd edition unless otherwise stated).

ABBREVIATIONS

N.E.	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων.
O.C.	<i>Orientalia Christiana</i> .
O.C.P.	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> .
Pastor	L. v. Pastor, <i>History of the Popes</i> , English trans. ed. F. I. Antrobus.
Petit, Docs.	<i>Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence. I: La question du Purgatoire à Ferrare; II: Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d'Ephèse</i> , ed. L. Petit, published in one volume from <i>Patrologia orientalis</i> , xv, pp. 1-168; xvii, pp. 309-524.
P.G.	Migne: <i>Patrologia graeca</i> .
Phr.	G. Phrantzes, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. I. B. Papadopoulos, vol. 1 (Lipsiae, 1935).
P.L.	Migne, <i>Patrologia latina</i> .
Raynaldus	O. Raynaldus, <i>Annales ecclesiastici</i> .
Schol.	<i>Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarius</i> . 8 vols. ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, M. Jugie (Paris, 1928-36).
S.T.	<i>Studi e Testi</i> .
St. biz.	<i>Studi bizantini e neoellenici</i> .
Syr.	S. Syropoulos, <i>Memoirs</i> , ed. R. Creighton under the title <i>Vera historia unionis non verae</i> (Hagae-Comitis, 1660).
Trav.	A. Traversari, <i>Ambrosii Traversari... latinae epistolae</i> , etc., ed. L. Mehus (Firenze, 1759).
Valois	N. Valois, <i>Le Pape et le Concile</i> . 2 vols. (Paris, 1909).

THE BACKGROUND

THE adoption of the Christian religion by the Emperor Constantine was a turning-point in the history of the early Church. Henceforward, instead of being liable to periodic persecution, it would enjoy the protection of the highest power in the State. Such protection, however, could become a double-edged sword and, for the promotion of unity and concord within the empire, could develop into a direction of the Church even in purely religious and doctrinal matters. That is, in fact, what happened. Sects, dissatisfied with the decisions of the ecclesiastical authorities, began to appeal to the Emperor. Already in Constantine's reign and before he was even baptised, the Emperor had taken upon himself to summon the Council of Arles (314) to rejudge the affairs of the Donatists; then he summoned the Council of Nicaea whose decisions he later rejected and whose adherents he persecuted.

The removal of the capital from Rome to the Bosphorus introduced another influence that was to play a large part in subsequent developments. Byzantium till this time had been no more than a small town with a bishop dependent on the Metropolitan of Heraclea in Thrace. When it became the capital of Constantine's empire, its bishop took the title of archbishop. Under the Christian emperors, the territorial organisation of the Church tended to follow that of the civil administration and the political pre-eminence of a city often led to a parallel ecclesiastical importance. At that rate New Rome should be the equal of Old Rome. In 381 the third canon of the Council of Constantinople enunciated: 'The Bishop of Constantinople to have the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome.' In 451 the so-called twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon amplified the canon of Constantinople:

With justice indeed the Fathers recognised the first place for the See of Ancient Rome, because this city was the residence of the emperor. Moved by the same

consideration, the 150 Fathers, . . . granted equal prerogatives and esteem to the most holy See of New Rome, justly considering that the city honoured by the presence of the emperor and the senate and enjoying prerogatives equal to those of ancient, imperial Rome ought also to rank higher in ecclesiastical matters, holding rank next after her.

This canon suited the aspirations of the emperors and the archbishops of the imperial city. But for the moment at least, they were held in check by the Pope. At the Council itself the papal legates protested vigorously against it and subsequently Pope Leo refused to acknowledge it despite the letters from both the Emperor Marcian and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anatolius.

The next few centuries were marked by different developments in the East and the West. Their liturgies were established along different lines; ecclesiastical customs and discipline varied considerably, as the Council in Trullo (691) demonstrated; there was a steadily growing ignorance of each other's language. Nevertheless ecclesiastical relations, though often broken for short periods, remained as they were before in spite of political tensions, and each century from the fifth to the ninth saw many an appeal from the East to Rome for the support of true doctrine and the re-establishment of discipline. The peak of papal prestige in the Byzantine Church was reached during the Iconoclastic controversies of the first half of the ninth century, when the Pope was regarded as the bastion of orthodoxy against the impious emperors.

A serious schism, however, occurred shortly after. A dispute as to whether Ignatius or Photius was the rightful Patriarch of Constantinople was referred to Rome. Papal legates sent to inquire into the case decided in favour of the latter and declared Ignatius deposed. Nicholas I, the Pope, quashed the proceedings and in a local council pronounced in favour of Ignatius. This decision was dead against the wishes of the imperial court, and Photius, taking advantage also of the prevailing dispute over the evangelisation of Bulgaria and the differences in discipline advocated by the Latin and the Greek missionaries there, decided to carry the war into the enemy's country. He issued an Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Patriarchs inviting them to a council in Constantinople to judge the faith and practice of the Pope and the Latin Church. The council met in 867 and declared Nicholas deposed and excommunicated.

Almost immediately, on political grounds, Photius was removed from the patriarchal See and Ignatius reinstated; but the council (869-70) summoned to restore order barely achieved its purpose. The Emperor wanted no more than that the old question between Ignatius and Photius should be discussed: the Pope could not ignore the Photian council and its affront to the Holy See. Photius, though he refused to answer his accusers, was condemned, but very few bishops took any part in the proceedings and the severe sentences against those ordained by Photius did not conduce to pacification.

On Ignatius's death in 878 the Emperor restored Photius to the patriarchal throne in spite of his previous condemnation. Once more a council was proposed to regularise the situation and the Pope, John VIII, who needed help against the Saracens and still hoped to establish Roman jurisdiction over Bulgaria, agreed. The Council met in 879-80. The Pope's legates were empowered to recognise the legitimacy of Photius's election as Patriarch and of his previous ordinations, ignoring at the same time his past actions against the Holy See, if he would make some gesture savouring of an *amende honorable*. This Photius refused to do and the Acts of the council contain almost more of insult against Rome than respect: yet John VIII approved them, though whether he was ever acquainted with them in their entirety or only in an abbreviated—and much mitigated—Latin translation is not certain. Till recently it has been usually believed that after the Council of 879-80 Photius was again solemnly excommunicated, but that view has in latter years been seriously called in question and is not now generally held. At any rate, by 899 the schism was over, but it had given a dangerous precedent, and Photius's writings, accusing the Latins of heresy in regard to the Procession of the Holy Spirit, condemning Latin customs and discipline, and attacking the primacy of the See of Peter and exalting against it the 'See of the Protoclitus Andrew', furnished an arsenal of weapons ready to hand for future use.

Two centuries were to elapse yet before the next serious clash between Rome and Constantinople, centuries marked by many a change in the European political situation. Up to the time of the Iconoclastic controversy Byzantium still claimed empire over most of Europe, the kings of the various tribes who overran it and settled

there being theoretically at least governors in the name of the basileus. In Italy the emperor's power, though at different times seriously challenged by invading barbarians, was on the whole effective, and the popes, though gradually by force of circumstances becoming also in practice political heads of the Duchy of Rome, were his subjects whose elections needed imperial ratification. When, however, the papacy found itself threatened by Leo the Isaurian to force compliance with his Iconoclastic policy and at the same time lived in constant danger from the restless Lombards, it turned to the rising power of France and in return for its recognition of the dynasty of Pepin received military aid against the Lombards. This was a turning-point in history. Henceforward, though Byzantium did not cease to regard Italy as part of its empire and in fact continued to possess Sicily and the southern parts of the Italian peninsula with its centre at Bari, Rome had left the East and thrown in its lot with the West and with the Holy Roman Empire which developed after the crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West in 800. A tie between the Western and the Eastern Churches was broken.

But the change did not in the long run help the popes much. Rivalries between the developing nations of Europe for power and for dominance in the Holy Roman Empire, ambitions of different Roman families for political eminence in the Papal States established after the overthrow of the Byzantine power in the north of Italy, and the decline of the Lombards, made the papacy a prize to be won for a partisan. So in the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries the popes were often no more than the nominees of the dominant power, and popes and antipopes with their supporters vied with each other for supremacy, while the anarchy that at times prevailed at Rome was reflected only too faithfully in the dioceses of Europe. It was not a situation to recommend the Western Church to the East.

Meanwhile, in this same period, Byzantium was reaching its highest peak of power and prestige since the sixth century under Justinian, and whatever may have been the theoretical relation between the Western and the Eastern Churches, there is no doubt that in practice the Byzantine Church was independent of Rome. From 963 onwards Constantinople rejoiced in a series of emperors who

were both good organisers and good soldiers with the result that they retook from various conquerors parts of the empire that had earlier been lost. In 968 Antioch was regained from the Arabs and the Patriarch of Constantinople consecrated the new Antiochene Patriarch, thereby settling any doubt about pre-eminence. Mesopotamia, Edessa, Syria, Crete, all fell into Byzantine hands and by 1019 the Bulgars, who had once been a serious threat, were utterly reduced by Basil II, Bulgaroctonos. At about this time Russia, too, accepted Christianity and, though for some time it was as friendly to West as to East, it had received its Liturgy from the East and was more open to influences from there than from Rome. Naturally the Church shared in the glory of the State. Its patriarchs, if not all on the same high level as the emperors, were on the whole earnest and wise, though they often had to have recourse to 'economy' to meet the wishes of their all-powerful sovereigns. The theory of the Pentarchy, i.e. of the division of the Church into five Patriarchates all equal in essentials, had by now gained ground so as to have become accepted doctrine: and three of these were weak and in practice utterly dependent upon Constantinople. The Pope was regarded as no more than the Patriarch of the West, one of the five patriarchs of the Church, even if the first among them, while Constantinople, in fact if not yet in theory, dominated the eastern ecclesiastical world independently of Rome.

It was this *status quo* that Caerularius, who became Patriarch in 1043, was determined to maintain when it seemed to be threatened by the political alliance of the Byzantine Emperor and the Roman Pope against Norman expansion in southern Italy. He had a letter condemning four Latin practices conveyed to the Pope and himself closed the Latin churches in Constantinople as an indication of his rejection of the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Liturgy. A military reverse, however, for his Emperor forced him to a more conciliatory attitude, but Cardinal Humbert, the Latin Legate sent to Constantinople, would be content with nothing less than complete submission. Caerularius remained obstinate. The Cardinal publicly and solemnly excommunicated him and his adherents in a violently offensive document (1054), but this excommunication was of doubtful validity as Pope Leo who had authorised the mission

was already dead. Yet it was so violent in tone and delivered in so insulting a manner that by itself it was sufficient to rally the people of Constantinople to the side of the Patriarch, and the Emperor had perforce to follow suit. Caerularius in his turn excommunicated the legates. He never believed, or feigned not to believe, that they represented Leo, but only the Emperor's Latin general, Argyrus, his personal enemy. He then wrote to the patriarchs of the East to prepare the way for a condemnation of the Western Church. His accusations against Rome rested on the *Filioque*-clause (which Cardinal Humbert had brought into prominence again from the oblivion into which it had fallen and that, too, wrongly, in so far as he attributed an omission to the Greek Church instead of an addition to the Latin), the use of unleavened bread in the Liturgy and an interminable list of ecclesiastical trifles. These last, in themselves of no real importance whatsoever, were nevertheless the points that appealed most to ordinary eastern Christians and most alienated their minds from Latin Christendom.

The incident of Caerularius, however, was not necessarily final, though it was a heavy blow to peaceful relations between East and West. Other events were shortly to succeed it which would have far more serious results. One of these was the formation of the Norman kingdom in South Italy. It had been the alliance of Pope and Emperor to face this common threat that had given the occasion for Caerularius' anti-Roman action. From then on the Normans increased their power, taking Bari (1071), the centre of local Byzantine government, and Palermo in the following year, and they aimed at nothing less than the conquest of Constantinople. In 1082 and again in 1185 they made the attempt, but each time they failed. Meantime other enemies were massing round the empire, the Turks in the east, and to the north the Patzinaks and later the Bulgars. Byzantium had long known the Arab, who, beginning in the seventh century, had rapidly overrun Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the eastern regions of Asia Minor, Egypt and the northern areas of Africa. He had twice attacked Constantinople itself (673-7; 717-718). In the ninth century he conquered Crete and towards the beginning of the tenth century Sicily and much of Southern Italy. But by the end of the tenth century the vast Arab empire was in a

state of disintegration and would presumably have dissolved had it not been for the rise to power of the Seljuq Turks. These, originating in Turkestan, gradually became the paramount power in the Arab world and when the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, met them in battle, he was crushingly defeated and taken prisoner at Manzikert (1071) and regained his freedom only by paying a heavy ransom and promising annual tribute to his conquerors. The victorious Alp Arslan set up the Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor which was the first stage of the conquest of the whole Byzantine empire.

The Seljuq victories had another effect. As long as the Arab held Palestine and its holy city Jerusalem, pilgrims could come and go unmolested. With the conquest, however, of the Holy Places by the Seljuqs began a period of persecution which roused the anger of the Christian West and occasioned the Crusades. These were due to a variety of causes—appeals of the Eastern emperors for help; the desire of the popes for the reunion of Christendom; a spirit of adventure among the chivalry of the western nations; but chiefly a determination to deliver the Holy Land from the power of the infidel.

For its main purpose the First Crusade (1097–9) was the most successful, for Jerusalem was taken and the Kingdom of Jerusalem established. But principalities were established too at Edessa, Tripoli and Antioch, on territory that Byzantium claimed for its own, and so over a period of a century and more there was sporadic warfare between the empire and Antioch. The emperors seem to have regarded the Crusaders with as much fear as they did the Turk and they had some solid grounds for that. The Crusaders came in bands, often with little discipline, living on the countries they passed through and their presence in the neighbourhood of the capital city inevitably led to friction. As a result, the ruling motive of the emperors was to get their unwelcome allies away from Constantinople as quickly as possible without letting them wait till all their forces had arrived, even though thereby they might be the more easily encountered and destroyed by the common foe. Such was the fate of the first contingent of the First Crusade; such that of the German force of the Second Crusade (1147). In 1187 Saladin took Jerusalem. In 1189 the Third Crusade set out. The German forces

of Frederick Barbarossa were transported over the Hellespont by the Emperor Isaac only when their presence near his capital seemed to him a greater menace to his safety than breaking the agreement he had made with Saladin to oppose them: but they effected nothing. The French and English forces which went by sea managed to win only a few places on the Palestinian coast—far enough away from Byzantium—and to occupy Cyprus, at that time held in independence from Byzantium by Isaac Comnenus. The first three Crusades, therefore, did nothing to heal the breach between East and West, but rather fomented an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust. The papal desire of ecclesiastical union was still far from being satisfied. It received, however, an unexpected fulfilment, and one that at any rate at first Pope Innocent III did not welcome, in the Fourth Crusade.

The Fourth Crusade, like the others, aimed at capturing Jerusalem but in the end it captured Constantinople and advanced no further. It had assembled at Venice (1202) since the Venetians for the payment of a large sum had contracted to transport it onwards by sea. The money, however, was not available and so, in spite of Innocent's fulminations, payment was made 'in kind' by the taking and sacking of Zara, a town of Dalmatia in the hands of the King of Hungary who had himself taken the Cross. To the Crusaders at Zara there came Alexius Angelus, whose father Isaac had shortly before been deposed from the imperial throne and imprisoned by his brother Alexius, to plead for his father's restoration, in return for which he promised large gifts of money and troops for the campaign in the Holy Land in which he too would take part. The prospects of ecclesiastical union, of Byzantium as a genuine ally in their undertaking, of personal reward, and for Enrico Dandolo, the Doge of Venice, of the confirmation of all Venetian commercial privileges won the day: the Crusaders turned towards Constantinople. The city did not welcome the protectors of its deposed sovereign and so the Crusaders stormed and took it, but then they encamped outside its walls (1203). The restored Isaac and his son Alexius were crowned, but being regarded by the Greeks as traitors, soon fell victims to popular discontent and Alexius Ducas, the leader of the national party hostile to the Westerners, became Emperor. In 1204

the city was once again captured and for three days given over to pillage and rapine, not even the churches and their sacred objects being spared.

With the Latins in Constantinople there was an opportunity, however unpropitious its beginnings, of uniting the Eastern and the Western Churches, but the temper of the time made it impossible for that opportunity to be seized and used to the best advantage. In the division of the spoils after the taking of the city the Church of St Sophia had fallen to the Venetians, who without consulting the Pope had Thomas Morosini consecrated Latin Patriarch. To him the Greek bishops should take an oath of fidelity, but many, like the Greek Patriarch who had fled to Bulgaria, preferred exile. For a short time there was hesitation as to what was to be done in practice, but the principle soon prevailed that the Latin rite was superior to the Greek, which however was not to be suppressed but, if the Greeks could not be persuaded to change, tolerated. Latin bishops were to rule in dioceses where Latins were more numerous. New Greek bishops could be consecrated, but by Latin bishops. In 1206 the Patriarch John Camaterus died in Bulgaria and a successor was elected and consecrated in Nicaea where Theodore I Lascaris had set up a Greek kingdom. In Constantinople the papal Legate Cardinal Pelagius d'Albano tried forcible measures but achieved nothing, and later negotiations with the new Greek Patriarch also failed. In 1215 the Council of the Lateran declared the Pope head of all the Eastern Latin Patriarchs and decreed that there could be only one bishop in any one See, though diversity of rites was permitted 'as far as this was possible in the Lord'. The Greeks would have been willing to have had a Latin bishop as well as a Greek: this was forbidden by the Lateran. In the territories conquered by the Crusaders—the Kingdom of Constantinople, the Kingdom of Thessalonica, the Principality of Achaia in the Peloponnesus and the Duchy of Athens and Thebes, as well as in the many places gained by the Venetians—Latin bishops took possession of cathedral churches. But these conquests did not last long. Thessalonica fell to the Greeks of Epirus in 1224. Constantinople was taken by Michael VIII, the Greek Emperor of Nicaea, in 1261.

But it was a diminished and weakened empire that Michael

regained. Most of Greece was still in the hands of the Franks, and the Despotate of Epirus and the Empire of Trebizond, though in Greek hands, were independent States. Nor were his enemies less numerous than before. A new threat, reminiscent of the days of the Normans of Italy, was forming in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies occupied in 1266 by Charles of Anjou. Preparations were well advanced for an expedition against Constantinople on the plea of restoring to his throne the exiled Latin Emperor, when Pope Gregory X sought delay to see if the negotiations opened with him by Michael would bear fruit (1273). In 1274 at the Council of Lyons a very small Greek delegation accepted in Michael's name (rather than in that of the Greek Church) papal supremacy, the truth of the *Filioque* and the validity of the Liturgy in unleavened bread. Danger to Constantinople was averted: Michael did his best to carry out his engagements and himself was faithful to them, but he could avail nothing against the religious opposition of his subjects. In 1281 he was excommunicated by the French Pope, Martin IV, a friend of Charles of Anjou, and, though the danger from Sicily finally ceased on the rebellion there in 1282, he died in the same year repudiated by both East and West, for he was refused Christian burial by his own people. His successor Andronicus II was bitterly anti-Latin and deposed and imprisoned the unionist Patriarch John Beccus with his few sincere supporters.

Meanwhile the Mongol invasion from the East had completed the break-up of the empire of the Seljuq Turks who, as the domination of the invaders relaxed, formed into separate smaller States. Among these the dynasty of Osman (1299) began to predominate, and the history of the East in the fourteenth century is the story of the conquests of the Ottoman Turks. Checked for a time by the Catalan Grand Company, a kind of Foreign Legion in which Catalans were the chief element, mercenaries brought in by Andronicus II (1302-11), they later progressed steadily in their conquest of the Greek Empire which at the same time had to defend itself against the Serbs. Brusa fell to them in 1326; Nicaea in 1329; Nicomedia in 1337. At the accession to the Byzantine throne of John V Palaeologus in 1341 they were already masters of virtually all Asia Minor. They had established a foothold for themselves in Europe by 1354

when they gained possession of Gallipoli and from there they began to move north. In 1365 Adrianople became their capital and Constantinople was hemmed in on all sides. At this stage John V Palaeologus journeyed to Rome where he solemnly made profession of faith to the Pope and submitted himself to the Latin Church. John's action does not seem to have aroused as much opposition in Constantinople as did Michael's nearly a century before, partly at least because the religious element of his capital was engrossed in the hesychastic controversy, in which Gregory Palamas for the monks of Mount Athos triumphed over Barlaam who hailed from South Italy and who for that reason was suspect. His gesture, however, was totally ineffective. To the Pope's appeals there was no response in the West to send aid to stem the encroachments of the Turks: in the East the Church made no move to support the initiative of the Emperor.

So the advance of the Turks went on unabated. In 1373 John V had to become a vassal of Murad I and to give his son Manuel as a hostage. In 1389 Serbia, and in 1393 Bulgaria, were overcome. In 1396 Hungary suffered defeat at Nicopolis and, had it not been for the small French force under Boucicaut, Constantinople might have fallen at that time. The situation was desperate. On Boucicaut's advice Manuel (1399) toured the courts of Europe to see if his personal appeal would get him the help he needed. But, though courteously received in France, England, Germany and Italy and in spite of the crusade launched by Boniface IX independently of any negotiations about union between the Churches, he got no help in men, for Europe was too distracted by its own quarrels. Three times in twenty years was Constantinople besieged and each time it was saved, not by the forces of the defenders, but only because the Turks had to raise the siege to fight elsewhere—in 1402 when Bajezid went to meet the Mongol advance under Timur and was defeated: in 1411 when Musa was overthrown by his brother Mahomet: and in 1422 when Murad II repressed the rebellion of a pretender.

It was this Emperor, Manuel II Palaeologus, who, according to the chronicler Sphrantzes, gave the following advice to his son John, who later as Emperor shared with Pope Eugenius IV responsibility for the Council of Florence: 'Propose a council: open negotiations,

but protract them interminably. . . . The pride of the Latins and the obstinacy of the Greeks will never agree. By wishing to achieve the union you will only strengthen the schism.' It was a profound observation founded on history and borne out by events. Negotiations there had to be to suggest to the Turk the possibility of doubling the number of his foes if he persisted in his conquests and by the elusive prospect of ecclesiastical union to entice military aid from the Latins. With the exception of the overtures of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80), who dreamt of being crowned by the Pope as emperor of a reunited empire, all the rest—and there were very many—who entered into negotiations about union of the Churches were in reality seeking material aid. The Church question was, in the circumstances, the necessary means to that end.

For Byzantium, the Crusades could be a mortal danger or a providential help. To ensure that they should be the one and not the other, the emperors were forced to turn to him who directed the formidable machine. Sometimes it would be to gain from the pope that the machine should not be turned against them: sometimes that it come to the aid of the empire writhing under the blows of the Turks. Such is the secret of the offers of union from the Byzantine side. There was no element of idealism in them. If the pope had been only a spiritual power and had not controlled a political force of great magnitude, there would not have been on the part of the Byzantine emperors any unionistic negotiations at all.¹

Yet, however true that might have been for the Emperors, there could still be Greeks who valued the ideal of union for its own sake.

The popes for their part genuinely desired union of the Churches, as was acknowledged even by Byzantine writers, and they were not unwilling to use political considerations to further their ends. But the kind of union they aimed at was not a union that recommended itself to the Greeks. No pope could or would accept a union founded on the theory of the Pentarchy, even though its supporters might agree with Nilus Cabasilas: 'As long as the pope retains the order and remains in the truth, he preserves the first place which belongs to him by right; he is the head of the Church and supreme pontiff, the successor of Peter and of all the Apostles; all owe him honour and complete respect: if he departs from the truth, with no desire to

¹ M. Jugie, *Le schisme byzantin* (Paris, 1941), pp. 248-9.

return thereunto, he deserves condemnation.'¹ In all the negotiations the popes claimed an absolute supremacy and that the Greeks would not grant. Their opposition to the introduction of the *Filioque*-clause into the Creed and to other Latin practices and doctrines stemmed from that—even a pope may not legislate on questions common to all Christians independently of the rest of the Church.

Yet union was what Byzantium most needed and Rome most desired. It was useless for the emperors and the popes to make agreements as long as the clergy and people of the empire were utterly opposed to them and inspired by a profound hatred of the Latins. The behaviour of the Crusaders, especially the sack of Constantinople, the numerous attempts of Normans and French at conquest, the depredations of the Catalan Grand Company, had led them to consider the Latins as greater enemies of their city than even the Turk. The privileges accorded successively to the Venetians and the Genoese, who owned a great part of their quays and a section of their capital and, without paying the taxes that weighed them down, sapped their commercial prosperity, roused a deep rancour against the foreign Latins which burst into flame in 1182 when in a public riot the Venetians were massacred. The introduction of Latin patriarchs and bishops in Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople and elsewhere, Latin contempt and ignorance of the Greek liturgical rite and the differences of ecclesiastical tradition—married and unmarried clergy, bearded and unbearded, varieties of discipline about fasts and dozens of other unimportant points—only convinced them of the barbarity and inferiority of the Latins, and their sense of moral superiority combined with a certain political dependence deepened and confirmed their hostility.

The backbone of opposition in Byzantium was not the State but the Church, and of the Church not so much the bishops as the monks and the common people who looked on the monks as enlightened ascetics and spiritual guides. Patriarchs and bishops were too near the crown to be able easily to resist an emperor's will, and it was not often that they tried. But the monks, a very numerous body and often vagrant, and the common people were lost in the anonymity of the mass except when some outstanding personality like

¹ P.G. 149, 728.

Theodore the Studite or Gregory Palamas or Gennadius voiced the popular feeling and organised and led the opposition. By the time of the Iconoclastic controversy (726) there were two parties in Constantinople—the Moderates, mainly among the politicians, the court circle and the higher clerics; and the Rigorists or Extremists whose core was composed of the monks. The former, more highly educated, more immersed in politics and affairs of the world, more bound up in a career and the imperial court, to attain their aim of preserving the peace between Church and State were ready to meet each difficult situation as it arose, if necessary by compromise, to be accommodating in the application of ecclesiastical censures, to look for salvation from the West in face of mortal danger from the East. The latter, less pliant and more obstinate, often with the obstinacy of ignorance, were opposed to emperors interfering in Church affairs and would not tolerate compromise either as regards doctrine or the execution of ecclesiastical punishments, no matter what the consequences. They professed to keep aloof from politics but were for ever trying to obtain patriarchs and bishops of their own colour and not infrequently were involved in plots to get rid of an emperor thought to be a traitor to orthodoxy. As a political force they were so powerful that claimants to the throne had to take them into account and at times cultivated their favour to win their support. They were the champions of orthodoxy as they conceived it, rigid, undeviating and indeed narrow. In the eighth century they upheld Rome and triumphed with her in the Iconoclastic controversy. In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were bitterly and fanatically anti-Latin. They, it was, who rendered the result of the Second Council of Lyons nugatory. They were the force behind Palamism, who made the gesture of John V Palaeologus no more than the act of an individual. They, as we shall see, would make the Council of Florence avail nothing to heal the schism between East and West. To give any project of union a chance of success, the monks and the people with them had first to be won over to it. But how?

One solution of that almost insoluble problem was a General Council. It had been proposed many times before and was urged again in most persuasive terms by Barlaam in 1339 to Benedict XII

—to discuss the chief points of disagreement in a General Council to be held on Greek territory, for, if agreement could be reached in free debate in such a council, the Greeks, and in particular the Extremists, would, it was said, respect an oecumenical decision, which for them was paramount, as they would nothing else. But that was not a proposal that the popes could lightly accept. For them the main question at issue had been already settled in what the Latin Church holds to have been an Oecumenical Council, the Council of Lyons, even though the Greeks had repudiated the adherence given by the modest Greek delegation. It was neither fitting nor expedient, they said, to reopen questions oecumenically settled. In truth they were, too, not a little afraid that in a council convened on Greek soil the Greeks might be numerically superior and might make decisions utterly unacceptable to the Latin Church, which instead of producing peace would lead only to greater discord. But the idea gained ground as offering the only feasible solution. John VI Cantacuzene urged it in 1350 and Pope Clement VI was inclined to concur, but prudence prevailed. Again in 1370 Pope Urban V disappointed the Greeks, who thought a council imminent. And each refusal from Rome gave the Greeks further grounds for complaint and excuse for distrust. But even in the West, as the conciliar movement progressed and the demand for ecclesiastical reform in head and members promoted the theory that a General Council is superior to a pope, there was a growing realisation that the Great Schism must be ended, that a General Council was the sole possible means to that end and that the Greeks must be invited to participate in the councils of the Latins. When the Council of Basel and Eugenius IV came to cross-purposes, it developed into a competition as to who should strengthen his position by getting the Greeks to his council. Eugenius even offered to make Constantinople the seat: it was only the political situation that finally decided the Greeks to come to Italy, to Ferrara and Florence, in 1438. So in the end the Greek solution was adopted. Union was, indeed, achieved but, though elsewhere it had more durable results, among the Greeks themselves it was only short-lived.

MARTIN V AND THE GREEKS

(1414-31)

THE early years of the fifteenth century saw a Christendom rent by division. Politically there were wars between Christian princes. England and a France split by internal factions were still in the throes of the Hundred Years War—Agincourt was fought in 1415; St Joan of Arc was burnt at Rouen in 1431. Poland was at loggerheads with the Teutonic Knights. Sigismund of Hungary, after securing his position with some difficulty, was involved first with the Venetians and later in internal strife with the Bohemians of his own country. Italy was the scene of almost continuous upheaval. The Papal States were invaded time and again by Condottieri in the pay of rival factions. Rome, occupied by a succession of conquerors, was in ruins.

The ecclesiastical situation was no better. The papal court had hardly returned from Avignon to Rome (1377) than there began the Great Schism of the West. Thereafter for nearly forty years there were two—or even three—‘popes’, each striving by arms and alliances, by bribes and the vast expenditure of money, by the creation of partisan cardinals and the excommunication of opponents, to secure for himself the greatest support among the nations. For their part kings and princes rallied to one or other of the claimants to the papal throne, not so much because of any conviction on the merits of the dispute, as because they would not support the choice of their political rivals. In such a state of ecclesiastical chaos Church discipline was lost and heresies grew apace. The root-cause of the situation lay in the abasement of the papacy, and in the worldliness, simony, and lack of spiritual ideals of a papal Curia and cardinals too often willing tools of a political power. The malady in the head had spread also to the members. There was urgent need of reform, reform

in head and members, but while many were ready to reform others few were willing to start the reform with themselves.

Such a state of affairs could not go on indefinitely. As a preliminary condition to any reform, unity in the Church was essential—one pope acknowledged by all—and in the first decade of the fifteenth century voices were raised in France, Germany and Italy demanding that a way be found to put an end to the disastrous dissensions. They began to argue that the Church is more than any pope, that the pope is only a functionary of the Church and dependent on it, that those who elect can if need be depose. The fact that of the two rivals one was certainly pope was lost sight of. Men were set on getting rid of both to make a fresh start, and they ended by adding to Gregory XII and Benedict XIII a third, Alexander V, a Greek born in Crete and educated at Oxford and Paris, who certainly was no more than an anti-pope. That was the work of the Council of Pisa (1409), summoned by a group of cardinals independently of both Gregory and Benedict and in contradiction to age-long ecclesiastical tradition, Church law, and Catholic faith in the universal jurisdiction of the pope. Confusion was worse confounded. The conviction that a council was superior to a pope took a firmer hold and was formally enunciated as a principle by the Council of Constance (1414-18), which to give it effect enacted that henceforth councils should be convened at regular short intervals.¹ Hopes for reform ran high. The nations, weary of the distressing spectacle of three rival 'popes', abandoned the cause of their candidates and lent support to the Council's demand that all three abdicate or be deposed. On 11 November 1417 Martin V was elected at Constance and hailed as Pope by almost the whole of the Latin Church. The Great Schism was ended at last.

The period of the Great Schism was not, one would say, a propitious time for negotiations for union between East and West, when the picture of a Latin Church that could not achieve unity within itself could hardly have aroused any enthusiasm in even the best-intentioned Greek to partake in the confusion, even had he been able (which the Latins themselves were not) to discern where the

¹ The decree *Frequens* established that the next council should meet after five years, the following one seven years later, and then every ten years.

central authority of the Church lay. Yet curiously enough the idea of ending the breach between the two Churches was never lost sight of and indeed became even more dominant. The end of the fourteenth century saw the beginning of the enthusiasm for the study of Greek—Manuel Chrysoloras arrived in Florence at the invitation of the city early in 1397 to teach Greek—and this led to a deep knowledge and love of the Greek classical tradition, which overflowed and embraced the places and people who most preserved its literature and to some degree still embodied its culture. Then too the plight of the Eastern Church was much in men's minds. The Sultan Bajezid had inflicted a disastrous defeat on Hungarian and French troops at Nicopolis (1396). Boniface IX in 1398 had tried to rouse the Latin princes to a crusade to relieve beleaguered Constantinople, which was barely able to avert disaster even with the heroic aid of a handful of French troops under Boucicaut.¹ The Emperor Manuel II visited Venice, Padua, Pavia, Paris and London (1399–1403) ineffectually seeking military help. Even if in Paris he showed himself hostile to any religious union (he answered a brief dissertation on the Procession of the Holy Spirit with a refutation in 157 chapters), his presence and purpose kept the idea alive. Union of the Churches, it was argued, would achieve a double object—it would end religious discord and it would combine the whole of the Christian world against the Turk. Even concentration on the divisions that rent the Western Church, far from closing men's minds to thoughts of the East, rather brought the desire and desirability of union more to the fore, and a union on a grander scale that should embrace the whole of Christendom. The prospect of the 'reduction'² of the Greeks became a motive for putting a speedy end to the divisions at home

¹ A Greek ambassador, Antony Notaras, was in London in 1397–8. King Richard wrote to Manuel early in 1398 excusing himself for not being able to send men then, but promising some for the next year. On 13 September 1399 £2000 was paid to Manuel via a Genoese merchant and charged on the customs at Southampton, and in 1401 a further £2000 from the royal Treasury 'in recompense of such sum due during the time of the late King Richard' (T. Bekynton, *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams (London, 1872), I, doc. CCIII, p. 285; p. LX, n. 1).

² The usual Latin word employed in papal documents and elsewhere in respect of the Greeks was *reductio*, which indicates clearly enough what the Latin Church meant by union—the 'bringing back' of the Greeks to the bosom of the Church that they had left by schism.

and a further justification for insisting on a General Council, because only through a council was there any hope of ever reaching an agreement that the Greeks would be likely to accept. This was the theme of a Venetian embassy to Gregory XII in 1408: Gerson and the University of Paris insisted on this to Charles VI in 1409 and to John XXIII in 1411: it was this hope that influenced Aragon to abandon its obedience to Benedict XIII in 1416. Manuel II was invited (1408) to send representatives to the Council of Pisa. Alexander V, in the few months that he survived his election, sent legates to Constantinople.¹

On the Greek side the political situation was enough to make men always conscious of the rest of the Christian world. Even though Constantinople survived the attacks of Bajezid at the turn of the century, danger was never far absent and each new threat revived the yearning for western aid. But apart from the peril from the Turk, there were other influences too at work tending to a better understanding between the Churches. In the course of the fourteenth century there had been translated into impeccable Greek some works of a few Latin Fathers—Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius, and of St Thomas Aquinas the *Summa theologia* and the *Summa contra Gentiles*, which won the profound admiration of John Cantacuzenus, the Emperor, and went some little way to prove that the Latin Church was not totally ignorant and barbarous. The religious orders, particularly the Dominicans and the Friars Minor, had monasteries in the environs of Constantinople and were in constant touch with the Greek ecclesiastical world which was not a little edified by their missionary zeal. Latin princesses married to Greek princes usually had their own chaplains and little *entourage* of the western faith; the colonies of Venetians, Genoese and Pisans established with their churches in Constantinople and across the Golden Horn; the Brigade of Catalans; the Italian humanists, like Guarino, Aurispa and Filelfo, who went to Constantinople to study Greek and who kept up relations with their friends of the Byzantine world—all had their influence in

¹ M. Viller, 'La question de l'union des Eglises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274-1438)', in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xvii (1921) and xviii (1922); and issued separately (Louvain, 1922), p. 77—though on what ground he makes this assertion, I do not know.

making the Western Church better known, even if the privileges accorded to the foreigner did not always make him better loved.

As a result many Greeks felt the attraction of the Catholic Church, and not a few joined it.¹ Prochorus Cydones died in the Orthodox faith, but his brother Demetrius entered the Latin Church, as did others like Manuel Chrysoloras, Manuel Calecas and the three brothers Maximus, Theodore and Andrew Chrysoberges, the last four of whom all became Dominicans. Mark Eugenicus, with his brother John and Joseph Bryennius, however, only became more determined in their opposition; but, on the other hand, there were men like Bessarion and Isidore whose traditional hostility to the West was greatly diminished and who sincerely desired union between the two Churches for its own sake, as well as for what it might do to alleviate the distress of their fatherland.

The Council of Constance opened on 5 November 1414, and with it began the long series of embassies and negotiations between the Byzantine and the papal courts that culminated in the Council of Florence. Sigismund, king of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor (he was not crowned, however, till 1433), was the prime mover of the gathering in Constance. He informed the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel II, of the projected Council, where *speramus contra infideles paganos et praecipue Turcos remedia vobisque et predictae civitati Constantinopolitane de magnificis studiis providere*,² and invited him to send ambassadors to it.

Manuel did not refuse the offer. Ulrich von Richental records among 'Those who came at their own cost (i.e. not in the train of some other personage) to Constance as free cavaliers and knights: First from Greece, Nicholas of the Morea, knight; Andriuoco of the Morea, his son, knight, both with 16. Emanuel of Crisolena, knight, with 8. All three messengers and counsellors of the Emperor of Constantinople'.³ 'Emanuel of Crisolena' doubtless stands for

¹ There were also conversions the other way. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*; vol. II, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani 1315-1402* (Vindobonae, 1862), record nine between the years 1392 and 1402. They seem to be of people otherwise unknown. They were required to abjure their Latin 'errors' of the Procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son, and the addition of the *Filioque*.

² H. Finke, *Acta concilii Constantiensis* (Münster, 1896-1928), I, p. 401.

³ Translated from the German text by R. Loenertz, O.P., 'Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysoberges et les négociations pour l'union des Eglises

Manuel Chrysoloras, the permanent agent of the Byzantine Emperor in the West, who arrived in Constance in the company of John XXIII on 28 October 1414.¹ Thierry Vrye, whose *De consolatione ad Ecclesiam* is as much a doctrinal treatise as a history and so is not to be relied upon for exact chronological sequence, nevertheless distinctly implies that there was a Greek embassy present at Constance from the beginning.² A letter of an unknown Czech written on 9 March 1415 speaks of the arrival on 3 March 1415 of a knight sent by the Greek Emperor to work for the union 'of the Greeks and the Christians'.³ It is possible that this 'knight' was a courier from Manuel II carrying instructions and perhaps credentials to Chrysoloras. If so, they were not valid for long, because Chrysoloras died within a short time and was buried on 15 March 1415. His death was a great loss to the cause of union of the Churches.

That cause was a live one at Constance, but there was so much for the Council to do and progress was so slow that on 16 February 1416 the Bishop of Lodi set forth a memorandum suggesting that some of the agenda should be deferred to a future council, and in the meantime the ground should be prepared by previous study. Among the items to be put off was the 'reduction' of the Greeks, though instructions should be drawn up immediately for ambassadors to be sent in the future to the court of Constantinople and means should be taken to get together old treatises dealing with the Greek question and to prepare new ones, for the use of the future council.⁴ That something was done in this last regard is shown by the title of a manuscript of the University of Uppsala: *Contra errores orientalium et Graecorum* written, it is said, in Constantinople in 1305 and copied at Constance in 1416.⁵

Meantime, however, a new Greek embassy was on its way, sent

grecque et latine de 1415-1430', in *Arch. O.P.* ix (1939), p. 14, who has collated the various editions. Nicholas and Andriucio must be Nicholas Eudaimonioiannes who came to Constance in February 1416 and his son Andronicus.

¹ G. Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora* (Firenze, 1941), p. 163. H.L., p. 215, says that he arrived with Cardinal Zabarella on 18 October.

² H. von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium* (Helmstadt, 1669), I, I, c. 161.

³ Quoted by R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 14.

⁴ H. Finke, *op. cit.* IV, p. 712.

⁵ Cf. R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 22, n. 63.

by Manuel II from the Peloponnesus, to offer his services as mediator between Sigismund and Venice in their quarrel over Dalmatia. The chief personages in it were Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes¹ and John Bladynterus,² with, if we accept the testimony of Richental, Andronicus Eudaimonoioannes, Nicholas' son.³ The Greek embassy received a reply from the Signoria of Venice on 8 February 1416⁴ and then proceeded to Constance to find Sigismund. Syropoulus speaks of Eudaimonoioannes's mission to Rome, where he assisted at the election of Martin V:⁵ Rome clearly stands for the papal Curia then at Constance. The envoys reached the Council shortly before 25 March⁶ and remained till it was over. Their presence is attested by various evidences—in a sermon preached on 24 January 1417 (*Graeci...nuntios transmiserunt*⁷); in a despatch of Philip of Malla (27 November 1417) to his sovereign Alfonso of Aragon ('There are the Greeks, of whom the general opinion is that they will return'⁸); and P. P. Vergerio writing from Constance on 17 October or 6 November 1417 reported: 'The Emperor of the Greeks also, who has been separated from us by a too long but, please God, not perpetual schism, has had a permanent and notable embassy here, with some hope of reconciliation'; he adds: 'What is even more marvellous, from as far off as Ethiopia some have come in a private capacity, drawn to the report of so great a Council.'⁹ Syropoulus says that Eudaimonoioannes 'as was fitting, co-operated personally and laboured for the unity and concord of the Latin Church and the subjection of all Latin nations under one Pope'. That Pope was Martin V, elected on 11 November 1417.

¹ Syr. II, 5, p. 4.

² *Ibid.* II, 8, p. 6.

³ In the complicated question of the MS. and editions of Richental's *Chronik des Konzils von Konstanz*, where the Greek envoys are called in one place Nicolaus von der Morea and Andriuoco von der Morea sein Son, and elsewhere Hertzog von Tropii and Hertzog Philipp von Tropaw and Michael von Tropaw sein Son, I follow the conclusions of R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* pp. 14, 25-8.

⁴ Jorga, I, p. 243.

⁵ Syr. II, 5, p. 4.

⁶ Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, etc. II (Lutetiae, 1717), c. 1661.

⁷ H. Finke, *op. cit.* II, p. 484.

⁸ *Ibid.* IV, p. 154.

⁹ L. Smith, *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (Roma, 1934), p. 377. On 1 January 1418 Martin V gave a safe-conduct to 'Peter, Bartholomew and Antony, Ethiopians, who having passed several months in these parts...are returning home' (L. Smith, *ibid.* n. 1).

Being present at the election and coronation of Pope Martin, he was accorded a favourable reception by him. He took the occasion of the coronation to speak openly on the question of union of the Western Church and our Eastern Church, referring to the zeal of the Emperor for union—on these points he spoke at length—and he found an ally in this in the Latin Andrew of Rhodes, who also happened to be present at the coronation and who made a long speech to the Pope on union.¹

It would seem that at some time in the course of the negotiations the Greek envoys presented thirty-six articles about union, the proposals of the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople. Andrew Chrysoberges translated them into Latin. Unfortunately they have not been preserved, but one can judge of their general tenor by the fact that in consequence of them (so Andrew Chrysoberges implied in his words about them at the Council of Basel, which are our only source of knowledge about them²) the Pope appointed Giovanni Dominici, Cardinal of S. Sisto, as Legate to Greece. That was before 1 February 1418, because on that date Peter de Pulka, writing to the University of Vienna, records the words of a sermon of the same day, where the preacher had inveighed against the delay both in sending missionaries for the conversion of the Samogitians and in dealing with 'the hoped-for reduction of the Greeks, to whom, so he asserted, one of the cardinals, believed to be of Ragusa (viz. Dominici), was about to undertake an embassy'.³ The Cardinal was commissioned also to arrange affairs in Bohemia, where however he died on 10 June 1419, before reaching Greece.

Another result of Eudaimonoioannes's conversation with the Pope was permission for the marriages of five of the princes of the Palaeologus family with Latin princesses, and the granting of the indulgence of the Crusades to such as contributed to the defence of the Hexamilion—the long wall of fortification across the Isthmus of Corinth—newly restored by Manuel II.⁴ The papal letter about the

¹ Syr. II, 5-6, p. 4.

² Cecconi, doc. XI; Mansi, 29, 476.

³ Quoted by R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 33.

⁴ Syropoulos (II, 6, p. 5) understood that this indulgence was granted to those who went in person to help defend the Hexamilion: it is much more likely and more in harmony with previous papal concessions to the Byzantine emperors that it was for those who contributed an alms for its defence. However, Syropoulos says that the papal document was to be found in the imperial archives—a monument to the futility of western promises of help.

marriages, dated 6 April 1418, gives also the reason why the permission was granted—to contribute to better relations and union between the Churches: it also lays down the condition that the princesses should be allowed the free practice of their Latin faith.¹ As a result, marriages were arranged between John Palaeologus, the future John VIII, and Sophia Monteferrata and between Theodore Palaeologus, Despot of the Morea, and Cleopa Malatesta; and Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes returned from Greece to escort the brides in a Venetian vessel, with permission of the Signoria, to their future homes.² Sophia was married with great solemnity to her royal spouse in the church of St Sophia in Constantinople on 19 January 1421.³ Her married life was not happy, because (so says Sphrantzes), as 'she was not endowed with much beauty', her husband took an aversion to her from the beginning. She fled back secretly to Italy in August 1426.⁴ Cleopa Malatesta does not seem to have been very much more fortunate. Theodore had written to the Pope on 29 May 1419, promising that she, her chaplain and attendants should have complete freedom to retain the rites and practices of their religion, as well as even their Italian customs.⁵ But at some time before the death of Martin V (1431) one of her suite, Battista Malatesta de Montefeltro, wrote to the Pope appealing for his support for Cleopa 'who for the integrity of the Catholic faith has endured so many and grave ills...being harried by a domestic warfare and internal strife'.⁶ Prompted, perhaps, by this appeal the Pope, some time after the death of Manuel II (21 July 1425), sent letters by Luca da Offida exhorting Theodore to support his wife in the practice of her faith and to follow his father in zeal for union, and to Cleopa urging her under pain of excommunication to be steadfast.⁷ Cleopa, however,

¹ G. Hofmann, *E.P.* doc. 2; Cecconi, doc. 1.

² Jorga, I, pp. 306, 307.

³ G. Phrantzes, *Chronicon*, ed. I. B. Papadopoulos (Teubner edit. Lipsiae, 1935), p. 115. Sphrantzes (his work is published under the name 'Phrantzes') gives the date as 19 January 1419. But the Venetian permits to Eudaimonoioannes and the captain of the vessel are dated respectively 16 July 1420 and 30 August 1420. Cf. F. Dölger, 'Die Krönung Johannis VIII. zum Mitkaiser', in *B.Z.* xxxvi (1936), p. 318.

⁴ Phr. p. 125; Ducas, *Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), pp. 98-9; C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, II (Paris, 1913), pp. 273-4.

⁵ Lambros, IV, p. 102.

⁶ Jorga, II, p. 197; Cf. Laonicus Chalcocandylas, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó (Budapest, 1922-7), I, p. 193.

⁷ *E.P.* docs. 20, 21.

probably yielded to the pressure and accepted the eastern rite before she died,¹ still young, in 1433.²

Meanwhile another oriental embassy had renewed the Council's interest in union of the Churches. Fillastres in his *Gesta Concilii Constanciensis* records: 'On the following Friday (18 February 1418) there entered Constance, Dominus Gregorius, Archbishop of

,³ a Ruthenian, of the faith of the Greeks, coming to bring about the union of the Greeks and the Latins under the obedience of the Roman Church.'⁴ Richental gives a more picturesque account:

On 21 January (elsewhere he gives the date as 19 February) there rode in an Archbishop from Greece, of Kiev, called Georius, and he had also the Greek faith, and came to the Council in respect of himself and of all his bishops and of the Patriarch of Constantinople and of many Greek lands and bishops, and went . . . with 18 horses; and all his priests had long black beards and long black hair, and celebrated their Mass in the house; and how they celebrated Mass, and their vestments, and how they blessed the Sacrament and the bread is illustrated elsewhere. . . . It was thought that a complete union would be brought about. But the Council did not wish to allow that they should remain so all their lives.⁵

The new arrival was Gregory Camblak, archbishop of Kiev. The Lithuanian hierarchy had renounced its allegiance to Photius, archbishop of Kiev and All Russia, and Gregory was elected in his place. Constantinople refused to acknowledge his election and, though requested to do so, failed to nominate anyone else, so on 15 November 1415 Gregory's election was confirmed by the Synod of Lithuanian bishops and he was consecrated. As a consequence, he was excommunicated first by the Patriarch Euthymius of Constantinople⁶ and then by his successor Joseph II.⁷

¹ Cf. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*: vol. 1, *Histoire politique* (Paris, 1932), pp. 189-90.

² Phr. p. 159.

³ There is an empty space also in the original.

⁴ H. Finke, *op. cit.* II, p. 164.

⁵ Translated from the German quoted by R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 35.

⁶ Cf. R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* pp. 37-8; A. M. Ammann, *Storia della Chiesa Russa e dei paesi limitrofi* (Torino, 1948), pp. 106 f.; A. Ziegler, *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz in der russischen Kirche* (Würzburg, 1939), pp. 44-5.

⁷ A. M. Ammann, *op. cit.* p. 107. A. N. Diamantopoulos, 'Ἀποπειρὰι πρὸς ἑνωσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν 15' αἰῶνα (Athens, 1924), p. 4, n. 3: in this work the author confuses the two Greek embassies of 1416 and 1422, allotting everything to 1416, for which he makes Theodore Chrysoberges and N. Eudaimonoioannes the envoys of the Byzantine Emperor.

On 25 February he was presented to the Pope in consistory, in the presence also of the Emperor Sigismund, when Master Maurice of the University of Prague spoke in his name. After congratulating the Pope on the union achieved for the Church in his person and describing the joy it had caused in 'those parts of Russia where we live', the discourse went on to describe Gregory's efforts for union of the various rites in his country and the zeal for that also of his sovereigns. Gregory had come, with permission of his princes, to enjoy the peace newly established and to beg the Pope to be solicitous that 'union be brought about between that oriental Church and the holy Roman Church'. Union was the desire of the Emperor of Constantinople and of the Patriarch and of the people of those parts, as appeared from the words addressed to the Pope about it by the legates of the Emperor in fulfilment of their mandate. The Princes of Poland and Lithuania were equally zealous.

They too had taken every care that the peoples subject to their sway who were separated from the bosom of the holy Roman Church should be brought back to the unity of the Church as promoters of the Christian faith do desire; but on this condition, that it be done in the right, honourable and accustomed way, namely by the summoning of a council, so that from both sides there be brought together those who are skilled and practised in law, to decide on the matters of faith and regulate the differences between that nation and the holy Roman Church.

The Pope, having thanked him for his courtesies, said that he would deliberate on his words and would later fix a day for further discourse. Letters from Ladislas and Vitold were read: Gregory kissed the Pope's foot, hand and cheek, and departed¹—departed indeed from history, for there is no record of any other conference with the Pope, or of any other information about him. He died probably in 1420.

Gregory's importance lies in his reminder to the Latins that the only way to peace between the Churches that would be acceptable to the orientals was a common council. Richental's suggestion that his mission failed because the Fathers of Constance insisted on adoption of the Latin rite ('But the Council did not wish to allow that they should remain so all their lives') seems most unlikely, though perhaps that was the only idea of union of Churches that

¹ H. Finke, *op. cit.* II, pp. 164-7.

could appeal to the mass of those thronging Constance, who knew of nothing but the Latin rite. Martin V had been gracious to the Greek envoys. For their work for union he had rewarded Theodore Chrysoberges with first a canonry (26 January 1418)¹ and soon after (10 April 1418) with the See of Olene,² and Andrew by facilitating his obtaining his Master's degree (12 February 1418), since his course of studies had been interrupted by his labours at Constance.³ He was on the point of granting permission for the marriage of Manuel's sons with princesses of the Latin faith. All these indications and his subsequent relations with Constantinople give no sign that he expected the Greeks to abandon their rite, and within about twenty years the Council of Florence would decree that both rites were of equal standing. In any case, on 8 May 1418, in view of Ladislas' work for the conversion of the infidel and 'also of the Greeks and the whole oriental sect that they unite and join themselves to the universal Catholic Church' he acceded to Ladislas' request for the renewal of certain privileges granted by his predecessors, and on 13 May of the same year he constituted him Vicar-General in temporals throughout the Polish possessions. Letters were sent also to Vitold of Lithuania making him similar concessions.⁴

One of the reasons why Eudaimonioannes had found the Pope so accommodating about the question of the marriages—apart from Martin's own personal interest in reuniting the Churches—was in all probability the account he gave of the readiness of the Greeks to heal the breach. Back in Constantinople he spoke enthusiastically to the Emperor, the Patriarch and everyone he came in contact with of the great desire of the Pope and his *entourage* for union.⁵ At the Roman Curia he seems to have spoken of the Greeks in very much the same way. Certainly he created the general impression that the Emperor, the Patriarch and the Greeks were ready to submit themselves to

¹ R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 61.

² C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (Monasterii, 1913), p. 375. Cf. G. Mercati, 'Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, etc.' *S.T.* no. 56 (Città del Vaticano, 1931), pp. 480-2.

³ M.-H. Laurent, O.P., 'L'activité d'André Chrysoberges O.P. sous le pontificat de Martin V (1418-31)', in *E.O.* xxxiv (1935), p. 423.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1418, xviii-xx.

⁵ *Syr.* II, 7, p. 5.

Rome, on Rome's conditions. A letter addressed to the University of Cologne of date 25 March 1416 reports: 'Lately there have come ambassadors from Constantinople...promising...that the Greeks themselves will conform to the Roman Church in their rites and articles of faith.'¹ Another letter of about the same time to the Cathedral Chapter of Prague notes that: 'Yesterday there came to Constance a solemn embassy of the Emperor of the Greeks and of the whole clergy of those parts, with full authority or mandate, and they wish to come to our obedience and to conform themselves to our faith in everything.'² The same belief is suggested by the despatch of Philip of Malla to Alfonso of Aragon (17 November 1417): 'Here the opinion prevails that the Greeks will be brought back.'³ The impression of the readiness of the Greeks to be 'reduced' to the Western Church explains the promptness with which, even before the Council of Constance was ended, Martin V appointed a legate to Constantinople and his willingness to hold a council in that city, till he was disillusioned and rendered more cautious by John VIII's repudiation of that version of the Greek interest in ecclesiastical union.

The Greek envoys returned to Constantinople some time after the end of the Council, bearers of 'two letters to both Emperors and another to the Patriarch, extolling the beauty of union and leading and inciting them to it'. There had been little communication between Constantinople and the papal court, continues Syropoulos, since the time of Pope Urban and the Patriarch Nilus, except for a letter and message carried by Manuel Chrysoloras towards the end of the reign of the Patriarch Matthew, who had sent a reply.

Thereupon the Emperor and the Patriarch wrote in answer, thanking the Pope for the zeal he showed for union. They intimated that this would not be possible except by means of an Oecumenical Council and the careful examination of the points of difference, without restraint, force or ill-feeling. Then, if by quotations and evidences from the holy Doctors of the Church it should be proved and all those in the synod should clearly agree on it and it should be accepted in complete freedom by all without hesitation, so union would follow. They wrote that the synod should not take place anywhere except in Constan-

¹ Martène-Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, etc. vol. II, c. 1661.

² Quoted by R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 25.

³ H. Finke, *op. cit.* IV, p. 154.

tinople for many noteworthy reasons, and that it was for the Emperor to convene the synod in accordance with his ancient custom and prerogative, but no one else.¹

The answers from Constantinople were entrusted to John Bladyn-terus, the companion of Eudaimonioannes on the previous legation, who, as Syropoulus informs us, was from the Morea and knew Latin and who later became a monk under the name of Joseph. The Pope in turn replied repeating his former proposals, and other letters from Constantinople came back in answer.²

By this time Martin V, having left Constance on 16 May and travelled via Geneva, Turin, Mantua, Ferrara and Forlì, had reached Florence on 26 February 1419, where he stayed till 9 September 1420 when he left for Rome. In Florence he was visited by Theodore Chrysoberges, bishop of Olene, and Nicholas Eudaimonioannes.³ It is recorded that Eudaimonioannes arrived in Venice from Methone in April 1419, and also that the city of Venice replied to him and to 'Hemanuel Filatropino' (Manuel Philanthropinus) on 17 January 1420, both of them legates from Constantinople, the one to the Pope, the other to Sigismund of Hungary.⁴ It seems more likely that the second date is that of his mission with the Bishop of Olene to the Pope, for Syropoulus continues: 'And he [the Pope] wrote

¹ Syr. II, 7-8, pp. 5-6.

² Syr. II, 8, p. 6.

³ Eudaimonioannes died on 1 November 1423: cf. R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Roma, 1931), p. 8.

⁴ Jorga, I, pp. 290, 300. Philanthropinus, after visiting Sigismund in Hungary, proceeded to Poland where he was in August 1420, then to Lithuania where at the court of Vitold he met Photius, metropolitan of Kiev. A letter of Jagello to Manuel II of the summer of 1420 doubtless refers to this mission of Philanthropinus, which was primarily to reconcile Sigismund with Venice, so that they might not be distracted from their opposition to the Turk. In Jagello's letter help against the infidel and union of the Churches are connected, doubtless no more than an echo of the words of the Greek envoy: *Tunc enim in defensionem vestram omnibus Christi fidelibus crescet affectio et pro vobis facultas dimicandi subsistet, si in unius cultu fidei... nobiscum manebitis* (O. Halecki, 'La Byzance', etc., in *Byz.* VII (1932), p. 55). It is, too, morally certain that Eudaimonioannes spoke to the Pope of the political aspect of union. At any rate, on 12 July 1420 Martin V in a Bull addressed to the whole Church granted indulgences to those who assisted by alms or in person in the crusade he thought Sigismund about to open. In the event Sigismund was too involved in internal difficulties to undertake any action against the Turk (Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1420, xxvi).

Whether or not the journey in 1421 of Gilbert of Lannoy as envoy of France and England to Constantinople via Poland to inquire about the prospects of a crusade was in consequence of the papal initiative is not known (cf. O. Halecki, *op. cit.* pp. 56-7).

again, agreeing that the council should be held here, and that he would send a legate to it.¹

Martin V did, in fact, nominate a legate for Greece on 27 March 1420,² and this in consequence of the embassy of Eudaimonoioannes, for the Pope had decided to satisfy the Emperor's insistent demand that the council should be held in Constantinople, and Cardinal Fonseca was intended to represent the Holy See at it.³ This concession of the Pope is a clear enough indication of his estimation of the Greek mentality on the question of union. Undoubtedly he thought that the Greeks were ready and anxious for 'reduction' as the Latins viewed that term, and that their insistence on a council was more of a formality than anything else.⁴ Had he imagined that they would expect a re-examination of all the old problems, he would not have consented to the council being held in Constantinople where the Greek prelates would have been preponderant in numbers, still less to have sent so small a Latin representation as only one cardinal with his personal suite. It implies, too, that the letters previously sent by the Emperors and the Patriarch were not so uncompromising as Syropoulos makes out. The cause of the mistaken notion of the Roman Curia is not far to seek. It was the general expectation of ecclesiastical union that pervaded the Council of Constance, and in particular the unwarranted optimism of the Byzantine envoys.⁵ There may also have been some of Manuel II's astuteness at work, in the spirit of the famous advice he is supposed to have given to his son John—to keep the question of union always alive, but never to arrive at any conclusion.⁶

¹ Syr. II, 9, p. 7.

² C. Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 5, n. 11. In Raynaldus (*ad annum* 1420, 1) the Bull authorising Cardinal Fonseca for his mission to Spain is addressed to: *Dilectissimo filio Petro... in Constantinopolitano imperio... legato*, yet it is dated *iv. id. aprilis pontificatus nostri anno II*. The date is wrong: it should read 'anno III'.

³ The proof of these statements is to be found in the report of Antonio da Massa: Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, vi-xiv; Mansi, 28, 1063-8, especially 1066B.

⁴ Cf. Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1420, xxvii.

⁵ Cf. Report of Antonio da Massa and John VIII's reply—below pp. 34 ff.

⁶ 'My son, really and truly we know the infidel thoroughly well, that they hesitate a great deal for fear that we should agree and unite with the western Christians. For it seems to them that, if this should happen, a great evil will befall them on our account at the hands of the said Westerners. So foster and demand the business of the synod and especially when you need to intimidate the infidel, but never attempt to put it into

There was, however, no question of the immediate execution of the Cardinal's legation. For one thing, Constantinople was not ready for it and, with its territories largely overrun by the Turk, could not easily bring together its hierarchy, still less communicate in a hurry with the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Besides, the Byzantine empire was nearly bankrupt and all the financing of the council was to be done by the Pope, who for his part was at the moment not much better off, for he was involved in great expense in trying to recover Rome from the forces of Naples and to regain other parts of the Papal States including the rebellious Bologna. So, with the consent of Eudaimonoioannes¹ lest doubt should be cast on the sincerity of the nomination of the legate for the Greeks, Cardinal Fonseca was sent to Spain to try to settle the question of Benedict XIII who still refused to renounce his claims to the papacy.

Meanwhile the Pope sought means to raise funds for the mission of the Cardinal to Greece and for the expenses of the council to be held there. On 21 August 1420 he addressed from Florence to the Archbishop of Cologne and all the ecclesiastical dignitaries of that Province (excepting only cardinals, the Knights Hospitallers of St John and the Teutonic Knights and their property) a Bull requiring them to provide 6000 gold florins, the half by 2 February 1421, the other half by 29 June of the same year. The sole purpose of the levy was the business of union. The Greek Emperor and the Patriarch 'had requested from the Apostolic See that a legate be sent to those parts for negotiations of that kind, through whose means so holy and desirable a business might be discussed with the same and brought to a conclusion'; so great indeed was the hope and indication of their 'reduction' that the Pope had determined to take action and so had nominated Cardinal Fonseca as Legate: but because of wars he had not the resources to carry the project through, and so he appealed to others for aid.² On the same day demands for a like sum were made also to the archbishops of Mainz and Trier, and for

execution, because, as I view our people, they are not fitted for finding a method and a way of union, agreement and peace, and love and concord, except in terms of their return (I mean of the Westerners), as we were in the beginning. But that is absolutely impossible. I almost fear that the schism would grow worse, and then we shall be left naked before the infidel' (Phr. pp. 177-8).

¹ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, x.

² E.P. doc. 11; Cecconi, doc. 11.

4000 gold florins to the Bishop of Liège.¹ From the clergy of the territories of the Duke of Burgundy also he required certain Tenth in view of the great expenses that a council would involve.²

The mission, therefore, of Theodore, bishop of Olene, and of Nicholas Eudaimonioannes was so far successful that the Pope had not only agreed to the Greek request that Constantinople should be the scene of the future council of union and that a papal legate should be sent to it, but had also taken immediate steps to provide the financial means to render that possible. Nicholas Eudaimonioannes (and presumably also Theodore) returned to report to his principal, taking with him the future brides of John and Theodore Palaeologus.³ He carried a letter from the Pope which Syropoulus describes in these words:

He then wrote again agreeing that the council should be held here and that he would send a legate to it. Then the Emperor and the Patriarch wrote again to the Pope on the same matters. In these letters, as in the earlier ones, this among other things was contained, that, even though it pertained to the Emperor to summon the synod, yet as the royal revenue from many sources had fallen and the Roman Church and the Latins held imperial islands...

here there is a lacuna in the Greek text, some section being lost, and what follows is concerned with the embassy of Antonio da Massa, which occurred later.⁴ John Bladynterus was probably the bearer of this answer from the Byzantine Emperor; at any rate steps for his entertainment were taken by the authorities of Florence on 10 January 1421⁵ and three days later he was provided by them with a letter of recommendation to the Pope.⁶

At this point, however, the Turk stepped in. Cardinal Fonseca was about to set out on his mission (he was already expected in Constantinople⁷), when Theodore Chrysoberges wrote to the Pope that the threat of a Turkish attack on the Byzantine capital rendered any holding of a council there impossible.⁸ The attack on Constan-

¹ E.P. docs. 12-14.

² Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1421, xvi.

³ Jorga, I, pp. 306, 307.

⁴ Syr. II, 9, p. 7.

⁵ Jorga, II, p. 198.

⁶ G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll' Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879), doc. CIII, p. 151.

⁷ Cf. R. Loenertz, *loc. cit.* p. 47, n. 39.

⁸ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, xi; Mansi, 28, 1066D. The Cardinal died shortly afterwards on 21 August 1422.

tinople was due to a mistake in Greek diplomacy. Mahomet I, with whom Manuel had on the whole had friendly relations (he even allowed him on one occasion to pass through Constantinople), died in the spring of 1421. Manuel was for supporting his son, Murad, as successor to power, to which in any case Byzantium was pledged by treaty. But John Palaeologus and Demetrius Cantacuzenus thought that Murad's uncle and rival, Mustafa, would be more favourable to their city, so with Manuel's reluctant consent they aided his passage from the Peloponnesus towards Adrianople, ignoring the protest sent by Murad. Mustafa, however, though at first successful, was defeated and killed by his nephew, who had crossed from Asia in Genoese ships. A belated embassy from Constantinople to try to patch up the affair resulted only in the imprisonment of the Greek envoys, and Murad proceeded to besiege the Byzantine capital on 8 June 1422. A general attack on 22 August failed to carry the city and on 6 September Murad surprisingly raised the siege, probably to attend to a threat from a rival that was maturing in Asia.¹

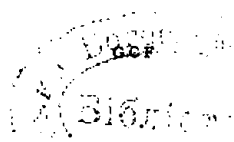
The disturbing news of the political situation in the East did not, however, deter Martin V from trying all ways to carry his project to completion. As in the existing circumstances the Papal Legate himself could not be sent, the Pope on 15 June 1422 commissioned Antonio da Massa, Provincial of the Friars Minor and later bishop of Massa, to go to Constantinople as Apostolic Nuncio to arrange the details of the coming council.² Fortunately we have the Nuncio's own report of what took place, written on 14 November 1422 in Constantinople and read on 8 November 1423 at the Council of Siena.³

Antonio, so the report records, reached Constantinople on 10 September and, accompanied by the Venetian Baillie and a large number of other notables both Latin and Greek, had an audience with Manuel II on 16 September to present his credentials. He was to have explained his mission in another audience, but before that could be arranged the Emperor had a stroke and lost the power of speech. Delays inevitably followed but, after some little insistence,

¹ Phr. pp. 116-20. *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 688 f.

² *E.P.* doc. 15.

³ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, VI-XIV; Mansi, 28, 1063-8.



the Nuncio was received privately by the co-Basileus John VIII on 15 October and five days later by the Patriarch and his Curia. To these two he expounded his mission under nine heads.

The first two of these dealt with the Pope's zeal for union and the benefits that would flow from it. The third demanded the fulfilment of the promise made by the Greek envoys, Theodore, bishop of Olene¹ and Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, since these had

proposed and said openly, distinctly and clearly, with no obscurity whatsoever, to our most holy lord the Pope that it was the will of the most venerable Patriarch of Constantinople and of the most serene Byzantine Emperors to procure and arrange without fraud or guile the most holy union of the Greeks with the Latin Church under that faith which the holy Roman Church holds and under obedience to the same Roman Church, as our lord the Pope proposes in his Bulls of credence to you, most venerable Patriarch, and to you, most serene Emperors... So our lord rightly, as a shepherd requires, invites you to keep your just promise in the holy apostolic faith etc.

The fourth point recorded the nomination of Cardinal Fonseca as Cardinal Legate to Constantinople because of the above promises. His mission, however, had been frustrated by the Turkish attack (fifth point). So the Pope had appointed an Apostolic Nuncio (sixth point)

to arrange beforehand a gathering of the Greek prelates which should represent the whole of their Church, to avoid the misfortune that occurred on a previous occasion, when the representatives of the Emperor of Constantinople in the Council of Lyons united themselves with the Roman Church and publicly chanted the *Credo in unum Deum* as that same Church recites it, whereas Greece, as is clear, did not wish to abide by that union, declaring, so it is said, that all that was done without general agreement.

Antonio, therefore, asked for precise information for the Pope—namely, 'when the council should be held, where, composed of what Greek prelates, and with what exact end in view'.

The seventh point is based on the certainty of the promise. Therefore I ask if you, most venerable Patriarch and most serene Emperors, purpose to labour sincerely that the union be made under that faith which the sacrosanct Roman Church holds and preserves, and under obedience to that same Church, even

¹ Raynaldus and Mansi write 'Slomensis'—a mistake for 'Olenensis', for later there is reference to Theodore, who was bishop of Olene. Cf. G. Mercati, 'Notizie', etc. pp. 475, 480.

though some of the Greeks met in the council, because they are not under your rule, should not wish to agree—this precise assurance was given in Florence by Bishop Theodore and Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes in the names of the most venerable Patriarch and the most serene Emperor Manuel II to our most holy lord the Pope and to the Legate.

The certainty of help for Constantinople from the King of Aragon in the event of union was the gist of the eighth point, and the ninth consisted of the promise of Martin V,

that if the aforesaid union should be brought about in the ways mentioned above by the most venerable Patriarch and the imperial majesty, our most holy lord the Pope will straightaway and without any postponement or delay send a legate with prelates and doctors of theology selected for this special purpose, as soon as . . . I shall know the date of this most holy council, the place, adequate and suitable, of this same gathering of Greek prelates, the purpose for which you intend to be with us in council, and the manner.

Antonio da Massa was not by nature a very forthright or harsh person,¹ and so the straightforward and direct tone of these nine points must be attributed to the Pope. They certainly demanded a straight answer, and the Emperor and the Patriarch took time in formulating their reply. The same report recounts Antonio's further relations with them. On 24 October he spoke privately with the Patriarch about his mission (Syropoulus says that he had at least three such conversations with the Patriarch²). On the 26th he politely requested an answer from the Emperor, John VIII. On the 30th he was received by the Emperor and the Patriarch to discuss the method of the council. On 1 November a messenger from the Emperor offered apologies for the delay in answering, as the monarch was much occupied with questions of war. Finally on 14 November (the day he wrote his report) he received the awaited reply from the Emperor and the Patriarch.

The letter that John VIII entrusted to Antonio, the Apostolic Nuncio, to carry to the Pope must have come as a shock and disappointment to Martin V. It answered, indeed, all the definite questions proposed by Antonio, but generally in a negative sense.

To the first part of his message, which in brief was that Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, Knight, and the reverend Bishop of Olene, Theodore, said in

¹ Cf. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, x (3rd ed. Quaracchi, 1952), *ad annum* 1424, VIII.

² Syr. II, 10, p. 7.

our name that we wished for union unconditionally according to the Roman Church—there was really no need to reply. But, since we did reply in detail to the envoy himself, from whom Your Holiness will learn everything, we declare expressly also by our letter that not only did we not give any such commission to them, but that we never in any way had that in mind to say. What we wrote in our letters, that and nothing else were our ambassadors empowered to amplify and elucidate in their words, namely that there should be held a General Council in accordance with the arrangements and custom of the seven holy General Councils, and that whatsoever the Holy Spirit might grant towards peace should be confirmed and held.

The letter then answered the questions about the place, manner and time of the proposed council. Constantinople should be the site. All the patriarchs and bishops of Greek provinces should assist, but at papal expense because of the poverty of the empire. The time could be only when stable political conditions were restored, unless meantime the Pope would provide for the defence of Constantinople and compel his subjects to take part in it. In that case, as soon as a legate with the necessary powers arrived,

then, the sacred council, meeting according to the seven holy General Councils and the truth having been sought without conflict, let whatever shall be revealed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in this sacred council be agreeable to both sides and let every corner of the world concur. So there would be a union of the Churches, general, unbreakable and strong.¹

The reaction in Rome is described by Raynaldus:

It had been the idea of Martin to hold a council in Constantinople as long as the Greeks, in the lifetime of the Emperor Manuel, declared that they would accept the faith of the Roman Church. But since they now wanted to discuss doctrine in an Oecumenical Council in which the schismatics would have the preponderance as it would be celebrated in Constantinople, many were afraid that the Catholic position would be endangered, and the Pope sent no legate or prelates there. The business, therefore, of putting an end to the Greek schism was drawn out for many years.²

While, however, the negotiations of Antonio da Massa were still in progress in Constantinople, the Pope had already taken steps to

¹ Cecconi, doc. iv; Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, xv; Mansi, 28, 1068–70. Cf. Syr. 11, 10, p. 7, who, however, is mistaken in saying that Antonio arrived while the siege of Constantinople was still taking place.

² Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, xvi.

meet some of the wishes expressed in John's reply. In a letter dated 8 September he communicated to Manuel II his deep grief at the danger threatening Constantinople, and especially for the fact that its enemies had been helped by a 'mercenary fleet'. To render prompt help, he had ordered the Knights Hospitallers of St John to use their base, the island of Rhodes, against the Turk and had appealed to the Venetians to employ their fleet, and to the Genoese and the Duke of Milan to withdraw any Genoese ships in the pay of the Turk. But the best way of getting aid for his country would be for Manuel to bring back the Eastern Church to union with the West, when western Christians would consider that they were fighting also for themselves.¹ About a month later (9 November) the Pope renewed the excommunication and other penalties decreed by some of his predecessors against such as helped or had commerce with the infidel 'so that no one should in any way presume to go in person to the support of these infidels in opposition to and against Christians and especially against the city of Constantinople, or in any other way to lend aid or favour to the detriment of Christians'.²

With a safe-conduct dated 6 November Giacomo Porci was sent to Constantinople by the Pope 'to confirm Manuel in his constancy and to bring the plans for the abolition of the schism to a happy issue'; and he may have been the bearer of a letter in which the Pope requested the kind offices of the Emperor to persuade Theodore, despot of the Morea, to abide by the treaty lately made with Stephen, archbishop of Patras (who died on 10 May 1424³), though the comparatively restrained tone of the only reference to union contained in the letter ('... Christians, all of whom with the assistance of God we hope in our day to see joined by your hand in sincere union and the true religion') rather suggests that this despatch was penned after the reception of the answer from John VIII.⁴ It is not, however, to be thought that the Pope's sincere desire to assist the Greeks to defend their territory had cooled off, for in March 1423 Antonio da Massa was in Venice on his behalf, trying to arrange an expedition to succour them. The Venetians estimated that ten vessels would suffice, of which they were ready to furnish three, if

¹ E.P. doc. 17; Cecconi, doc. III.

² Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, IV.

³ Eubel, *op. cit.* I, p. 394.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1422, III.

the princes would provide the rest.¹ Presumably the princes did not, for there is no evidence of any Latin expedition to the East at this time.

By now five years had almost elapsed since the close of the Council of Constance and, according to the decree *Frequens*, another council was due. It opened in April 1423 at Pavia and the solemn Mass of the first session was celebrated by Andrew of Poznań. But there were very few prelates present and the Pope himself remained in Rome. In the June following, because of an outbreak of the plague in Pavia, the Council was transferred to Siena, to which place the Pope promised to go. But the general attitude of the Council was not such as to encourage him to carry out his proposal. The deputation from Aragon challenged the validity of his election in favour of the successor of Benedict XIII: the other members were at constant loggerheads with each other and, if there was any one point on which there was some general agreement, it was that the Council was superior to the Pope. However, in the first session in Siena the report of Antonio da Massa on his mission to Constantinople and the reply of John VIII were read, whereupon the Council decided that there was no immediate prospect of progress in the matter of union with the Greeks and that attention should therefore be concentrated on the reform of the Church at home.² Towards the end of February (19 February 1424) Basel was chosen as the seat of the next council, and on 26 March there was secretly published a Bull of 26 February dissolving the Council.³

Meanwhile the political outlook of Constantinople had not notably improved and, with the prospect of the union of the Church and its promise of Latin help now less rosy, John VIII determined to go in person to solicit the aid of the Emperor Sigismund. He left Constantinople on 15 November 1423⁴ and arrived in Venice on 15 December.⁵ On 10 January 1424 the Council of Siena, having heard that he was so close at hand, decided to advise the Pope to invite him to the Council, though it is not known whether or not

¹ Jorga, I, p. 332.

² Cecconi, doc. v; Mansi, 28, 1062D.

³ For the history of the Council, cf. H.L. pp. 610 ff.; L. von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans. ed. by F. Antrobus, I (6th ed. London, 1938), pp. 238 ff.

⁴ Phr. p. 121.

⁵ R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* p. 8, n. 1.

this was in fact done.¹ The Venetian Signoria gave its reply to him on 17 January.² On 9 February he left Milan,³ was at Lodi on 17 March⁴ and wrote from Milan on 3 May to claim some objects that he had pledged in Venice for 885 florins.⁵ In August 1424 he was in Totis in Hungary with Sigismund,⁶ where, according to what he said later in an address to a meeting of Greek prelates and officials in Constantinople, the Latin Emperor, exhorting him to union of the Churches, declared that if he united them he would cure the Latin Church of many ills, and that he himself would make him his successor to the Latin crown.⁷ He arrived back in late October 1424 in Constantinople⁸ without having achieved any immediate success in his enterprise.

Some two years later Byzantine envoys were again at the papal court. Unfortunately a lacuna in the account of Syropoulus, who is our only source for this mission, leaves us in ignorance of the occasion and of the names of the ambassadors. His narrative opens with the end of a discourse of some Latin personage, possibly the Pope himself: 'to bear the labour as best you can, especially as the Roman Church is the mother and the Eastern the daughter, and the daughter should come to the mother.' It is clearly both an argument and an appeal that the Greeks should be willing to hold the council, so long projected and so often deferred, in Italy. The cardinals (continues Syropoulus) who had been deputed to treat with the Greek envoys urged the same thing and seemed to be animated by a sincere desire for union. They suggested that three representatives should be appointed on either side who with prayer should seek the will of God, and their conclusions should be accepted by all. The Greeks replied that to such a proposal they had no authority to

¹ H.-L. p. 633.

² Jorga, I, p. 352.

³ R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* p. 8.

⁴ Jorga, I, p. 361.

⁵ Lambros, III, p. 353.

⁶ J. Zhishman, *Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen der orientalischen und römischen Kirche seit dem Anfange des XV. Jahrhunderts bis zum Concil von Ferrara* (Wien, 1858), p. 14. Zhishman puts all this journey in 1425, due to a misreading of the date in Phrantzes (p. 121 = I c. 40) and to his not noticing that there is a lacuna in the narrative of Syropoulus after ἐξῆλθε-χ-αὐτὸν (II, 12, p. 8), which jumps from the account of the Emperor's voyage to some discussion of the Byzantine envoys of 1426 with a group of cardinals.

⁷ Syr. II, 34, p. 35.

⁸ Phr. p. 122.

reply: they had come to arrange when the council should be held in Constantinople, but this was a completely new proposition which they would have to refer to the Emperor and the Patriarch. They warned the cardinals, however, of the magnitude of the expense involved—exaggerating deliberately so as to deter the Latins—300 cross-bowmen and three galleys for the defence of Constantinople and at least five or six vessels for the transport of the Greeks, as well as a grant in money to the Patriarch for himself and all his suite—75,000 florins—to say nothing of the expenses of the Emperor and his suite, which they left to the generosity of the Pope. The cardinals consulted with the Pope and took back his reply. In spite of the enormous expenses of the papal administration, if the Greeks say 50,000 florins, they shall have 75,000; if 75,000, they shall have 100,000—it now rests with the Byzantine Emperor to choose.

When the envoys took their leave of the Pontiff, Martin exhorted them warmly as Christians, by the love and mercy of God, to prevail on the Emperor and the Patriarch to hold the Council in Italy. 'For I am an old man and I fear that death approaches. If you will see that the Council is held in my days, union will be achieved well; but when I am gone, it will not be well done.'¹

The envoys returned to Constantinople accompanied by Andrew Chrysoberges sent to represent the Pope. Andrew was given a safe-conduct dated 10 June 1426² (which indicates that the Greek embassy to Martin V was earlier in the same year), and certain privileges and rights in respect of his offices within his own Order.³ Arrived in Constantinople he tried to set in motion the preliminary arrangements for a council, claiming that that was what he had been commissioned to do. At first John VIII was very favourable to the idea of the council being convened in Italy, which encouraged Andrew the more. Then the Patriarch visited the Emperor, at that time in the monastery of Stoudios; whereupon both were inclined to delay, and the Emperor's previous enthusiasm for bringing together those who were to go to the synod noticeably diminished and he spoke to Andrew showing his change of attitude. The papal envoy then asked for an answer to the message he had brought from

¹ Syr. II, 12-13, pp. 8-10.

² E.P. doc. 23.

³ M.-H. Laurent, *op. cit.* pp. 426-32; E.P. doc. 24.

the Pope, but the Emperor refused to disclose his mind to him, preferring to make his reply through a messenger of his own choosing. Andrew was distressed, claiming that as a Greek he had the interests of Greece at heart, that to know the Emperor's answer would help him to fulfil his commission, and that in any case he understood the Pope's mind on this matter as no one else. The Emperor, however, was adamant; he had no need to make known his reply to Andrew, who had fulfilled his mission in reporting the Pope's message. And so Andrew was dismissed.¹ He was back in Rome before 9 May 1427 when he was empowered to promote to Master of Theology James Blacden, an English Dominican.²

Martin V, besides his efforts for union with the Greeks, tried in various other ways to relieve the sufferings resulting from the constant Turkish raids and invasions. On 8 June 1425 he issued an excommunication (renewing the prohibitions of Nicholas IV and other popes) against all who trafficked in Christian slaves, buying cheaply *Zichi, Rossi, Alani, Mingrelli et Anogasii... juxta Graecorum ritum baptizati* chiefly in the area of the Crimea, and selling them dearly to the Turk, to the imminent danger of their being forced to renounce their faith.³ In that year the Turk devastated Methone (a Venetian colony in the Morea), Cyprus and Rhodes, and in the next Euboea. The Pope, unable to persuade the European princes to peace in order to unite them against the infidel and render effective help to Cyprus, did what he could by remitting to the royal exchequer there the revenues of two years due to the Apostolic Camera;⁴ and, when Philip of Brabant, because of the papal prohibition, requested permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the Sovereign Pontiff replied (1 September 1426) that, as the infidel gained by such pilgrimages by extorting from the pilgrims money in taxes and in other ways, he should forego his pious desire and instead proceed to Rhodes to assist in its defence, for both it and Cyprus were in imminent danger.⁵ The blow fell on Cyprus (1 August 1426), whose king with 20,000 Christian subjects was taken captive, the fleet from Rhodes arriving too late (12 August)

¹ Syr. II, 14-15, pp. 10-12.

³ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1425, xx.

⁵ *Ibid.*

² M.-H. Laurent, *op. cit.* p. 432.

⁴ *Ibid.* *ad annum* 1426, xxiii.

to help. This news affected Martin V very deeply, and he sent a legate to Milan, Venice and Genoa imploring those Christian cities to compose their own quarrels and act for the Christian name in defence of that ravaged island.¹ As a result of the incessant wars and raids on territories ranging from Hungary to Cyprus, not to mention the attacks of corsairs based on North Africa on the shipping and the coastline of the northern Mediterranean, the number of Christian prisoners in Turkish hands was enormous. Martin V tried to help even these, proclaiming an indulgence for such as would contribute for their ransom, and he sent the money so collected by his own messengers to various Turkish potentates, to one of whom, Prosper-lasserat of Babylonia, he also wrote (23 August 1429) exhorting him to be humane and merciful to his Christian subjects.²

The Byzantine Emperor waited a long time before he sent his answer to the proposal made to him by Martin V in 1426. In the autumn of 1429 he took the occasion of the passing through Constantinople of an envoy from Sigismund returning from a mission to the Turk to reassure the Hungarian King that his zeal for union of the Churches was still lively,³ but he sent no ambassador to the Pope till the year after. Syropoulus' narrative gives the impression that no sooner was Andrew Chrysoberges gone than Mark Iagaris, the Great Stratopedarch, and Macarius Macros, hegoumenos of the monastery of the Pantocrator, were despatched with the Emperor's reply to the Pope.⁴ But in this he is mistaken, for they did not leave the Byzantine capital till some time in 1430, about four years after the departure of Andrew Chrysoberges. Raynaldus under the year 1430 records from a Venetian annalist that 'this year an envoy of John, Emperor of Constantinople, arrived in Venice and informed the Pope that the Emperor would collaborate in an Oecumenical Council for the establishment of union of the Oriental Church with the Roman'.⁵ On 19 July 1430 the Venetians replied to Greek envoys returning from the Pope,⁶ and Sphrantzes notes that in August 1430 the envoys named by Syropoulus reached the Peloponnesus on their way back from Pope Martin, when by order of

¹ Raynaldus, xxv.

³ Jorga, II, p. 253.

⁵ *Ad annum* 1430, viii.

² *Ibid. ad annum* 1429, xxi.

⁴ Syr. II, 15, p. 12.

⁶ Jorga, I, p. 523.

the Emperor they made Thomas Palaeologus a Despot.¹ It seems likely, then, that the Constantinopolitan ambassadors were despatched on their mission to the Pope early in 1430.²

We are fortunate in having a copy of the agreement that they made with the Pope in the name of their sovereign. It is of great importance, for it was the basis of all the future negotiations which culminated in the Council of Florence. Pope Eugenius IV in his Bull of 12 November 1431 appealed to it as another reason justifying the dissolution of the Council of Basel:³ Andrew Chrysoberges (by then already archbishop of Rhodes, 4 May 1431) referred to it in his speech to the Fathers of Basel on 22 August 1432:⁴ John VIII's ambassadors to Basel in 1434 brought a copy of it with them and produced it before the Council.⁵ The text as we have it is very defective and is perhaps no more than a rough draft. It reads as follows.⁶

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

In this way it has been agreed by the most blessed Pope Martin V.

That is: the Emperor himself and the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other three Patriarchs and the prelates (*principes sacerdotum*) and all personages (*prestantes*) should gather in some city, at the choice of the Emperor of the Greeks, on the seaboard between Calabria and Ancona.

Similarly, that they should come from the kingdoms and dominions which are subject to the Greek Church and, with God's help, there should be a synod with the Latin Church, from every city, peaceful, apostolic, canonical, without violence or strife, free.

Also: that someone be sent to Constantinople with sufficient means so that the Patriarchs, prelates and personages, for each from all, may come to Constantinople.

Item: that two light galleys and 300 cross-bowmen be sent for the protection of the city and that the captains of the galleys and of the cross-bowmen shall be those whom the Emperor shall command and shall confirm in their loyalty to himself by oath. And no matter what the means he shall have for the payment of the galleys and the cross-bowmen, that he should have also more money, so that, should there happen to occur war because of the infidel, he may hire some

¹ P. 158: on the same page Sphrantzes also records the death of Macarius from the plague on 7 January 1431.

² The town of Ancona decreed on 20 April 1430 to entertain gratis ambassadors of Constantinople on their way to the Pope: V. Makuscev, *Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium*, tom. 1, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1874), pp. 162-3.

³ *E.P.* doc. 29.

⁴ Cecconi, doc. XI.

⁵ Haller, I, p. 339.

⁶ *E.P.* doc. 26; Cecconi, doc. VI.

of the citizens and also others, that that house may not be endangered. But the cross-bowmen should all be either Cretans, or from Taranto, or Catalans, or others similar.

Item: that four merchant ships be sent for the transport of all who will come to the synod, namely the Emperor and the Patriarch and all to the number of 700; of these four ships one shall be from Constantinople, but at the expense of the Church.

Item: that sufficient means be sent for the preparation of these 700 and their journey to the place decided on; afterwards that they be furnished with funds as long as they shall be in Italy and for their return to Constantinople from the holy Church of the Latins.

If, however, from some obstacle or unexpected chance union should not follow (may this not be, nor do we easily credit it), still even then that we should be taken back to Constantinople at the expense of the Latin Church.

Item: when we depart from here, that there come with us someone of note with money with which we can bring together our people at Constantinople.

This agreement must have given great satisfaction to Martin V, for it included everything he had been striving for over so long a time. As Andrew of Rhodes said later in his speech at Basel, only one point remained still to be determined—the exact city on the Italian seaboard where the council should be held.¹

When the Greek ambassadors, Mark Iagaris and the monk Macarius Macros, returned to Constantinople, they carried with them a letter from the Pope,² presumably the agreement outlined above. It was, however, such a departure from the line followed hitherto by the court of Constantinople in the negotiations for union that the Emperor felt the need of advice before he formulated his reply. Probably, too, he wished to assure himself of the backing of the politicians and especially of the Church before he finally ratified the proposal to hold the much-discussed council in Italy and not, as all the Greeks had been led to expect, in their own capital. With that purpose in view he convened in his mother's palace a meeting of the Patriarch, two metropolitans, two of the officials of the Great Church, two monks, the imperial counsellors and the three ambassadors nominated to carry his answer to Rome—Mark Iagaris, Macarius Kourounas, hegoumenos of the monastery of Mangana, and his own secretary Demetrius Angelus Cleidas. Syropoulos

¹ Cecconi, doc. xi.

² Syr. II, 15, p. 12.

never learnt in detail what was said in that conference, but he had the worst forebodings. He reports the Patriarch as giving vent after it to gloomy comments—to go to Italy at the expense of the Latins would be to make themselves slaves, ‘and the slave has to do the will of his master’: what, too, if the Latins, once the Greeks were in their power, should refuse the means of sustenance or not provide for the return journey?¹ The theme, that the Latins held back the means of sustenance in Italy and threatened to withhold the means of return, recurs time and again in the rest of Syropoulos’ *Memoirs* to explain and excuse the eventual acceptance of union by the Greeks. One suspects that it is introduced here more to attune the minds of his readers to his thesis than to record words which the Patriarch actually spoke on this occasion.

Before, however, the agreement drawn up by the Pope and the Byzantine envoys could be put in effect, Martin V died on 20 February 1431. His reign had brought unity and a temporary peace to the Church, but it had not solved its greatest problem. He had managed to regain Rome and to make it once more inhabitable, though by means of a nepotism whose consequences would be seriously felt by his successor. He had created few cardinals, all deserving of the dignity and some of them of exceptional sanctity and merit. He had held the Conciliar Movement at bay by summoning Councils at the appropriate times. But he had done nothing to diminish the power of that Movement and the threat to the papacy that was inherent in it. Good men everywhere clamoured for reform in head and members—they were really interested in reform in the head. Martin made hardly a gesture to meet their demand. In consequence the whole of the reign of his successor will be a fight between Pope and Council, in which the independence of the papacy will be the stake. Into that struggle the Greeks will inevitably be drawn. They will not take an active part, but the right to treat with them will become a question of exclusive competence and the support of their presence one of prestige. As a result the union with the Greeks, which Martin V had pursued with such sincerity and pertinacity and which, as he died, he thought all but achieved, will hang in the balance for another seven years.

¹ *Ibid.* II, 16-18, pp. 12-15.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL AND THE GREEKS

(1431-7)

GABRIELE CONDULMARO, cardinal of Siena, elected pope with the name of Eugenius IV on 3 March 1431, inherited a double bequest from his predecessor Martin V—the Council of Basel, announced already at the Council of Siena, and the question of the Greeks. One of his first acts as Pope was to confirm Giuliano Cesarini, cardinal of S. Angelo, in the two functions assigned to him by the late Pontiff, as Legate for the suppression of the Hussites and Legate to preside over the new Council. Cesarini was already in Nuremberg when the Bull of confirmation reached him, and he judged it of more importance to prosecute the crusade against the Hussites than to proceed straight to Basel, especially as by the beginning of March only one abbot and no bishop had as yet reached that city to take part in the Council. However, on 3 July 1431 he designated John of Ragusa and John Palomar as his deputies to preside over the Council with full powers in his absence, while he himself accompanied the army of the crusade. The two delegates reached Basel on 19 July and proceeded straightaway to make the necessary arrangements with the magistrates of the city, to inaugurate the Council and to try to restore peace between the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy, whose incessant conflicts were disturbing the neighbourhood and making access to the city dangerous.

The crusade ended in a complete defeat when Cesarini barely escaped being taken prisoner. With nothing now to hold him in Germany, he repaired to Basel (9 September 1431). As very few representatives of princes and universities had as yet arrived, and even fewer bishops, letters were despatched bidding, under pain of ex-

communication, those who were entitled to be present to come in person or by proxy, and at about the same time (17 September) Jean Beupère, canon of Besançon, was sent to Eugenius to procure the Pope's wholehearted support of the Council, by stressing its absolute necessity in the interests of faith, peace and the unity of Christendom, and to urge him to assist at it personally. He was, also, to invite the Pope to write to Constantinople encouraging the Emperor to be represented at Basel in the interests of union, and to the Princes of Poland and Lithuania for the same end.¹ While Beupère took his leisurely way to Rome (he arrived only on 2 November), the Council determined to invite the Czechs (the Hussites) to the Council and itself to write to the Greeks and to the Princes of Poland and Lithuania to promote the union of the Ruthenians. Beupère, far from reassuring the Pope on the future of the Council, filled him rather with misgivings by expatiating on the fewness of the numbers present, the sad state of Basel as itself infected with the Hussite heresy, and the danger to those who would make the journey arising from the wars of the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy. The results of his mission were soon apparent.

On 12 November 1431 Eugenius directed a letter to Cesarini in which he recounted all the adverse circumstances recorded by Beupère and these, he said, together with considerations of the approach of winter, of his own very poor health,² and of the fact that an embassy from Constantinople, come to expedite the agreement reached between Martin V and John VIII, assured him that Bologna would be most acceptable to the Greeks for a council of union—two councils meeting simultaneously were impossible—had moved him to authorise Cesarini to use his discretion to dissolve the Council of Basel, if it was still in being, and to announce another council in a year and a half's time and a further one after ten years.³ Ten cardinals also signed the letter and the Bull, *Quoniam alto*, that accompanied it.⁴

Before, however, this Bull was produced at Basel Eugenius

¹ Haller, II, p. 550. Another embassy from Basel to Eugenius of the end of December was instructed to ask the Pope to send envoys to John VIII for the same purpose: cf. *ibid.* p. 560.

² In August 1431 Eugenius had had what seems to have been a stroke, which left him with a paralysed right arm and eye for a long time. Cf. Valois, I, pp. 110-11.

³ Mansi, 29, 561.

⁴ *M.C.* II, 67; *E.P. doc.* 21.

himself, moved by the news of the invitation sent by the Council to the Hussites which seemed to him to undermine all ecclesiastical authority in so far as the Hussite heresy had already been condemned at Constance and in several papal pronouncements, promulgated on 18 December a Bull *Quoniam alto*,¹ almost identical with that of 12 November, except that it included the invitation to the Hussites as another ground justifying the dissolution. On the same day the Pope wrote to Cesarini bidding him promulgate the Bull in the best way he could and then to quit Basel.

Eugenius had, however, miscalculated the temper of the times. The reasons he alleged for the dissolution were in the main correct. There were very few prelates at Basel: there was disorder in the neighbourhood: the invitation to the Czechs without reference to the Pope was precipitate and dangerous: the relations with the Greeks were most promising and this last consideration weighed heavily with him. Add that his own state of health and the fighting going on round Rome lessened his interest in what was happening on the other side of the Alps. But he did not realise the tragic situation in Germany where the low standard of the clergy cried out for quick reform if it was to be prevented from becoming the cause of new heresies, and that the only hope of winning the Hussites, as Cesarini saw very clearly, now that the crusade had failed so dismally, was by persuasion. The members of the Council would not hear of dissolution, and to insist on it would produce schism. These and a number of other considerations, together with an answer to the grounds alleged by the Pope in favour of dissolution, were developed at length in a strong letter written by Cardinal Cesarini to the Pope, urging Eugenius to withhold, or at least to defer, his authorisation of the Bull and to allow the Council to continue.²

The quarrel between the Pope and the Council dragged on for more than two years. Sigismund of Hungary, Charles of France, Philip of Burgundy and Eugenius' inveterate enemy the Duke of Milan, and various other princes lent their support to the Council, and this, together with the threat of dissolution itself, led to an in-

¹ *M.C.* II, 72; *E.P.* doc. 31; Cecconi, doc. VIII.

² *M.C.* II, 95. This letter was written on 13 January 1431 before the Bull of 18 December reached Basel.

crease in the number of its members, which by 9 April 1432 amounted to eighty-three, including nine bishops and sixteen abbots.¹ The Council hardened in its opposition to the Pope. It continued with considerable success its negotiations with the Bohemians, and in its deliberations progressed from a simple refusal to be dissolved to an assertion that, since it received its power directly from Christ (as was declared at Constance) and was superior even to a pope, it could not be transferred or adjourned even by the Pope (15 February, second session). It even summoned the Pope to be present in person or by proxy, otherwise the Council would itself take what measures it thought fit for the good of the Church (29 April, third session). On 22 August two papal envoys, Andrew, archbishop of Rhodes, and John, bishop of Taranto, appeared before the Council and offered large concessions—that the Council should itself choose some Italian city where it could continue its activity even before the expiration of the year and a half stipulated in the Bull *Quoniam alto*, and could go on with its work for the pacification of the Bohemians and the reform of the German clergy. But the Council would not yield. By September 1432 it could count on fifteen out of the twenty-one cardinals as openly or secretly in support,² and at the end of the year it demanded that the Pope withdraw his Bull of dissolution within sixty days.

More concessions on the part of Eugenius at the beginning of 1433 were equally unavailing, for the Council resented the supposition implied in the Bulls that it should act dependently on papal authority (which ran counter to its principle that a pope was subject to a council in matters of faith, the eradication of heresy and the reform of the Church) and objected that, since the dissolution had not been withdrawn, it would be held as a valid council only from the date of its acceptance of those Bulls. On 13 July the Fathers again gave Eugenius sixty days in which to withdraw the Bull of dissolution, otherwise he would be held suspended from all papal power both *in spiritualibus et in temporalibus*, and further it limited drastically his powers with regard to the election of prelates and the granting of benefices. Sigismund, who had been crowned by the Pope on 23 May, urged the Council to moderation, and the Convocation

¹ Haller, II, pp. 86-7.

² Cf. Valois, I, pp. 193-5.

of Canterbury unanimously acknowledged the Pope's power of dissolving and transferring a council.¹

Negotiations between Eugenius, Cesarini and Sigismund and the slow but steady desertion of Eugenius' supporters resulted in the Bull *Dudum sacrum* of 1 August, in which the Pope expressed himself as *volumus et contentamur* that the Council should continue as if no translation of it had been decreed, which translation was thereby withdrawn, and declared himself ready to give it full support.² But the Fathers of Basel were not content with *volumus et contentamur* which savoured of dependence on the Pope's *beneplicitum*, even though the rest of the Bull was couched in the terms suggested by Cesarini. They wanted *decernimus* and finally, on 15 December, after a series of prolongations of the sixty-day period granted for submission to the Council's demands, as the fruit of many negotiations in which even the faithful Venice urged the Pope to compliance, they got what they wanted in the new Bull *Dudum sacrum*,³ and on 5 February in the sixteenth session they declared themselves satisfied.⁴

¹ The opinion of the English Church is shown by the proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury of 7 November–21 December 1433. After long debates the clergy (1–3 December) reached the conclusion that Eugenius' dissolution of the Council was valid; that, if the Council proceeded to elect a new pope, obedience must still be rendered to Eugenius; and that, if the Council by agreement of the Pope and the Fathers were lawfully to continue, reinforcements might be sent to the already diminished English delegation; but that the English representatives were, if possible, to avoid the oath of incorporation. The delegation was to use all its efforts in support of a system of voting by nations rather than by deputations, and was to oppose any compromise with the Bohemians in the main points in dispute (E. F. Jacob, *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, III (Oxford, 1945), pp. 242 ff.; Mansi, 31^A, 142–3).

² M.C. II, 470.

³ Mansi, 29, 78.

⁴ On the method of voting in the Council, cf. H.L. pp. 757–8; M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Reformation*, II (London, 1882), p. 72; Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1436, VIII. All the members of the Council, no matter what their rank, whether prelates, abbots, doctors, monks or anything else (by 1433 there were some 3000 foreigners in Basel of whom about 500 were incorporated into the Council (Valois, I, p. 311), including (5 February 1434) 106 'mitres' (Haller, III, p. 82)) were divided into four Deputations, with in each an equal number of each of the four Nations—French, German, Italian, Spanish (the English were not a separate Nation at Basel and so had nothing like the influence they had wielded at Constance)—and all the members had an equal vote. Measures were first discussed in the Deputations and then, if accepted, confirmed in a general session. The agreement of three Deputations was sufficient for a measure to be considered approved by the Council.

Cecconi (p. 151) quoting Agostino Patrizio and John Palomar, and Valois basing

So much had to be said of the general history of the Council of Basel to provide the background against which were carried on the negotiations with the Eastern Church for a council of union. When Martin V died a Greek embassy was already on its way to Rome, but it turned back from Gallipoli on hearing the news of the Pope's death. Syropoulus gives one to believe that hardly had it reached Constantinople than it set off again for Rome, with the monk Joasaph, Great Protosyncellus and superior of the monastery of the Prodromus, substituted for the monk Macarius Kourounas who refused to take further part in it,¹ and yet arrived back in the Byzantine capital with letters from the Pope only after the departure of the envoys of Basel in January 1434.²

What, however, happened in fact was that

the Emperor of Constantinople had designated a numerous embassy for the Supreme Pontiff, but hearing that this city and the whole of the Curia was in the throes of an intestine war, he did not consider it safe to send those ambassadors, but thought it better to despatch some other individual to find out whether the present Pontiff nourished the same sentiments for the establishment of union as his predecessor. That man on arrival learnt of the Pontiff's most ardent desire for the most holy work of union and soon departed to disclose the Pope's whole mind on the matter.³

That tallies with what Eugenius wrote to Cesarini on 12 November 1431, referring to the Emperor's envoy (in the singular),⁴ who assured him that the Emperor and the Patriarch would send other himself on Aeneas Sylvius, conclude (in the words of Valois, I, p. 313) that 'Many a time, among the Fathers who legislated for the whole world, there were to be seen cooks and grooms...or again clerks, vagabond Religious, servants...who in the evening doffed their long [clerical] habits to serve at table or perform other domestic duties for their masters'. Cf. also the views of Ambrogio Traversari (L. Mehus (ed.), *Ambrosii Traversari... latinae epistolae* (Firenze, 1759), tom. II, no. 176).

To pay the expenses of this enormous crowd the Council was guilty of all the abuses it lamented in the Roman Curia, even to the demanding of one-fifth of the revenues of all vacant benefices, which was a much greater exaction than papal Annates; cf. Valois, I, p. 318.

¹ Syr. II, 19, p. 15. The embassy consisted, therefore, now of Mark Iagaris, Joasaph and Demetrius Angelus Cleidas, the Emperor's secretary.

² *Ibid.* II, 21, p. 17.

³ Letter of Andrew Chrysoberges, O.P. to Ragusa from Rome, 15 October 1431: M.C. I, 119.

⁴ M.C. II, 71: the same phrase is found also in the Bull *Quoniam alto* of 12 November 1431 (M.C. II, 68), but that of 18 December 1431 reads (ungrammatically) *suum... oratores* (M.C. II 73; E.P. doc. 31), an error corrected in Cecconi, doc. VIII. The

envoys fully empowered to decide on the choice of a city for the council, 'just as they were sending to our predecessor before the news of his death'.¹ The single messenger from Constantinople was the Emperor's secretary, for Andrew of Rhodes in his speech at Basel of 22 August 1432 mentioned that Eugenius 'had sent back the Emperor's secretary so satisfied that the Emperor had decided to despatch a numerous embassy to arrange about a place suitable for the assembly of the council. This presumably would have been done, if an unexpected event of some sort had not intervened.'²

What deterred the Emperor in the first place from sending the more solemn mission was the fighting in and about Rome from April to September 1431, when the Colonna family tried to retain possession of various papal properties and a large part of the money collected by Martin V for the council with the Greeks and the prosecution of a crusade against the Turks. What occasioned the later delay is indicated so vaguely in Andrew's discourse that it looks as if he did not know what it was himself, but one conclusion can safely be drawn from his words, that the mission had not reached Rome by August 1432. It was not, however, long before it did come. In November the Pope appealed to the maritime cities to facilitate the journey of any Greeks seeking Rome³ and in May 1433 Greek envoys discussed with the Pope and the Emperor Sigismund, come to the eternal city to be crowned, the project of the council. The secretary had agreed to Rome, Ancona or Bologna as sites for the council and from these Bologna had been selected:⁴ the later deputation insisted on Ancona. No final decision was reached in the discussions of Eugenius and Sigismund with the Greeks, so in July 1433 Cristoforo Garatoni was sent by the Pope to Constantinople, where in conversations with the Emperor and the Patriarch it was agreed that the council with the Greeks should be held in Constantinople, where a papal legate supported by a group of

Camera Apostolica paid 25 gold florins to Demetrius, *oratori imperatoris Constantinopolitani propriis expensis* on 9 September 1431 (A. Gottlob, 'Aus den Rechnungsbüchern Eugens IV. zur Geschichte des Florentinums', p. 56, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xiv (München, 1893), pp. 39-66).

¹ M.C. II, 71, 68. The Latin word is *transmittebant*—'were in the process of sending'.

² Cecconi, doc. XI.

³ E.P. doc. 30; Cecconi, doc. XII.

⁴ M.C. II, 71; E.P. doc. 30; Cecconi, doc. VII.

prelates and theologians would represent the Latin Church in discussions with the Greek prelates and doctors, and in that way the question of union be settled. The Emperor of Trebizond concurred in the arrangement and, as the Patriarch of the Armenians would be in Constantinople at that time, the project promised well.¹

The arrangement negotiated by Garatoni was so complete a reversal of the papal policy of the last decade in regard to the place of the council with the Greeks, that it must have reflected the instructions given to him by Eugenius who sent him. What was the reason for the change? The Pope himself gave a good one in the letter he wrote to Basel—the expense involved in bringing 700 Greeks to Europe for an event the issue of which was uncertain. But the real reason was probably the Pope's growing isolation. It is true that he had to some extent bound Sigismund to his side by his crowning of him on 31 May 1433 and by the fact that he was supporting him to the extent of 5000 florins a month. But the other princes were rallying to Basel and the Duke of Milan, bitterly hostile both to him and to Sigismund, at about this time was posing as the agent of the Council to foment an internal strife in Italy that within a short time would rob Eugenius of nearly all the papal possessions and force his flight from Rome. Add that the cardinals were deserting him and that a panic was developing even among the curial officials. Basel would not hear of any translation of itself to Italy. Italy in any case was in no state to receive the Greeks. The papal exchequer was being exhausted by paying for the war of defence. These were grounds enough for a change of policy, but another reason that probably counted was the prestige that would accrue to whichever party, Pope or Council, managed to accomplish the 'reduction' of the Greeks. Eugenius at that time could not achieve this in Italy: he might be able to do so in Constantinople: at least a council in Constantinople would not be in Basel and would not add to the triumph and insolence of his opponents.²

¹ E.P. doc. 42; Cecconi, doc. xxxi.

² 'Il est certain que si le concile eût réussi à ramener les Grecs dans le giron de l'Eglise catholique, son prestige s'en fût singulièrement accru; il aurait plus tôt encore déposé Eugène IV, et, certainement, le pape aurait dû s'avouer vaincu.' M. Mugnier, *L'expédition du Concile de Bâle à Constantinople pour l'union de l'Eglise grecque à l'Eglise latine (1437-8)* (Paris, 1892): Extract from *Bulletin du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1892), p. 3.

The same ideas ran, no doubt, also in the minds of the Fathers of Basel. Earlier they had petitioned Eugenius through Beaupère to write to the Greek Emperor inviting him to attend the Council (it was to Basel he was to come, not elsewhere) and to send a 'viaticum' to him for that purpose, and later (December of the same year) through their next embassy they had requested him to send a notable embassy to the Byzantine court. Now, however, they decided to take the matter in hand themselves. On 2 January 1433 they determined again to invite the Greeks to come to Basel and to send their invitation this time by their own messengers. These were Antonio, bishop of Suda, and Alberto de Crispis who reached Constantinople in the summer of 1433 and were favourably received by the Emperor and the Patriarch, who both wrote letters dated 15 October,¹ warmly welcoming the prospect of union (oblivious apparently of any state of tension between the Pope and the Council; at least they make no slightest reference to it²), to announce the names of three Greek ambassadors to the Council, Demetrius Palaeologus Metochites, Isidore superior of the monastery of St Demetrius, and John Dishypatus. Their voyage was ill-starred from the beginning. Furnished with full powers on 11 November,³ they set off but had to repair back to Constantinople because of a violent storm. On 2 December Antonio of Suda departed again with a letter of John VIII dated 28 November⁴ and arrived in Basel on 2 May 1434⁵, while Alberto and the three Greeks set out only in January 1434. Their adventures

¹ Mansi, 29, 617, 97; Cecconi, doc. xiv.

² According to Syropoulus (II, 21, p. 17) the envoys from Basel spent their time in Constantinople vaunting the superiority of the Council, consisting of 700 bishops and supported by the most powerful princes, chief of whom was Sigismund, over the Pope, and therefore able to give the Greeks greater assistance. There is probably some truth in this assertion, for something of the kind was contained in the last article of their instructions from the Council (Haller, I, p. 353). There they had, too, contact with the Armenian bishops John and Isaias, who sent a letter dated 30 September 1433 to Basel (Cecconi, doc. ciii)—read in plenary session on 30 July 1434—promising to write to their Patriarch and holding out hope that, as far as the difficult situation of the dispersed Armenians allowed, their Church would co-operate in the movement for union.

³ Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum graecae et latinae* (Vindobonae, 1872), p. 44. According to this Greek text Demetrius Palaeologus is called Metochites: in Latin documents he is usually wrongly named Methotides, e.g. *M.C.* II, 756.

⁴ Cecconi, doc. xvi.

⁵ Haller, I, p. 334.

are recounted in a letter of de Crispis to Basel dated from Ulm on 25 June 1434.¹ They met with a severe storm in the Black Sea on 18 January and then continuing their voyage overland by Wallachia (Rumania) and Hungary, were robbed of everything by bandits: at Buda they managed to raise money to take them to Ulm where the Greeks had been commissioned by their sovereign to seek an interview with the Emperor Sigismund. They entered Basel on 12 July.²

The Greek legates were received and lodged at Basel with almost extravagant honour, and on their being presented to the Council Cesarini made a long discourse on the blessings of unity and the relative unimportance of the differences between the two Churches. For the Greeks Isidore replied in much the same sense a few days later. Then a commission of the Council, of all its nine cardinals and some forty others headed by Cesarini, began negotiations with the Byzantine envoys which resulted in a tentative agreement on the lines of the convention reached between Martin V and John VIII three years earlier, which the Greeks had brought with them and produced before the Council. If the Council were held in Constantinople the Greeks would pay their own expenses and try to assist the Latin members: if in the West, all expenses should fall on Basel. The Greek envoys, limited by their instructions, could not accept Basel as the seat of the council (though they promised to use their best endeavours in Constantinople in its favour), but only Calabria, Ancona or other maritime town, Bologna, Milan or some other city of Italy, or, outside of Italy, Buda in Hungary, Vienna in Austria or, at the most, Savoy. To one of those cities they promised that the Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other oriental Patriarchs and bishops would come. Basel was to provide 8000 ducats for the coming to Constantinople of the Greek prelates, ships for the journey to and from the council sufficient for the transport of 700 persons to be at Constantinople, with the envoys of the Council and 15,000 ducats for expenses, within the ten months beginning from November 1434. Other ships, archers and money were to be sent for the defence of the Byzantine imperial city. The envoys who accompanied the ships for the voyage were to announce to the Emperor the name of the port of arrival in Europe and that of the

¹ Cecconi, doc. xxvi.

² Haller, III, p. 148.

city from those named above chosen for the council. All these conditions should be agreed to by the Pope by Bull and the sovereign Pontiff should be present in person or by representative.¹ This convention was solemnly approved in the nineteenth session on 7 September 1434 by the Council of Basel in the decree *Sicut pia mater*,² and the three Greeks promised on oath to do their best to implement it.³ While Simon Fréron was despatched by the Council to the Pope to obtain his adherence, the two lay members of the Greek mission again visited Sigismund, who had promised them redress for their losses from the bandits and who in a letter to John VIII of late September⁴ and in one to Basel from Ratisbon of 1 October declared his complete satisfaction with the arrangements made.⁵

Fréron found the Pope in Florence where he had been received by the city with great jubilation on 23 June 1434, despite the fact that he came as an exile from his own city of Rome. For the best part of a year before that date various enemies, the chief among them being the Duke of Milan claiming to act in the name of the Council, had been harrying the Papal States, till finally Rome itself, reduced to misery and desperation by the incessant warfare, had revolted. Eugenius escaped in disguise by a boat down the Tiber and reached Florence via Ostia, Leghorn and Pisa.⁶ His nephew the Cardinal Treasurer was not so fortunate and was held a prisoner till the revolt was ended in October. This was the nadir of Eugenius' fortunes. From now on his position began steadily to improve as the cardinals one by one abandoned the Council to take his side and the papal cities were recovered through the campaigns of the Condotiero Sforza and Giovanni Vitelleschi, bishop of Recanati.

Eugenius waited for the arrival from Basel of two other envoys, the Cardinals Nicolò Albergati and Giovanni Cervantes, before returning a definitive answer to the mission of Fréron, as he explained in a short, pacific communication to the Council of 20 October.⁷

¹ M.C. II, 753-6.

² *Ibid.* 752.

³ Haller, I, p. 339, III, pp. 616-17.

⁴ Cecconi, doc. XXXIII.

⁵ *Ibid.* doc. XXXIV.

⁶ An account of Eugenius' reception at Pisa and of his journey to Florence is given by A. Traversari, *Odoeporicon* (ed. by A. Dini-Traversari, *Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi: Odoeporicon*), pp. 132f.

⁷ E.P. doc. 43; Cecconi, doc. XXXVI.

His more detailed reply which reached Basel in December by the hand of Fréron is dated 15 November 1434.¹ In it he repeats what he had already written in his letter of 31 August of the history of the negotiations he had so far had with the Greeks, as a result of which Garatoni had returned to the Byzantine capital in July 1434 to conclude the arrangements, tentatively agreed to during his first mission, for the holding of the Greco-Latin conferences in Constantinople. The Pope chided the Fathers mildly for negotiating with the Greeks without his knowledge, when he had already done so much in that regard himself, and mentioned that in his view some of the points of the Basel convention would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement. In any case, it would be a ridiculous situation if the Council arranged matters in one way and Garatoni in another. Nevertheless, if the Fathers insisted on following their own way, the Pope would acquiesce. On the following day Cardinal Orsini, Eugenius' most faithful supporter, wrote to Basel a letter of encouragement, praying that the affair of the Greeks would reach a happy issue.²

What the Pope feared came to pass. Garatoni did, in fact, reach a firm conclusion with the Greek Emperor and the Patriarch to hold the discussions in Constantinople. In a letter of 12 November 1434 John VIII acquainted Basel of the fact, though not in any hostile spirit, because he had been told by Garatoni that the Pope and the Council were of one will in the matter;³ he announced, too, that he was sending George and Manuel Dishypatus to represent him with the Pope. Eugenius received the news in a letter from Garatoni written in Venice on 21 December⁴ informing him that the two

¹ *E.P.* doc. 45; *Cecconi*, doc. XLII; *M.C.* II, 763. ² *Cecconi*, doc. XLIII.

³ *Ibid.* doc. XLI. There is no need to accuse Garatoni of duplicity. When he left Italy in July relations between Eugenius and Basel were peaceful, and the Fathers, though they had opened negotiations with Constantinople without reference to the Pope, had not yet made any convention with the Greeks, and by 12 November Constantinople was still apparently in complete ignorance of the agreement in Basel of 7 September—at least the Emperor's letter written to the Council itself gives no indication of any such knowledge. On the other hand the Pope's letter informing the Council of Garatoni's mission was communicated to the Deputations on 5 September (*M.C.* II, 761).

⁴ *Cecconi*, doc. XLIV. The letter is dated Venice 21 December 1434. But Ragusa says that Garatoni and the Greeks arrived in Venice only towards the end of January 1435 (*Haller*, I, p. 342). They arrived in Florence on 21 January 1435 (*M.C.* II, 786).

Greeks with some sixteen others had arrived there with a copy of the convention signed and sealed by the Emperor and the Patriarch, to receive the Pope's confirmation. Garatoni had returned at the Emperor's particular behest without fulfilling another part of the commission confided to him by the Pope. For Eugenius, like the Fathers of Basel, was anxious that the much-desired union of the Churches should include all orientals of whatever place or rite. With this in view, he had appointed Garatoni on 13 July 1434 Apostolic Nuncio to the Orient and in particular to the Armenians whose Patriarch and bishops he was to visit in person, providing him with letters to the Armenian Patriarch Constantine VI and to Isaias, Armenian bishop of Jerusalem.¹ Isaias replied to the Pope on 1 November in a letter full of joy at the prospect of ecclesiastical unity; he had sent on to his Patriarch the Pope's letter translated into Armenian, and hoped that Garatoni, with whom he had had contact on his previous visit and who now would put before the Pope various considerations on the part of Isaias, would be able on his next visit to Constantinople to fulfil the rest of his mission by visiting the Armenian Patriarch.²

The success of Garatoni's mission to Constantinople created an embarrassing situation which the Pope handled with great prudence. He resisted the urgent demands of the Greeks (who had written from Venice to their colleagues accredited to the Council bidding them to break off negotiations with the Fathers in view of the much more gratifying arrangements entered into with the Pope) that he forthwith confirm the agreement arrived at in Constantinople. Instead he sent to Basel Garatoni and the two Greeks (who would be the best informed of the opinions of Constantinople and the best advocates of the convention) with letters dated 22 February 1435 directed to the Council and the papal presidents, that to the presidents containing also a copy of the clauses of the agreement.³ According to this, the papal legate and his suite of theologians should set out for Constantinople within a year of the signing of the pact and meantime the Byzantine Emperor should have gathered together

¹ *E.P.* doc. 36; Cecconi, doc. xxvii.

² Cecconi, doc. xl.

³ *E.P.* docs. 48, 47; Cecconi, docs. xlvii, xlviii; *M.C.* II, 789, 792. The letter to the presidents was signed also by seven cardinals.

at his own expense the prelates of his territories and the other Patriarchs, and, the discussions beginning within a month of the legate's arrival, what was agreed to in free discussion on the basis of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers and Doctors should be faithfully promulgated and held by both Churches. Though Eugenius recommended this agreement as the more likely to succeed, he assured the Council that he would concur in their convention if they insisted on it.

When the first intimations reached Basel of the successful negotiations of Garatoni in Constantinople,¹ the members of the Council were astounded that the Pope had presumed to act in an affair which they already had in hand, and accusations of duplicity against the three Greek envoys at Basel were heard. These, summoned to explain the situation, could only reaffirm that they had acted according to their instructions. In point of fact, letters addressed to them by the brothers Dishypatus from Italy failed to reach their destination and their first communication came only on 10 or 12 February.² Garatoni with his companions arrived at Basel according to Ragusa in mid-March, but it was only on 5 April that he gave his account of his relations with the Byzantine Emperor and the Patriarch.³ Of the Greeks Manuel Dishypatus spoke in Latin confirming Garatoni's words and stressing the many reasons that made Constantinople more acceptable to the Greeks than any other place as the seat of the council. The matter was then referred to the Deputations, which debated for several days and cross-examined Garatoni. There was a division of opinion among the Fathers—some stood fast for their own convention, others were for accepting the Pope's arrangement, while still others would have allowed the Pope's arrangement provided that it was made clear that the discussions in Constantinople

¹ This paragraph (like much of what has gone before) is drawn mainly from Ragusa's account of the history of the negotiations with the Greeks (Haller, I, pp. 350f.). Ragusa is an excellent, if somewhat biased, witness for the events in Basel of this time. He is not so trustworthy in what he reports of the mission in Constantinople of Alberto de Crispis and Antonio of Suda, of which he was not an eye-witness. E.g. he affirms that de Crispis and the three Greeks left Constantinople only in May 1436 (p. 334); yet de Crispis himself gives the date as 18 January. So one may doubt if his assertion that Garatoni was in Constantinople and calumniating the Council at the same time as those two legates from Basel is well founded—the Emperor, the Patriarch, the Bishop Isaias do not even hint at it, and Syropoulos affirms the contrary (II, 22, p. 18).

² Mansi, 30, 890; Haller, I, p. 343.

³ *M.C.* II, 786.

could not in any way be called an Oecumenical Council and so any conclusions arrived at there would not be automatically binding, but would need the approval of the Council afterwards. The reason in the minds of the Fathers for this last condition was clear enough. They were convinced that they were the sole authority in the Church and they meant to remain such. A general council at Constantinople would mean the end of that at Basel (which they would not consider), for two general councils at once was an impossibility. That a partial or local council—such would be the nature of the one envisaged in the Pope's articles—should decide matters of faith was intrinsically unsound and a dangerous precedent. It was determined to give the Greeks the choice between the first way and the third. On 27 April 1435¹ all the Greek envoys opted for the first way—the way of Basel—as it always had been and still was an essential condition that the union should be effected in a General Council, otherwise it stood no chance of succeeding, and they showed letters to the effect that, if the Council and the Pope were divided in the courses they proposed, the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople elected the way offered by the Council. Manuel Dishypatus left Basel to return to Constantinople via Hungary with a letter of the Council dated 30 April 1435. Isidore departed soon after for Venice and in mid-June the other Greek emissaries followed. Three envoys were appointed by the Council to go to Constantinople—John of Ragusa, Heinrich Menger and Simon Fréron (to whom on 23 June the Council gave privileges with regard to the absolution of sins reserved to the Pope and a plenary indulgence once in life and once at the hour of death)—and to go to the Pope two others, Matthieu Meynage and John Bachenstein, who with Garatoni were to explain at length the decision of the Council communicated to Eugenius in a letter of 5 May.

Though the Pope made no difficulty about accepting the decision of the Council in regard to the Greek question, the delegation of Meynage and Bachenstein marked the beginning of another period of tension between him and the Fathers, for the two envoys were commissioned to demand his consent to other, and less acceptable,

¹ M.C. II, 787; Haller, III, p. 371. Ragusa reports the date as 15 May (Haller, I, p. 358), which must be a mistake.

measures that it had taken. Meynage on 14 July informed him that the Council 'asked, exhorted and required' him to support its plan with all his power and that it proposed to proclaim an indulgence, like that associated with the crusades, for such as contributed to the expenses of the Greek affair, and asked him to withdraw all other similar indulgences.¹ Bachenstein in a long speech, purporting to prove the superiority of a General Council over the whole Church, pope included, and therefore Eugenius' duty to submit in everything to the decisions of Basel, acquainted him with the decree of the twenty-first session of 9 June prohibiting for the future all taxes on the confirmation of elections to any sort of ecclesiastical office, and did not disguise his threats of what the Council would do if the Pope did not impose the observance of the decree on his Curia.²

This decree about the Annates was bound to raise a storm. Its execution would have reduced the Pope and the Curia to utter financial dependence on the Council—and probably was intended to do so, as well as to reform abuses.³ When it was passed at Basel,

¹ Cecconi, doc. L.

² Mansi, 29, 454.

³ 'The Council found it more interesting to war with the Pope than to labour through the obstacles which lay in the way of a reformation of abuses by those who benefited by them. Each rank of the hierarchy was willing to reform its neighbours, but had a great deal to urge in its own defence. In this collision of interests there was a general agreement that it was good to begin with a reform in the Papacy, as the Pope was not at Basel to speak for himself. Moreover, the Council had grown inveterate in its hostility to the Pope. The personal enemies of Eugenius IV flocked to Basel, and were not to be satisfied with anything short of his entire humiliation. In this they were aided by the pride of authority which among the less responsible members of the assembly grew in strength every day, and made them desirous to assert in every way the superiority of the Council over the Pope' (M. Creighton, *op. cit.* pp. 116-17).

In any case Eugenius was by no means averse to reform, and that in the head as well as in the members, otherwise he would not (before his election as Pope) have had associated with Cesarini for the work of the Council Ragusa, that noted, and indeed notorious, advocate of reform at Siena and afterwards in Rome. In the first months of his pontificate he promulgated severe edicts against concubinage and abuses in the chancery with regard to the giving of benefices; on 18 May 1434 he attacked simony; and in the course of his reign he reformed many religious houses.

As regards the abuses in the conferring of benefices, the object of so much indignation of the Fathers of Basel and of many others since, in a paper which shows that the machinery for filling benefices was designed to exclude unworthy candidates to the benefit of the Church, Professor Barraclough notes by way of introduction: 'Through the boundless intervention of the Papacy, they (i.e. modern historians) have concluded the rights of local churchmen were threatened with destruction: the legitimate powers of the bishops were diminished: the ecclesiastical hierarchy was thrown into confusion. . . . Among the causes which, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, made a thorough-

two of the papal presidents, Giovanni of Taranto and Pietro da Padova (and the English delegates), protested and did not sign it: of the presidents only Cesarini accepted it. It was the consequence of the Council's conviction of being the sole authority in the Church, and part and parcel of its arrogating to itself all the functions hitherto performed by pope and papal Curia. They had gradually set up for themselves all the offices found in the Curia;¹ they sent numerous embassies (and a 'legate *a latere*'²), and with some success, to arrange peace between princes; they interfered in local disputes, receiving appeals from anyone discontented with an adverse judgement in the papal courts, and sometimes supporting bad causes merely because the Roman Curia had decided otherwise, as in the affair of the bishopric of Utrecht;³ they even gave dispensations for impediments of marriage—all this in the sacred name of the Council: and now in the name of the Council they were going to grant indulgences. The truth is that an organisation as big and as multifariously active as the Church of those days was and had to be, could not carry on without material means—money—and the Fathers of Basel found that they needed it as much as any pope and that they had to use pretty much going reform of the Church, *in capite* as well as *in membris*, an urgent necessity, and which without any doubt paved the way for the outbreak of the Lutheran Schism, none has been regarded as more powerful, and none more fateful, than the intervention of the Papacy and of the Roman Curia in the collation of benefices throughout the mediaeval world.' Yet his conclusion at the end of his own study is: 'What causes led to the decline, what were the chief sources of disorder in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Church—these are questions which cannot be discussed here, though it may be suggested that the time has come when historians will do well to transfer their attention from conditions at the centre, in the Papal Curia and in the official bureaucracy, to conditions in the provincial churches. One fact is certain. The system of provisions operated with all the safeguards and impartiality of a system of law, and this very fact is sufficient reason to maintain that the evils attributed to provisions have been exaggerated. Legitimate rights were not overridden, legitimate exceptions were not excluded: instead of a liquid, undefined practice of administrative intervention by the popes, there was a rigid, balanced, self-operative system of juridical procedure, in which no room was left for arbitrariness and caprice, and every safeguard was provided against corruption and abuse' (G. Barraclough, 'The Executors of Papal Provisions in the Canonical Theory of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Acta Congressus Iuridici internationalis. Romae 12-17 November 1934*, III (Roma, 1936), pp. 113, 152-3).

'It is certain now that much of the contemporary criticism, which historians in the nineteenth century were accustomed to take at its face value, was unjustified and exaggerated' (E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1953), p. 23).

¹ M.C. II, 828; Valois, I, pp. 311-18.

² M.C. II, 652; Haller, III, p. 88.

³ H.-L. p. 791.

the same ways as the pope to get it. On 8 August 1435 they ordered all papal collectors to send all moneys collected to Basel and to render an account of them: on the same day, the very day when they appointed a commission to judge the conduct of the papal presidents who had protested against the prohibition of the Annates, they ordered, in spite of their own decree of the twenty-first session, that all those who owed Annates or similar taxes should pay them in full to the Council.¹

The representatives of the Council, Ragusa, Menger and Fréron, left Basel on 24 June for Venice, where they found the plague raging and so they awaited ships in Pola where they met Garatoni also *en route* for Constantinople. They departed from there probably on 8 August with the returning Greek envoys and reached Constantinople on 4 September. Their many letters from there and Ragusa's report later delivered to the Council, supplemented by the account of Syropoulos, furnish a full record of their activities in the Byzantine capital.² Nine days after their arrival they unfolded their mission to the Emperor and on the next day to the Patriarch, dividing between themselves the explanation they had been commissioned to make, Ragusa stressing that the situation demanded that the division between the Churches should be settled in a General Council, Menger explaining why the agreement with the Pope did not meet that

¹ Mansi, 29, 439; 30, 923.

² Instructions from the Council to its ambassadors, July 1435 (Haller, I, pp. 364f.); letter from ambassadors to Council dated Pola 6 August 1435 (Cecconi, doc. LI; Mansi, 30, 922); speeches of same at the first meeting with the Emperor, September 1435 (Cecconi, doc. LV); various docs. and replies given by same to Greeks, October–November 1435 (Cecconi, docs. LVI–LIX, LXII–LXV; Mansi, 30, 922, 963); letters from Emperor and Patriarch to Eugenius, November 1435 (Cecconi, docs. LXVI, LXVII); to Council, November 1435 (Cecconi, docs. LXVIII, LXIX; Mansi, 29, 627, 628); to same, February 1436 (Cecconi, doc. LXXIV); to same, March 1436 (*ibid.* doc. LXXX); to Menger, November 1435 (Cecconi, docs. LXX, LXXI; Mansi, 29, 649, 650); letter of Menger to Cesarini dated Venice 4 January 1436 (Cecconi, doc. LXXV; Mansi, 29, 650); letters of Ragusa and Fréron to Council, February–May 1436 (Cecconi, docs. LXXVII–LXXIX, LXXXI; Mansi, 29, 651, 656, 659; Haller, I, p. 372); letters of Ragusa to Council, dated 16 September 1436 (Haller, I, p. 374); dated 17 November 1436 (Cecconi, doc. XCIII; Mansi, 29, 661); dated 13 February 1437 (Haller, I, p. 377); dated 24 July 1437 (Haller, I, p. 381); dated 4 August 1437 (Haller, I, p. 382); letter of Emperor to Council, dated 11 February 1437 (Haller, V, p. 182); Ragusa's report to Council presented on 29 January 1438 (Cecconi, doc. CLXXVIII; Mansi, 31^a, 248f.). Syr. II, 23, p. 20–III, 6, p. 51.

requirement, and Fréron advocating Basel as the most suitable place. At their first meeting with a committee appointed by the Emperor and the Patriarch, they presented four proposals: that the convention agreed to at Basel should now be ratified by Emperor and Patriarch; that a new date should be fixed for the fulfilment of the agreement as the time determined on in Basel had, owing to a variety of circumstances for which neither side was responsible, already expired; that Basel should be agreed to as the place of the combined council; and that on the Greek side a start should be made in putting their part into execution.

But no sooner did discussion begin than an unforeseen obstacle arose. The Greeks objected strongly to the phrase *recens illud Bohemorum antiquumque Graecorum dissidium prorsus extinguere* in the short preamble to the decree *Sicut pia mater* of the Council, on the grounds that it set them on a par with the Hussites who were heretics, and no amount of explanation and persuasion of the Latin envoys that the preamble was not really of the substance of the decree, that no insult was intended and that the Greek envoys at Basel had raised no objection when the decree was discussed and sanctioned on 7 September 1434, could assuage them. They insisted that it be altered, otherwise they would proceed no further in the business. They raised another difficulty, too, in that, whereas the decree guaranteed all expenses for their journey to the chosen place, it made no mention of securing their return also if no union was realised. That omission, they insisted, had to be remedied. Besides that, they would not hear of Basel itself as the seat of the future council, but insisted on one of the places named in the decree.

The Council's representatives were in a difficult position for, as they said, they could not on their own authority change anything in the decree, passed and sealed by the Council. In the third session of their meetings with the Greek committee they proposed that they should write a new preamble to the decree which they would submit to the Greeks for approval before sending it to Basel for ratification, and would also suggest to the Council that the guarantee of the safe return of the Greeks from Europe should either be introduced into the decree or at least into the safe-conduct that the Council was to provide. As regards the preamble the Greeks decided to draw one up for themselves and to declare it only if the new one offered by the

delegates were unsatisfactory, but this precaution was unnecessary, as the amended version met all their requirements.¹ To assuage the wounded feelings of the Greeks the new preamble was read to a large gathering of the foreign residents in and about Constantinople, brought together for that purpose.²

Further meetings were held to discuss the other provisions of the decree. The envoys satisfied the Greeks that the Pope agreed to the arrangements (and according to Syropoulos harried Garatoni with jeers and execrations into testifying to that publicly):³ the time was fixed as a year from the end of the following May: the decision about the place of the council was left in abeyance. Finally it was agreed that one of the representatives of the Council should return to Basel to seek ratification for all the promises made by the envoys. On 25 November the three envoys drew up a solemn promise to present the Emperor and the Patriarch as quickly as possible with a document sealed with the Council's seal guaranteeing all the points they had promised: in another document they declared that the offending preamble was not meant to reflect on the honour of the Greek Church:

¹ Syr. II, 33, p. 34.

² *Ibid.* II, 38, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.* II, 36-7, pp. 37-9. According to the long account of Ragusa made to the Council on 29 January 1438 the boot was on the other foot. Ragusa declared that it was Garatoni who made the Emperor and the Patriarch so insistent on the presence of the Pope and the choice of a place convenient for him and them, and who sowed doubts as to the power of the Council to fulfil its obligations. Isidore and Manuel Dishypatus agreed with him and even Demetrius Palaeologus and John Dishypatus were hesitant. Garatoni was invited to a general meeting, but, as he began to attack the wording of the decree, it was Ragusa and his associates who broke off proceedings by asserting that they were sent to deal with the Greeks not with Garatoni.

An account of a more impartial witness is to be read in a letter of George Scholatus written to a pupil of his a short time before Menger's departure, December 1435: 'Christopher has come to witness that the Pope concurs in the action of the Synod of Basel of necessity, since we have handled things badly and have abandoned the way of union which the Pope had at heart and which he proposed last year through Christopher, namely that the synod should be held in Constantinople, since, desiring union at all costs and with all his strength, he wanted it to be effected by the easy, and to us the safer, and to himself perhaps the most advantageous way. But as we have rejected this and have chosen the other way of the Synod, that is, that it be effected in the midst of the Latins and in whatever place that Synod shall choose and even, possibly, on the far side of the Pillars of Hercules, so as not to seem to be opposed to the whole business, he concurs meantime in the way he does not approve of. Meanwhile Christopher, having fulfilled his mission and, while having noted the difficulty about the place, having all the same attested to the agreement of the Pope, will leave with the ships' (Schol. IV (Paris, 1935), pp. 414-15).

in still other documents of the same date they promised safe-conducts containing a clause about the return journey even in case of failure of the forthcoming council to produce unity. On the Greek side the Emperor delivered on 30 November a chrysobull dated 26 November promising a faithful implementation by the Greeks of the agreement, provided the Council accepted the amendments proposed. The Patriarch made a like pledge. On the same day they both wrote short letters to Basel in which they urged that the city to be chosen for the council should be on the seaboard for the sake of the Greeks, especially the aged and infirm Patriarch, and stressed the essential need that the Pope 'because he is head of the Roman and Western Church' should be present. They had expressed the same two firm desires in letters to Eugenius of 11 and 22 November, when they had also thanked him for the announcement made by Garatoni that he acquiesced in the decision of Basel, and they commissioned Menger to use every endeavour with the Council to procure Ancona as the chosen city, both to save exhausting travel for the Greeks and to facilitate matters for the Pope, whose personal presence was most desirable—it was the Patriarch who was the more insistent on the presence of Eugenius. With all these documents Menger left Constantinople on 1 or 2 December and arrived in Venice 'by the grace of God alive but not well' on 2 January 1436.¹

While Ragusa and his companions were occupied in Constantinople in these negotiations with the Greeks, the good relations between the Pope and the Council had greatly deteriorated. Instead of replying directly to the messengers, Meynage and Bachenstein, sent to him by the Council, Eugenius preferred to make his answer by his own envoys, which fact was regarded as an insult by the Basel envoys. For this purpose he appointed Ambrogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese, and Antonio di S. Vito who addressed the Council on 26 August, Traversari defending the supremacy of the Holy See over the Council and S. Vito urging the necessity for the Pope of the Annates. Cesarini replied to refute both and promised that the Council would deliberate on the advisability of granting to the Pope some compensation for the loss of revenue.

¹ Letter from Venice 4 January 1436, Cecconi, doc. LXXV.

The Papal Legates had gone to Basel without firm instructions. The instructions were to follow them, but the messengers were held up by the hostile Duke of Milan, and the delaying tactics of the Legates while they waited only irritated the more the already excited feelings of the Council. Traversari meanwhile had many talks with Cesarini whom he was trying to make less hostile to the Pope—and with some success—and for whom as papal president he begged the Pope to send the 1000 ducats promised some time before. On 7 October, the instructions having arrived, the envoys put Eugenius' answer to the message sent through Meynage and Bachenstein before the Council. The Pope accepted the decree *Sicut pia mater* of 7 September, but it would be unwise, he said, to publish an indulgence before it was quite certain that the Greeks would come. If they did come, then by an indulgence or in some other way the Pope would co-operate with the Council to defray the expenses and would certainly send cardinals and prelates and other learned men as his representatives or even be present in person if the city chosen for the purpose made that possible. It was not an answer to appease the Council which would be content with nothing less than the total submission of the Pope to its demands.

Interesting light is thrown on the spirit of the Council at this time by some of Traversari's letters. Writing to Eugenius on 25 September he asserted that many of the people there, and they the most noteworthy, were favourable to the Pope,¹ and (in a letter to Orsini) that Cesarini's influence was waning while that of the Archbishops of Arles and Lyons was growing. These two, with an eye on the tiara for themselves,² were intent on effecting the return of the papacy to France. The Council itself was a mob: out of more than 500 members there were barely twenty bishops—the rest were of the lower clergy or laymen, and 'the voice of a cook, so to say, has as much value as that of a bishop or archbishop', and there 'whatsoever this raging mob decrees is ascribed to the Holy Spirit'.³

It was this Council that on 20 January 1436 despatched the

¹ Trav. no. 15.

² *Ibid.* no. 43.

³ Letter to Sigismund, *ibid.* no. 176. That the French were aiming at a return of the papacy to Avignon was the impression brought back to Constantinople by the Greek envoys John Dishypatus and Manuel Boullotes in 1437: cf. Ragusa's Report to the Council, Cecconi, doc. CLXXVIII, p. DXV.

Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Lübeck to Florence to give an ultimatum to the Pope. In a vain attempt at reconciliation Eugenius sent Cardinal Albergati and Cardinal Cervantes to Basel to try to arrange a compromise on the question of the Annates, to fix a city for the council with the Greeks in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Byzantine Emperor and the Patriarch and to offer in the Pope's name 50,000 florins for the expense of the Greeks without any indulgence or, if the Fathers insisted on an indulgence, to agree provided that it was done in Eugenius' name, *sacro approbante concilio*. In spite of generous offers from various cities, Florence notably and Pavia, with regard to expenses, the Council would not come to any decision about the site of the council, for it was set on remaining in Basel, and it answered the Pope's proposal about the indulgence by itself proclaiming one in its own name on 14 April 1436 in the 24th general session (when only twenty bishops and thirteen abbots were present),¹ at which also the promises made in Constantinople by Ragusa and his associates to the Greeks were confirmed. The rupture between Pope and Council was completed when on 11 May the papal envoys received in public session as the official answer to their mission a long and bitter tirade against Eugenius, though this was later slightly modified through the intervention of some of the representatives of the princes.

With this almost savage rejection of his reasonable proposals, Eugenius lost hope of ever finding a *modus vivendi* with the Council. In any case he was now in a stronger position than before. Peace among the warring States of Italy had restored to him many of his more northerly possessions and he had regained Rome. The cardinals who had deserted him when his fortunes were low were beginning to come back. In Basel the representatives of the princes, even if they did not defend the principle that a pope is superior to a council, yet were aghast at the prospect of a new schism in the Church, which the implacable hostility of the Fathers was rapidly making inevitable, and they urged a greater spirit of conciliation.² Sigismund had

¹ H.-L. p. 926.

² 'In this country (i.e. England) a particularly dangerous form of heresy was rife. . . . Hence the bitter, even passionate, opposition of English delegates to this at Constance, and to the renegade Peter Payne at Basel. To English eyes unity and orthodoxy were of greater significance than reform' (E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, p. 52).

already in 1435 departed from Basel in great anger, leaving behind him 'a sink of iniquity'. Eugenius by his support of René of Anjou against Alfonso V of Aragon for the throne of Naples was in close and friendly contact with Charles VII of France. So he decided to turn to the princes for support.

For the information of the internuncios to be sent to the various courts there was drawn up a long account of the Council's hostility to Eugenius from its opening up to 1 June 1436—the Pope's efforts for peace; the treatment of his presidents; the question of the Annates; the arrogation by the Council to itself of almost all papal functions; the method of voting which made the meanest cleric equal to a bishop, of whom there were in any case very few; the question of the Greeks who were urgent that the Pope be present at the council, yet Basel delayed fixing the place till they had arrived, etc.¹ In this way Eugenius hoped to gain the support of the princes and, by their instructions to their representatives at Basel, a more moderate and accommodating attitude from the Council. The internuncios were also to persuade the princes not to permit the execution of a decree of the Council imposing a collection of Tenths which rumour said was impending.

With the question of the Annates still unsettled and that of the indulgence 'solved' by the arbitrary action of the Council, the Fathers at Basel turned their attention to the problem of the place for the meeting with the Greeks. In this the French, now steadily victorious in their war with England and with ever-growing influence in Europe, played a leading part. Eugenius sent the Archbishop of Crete to Charles VII. A French embassy to the Pope went first to Basel where to the astonishment of all, since the official French representatives had always been among the most hostile to Eugenius, it made proposals about a moderate compensation to the Pope for the loss of the Annates, and proposed three French towns, Vienne, Avignon and Lyons, for the Greeks. The proposals were rejected (20 July), owing mainly to German influence. Thereupon the embassy visited Eugenius and returned to Basel on 27 October

¹ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1436, II-xv. 'The execution of this mission is to some degree attested in only one place, and indeed there where it seems the least necessary, namely in England' (Haller, I, p. 137).

1436 where they found the discussions on the place-question in full swing.

The city chosen would have not only to provide security and lodgings for the Greeks, but also to make a loan of 70,000 ducats down and 15,000 later, on the security of the proceeds of the indulgence and perhaps a mortgage on some Tenth, in return for the honour—and the commerce—brought by the council. Messengers went from Basel to solicit replies and various cities sent envoys to urge their suitability. Soon the chief candidates were reduced to three—Florence, a city in Venetian territory, a city in Milanese territory—all of which made generous promises about expenses. Then the French, the most numerous and by now the most influential element in the Council, urged the choice of Avignon, even though it was not included in the treaty, but (so they said) it was maritime and on the way to Savoy. Finally Sigismund proposed Basel, guaranteeing at the same time that he would persuade the Greeks, in spite of their several previous refusals, to accept the choice.¹ Cesarini's urgent insistence that the convention be strictly adhered to was ignored (his influence by now was less than that of the Cardinal of Arles): the Fathers could not bring themselves to envisage a council in Italy where the Pope in person would be president.² So, as Avignon was gaining greater and greater support, even Cesarini advocated Basel as first choice, then Avignon (confident that the Greeks would reject both), and then Udine, Parma, Florence.³ In the voting of 22 November of the Deputations the order of choice was Basel, Avignon, Savoy. In the full session of 5 December the vote of the Deputations was confirmed. Cesarini and Cervantes, the two papal presidents (who had both voted for Florence only), refused to announce the choice. The Cardinal of Arles, though not a president, did so.⁴ The French and the Germans (and according to a variety of witnesses a mob of unauthorised voters⁵) were respon-

¹ *M.C.* II, 906.

² *M.C.* II, 911.

³ 21 November 1436, *M.C.* II, 917; Haller, IV, p. 340.

⁴ Haller, IV, pp. 348-60.

⁵ *Ibid.* where there is a list of 353 voters out of the 355 who voted. Among them were three cardinals, two patriarchs, two archbishops, sixteen bishops, one protonotary and twenty-eight abbots; and of these the two cardinal legates, three bishops, the protonotary and six abbots voted for an Italian town or at least Savoy. Two hundred and forty-two voted with the Deputations, namely for Basel, Avignon, Savoy.

sible for the result—the French undoubtedly reflecting the will of their King Charles VII, in spite of the fact that the French embassy, to keep up appearances of favouring Eugenius, voted for Florence.

After that, events moved quickly in a whirl of confusion. Sigismund advised the Pope to leave the choice of place to him, but the Pope refused, and the same Emperor's proposal of Buda, his capital, in January 1437 came too late to influence anybody. Avignon had already at the beginning of November agreed to the conditions demanded, and a treaty to provide ships had been made with Nicod de Menthon who was solemnly presented with the Council's banner blessed on 19 November. But before the citizens of Avignon were willing to put down the full sum required they wanted security in the form of a decree declaring formally for Avignon as the seat of the council and imposing Tenths which, at least from France and Savoy, should be guaranteed to come to them. That needed the permission of the King of France, who showed his real intentions by giving it without hesitation (17 January). When his letter was read in the Council on 11 February, the majority wanted straightaway to put the decree of 5 December into execution, but yielded temporarily to the objection of the papal party that the Avignonnais should first furnish all the money stipulated. A protest by John Dishypatus on 15 February against such a violation of the treaty with his Sovereign was rudely put aside as being inspired by the Pope,¹ and Dishypatus refused to go with ambassadors from the Council who, departing on 25 February *en route* for Constantinople, were to pass through Avignon to confirm the agreement.²

This embassy, headed by the Bishop of Lübeck, was the result of a vote of 23 February (a session when the papal presidents refused to be present, so Arles took their place) by which it was decided owing to the pressure of the papal section on the Council that, if the Avignonnais did not furnish the full amount of 70,000 florins within thirty days (with another twelve days for the information to reach Basel) after the departure of the envoys, 'the Council can and is held to proceed to the election of another city for the Oecumenical Council'.³ The embassy to Avignon laboured hard to accomplish

¹ Cecconi, doc. CVI; *M.C.* 11, 934, 955.

² Cecconi, doc. CVIII; *M.C.* 11, 937; Haller, v, p. 226.

³ *M.C.* 11, 936

its task of persuading the citizens to fulfil the stipulations quickly, but the arrival there on 25 March of the papal envoy, the Archbishop of Crete, *en route* for the court of Charles VII delayed their efforts, for he did his best to dissuade the city from accepting the undertaking. The forty-two days elapsed with barely half the payment made. Messengers sent to the Pope on the indulgence question and other matters returned empty-handed. The Archbishop of Taranto, one of the papal presidents, came back from Bologna where the Pope was, the bearer of a letter signed also by six cardinals as well as by Eugenius rejecting the choices of the Fathers for the projected council as contrary to the decree, unacceptable to the Greek Emperor and the Patriarch (according to the testimony of the Greek envoy, Boullotes, in Florence and the brothers Dishypatus in Basel), and unsuitable to Eugenius himself.¹

On 11 April (that is immediately on the expiry of the time limit for Avignon) the Archbishop of Taranto demanded, in accordance with the decree of 23 February, voting for the new site, and Cesarini and the other papal legate made a like request in the general meeting of 12 April, threatening to do it themselves if the rest would not. Meanwhile the rumour had reached Basel that the demands would be satisfied in full by Avignon on 14 April² and strengthened the resistance of the French party. Three of the heads of the Deputations sided with the papal presidents and their Deputations split, so that now there were seven all holding meetings, and the Council was divided into two factions, each claiming to be the true Council, the one because it was in the majority, the other because it was the 'healthier' (*sanior pars*) and true to the provisions of the decree *Sicut pia mater* and the agreement with Constantinople. The former adhered to the pact made with Avignon: the latter on 26 April passed a resolution that in accordance with the vote of 23 February it now elected Florence, Udine or some other safe town of those mentioned in the decree, convenient to the Greeks and the Pope, whichever first furnished the requisite ships and money; and decreed that no Tenths should be collected before the Greeks arrived; and

¹ M.C. II, 952.

² They were, in a sense, but part of the payment was not in gold but in securities, which was not in accordance with the treaty: cf. Haller, I, p. 156, n. 5.

that envoys should be sent to Constantinople who should urge the claims of Basel for the coming council.¹ Three cardinals and twelve bishops by name and 'other bishops, abbots and doctors' are mentioned as supporting this resolution.²

Relations by now between the parties were so tense that it was only the armed watchfulness of the citizens of Basel that prevented bloodshed. Various efforts to reconcile the differences failed. The tragedy ended on 7 May when the decrees of both parties were read simultaneously. The minority decree was shorter and ended first, so its supporters shouted *Placet* and intoned the *Te Deum*, followed shortly after by the majority.³

Which decree should bear the seal of the Council which Cesarini held in his keeping? On 14 May it was decided that the question should be settled by a commission of three, one for and one against the Pope and a neutral, but the neutral (the Bishop of Burgos) disappointed the papal supporters by giving his vote to the others. Six days later three of the more notable members of the papal party, the bishops of Digne and of Oporto and Nicholas of Cusa, left Basel quietly with the Greek envoys to carry the minority decree, authorised by the notaries and signed only by the presidents, to Eugenius in Bologna. On 13-14 June the Archbishop of Taranto (quite uselessly) had the bottom of the strong box which held the seal blown open and sealed the minority document. The fact was discovered immediately and the decree was found as it was being smuggled out of the city. Taranto brazenly admitted his guilt, but escaped the vengeance of the Council by flight (19 July). His secretary, however, was taken and after being violently treated was imprisoned.

So ended the second act of the drama, with the Council divided against itself and with its most redoubtable supporter, Cesarini, on the verge of abandoning it. Eugenius had honestly tried to act with it, in spite of his worst forebodings. He had accepted the Council's solution for the Greeks: he had yielded as far as his conscience would let him as regards the indulgence: had the Fathers provided some reasonable compensation for the loss of the Annates, he would

¹ M.C. II, 960f.; Cecconi, doc. cxviii.

² Cecconi, doc. cxix.

³ M.C. II, 965

probably have submitted even there. But he could not and would not accept the principle 'that the pontifical dignity should be subordinated to the Council', and the Council would be content with nothing less. It was convinced that it was the supreme authority in the Church and could legitimately do all that a pope had ever done. And it was determined to reduce the papacy to such a condition that it could not resist. That, and the personal hostility of men like Cardinal d'Aleman, archbishop of Arles, account for its attitude to Eugenius and for the fact that it spent most of its time in doing the routine work of a Roman Curia instead of systematically labouring for the reform of the Church at large. Its determination not to be transferred to Italy, in spite of—because of—papal and Greek insistence, stemmed from its fear that these circumstances would favour a resurgence of papal prestige and power and would diminish conciliar supremacy. Its shrill hostility and its blind intransigence were its undoing, for the one alienated the nobler spirits of its own fold and alarmed the secular powers, the other robbed the Council of a redoubtable ally against papal claims.

It has already been mentioned that John Dishypatus was in Basel in February 1437. To explain his presence there it will be necessary to return to the story of the Council's envoys in Constantinople.¹ After the departure of Menger at the end of November 1435, little could be done till the approval of the Council was received for the proposals he carried, though meantime the Emperor sent word to the other eastern Patriarchs and bishops to prepare themselves for the coming council. The messengers for this were financed by Ragusa, but only after some hesitation, especially as they included in their expenses presents for the prelates they would call on, this being, they said, the eastern custom, though it badly offended Ragusa's sense of propriety. Ragusa saw much of the Patriarch, a Bulgarian like himself, and was lost in admiration for his simple piety, his sound sense and his knowledge of mankind—a veneration shared too by Fréron—and both the envoys were convinced that there was no greater supporter of the idea of union than this venerable Greek Patriarch, though there was a general enthusiasm for it among others too.

¹ For the documents, cf. above p. 63, n. 2.

No direct news from Basel was received, only rumours brought by ships putting into the port that spoke of the dissolution of the Council or its reduction to 'only four or six mitres', and Ragusa pleaded in his letters for the speedy despatch of the ratifications sought by Menger and for information. Fréron died of the plague on 21 July 1436: others of the embassy had died on the voyage out and later. The documents from Basel arrived on 6 September—the first letters Ragusa received from the Council since his departure—and were shown straight to the Emperor and the Patriarch, but no letters were addressed directly to the Byzantines, which distressed them. With the documents came also accounts of the dissension between the Pope and the Council, and the Emperor, though he had given orders that all those who would be going to the future council should be in Constantinople by March or April next,¹ decided to send two envoys, one to the Council and one to the Pope, empowered, if they found that the Fathers would not implement the agreement they had made, to conclude arrangements with the Pope, if he would undertake to do so. Once more the Emperor asked Ragusa to provide the necessary expenses, and it was only the arrival of Garatoni on about 12 November, who again cast doubts on the bona fides of the Council and offered to finance a mission to the Pope, that ended Ragusa's hesitation and made him supply the 500 Venetian florins requested for each of the envoys. These were John Dishypatus and Manuel Tarchaniotes Boullotes, and their commission is dated 20 November 1436.

It was not till 24 January 1437 that news of the controversy in the Council over the choice of place and the decision about Avignon reached Ragusa in a budget of letters brought by a messenger, who delivered also copies of the safe-conducts and of the decree as approved on 24 April. Whereupon the Basel envoy tried to win Greek approval for the choice of Basel for the council, but no amount of glosses on the phrase *vel alia terra maritima* to make it include Avignon

¹ The Emperor sent Paul Macrocheres to the Patriarchs. Andronicus Iagaris went to Trebizond and Iberia (Georgia) and brought back from Trebizond the Metropolitan and one envoy, and from Georgia two bishops and one envoy. From Moldo-Wallachia came the Metropolitan, an envoy named Neagoe and the Protopapas. Isidore, now archbishop of Kiev, accompanied by Goudeles, went to Russia to prepare an embassy from there. Serbia returned no answer (Syr. III, 2, p. 44).

availed to overcome the opposition of the Emperor who asserted that the document should be interpreted as between friends and that the whole purpose of the naming of the cities in the decree had been to shorten the journey for the Greeks and not to prolong it.¹ The document promulgating the Council's indulgence Ragusa dared not publish: it contained too many phrases that would have scandalised the Greeks.

Soon there was another difficulty to be overcome. On 1 March² the messenger who had gone to the other eastern Patriarchs returned announcing that the Patriarchs themselves were forbidden by the Turks to move: they had, however, sent letters appointing proxies—Antony of Heraclea and Mark Eugenicus, then still a simple monk, for Alexandria; Joasaph of Ephesus and Gregory, the imperial confessor, for Antioch; and Dionysius of Sardis and Isidore of Kiev, both still only monks, for Jerusalem; the naming of whom the Patriarch took in bad part as he had not been consulted—but their letters limited the proxies to agreeing only to what was conformable to the Scriptures, the Councils and the Greek Fathers, and allowed no change in anything. To Ragusa this precluded any possibility of fruitful discussion and common decision, and he insisted with the Emperor that the letters be changed, not accepting the latter's defence that the Patriarchs had acted from ignorance. It was only on 3 April that the Emperor yielded and not till some time later did he send the monk Theodosius Antiochus, again at Ragusa's expense, with a form of authorisation approved by Ragusa himself, which the Patriarchs were to copy.³ Meanwhile the Emperor set up a commission to prepare for the coming discussions, appointed Mark Eugenicus and George Scholarius to study Cabasilas especially and to collect books, and despatched the monk Athanasius to Athos also to find appropriate codices; he, however, returned with no books but

¹ The Emperor wrote also to the Council (11 February 1437) firmly rejecting Basel for the Council: 'The aforementioned site of Basel, therefore, as has been said, we entirely reject' (Haller, v, pp. 183-4).

² So Ragusa in his report, but this date must be an error as he had already in a letter of 13 February 1437 notified the Council that the Patriarchs were forbidden to move.

³ This is the statement of Syropoulus (III, 4, p. 47): Ragusa says nothing of having had any hand in the drawing up of any formula, or of a formula being dictated to the Patriarchs.

with two monks, Moses superior of the Laura and Dorotheus of Vatopedion. About this time Joasaph of Ephesus died and was succeeded by the monk Mark Eugenicus, and Isidore was consecrated Archbishop of Kiev and All Russia.

When no further information from the Council had reached Constantinople by the end of May, the date fixed in the decree for the arrival of the ships to transport the Greeks, Ragusa became an object of derision. Rumours were rife. About 24 June the Genoese consul of Damascus declared that in the harbour of Genoa he had seen ships of the Council being got ready for Constantinople. Towards the beginning of August letters of John Dishypatus informed the Emperor and Ragusa that Florence was definitively chosen by the harmonious vote of Pope and Council, and all, Ragusa and especially the Greeks, were overwhelmed with joy. But in mid-August news came that Padua or Udine was to be the seat of the Council and that papal ships were being got ready in Venice. On 3 September a light ship arrived with the three papal representatives, the bishops of Corone (Garatoni, appointed bishop on 27 February 1437), of Digne and of Oporto, who claimed to represent both Pope and Council. Their papers, which named Ragusa also as an envoy, were not drawn up and sealed in the accustomed form of the Council, and Ragusa was uneasy. But by their account of events, their letters from the presidents of Basel and their assertion that no ships would come on the part of the Council so that the only way to the desired union was to use the papal ships (which arrived a few days later with the archbishop of Tarentaise and Nicholas of Cusa), Ragusa's doubts were allayed and he supported them with the Emperor. Then came the rumour that the Council's ships were approaching.

That the papal ships arrived at Constantinople before the fleet of the Council meant that Eugenius had acted quickly. He had left Florence on 18 April 1436 for Bologna which he entered on the 22nd with eight cardinals (four others came shortly afterwards¹), and it was there that the messengers of the minority of the Council found him, to acquaint him of their decree. Pierre, bishop of Digne, Antonio of Oporto and Nicholas of Cusa, accompanied by John

¹ Muratori, t. XVIII, pt. 1, *Corpus chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Bologna, 1924) p. 86.

Dishypatus and Manuel Boullotes (who had gone to Basel some time probably in March) were the envoys of the *sanior pars*. They had left Basel on 20 May. On 24 May, in the presence of eight cardinals and five princely embassies, the two Greeks addressed the Pope in a general consistory. After briefly recounting the efforts and the good will for union of their principals, the rejection by the Fathers of Basel of the convention and their own protests, and their acceptance of the decree of the minority, they requested that the Sovereign Pontiff would approve and implement that decree, as so many Greeks were already gathered in Constantinople for the journey westwards that hesitation or delay would cause them to lose heart.¹ When, on being asked, they said that they had power to defer the day of departure of the Latin ships, at any rate for a short time, the Pope replied very graciously, promising them a quick and favourable answer.² In another consistory of 28 May the Greek envoys agreed to prolong the date of the despatch of the ships from June to mid-July,³ and in still another of 29 May Biondo,⁴ the papal secretary, read the minutes of the Bull, *Salvatoris et Dei nostri*, that was solemnly promulgated on the next day, 30 May, the feast of Corpus Christi, by which Eugenius accepted the decree of the minority.⁵ The Pope announced his decision to Sigismund and to the kings of France, England and Portugal in letters dated 13 June.⁶

The decision as to where the Council should meet was for the moment left in abeyance, and on 4 July, in the instrument by which the Greek envoys formally agreed to the prorogation of the date of departure till 15 July, they also accepted that the site of the Council should be named only on the arrival of the Byzantine prelates in Italy. Meanwhile the Pope had arranged for the preparation of four Venetian galleys at his own expense and on 6 July he appointed his nephew Antonio Condulmaro as Captain General of them to take to Constantinople the three ambassadors of the minority of Basel, and

¹ Cecconi, doc. CXXIV.

² *Ibid.* doc. CXXV.

³ A. Mercati, 'Due concistori ignorati relativi al Concilio di Firenze', in *L'Oriente cristiano e l'Unità delle Chiese*, III (1938), pp. 33-8. The date had been extended from the end of May to the end of June at Basel: the official document (Cecconi, doc. CXXXVII) embodying the further prolongation was signed only on 4 July.

⁴ *Ibid.*; *Frag.* p. 31.

⁵ *E.P.* doc. 66; Cecconi, doc. CXXVI.

⁶ *E.P.* doc. 69; Cecconi, doc. CXXXI.

Mark, archbishop of Tarentaise, and Cristoforo, bishop of Corone, Nuncios Apostolic¹—the former created also Legate *a latere*²—with the Greek envoys, and to bring back the Emperor, the Patriarch and the rest of the Greek company. On the same day the safe-conducts for the Greeks to come to Italy were delivered. On 7 July Michele Zeno and Baldassarre Lupari were commissioned to raise the money necessary for the venture in the name of the Church. On 15 July Eugenius wrote to the Emperor recommending his own envoys and the three of the Council with whom he associated also Ragusa.³ On the 17th of the same month Dishypatus and Boullotes declared in the name of the Emperor and the Patriarch that they accepted the minority as the only true Council and guaranteed that the Emperor, the Patriarch and the other Greeks would undertake the journey provided the expedition to fetch them set sail before 5 August.⁴ Three days later the Pope, in view of the above declaration, bound himself (and in case of his death, the College of Cardinals) to implement fully the decree of Basel, *Sicut pia mater*,⁵ and in another document of the same day empowered the Archbishop of Tarentaise to forbid under pain of excommunication the legates of the Basel majority to impede the execution of his commission.⁶ On 9 July the bishops of Digne, Oporto and Corone left Bologna for Venice where they took ship on 26 July for Crete. Arrived at Candia on 15 August, they stayed a few days arranging for the hire of archers to be ready for the bigger ships when they should come, and then, proceeding by various islands, they reached the outskirts of Constantinople on 3 September and entered the port on the next day.

For the history of what took place in Constantinople in the course

¹ 15 July 1437: *E.P.* doc. 83; Cecconi, doc. CXLVII.

² 15 July 1437: *E.P.* doc. 84; Cecconi, doc. CXLVIII.

³ *E.P.* doc. 82; Cecconi, doc. CXLIX.

⁴ Cecconi, docs. CL, CLI. On 12 July Eugenius made John Dishypatus one of his *familiares* and *scutiferi*, with an annual pension of 1000 florins (*E.P.* doc. 81; Cecconi, doc. CXLV).

⁵ *E.P.* doc. 85; Cecconi, doc. CLII.

⁶ *E.P.* doc. 86; Cecconi, doc. CLIII. This was clearly meant to be a last resort, for in his instructions (quoted on this point verbatim by Eugenius himself in his reply to the envoys of Amadeus of Savoy, 10 February 1438 (*E.P.* doc. 137), and by John of Torquemada in a speech before the French King in 1441 (Mansi, 31^A, 123)) the Pope bade his Legates not to oppose, but to co-operate with, the Basel envoys if these proposed to the Greeks for the council some city named in the decree.

of the next three months there is plenty of evidence, for it is described in greater or less detail by Ragusa's account delivered to the remnants at Basel on 29 January 1438—an account that has been largely drawn upon already in the course of this chapter—by the report made on 1, 3 and 4 February following in the same place by the bishops of Viseu and Lausanne the ambassadors of Basel to the Byzantine Emperor, and by the narration of the Bishop of Digne before the Council in Ferrara on 1 March 1438.¹ On 15 September Digne and Corone were received by the Emperor and they exposed in the name of the Council and the Pope respectively the situation, guaranteed the complete execution of all the conditions of the agreement made with the Council and invited the Emperor to fulfil his part of the convention. On the next day they made a like declaration before the Patriarch and his Curia in the church of St Sophia. Three weeks of preparation passed during which (24 September) the Archbishop of Tarentaise and Nicholas of Cusa arrived in three heavy vessels with the archers and the Despot Constantine whom with Sphrantzes his secretary they had taken aboard at Carystos (Euboea).² On 3 October the fleet of Basel arrived with the two bishops of Viseu and Lausanne and representatives of the French King and of the Duke of Savoy. Great was Ragusa's dismay and he feared that, if the dissension between the Council and the Pope were openly manifested, such would be the scandal and the disgrace of the Latin Church in the eyes of the Greeks that all hope of union would be lost. He hastened to the papal party to get an explanation, interviewed the Emperor who forbade any fighting between the two fleets, though

¹ The report of Ragusa—Cecconi, doc. CLXXVIII; Mansi, 31A, 248: the report of Viseu and Lausanne—Haller, v, pp. 277f.; Cecconi, doc. CLXXIX: the Report of Digne—*Frag.* pp. 50f.; Cecconi, doc. CLXXXVIII. Other documents: letter of Basel envoys to Council dated Constantinople 24 October 1437 (Haller, v, p. 263): instruments of same in protest to Emperor (*ibid.* p. 262), to citizens of Chios (*ibid.* p. 268): letter of member of papal party, Rodrigo, dean of Braga to a friend, dated Constantinople 13 October 1437 (G. Hofmann, 'Rodrigo, Dekan von Braga: Kaiser Johann VIII. Palaiologus', in *O.C.P.* ix (1943), pp. 171f.): letter of Garatoni to Eugenius, dated Constantinople 20 October 1437 (Haller, v, p. 336, n. 2): another letter (or another version of the same letter) of Garatoni to Eugenius, one from the papal envoys to Eugenius and one of Garatoni to a member of the papal Curia, all dated Constantinople 20 October 1437 (G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Rutenio*, S.T. 46, pp. 118–122).

² Phr. p. 164.

both had arrayed themselves for battle, and who, to preserve the peace, had the newly arrived vessels anchor near his palace, and prevailed on the papal Legate to make a formal call on the newcomers for the preservation of good relations or at least of appearances.¹ On 4 October the Council's ambassadors were received by the Emperor. They offered the cities of Basel, Avignon or somewhere in Savoy, declared themselves the only true representatives of the Council and repudiated the pretensions of the minority envoys. The Emperor took a few days to reply and, when on 8 October he spoke with them again, it was to urge peace between the Pope and the Council. Meanwhile the papal representatives had been countering the arguments of the emissaries of the majority, but privately with the Emperor and the Patriarch so as to limit as much as possible the scandal caused in Greek minds by the division in the Western Church. For another nine days conferences went on, the Emperor stressing three points—the three conditions of time, place and the Pope, none of which, he said, had the Fathers of Basel fulfilled—they were late in time, they proposed cities not contained in the decree and inconvenient for both the Greeks and the Pope in spite of his reiterated insistence on the importance of this, and they were divided from the Pope who would not be present—and so he was released from any obligation he had entered into with the Council, but he was willing, he said, to sail with the combined papal and Basel fleets to the Gulf of Venice in the hope that either on the way or on arrival agreement could be reached that would satisfy all parties, Pope, Basel and himself.

This the envoys from Basel would not hear of—it was too far out

¹ The letter of Braga adds details which fill out the account of the ambassadors of Basel. He says that the Emperor sent three times to bid the papal party lay down arms, which they finally did only when the papal Legate imposed his will through Garatoni. He does not mention Ragusa's intervention in respect of the courtesy-visit in which he himself represented the papal envoys, and which ended by his escorting the ambassadors of Basel to their lodgings. He adds that these tried to bribe the Emperor and the Patriarch with 40,000 ducats each to go to Avignon, and that they asserted that the Duke of Savoy was pope (which is interesting in view of the fact that he actually did become anti-pope but only on 5 November 1439), who, being related to nearly all the princes of Europe, would be a powerful ally, and who was ready to marry his widow-daughter to the widower-brother of John VIII. The Patriarch was firm for the Pope: 'Though France, Spain and Germany should all go to Avignon, neither I nor the Emperor will go there.'

of their way—and when they saw that their arguments to defend the majority were not availing, they demanded the restitution of the 8000 ducats of Council money that the Emperor had received from Ragusa to prepare his party for the journey.¹ They also asserted that a herald in the colours of the Duke of Savoy, bearing a budget of letters and documents of the Basel faction for delivery to the Emperor and Ragusa in Constantinople, had been tortured and murdered on the ship bearing the Captain of the papal fleet, Antonio Condulmaro, and the Archbishop of Tarentaise, which he had boarded at Crete, and they demanded that those responsible should be punished. To this the Emperor replied that, having heard rumours to that effect, he had made inquiries and been informed that, while it was true that such a man had been discovered on the ship, he had not been done away with, but, as he was accused of being an enemy of Venice, he had been sent to that city to be tried. Then for the security of their persons the two Basel bishops retired to Pera (Ragusa says that an attempt was made to wrest from him the 3000 ducats remaining to him of the Council's money), where they received from the Emperor a letter for presentation to the Council announcing his decision,² and where on 30 October in one of the churches they made a solemn protest before the Bishop of Trebizond against the breaking of the pact. They had not lost hope, however, that ultimately, if only the Council would persevere, the Emperor and the Patriarch would change their minds and go to Basel.

They set sail for their return on 1 November, reached Chios on 8 November, departed again only on 22 November in a Genoese ship because their own vessels had been confiscated by the islanders for use against a threatened attack by pirates, and finally arrived at Basel on 19 January 1438, having meanwhile restored 23,000 ducats to the deluded citizens of Avignon. It was a sad day for all, but particularly for Ragusa,³ a man of single purpose and one of the

¹ Garatoni in his letter to Eugenius asserted that they demanded also restitution of the expenses made by the Council for the expedition of its ambassadors to Constantinople. In May 1436 the Council claimed that the Fathers had already spent from their own pockets some 16,000 ducats on the Greeks (*M.C.* II, 904).

² Cecconi, doc. CLXVII; *M.C.* III, 49.

³ Syropoulus asserts, incredibly, that Ragusa advised both Emperor and Patriarch to go neither to Basel nor to Italy. He also says that Manuel Dishypatus sent by John to

staunchest upholders of the Council's pretensions, who had laboured in immense difficulties for more than two years, much of the time alone, only to be disappointed in the end. The degree of the hardships and anxieties he endured can be gauged from his words to the men of Basel: 'Young and beardless you sent me, and behold, you receive me back an old man, grey-haired and bearded like a Greek.'

Once the ambassadors of Basel had left, the arrangements for the departure of the papal fleet were not long delayed. At the wish of the Emperor the sailing was deferred, for added security, to coincide with that of the Venetian merchant fleet from the Black Sea. The Patriarch went on board ship on 24 November; the Emperor on the next day, the feast of St Catherine. The fleet sailed on 27 November.

That the Greeks had chosen the papal fleet was, of course, a triumph for the Pope, which came to him at a time when he could and would use it to press home his advantage against the Council. In the earlier stages of the struggle between Eugenius and Basel the Greek question was unimportant. Both of them set up relations with Constantinople from a genuine desire of Christian unity. In the beginning the Council invited the Pope to send a mission there, but later, as the Fathers became more conscious of their own importance, they despatched their own. Meanwhile John VIII, following up the negotiations with Martin V, had approached Eugenius. Garatoni's journeys to Constantinople were the natural consequence, for the Pope would not have thought it either suitable or necessary to consult the Council before continuing what his predecessor had begun, though it may be that his readiness to accept the eastern capital as the scene of the unionistic meeting was not uninfluenced by his fears of Basel. However, when he found that the Council had made other arrangements and was determined to adhere to them, he gave way readily, fully and genuinely. He was not using the Greeks and union as a means to gain an advantage over his adversaries. It was the Council itself that thrust that opportunity upon him. Determined to remain in being as the supreme authority in

Sigismund brought back an answer counselling the Greek Emperor not to go to Italy (III, 13, p. 57). The Turkish Emir gave the same advice (*ibid.* III, 14, p. 58; Phr. p. 179).

the Church and afraid, therefore, to leave their seat of Basel for a city nearer to papal influence, the Fathers tried in defiance of the agreement to force the Greeks to come to them. That action brought the growing division within the Council to a head and drove the more moderate section into Eugenius' arms. He was not slow to see his opportunity. He approved the claim of the *sanior pars* to be the true Council, not only promised but also took immediate action to implement the convention *Sicut pia mater*, and by his Bull transferring the Council to Ferrara countered the reaction of Basel. It was natural that of the two fleets the Greeks should have preferred the Pope's. In spite of Latin conciliar theory, they had no doubt that the only head of the Latin Church was the Pope; their tradition of negotiations with the West had been with popes; and Eugenius promised the fulfilment of the agreement arrived at with Basel, which in fact was no more than what had been arranged with his predecessor, Martin V. The presence of the Greeks in Ferrara would add weight and prestige to the Council of Eugenius, but, though a blow to the pretensions of the remnant at Basel, it would only intensify its opposition, and increase in the western princes the tendency towards independence of both claimants to supreme ecclesiastical authority.

THE GREEKS ARRIVE AND DISCOURSE ON PURGATORY

THE city of Constantinople is enclosed within a stout and lofty wall, defended by many strong, high towers. This wall runs from three angles [thus making a triangle] and from angle to angle the length of the wall is six miles, so that the whole outer circuit measures 18 miles, to wit six leagues. On two sides this wall faces the Sea [of Marmora and the Golden Horn], on the third side it is of the land. At the angle furthest from the Sea [of Marmora, and overlooking the Golden Horn] is a height on which is built the imperial Palace [of Blachernae]. Though the circuit of the walls is thus very great and the area spacious, the city is not throughout very densely populated. There are within its compass many hills and valleys where corn fields and orchards are found, and among the orchardlands there are hamlets and suburbs which are all included within the city limits. The most populous quarter of the city is along the lower level by the shore towards the point that juts into the Sea [of Marmora]. The trading quarter of the city is down by the gates which open on the strand [of the Golden Horn] and which are facing the opposite gates which pertain to the city of Pera, for it is here that the galleys and smaller vessels come to port to discharge their cargoes, and here by the strand it is that the people of Pera meet those of Constantinople and transact their business and commerce.

Everywhere throughout the city there are many great palaces, churches and monasteries, but most of them are now in ruin.¹ It is however plain that in former times when Constantinople was in its pristine state it was one of the noblest capitals of the world. They say even now that it holds within its circuit 3000 churches, great and small. Within its area are many fountains and wells of sweet water. . . . Along the strand by the waterside [of the Golden Horn] outside the city wall and facing Pera there are innumerable warehouses and shops for the sale of all sorts of goods. Hither the traders bring and store their merchandise that comes in from overseas. Constantinople, as has been said, stands by

¹ 'The Emperor's palace must have been very magnificent, but now it is in such a state that both it and the city show well the evils which the people have suffered and still endure. . . . Inside, the house is badly kept, except certain parts where the Emperor, the Empress and attendants can live, although cramped for space' (Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, ed. Malcolm Lewis (London, 1926), p. 145).

the Sea [of Marmora] and two sides of the triangle of its plan lie along the shore. Facing Constantinople lies the city of Pera, and in between the two is the port [of the Golden Horn]. . . .

The city of Pera is but a small township, but very populous. It is surrounded by a strong wall and has excellent houses, all well built. It is occupied by the Genoese, and is of the lordship of Genoa, being inhabited by Greeks as well as Genoese. The houses of the town stand on the sea-shore and lie so close on the sea that between its waters and the town wall there is barely the space of the width of a carrack's deck; but it may be a little more. . . .

The arm of the sea [which is the Golden Horn] that runs up dividing Pera from Constantinople is narrow, being less than a mile which is a third of a league across at the mouth. This is esteemed the port for both cities, and it is, I opine, the most safe and the finest harbour in the whole world. It is a safe anchorage from the winds of all four quarters, and any ships that come in there are safe too from the attack of all enemy ships, for these can in no wise come to them, provided of course that Pera and Constantinople are of one mind to hold the port. The water here is clear and deep so that the largest ships of the navy, indeed great carracks, can come up close to the city wall, when a gangway may be thrown across to the shore, as though it were but a boat landing from a galley. Opposite Constantinople [across the Bosphorus] lies the Turkish territory, and quite near, for here over against the city stretches a plain fronting on the Sea [of Marmora] which is called Skutari. Many barks constantly pass daily going from Constantinople and Pera across to the Turkish country at Skutari. [The Golden Horn already described] runs up in a long curve for the distance of half a league all along dividing Pera from Constantinople.

. . . Pera however does none the less still belong to the Emperor: it is his coinage which alone is current there, and he has jurisdiction over the whole township.

The Genoese call their town Pera, but the Greeks name it Galata. . . .¹

Such was the city of Constantinople as it was seen by a traveller in 1403. It would not have changed much in the ensuing thirty-five years. In the early 1430's John VIII had repaired some of its fortifications, cleaning out the deep moat that protected its landward front and building a couple of towers. But the plague of 1435 that ravaged the city had no doubt speeded up the process of decadence and decay that had been going on for a century. Vineyards, orchards, fields had replaced inhabited areas: once-fine buildings were deserted and lay in ruins: the population diminished till on the eve of the

¹ Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, ed. Guy le Strange (London, 1928), pp. 87ff.

siege of 1453 it was only some 40,000–50,000.¹ Scholarius lamented that it was 'in these most recent days poverty-stricken and for the most part uninhabited', 'a city of ruins'.²

The state of the Byzantine empire was even worse. Isidore, to persuade the Fathers of Basel of the importance of the union with the Greeks, had in his speech before the Council of July 1434 dilated on the numbers of places and peoples subject to the Church of Constantinople.³ But most of them were no longer subject to the power of Constantinople. The empire had lost all its old possessions in Asia and the Balkans to the Turk, and the Ionian Islands and most of the islands of the Aegean to Italian cities on which, since they dominated the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine capital depended for its food supplies.⁴ It retained some of the hinterland of the city itself,⁵ the western areas of northern Greece and most of the Morea.⁶ But even these it held by paying tribute to the Turk, and the many journeys of Sphrantzes to Murad II's representative in Greece, to win approval for some action of his Despot or to forestall reprisals, show how insecure was the Greek hold on the Peloponnesus. What conquest by the Turk involved was described by John of Ragusa in a letter to Basel—the piles of Christian heads

¹ A. M. Schneider, 'Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert', pp. 235–7, in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Phil.-Hist. Klasse* (1949), pp. 233–44. L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion* (Paderborn, 1923), p. 272 assesses the population at 30,000–35,000: N. B. Tomadakis (in a communication made to the Byzantine Congress at Salonica (1953)) at 70,000.

² Schol. I, p. 287; IV, p. 405. 'The city [Constantinople] is sparsely populated. It is divided into districts, that by the sea-shore having the largest population. The inhabitants are not well clad, but sad and poor, showing the hardship of their lot which is, however, not so bad as they deserve, for they are a vicious people, steeped in sin' (Pero Tafur, *op. cit.* p. 146).

³ Lambros, I, pp. 1–14 (entitled as an anonymous speech at Florence); Cecconi, doc. xxix.

⁴ Cf. G. I. Brătianu, 'La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et ottomane'; in *Byz.* V (1929/30), pp. 83–107; VI (1931), pp. 641–56.

⁵ Bertrand de la Broquière noted that Byzantine territory extended only a two days' ride from the city wall, with few villages and those miserably poor: quoted by A.A.S.: 'Ενα ταξειδι στὴ Θράκη στὰ 1433', p. 118, in *Θρακικά*, I (1925), pp. 116–23.

⁶ Cf. 'Υπόμνημα περὶ ἑλληνικῶν χωρῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν 1Ε' αἰῶνα (*Terre hodie Grechorum et dominia secularia et spiritualia*, written 30 July 1437) in N.E. VII (1910), pp. 360–71.

paraded in triumph; the thousands of slaves despatched to all quarters of the Turkish empire, their sufferings, their degradation, their despair; the arrogance of the conqueror and his confidence that before long he would have overrun other large tracts of Christian territory.¹

It was largely because he had all these facts constantly thrust on his notice that John VIII was so set on the project of union.² His only hope of saving his capital from the fate that had befallen most of the rest of his empire lay in the West, to persuade the Christian princes that immediate action was needed if there was to be preserved that last bulwark of Christianity in the East, which was at the same time the first line of defence of the western kingdoms. There was no one in the West whose influence could compare with that of the Pope. If help were to be forthcoming, it would be because a pope had roused the Christian world to an appreciation of the emergency, for only the Pope seemed to realise the duty of succouring Christians just because they were Christians and the terrible danger to Europe if the Turk were allowed to triumph in the East unmolested.³ That was the chief reason why John chose Eugenius before Basel. The Pope was the head of the Latin Church: the princes had opposed the Fathers in their various savage measures to degrade the papacy. John hoped that the princes would all be represented at the Pope's Council and that there, with concord between the Churches achieved, he could secure from them, with the Pope's ardent support, a quick and strong defence for his capital. So he set sail from Constantinople on 27 November 1437.

The light ship that had carried the first comers of the papal party to Constantinople sailed for Italy on 19 November with an advance

¹ 17 November 1436; Cecconi, doc. XCIII.

² Which is not the same thing as saying that this was his only motive. John, like all other Christians of the time, sincerely believed that the schism dividing East and West was a tragedy and that to try to heal that breach was worthy of a man's best endeavours. Cf. J. Gill, 'John Palaeologus VIII. A Character Study', in *Silloge Bizantina* in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (Roma, 1957), pp. 152-70.

³ 'In justice also it must be admitted that no princes recognised so completely as did a long series of popes the expediency and duty of defending Constantinople as the first outwork of the defences of Europe against the forces of Asia, and of aiding its emperors in their efforts to check the Turkish invasion. They were the prime ministers of Western Europe and almost the only persons who regarded the Eastern question as statesmen' (E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire*, etc. (London, 1903), pp. 115-16).

party of both Latins and Greeks.¹ On 24 November, Sunday, the Patriarch with his clerics proceeded in procession to the quay and went on board the captain's galley. The Emperor joined his own ship the next day. For two days the convoy remained in harbour to accustom the passengers to the motion of the water and then, on Wednesday, 27 November, in convoy with three Venetian merchant ships and a Florentine vessel they started their journey, escorted for the first day out by a 'great company' including the visitor Pero Tafur.²

Syropoulus describes the voyage in great detail. There were calms when neither oars nor sails helped them to make any notable progress. There were storms that either drove them forward at a great pace, or forced them back to their starting-point, or kept them harbour-bound awaiting better weather. There were accidents of various sorts, the breaking of booms, the fraying of stays, and a collision that damaged the oarage of one vessel. The Emperor landed at Cenchreae and traversed the Morea on horseback, visiting his brothers on the way. The ships sailed round the Peloponnesus and on 21 December arrived at Methone, where they were well received by the Latin clergy. There they passed Christmas and left only on 3 January to join the Emperor at Navarino where he had arrived

¹ A.C.A. doc. 15. It reached Venice before 30 December 1437: cf. *E.P.* doc. 108.

² Pero Tafur, *op. cit.* p. 125. The description of the rest of the voyage is from Syr. iv, 1-10, pp. 67-80.

With the Patriarch there went the Metropolitan of Heraclea, Antony; of Ephesus, Mark Eugenicus; of Monembasia, Dositheus; of Trebizond, Dorotheus; of Cyzicus (Artaki), Metrophanes; of Sardis, Dionysius; of Nicaea, Bessarion; of Nicomedia, Macarius; of Lacedaemon, Methodius; of Tornovus (Tornovo in Bulgaria), Ignatius; of Mitylene, Dorotheus; of Moldo-Wallachia, Damianus; of Amasia, Joasaph; of Rhodes, Nathanael; of Dristra (Silistria), Callistus; of Melnik (in Bulgaria), Matthew; of Ganos (Thrace), Gennadius; of Drama (Macedonia), Dositheus; of Anchialus (in Bulgaria), Sophronius; of Stauropolis, Isaias; a Metropolitan and a bishop of Georgia; six of the higher officials of the great church—deacons—and most of the minor ones; three superiors of monasteries and four other monks representing monasteries either of Constantinople or Mt Athos; the Protopapas Constantinus; 'with cantors and nearly all the clergy and some monks' (Syr. iii, 15, p. 59). With the Patriarch or the Emperor there went too Gregory Mammias, superior of the monastery of Pantocrator and (later) Protosyncellus, and the laymen George Scholarius, George Gemistus Plethon and George Amiroutzes. Isidore, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, with Avrami, bishop of Susdal, came later by land. A *chronicon breve* of Methone says that 29 metropolitans and bishops accompanied the Patriarch (Lambros, iii, p. 362).

on 27 December.¹ In Corfu, where they celebrated the feast of St Antony (17 January), they stayed eleven days entertained by the Latin clergy.² After a journey in a severe storm the ships came in one after the other to Curzola (off the Dalmatian coast) where the Emperor and the Patriarch met for the first time since their departure from Constantinople, doubtless to discuss the news that met them there, that Sigismund of Hungary was dead and that the Pope awaited them in Ferrara. Then with various stops of several days (the Emperor was ill on an uninhabited island for two days) they proceeded via Zara and Rovigno to Parenzo on the east side of the Gulf of Venice and nearly opposite the city of Venice, which they reached on 4 February. From there the Emperor sent Dishypatus on ahead in a Venetian guard-ship which they encountered to inform the Signoria of his arrival, and the Patriarch, not to be outdone, despatched Syropoulus with him.

The journey had so far taken several days more than two months, a long time even for those days, and the Pope was responsible for the hire of the vessels from July till they docked in Venice.³ Even so it was a hard and wearying voyage for landsmen of the age of the Patriarch. The ships they travelled in were merchant vessels, overcrowded because with the Greeks there were on board the crews, some slaves and, apparently, a certain amount of merchandise.⁴ Though they were, indeed, the largest of their day, yet they were small—some forty to fifty yards long by five to six broad and of shallow draught—and must have reflected every motion of wind and wave. The Patriarch went on shore, lodged either in a tent or a mansion as circumstances allowed, whenever he could, but many were the nights spent at sea. The Bishop of Digne summed up the hardships of the

¹ Lambros, III, p. 362.

² The journey of the Greeks seemed so leisurely to the Corfiotes that a joke was current: *Question*. How many quails would you eat? *Answer*. If someone else pays and gives them me, ten; but if I am the one to pay and eat, two, and from them I'd give the heads and feet to my slave (Syr. IV, 9, p. 78).

³ The Pope, before he learnt of the delay in leaving Constantinople, had expected the Greeks to arrive on about 1 November 1437; cf. letters to prelates, courts and universities, e.g. that to Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury (*E.P.* doc. 90). The Signoria of Venice, after it was aware of the day of departure from Constantinople, forecast the arrival for about Christmas; cf. letter to Cesarini (*A.C.A.* doc. 15).

⁴ Syr. IV, 6, p. 75.

voyage in his report on his mission delivered at Ferrara on 1 March 1438:

But indeed in this navigation and throughout the whole voyage one reason was abundantly clear why there was unwillingness to cross the Tyrrhenian sea towards Avignon, for the Patriarch and the other aged prelates, and sometimes the Emperor too, neither ate nor drank nor slept, except in port. So if there had not been numerous islands with harbours under the domination of the Venetians or of the Greeks themselves, assuredly they would not have been able to reach the port of Venice¹

While the rival embassies of the West were engaged in their negotiations with the Byzantine court, the relations between the Pope and the Council had undergone a change. The events of 7 May 1437 had brought things to a head. Both sides were concerned with a principle—Is a general council superior to a pope?—and their answers were diametrically opposed. Up till May 1437 there had been between them some spirit of conciliation—more on Eugenius' side than on Basel's: from now on that ceased. It was war à l'outrance. The Council made the first overt move. On 31 July it decreed a *Monitorium* or *Citatorium*, in which it recited all its grievances against Eugenius, and required him to appear in person or by procurator before the Council within sixty days.² The efforts of Cesarini and Cervantes, the papal presidents, to avert this ultimatum failed. The peremptory warnings of Sigismund and the Electors of Germany, afraid of a new schism in the Church, were equally unavailing.

Eugenius' reply was the Bull *Doctoris gentium* of 18 September 1437. In it, after briefly recounting the history of the negotiations with the Greeks, stressing the fatuity of the Council's insistence on Avignon as the city chosen for the discussions with them, and alluding to the *Monitorium* and Cesarini's and Sigismund's opposition to it, he announced, *auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia ac ex plenitudine potestatis*, that the future council would be held in Ferrara and that the Council of Basel was forthwith translated thither, except that for a period of thirty days the Fathers might still treat with the Bohemians but only on the question of Communion under both kinds. This decision of the Pope was communicated

¹ *Frag.* p. 60.

² *M.C.* II, 1010-13.

immediately to the city of Basel, to the princes and prelates of various countries, universities, Religious Orders, etc., and with it the Pope sent an Encyclical Letter.¹

The choice of Ferrara for the council is surprising. Florence had at one time been accepted for it. The city had made larger promises than any other;² Eugenius had been in negotiation with the Medicis:³ Dishypatus had informed John VIII in a letter from Bologna of 4 July that Florence was to be the seat of the council:⁴ the Florentines had begun to make S. Maria Novella ready to receive the Pope, and the cardinals and Curia had started to send to Florence some of their baggage.⁵ What probably made the Pope change his mind was the opposition of Sigismund and of the Duke of Milan. The latter especially was the bitter enemy of Florence and he threatened to prevent access to that city both by land and sea if the choice were persisted in. With the aid of the King of Aragon, alienated from Eugenius by the latter's support of René of Anjou for the throne of Naples, he could have effectively blocked the passage of most European envoys destined for the Council.⁶ Bologna for a time had hopes of being the city of choice and for this end willingly submitted to special taxes to raise 30,000 florins for the expenses of the Greeks. Great was the bitterness and disappointment of the Bolognese when Eugenius, probably because of their unstable loyalty to himself and the too close proximity of the hostile Milan to their city, looked elsewhere.⁷

Ferrara which was ultimately chosen for the Council had many advantages. It was a pleasant, well-fortified town to which in 1391 Boniface IX had given a charter establishing its Studio with the power of granting degrees. The Studio, it is true, had been closed

¹ E.P. doc. 88. Cf. Valois, II, pp. 112, 113, n. 1.

² G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879), pp. 158-63.

³ Cecconi, docs. CXXXIII-CXXXV.

⁴ Reported in letter of Ragusa to Basel, 4 August 1436, Haller, I, p. 382: Report of same to Basel, Cecconi, doc. CLXXVIII, p. DVI; M.C. III, 69.

⁵ *Diarium Inghirami in Frag.* p. 32.

⁶ M.C. II, 977-8; Cecconi, doc. CXXXII. For the answer of Florence, cf. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 167; Cecconi, doc. CXLVI.

⁷ Muratori, t. XVIII, pt. 1, *Corpus chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Bologna, 1924), IV, pp. 89, 96-7; t. XXXIII, pt. 1, *Della Historia di Bologna, parte terza del R.P.M. Cherubino Ghirardacci*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Città di Castello, 1915), p. 50.

more often than it was open in the interval, but by 1439 it had among its teachers men of note like Guarino Guarini Veronese who taught Latin and Greek and the famous Ugo Benzi who had previously lectured in Paris and Padua.¹ The surrounding countryside, abounding in fruit gardens, had a rich soil, well watered by the many canals connecting with the Po, that produced good crops of grain, while the meadows and woods nourished cattle and game, and the fresh waters of the rivers and the salt water of the nearby Lake Comacchio provided many varieties of fish, so that the city could well feed the multitude that the Council would bring. It was, too, easily accessible from Venice, the port of arrival of the Greeks. In fact it was the centre of a series of waterways by which Venetian merchandise was distributed to central Italy and to the areas towards Bologna and Milan, so much so that it was always on its guard against the Queen of the Seas which would dearly have loved to have annexed it. For that reason it had to retain a disproportionately large standing army—a mercenary force—which was expensive, but on the other hand it wisely kept itself out of the incessant intrigues and wars that for ever embroiled Milan, Florence and Venice, its powerful neighbours, and more than once because of its neutrality acted as the negotiator of peace between them. All these reasons would have recommended it to Eugenius who wanted both security and peace for his Council, and besides, Nicolò d'Este, its prince, held the city in a certain dependence on the Holy See to which he paid a yearly tribute. Nicolò visited Eugenius in Bologna on 13 June 1437, and to him and his sons the Pope had sold three castles in the course of that same year.² By early September the negotiations were complete and all was ready for the issue of the Bull *Doctoris gentium*.

The transference of the Council by the Pope to Ferrara naturally did not mollify the dispositions of the Fathers of Basel. On 26 September they reiterated their prohibitions against the creation of new

¹ A. Visconti, *La storia dell'Università di Ferrara (1391-1950)* (Bologna, 1950), pp. 12-13.

² Muratori, *ibid.* p. 47. T. xxiv, pt. vii, *Diario Ferrarese*, ed. G. Pardi (Bologna, 1928), p. 22. The Bolognese chronicle asserts that Eugenius gave the castles, but the Ferrarese chronicle says that one at least, Lugo, was sold by the Pope for 14,000 ducats and 100 moggia of corn: so probably all three were sold and in that way Eugenius was raising money for the Council.

cardinals while the Council was still in being (Eugenius had lately made Vitelleschi cardinal); quashed the decree of the minority of 7 May; and took under their protection Avignon which, it was rumoured, the Pope intended to sell.¹ On 1 October, the sixty days' grace allowed by the Monitorium now being up, Eugenius was declared contumacious.² On 7 October, at the instance of Sigismund and the German Electors, a further sixty days' grace was allowed the Pope to submit to the injunctions of the Monitorium.³ On 12 October the Bull *Doctoris gentium* was annulled and a few days later (19 October) a long letter was approved for general publication rebutting all the charges of Eugenius against the Fathers of Basel and recounting anew all their grievances against him.⁴ Efforts at pacification were unavailing. Sigismund, who had done so much in the past, died on 9 December. Cesarini, taking occasion from the news that the Greeks had preferred the papal ships to those of the Council, tried to persuade the Fathers to concentrate on reform till the Greeks arrived and then, if they really had the union of the Churches at heart, to accept whichever city the Greeks should choose for the Council. But that would have been 'to obey the Pope dissolving the Council' and 'to go where the Pope held power and domination',⁵ where, that is, the Council being under the presidency of the Pope would no longer be held infallible of itself, so his words fell on deaf ears. He realised now that he had no longer any influence for good in Basel and left on 9 January 1438 for Venice and Ferrara.

Meanwhile Eugenius pursued his project. In early December, having learnt of the success of his Legate at Constantinople, he ordered that all money collected under the orders of Basel for the union with the Greeks should be sequestered so as not to be diverted to other uses and wrote to various princes enlisting their support for this measure.⁶ On 30 December by the Bull *Pridem ex justis*, after the arrival at Venice of the light ship bringing the first Greeks to the Council, he definitively declared that the Council of Basel was trans-

¹ *M.C.* 11, 1021-6.

² *Ibid.* 1031.

³ *Ibid.* 1041.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1043, 1049.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1125, 1126.

⁶ *E.P.* docs. 103, 107; Valois, 11, p. 113.

ferred to Ferrara where it would be continued on 8 January 1438.¹ Cardinal Nicolò Albergati was appointed president till the Pope's arrival.²

The first session of the Council in Ferrara was held in the cathedral church of St George on 8 January 1438 under the presidency of Cardinal Nicolò Albergati.³ There were present five archbishops; seventeen bishops—almost all Italians; four bishops elect, non-Italian; eleven abbots (including the Abbot of Culross in Scotland); two Generals of Orders and two Dominican theologians. The business of this session was the official opening of the Council by the reading of the decree of the minority of Basel dated 7 May 1437, the two Bulls of Eugenius authorising the transference of the Council to Ferrara, Albergati's appointment as Legate of the Pope for the work of the Council and the safe-conducts. This done, the Cardinal formally declared in the Pope's name that the Council of Basel was now transferred to Ferrara to continue its work 'for all those objects for which the Synod of Basel had been convened, also as the Oecumenical Council in which union of the Western and the Eastern Churches should be treated of and, with the Lord's help, brought to a conclusion'.

A second session was held the following day to prepare documents to annul all the prohibitions and penalties that the Council of Basel in the long course of its sessions had decreed against its opponents. These were read and approved in a plenary session on 10 January. The remnant at Basel or any other similar gathering was declared not to be a General Council; sanctions were enacted against those who under any pretext tried to molest the members of the Council of Ferrara. By these three sessions the Council of Ferrara was firmly established canonically and its members protected. There was then a lull in proceedings till the arrival of the Pope.

Eugenius left Bologna, to the disgust of its citizens, on 23 January for the castle of Galliera which he had had constructed not long before 'as a bridle on Bologna', and on the following day journeyed

¹ *E.P.* doc. 108; Cecconi, doc. CLXX.

² *E.P.* doc. 114.

³ The details of these sessions till the arrival of the Greeks in Ferrara are taken from *Frag.* pp. 1 ff. Cf. also G. Hofmann, 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara I', in *O.C.P.* III (1937), pp. 110-40.

to Ferrara by water, slipping away secretly, so the Bolognese chronicler suggests.¹ He arrived at the monastery of S. Antonio outside of Ferrara in a snowstorm on the same day, 24 January,² and three days later, with the clergy of Ferrara in solemn procession and with the representative of James II, king of Castile and León, holding the bridle of his horse on the right and the Marquis of Ferrara on the left, he proceeded to the cathedral church, and thence, after an allocution by the Bishop of Forlì, Aloysius de Perano, O.F.M., he retired to the palace assigned to him.³

The 24th day of January was memorable also for another reason. It was the day when the remnant at Basel held their thirty-first session, in which, along with two decrees concerning reform, they declared the Pope suspended and deprived of all power both spiritual and temporal, which the Fathers arrogated to themselves for as long as the suspension should last. At the same time all princes, cardinals and bishops were forbidden to obey him: instead, those who had the right and duty of participating in a council should proceed forthwith to Basel.⁴

With the arrival of Eugenius at Ferrara the Council came to new life. On 8 February a session was held in the chapel of the Pope's residence. After the Solemn Mass sung by Giovanni, archbishop of Taranto, the Pope addressed the assembled Fathers, recapitulating briefly the events that had forced him to act as he had done and asserting that it always had been and still was his desire to achieve concord in the Church and to reform abuses whether in head or members: he asked their aid to devise measures to restrain the excesses of the Baseler and exhorted them to correct anything unseemly in their own behaviour. Thereupon Cardinal Orsini and Thomas, archbishop of Ravenna, as the seniors of the cardinals and the bishops, thanked His Holiness and promised him their support. There followed an account, read by one of the advocates, of the steps taken by the remnant at Basel to hinder the Council in Ferrara, beginning with their non-acceptance of the minority decree of 7 May and the rival embassy to Constantinople, and then enumerating their censures both on the Pope himself and on those who obeyed

¹ Muratori, t. XXXIII, pt. I, pp. 46, 50.

³ *Gesta in Frag.* p. 27.

² *Ibid.* t. XXIV, pt. VII, p. 22

⁴ *M.C.* III, 25.

his summons to collaborate in the Synod at Ferrara contained in the three decrees of their thirty-first session (24 January 1438), and the Sovereign Pontiff was requested to act so as to procure peace in the Church, to vindicate his own innocence of the charges brought against him and to protect the members of the Council gathered in Ferrara.

Other sessions followed quickly. With Cardinal Orsini as president, the fifth session on 10 February established the order of precedence of the members, ordered the appointment of two more notaries in addition to the two already in office, advised the drawing up of an official list of members and recommended that letters should be sent to urge the attendance at the Council of those who were entitled to take part. It was probably in this session, too, that the method of voting was determined. The members were divided into three estates—cardinals, archbishops and bishops; abbots and Religious; doctors, dignitaries of churches, graduates, etc.: the votes of two-thirds of the members of any estate were requisite for the assent of that estate to any measure, and the assent of all the estates was necessary for any conciliar decision.¹ On 11 February there was a discussion on the measures to be taken to meet the antagonism of Basel, which resulted in a memorandum reminding the members at Basel of the penalties they would incur if they persisted in their opposition: princes and others were forbidden to support them any longer: the burghers of the city were bidden expel them: the Pope was asked to send embassies to acquaint all countries with the true state of affairs and to renew his measures to ensure that all money collected for the affair of the Greeks was really used for that object. This memorandum was read and approved in the following session of 14 February.

The fruits of all these deliberations were seen in the plenary session of the following day, 15 February. After the singing of the Litanies and the *Veni Creator* Cardinal Angelotto Fusco, Cardinal of St Mark's, celebrated the solemn High Mass in the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff² and of seventy-two 'mitres' (among whom was

¹ *A.L.* pp. 256-7.

² Because of the Pope's gout the Ferrarese constructed a wooden bridge rising gently from the door of the cathedral to the loggia in front of the ducal palace (A. Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, III (2nd ed. Ferrara, 1850), p. 476).

the Bishop of Brechin, Scotland). Then was read the Bull *Exposit debitum*, recalling briefly the reasons for the summoning of the Council at Ferrara, and bidding the Fathers of Basel under pain of excommunication leave that city within thirty days and the burghers of Basel under pain of interdict expel them after the lapse of that period; but promising, too, immunity from penalty to any Fathers who repaired to Ferrara.

There was one more session before the main party of the Greeks reached Ferrara. On 1 March the papal delegates who had so successfully conducted the negotiations in Constantinople made their report on their mission by the mouth of the Bishop of Digne, and received the thanks and the congratulations of the Sovereign Pontiff for their labours.¹

Though the Emperor had sent Dishypatus on to Venice to announce his arrival, he himself reached the city first, because his ship, being quicker, passed the other unperceived, and anchored near St Nicholas de Lido at about eight o'clock on the morning of 8 February, the rest of the convoy arriving some two hours later.² Dishypatus and Syropoulus proceeded straightaway to visit the Doge, Francesco Foscari, who received them very graciously, leading them by the hand to seat them near himself, and inquiring about the journey and the health of the Emperor. As the convoy had arrived somewhat unexpectedly he asked that the Emperor and the Patriarch should remain that night on board their ships, so that next day they might be escorted with all due honours to their appointed lodgings.³ Dishypatus and Syropoulus inspected those lodgings before they returned to their principals. Because he had heard from them of the Emperor's indisposition, the Doge paid him a visit later in that same day, on his way falling in with the Patriarch who had left his ship

¹ *Frag.* pp. 23, 50-60. The information furnished by this report was freely used in writing the previous chapter.

² The history of the rest of the events narrated in this chapter is taken mainly from *Syt.* IV, 11-32, pp. 80-111 and *A.G.* pp. 1-11. References to other sources will be noted as they occur.

³ The Signoria had already on 3 December 1437 voted a maximum of 1000 ducats (later increased to a possible 3000) for the entertainment of the Greeks and had prepared for the reception of the Emperor the palace of the Marquis of Ferrara and the old palace of Louis of Verma, and for the Patriarch the monastery attached to the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore: *A.C.A. docs.* 11, 17; *Jorga*, III, p. 22.

to take up his lodgings at St George's, where there was offered to the Greek clerics, who had already started their Lent,¹ a dinner of meat, birds and fish.

The next morning, shortly before midday, there was staged the official visit to the Emperor. Staged is the right word, because the glory of Venice was paraded before the Greeks in pageant, and it left them speechless and at a loss to describe the magnificence of the spectacle and beauty of the city. The Doge led the way on the *Bucentaur*, a broad state-barge that was either towed by two other vessels or propelled by oars protruding from the port-holes of a lower deck. Its upper deck formed a large salon where the Doge and his suite sat on thrones, the whole being richly decorated with bright-coloured paints and tapestries. A dozen other gaily-decorated barges accompanied the *Bucentaur*, on one of which was displayed a *tableau* representing Venetian power. The rowers on the lower deck were clad in gleaming livery, their head-dress carrying the emblems of Venice and of the Emperor; the sides of the vessel were decorated with imperial flags; and on the upper deck were grouped four men clad in cloth-of-gold with another bearing a sceptre and seeming to dominate a throng of other figures who represented foreign lands, while on a raised dais stood a warrior in shining armour flanked by two boys arrayed as angels. The prow was adorned with two golden lions, the lions of St Mark, with between them the Byzantine eagle. While the Doge did official honours to the Emperor this vessel circled round the imperial ship to the sound of trumpets and musical instruments of all kinds and, while all the bells of Venice pealed, vessels of every variety darted hither and thither, so that the water was hardly visible for their great number.² The only drawback to the scene was that the weather was misty and showery.

The Doge with his suite boarded the imperial vessel and presented his son to the Emperor. Some time was spent in conversation, the

¹ In 1438 the Greek mitigated fasting of the week of 'Tyrophago' began on 17 February and their Lent proper on 24 February. So why Syropoulus asserts that they were not eating meat on the Saturday of the Prodigal (8 February) is something of a mystery.

² This apparent exaggeration conveys a true impression; it is used independently by the *A.G.* p. 1; by Syr. iv, 13, p. 84 and, to describe the scene at the 'marriage of the Doge with the sea' on Ascension Day, by Pero Tafur, *op. cit.* p. 158.

Doge sitting on the Emperor's left and the Despot Demetrius, John VIII's brother, on his right.¹ The Doge invited the Emperor to land by the *Bucentaur* but John VIII, thinking that hardly consonant with his dignity, preferred to disembark directly from his own ship, which in consequence was towed to the quay. Meantime, so that the Patriarch should not be without the honours due to him, two vessels decorated with patriarchal emblems and plants cunningly disposed so as to appear to be growing from the decks took up position in front of the monastery of St George and remained there all the day.

There is no wonder that the Greeks, as towards sunset, after being rowed up and down the canals of Venice for much of the day, they set foot on Venetian soil to the sound of music of all kinds and the acclamations of the crowd in gala mood and dress, should have felt that it was 'a glorious and marvellous Venice, verily marvellous, marvellous in the extreme and rich and varied and golden and highly finished and variegated and worthy of limitless praise, that wise and indeed most wise Venice'.² For the City of the Lagoons was at this time about at the zenith of its magnificence and power. Ruled by a small oligarchy, it was directed to one purpose, to protect and extend its commerce. It owned islands and harbours in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean and enjoyed trading rights in ports from the Crimea to the Red Sea. The riches of food supplies of all kinds, of silks and spices came from the East to its port to be distributed to the West. Its financial security was accepted everywhere. And the city had been adorned with magnificent palaces and churches to rival and reflect its commercial pre-eminence. The Palace of the Doge, the palaces of the great families, built in marble and painted and gilded on the outside; the shops filled with brocades and silks and works in gold and silver; the markets for fruits, fish and game of all sorts; the thronging crowds of free Venetian citizens, of foreigners of all hues, of slaves; the bridges spanning the canals, like the famous Rialto that was raised to let the Greeks pass by; the noble church of St Mark with its cupolas reflecting the architecture

¹ So *A.G.* pp. 2, 4: Syr. says that the positions were reversed, *iv*, 13, p. 83. The left would seem to have been the place of honour—the Emperor was seated on the Pope's left at his reception, *A.G.* p. 7.

² *A.G.* p. 4.

of the East, with its marbles, mosaics and mural paintings, with its treasury filled with 'pearls, precious stones, relics, diamonds, jewelled candlesticks, the retable called *La Pala* entirely covered with pearls and precious stones',¹ its reliquaries, not a few of which came from the sack of Constantinople in 1204—all this, set off by the waters of the canals dotted by speeding gondolas and sumptuous barges, with in the background the masts of the merchant-vessels that were the strength of the city, moved visitors like the Greeks to an intense admiration of such a spectacle of power and beauty.

As soon as the Greek convoy reached Venice Garatoni hastened to Ferrara to report to the Pope, leaving behind him to look after the Greeks Michele Zeno,² the Venetian merchant who with Baldassarre Lupari had been commissioned by Eugenius in July to act as his agents in business matters connected with the Greeks. Venice itself was willing to entertain them for some ten or twelve days, provided the expenses involved did not exceed 3000 ducats,³ but it allowed also free entry of the provisions that the Emperor and the Patriarch had brought with them.⁴ The Doge visited the Emperor and the Patriarch in their lodgings and made presents to them; and Zeno in the Pope's name gave the Emperor 600 florins and the Patriarch 400 florins for the expenses of their suites.

As soon as the news reached Ferrara that the Greeks had at last actually arrived Eugenius despatched messengers to bid them welcome. Nicolò d'Este, the Marquis of Ferrara, with a considerable suite reached Venice on 12 February to offer the hospitality of his city. On the next day Nicolò Albergati, cardinal of S. Croce, accompanied by the Patriarch of Grado, the archbishops of Treviso and Candia, the bishops of Taranto and Vicenza and other prelates, was met by the Doge as he entered Venice by water and escorted to the monastery of St George to pay a courtesy call on the Patriarch,

¹ Cf. Pero Tafur, *op. cit.* p. 159.

² This is a deduction from Syr.'s spelling of the name—Michel ton Tzio—(IV, 14, p. 84), and the fact that in the registers of the *Camera apostolica* reimbursements to him are recorded for payments made by him to the Greeks: cf. Jorga, II, pp. 5-8.

³ A.C.A. docs. 11, 17.

⁴ Jorga, III, p. 32, namely: 'Receptacles for wine, i.e. large and small casks, up to about 40; salt meat of various kinds, caviar, in all 400 tubs and about 10 barrels; also carpets, 4 small bundles; also botargo, 2 boxes; raisins, 1 sack; and other of their things for their own use.'

Joseph II.¹ On the fourteenth he made his official visits to both Emperor and Patriarch to welcome them in the name of the Pope: he spoke of Eugenius' good will towards them and of his great desire for union, and urged them to proceed to Ferrara. The Emperor and the Patriarch did not immediately comply. They demanded a few days for deliberation, pleading the fatigue of the journey only just completed; and they had, too, received letters from Basel to persuade them to repair thither.² That they did genuinely hesitate for a moment as to which course to pursue is shown by a letter from the Venetian Senate to its representative at the Holy See. The Patriarch, so Dandolo was told with instructions to pass on the information confidentially to the Pope, disturbed by the continued division between the Pope and Basel and the Pope and the princes, had secretly asked the Doge's counsel what he and the Emperor should do. The Doge had strongly advised him to choose the Pope, since the more important and worthy prelates had abandoned Basel, and the princes, with the exception of the King of Aragon and the Duke of Milan, now favoured the Sovereign Pontiff.³ The hesitation, however, did not last long. A short time later (probably on 18 February)—both the Emperor and the Patriarch were ill for a few days, when nothing could be done—a committee of a select few counsellors and prelates decided for Ferrara, the Emperor and the Patriarch being the most urgent for this choice. As soon as the news was made known, Nicolò d'Este hastened back to Ferrara to prepare the reception, and the brothers Dishypatus for the Emperor and the Metropolitans of

¹ P. de Töth, *Il beato Nicolò Albergati e i suoi tempi, 1377-1444* (Viterbo, 1934), II, p. 440.

² Letter of Traversari of date 21 February 1438 from Venice, Trav. no. 140. Traversari, sent by the Pope, had reached Venice the day after the Greeks but had made no contact with the Emperor or the Patriarch, on a point of etiquette, till after the arrival of the principal papal representative, Cardinal Albergati.

³ Dated 17 February 1438 in *A.C.A.* doc. 30. This letter disposes of Syropoulos' contention (IV, 15, p. 85) that the Doge advised the Emperor to bargain with both the Pope and Basel to see which would give the better terms, and even to hold the council in Venice itself.

'Venerant enim iam Venetias Greci qui, etsi ab initio ambigui starent propter basiliensis concilii pontificisque discordias, preter eorum spem apud nostros repertas, tamen, viam pontificis ad extremum secuti, Ferrariam se ad Eugenium papam contulere', Muratori, t. XVI, pt. I, *Sozomeni presbyteri chronicon universale*, ed. G. Zaccagnini (Città di Castello, 1908), p. 27.

Heraclea and Monembasia for the Patriarch were despatched to inform the Pope, reaching Ferrara on 26 February.¹ Meanwhile Garatoni had returned and had made further gifts of money and silver plate to the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch. Cardinal Cesarini, who had been kept informed by Venice of the movements of the Greeks, arrived from Basel on 20 February and visited the Emperor and the Patriarch: at about the same time there came also Cardinal Vitelleschi. On 27 February Cardinal Albergati left with his suite for Ferrara.

The Greeks in Venice made on the whole a good impression, though there were some among the Latins (and apparently in the suite of Cardinal Albergati) who were ready to construe every little thing adversely—the fact that neither Emperor nor Patriarch went to meet the Pope's representative as he entered, nor doffed his head-dress; that the Patriarch spoke of the Pope as his brother; that they had not accepted Ferrara for the Council straightaway. Traversari mentions these facts in his letters to exhort the Pope and the Latins to patience and good will. He himself became an enthusiastic admirer of the Patriarch, who in spite of his eighty years was, he said, still keen of intellect, kindly, affable and filled with a great desire to meet the Pope and to achieve the union of the Churches, which he thought would be done without great difficulty once he and Eugenius had come together in person.² An anonymous letter-writer from Venice to the prelates of the German Nation recounts that more than 650 Greeks had arrived, among them twenty-five archbishops and bishops, with abbots, monks and laymen, and such was their desire for union that he was moved to say that furtherance of that end was worth more than a life of prayer and fasting.³

¹ So the *Gesta in Frag.* p. 28. Syropoulus says that the brothers Dishypatus took leave of the Patriarch while he was assisting at Vespers in St George's—when to their dismay he insisted that they comply with Latin custom by removing their hats—on Saturday, which was 22 February. Andrea da S. Croce (*A.L.* p. 27) must be mistaken in asserting that they met the Pope on 20 February: he also says that there were three laymen to represent the Emperor. The same writer's *Diarium* (*Frag.* p. 42) records that they presented themselves officially at the session of 1 March and puts the report of the Bishop of Digne on 2 March, but the protocol of the session of 1 March (*ibid.* p. 23) puts the report of the Bishop of Digne on that day and makes no mention of the presence, still less of the message, of the envoys, though it notes the presence of various others including the Marquis of Ferrara.

² Trav. nos. 30, 140.

³ Written 27 February 1438, Mansi, 30, 1219; Cecconi, doc. CLXXXVII.

John VIII wrote on 25 February to the Fathers of Basel to acquaint them of his decision and to exhort them to join him in Ferrara. He had always, he said, refused to agree to Basel as the scene of the Council and now, even had he wished to go there, he could not, for his physical condition after the rigours of the voyage was such that he could not mount a horse.¹ Two days later he set off by water to join the Pope. With him went his own retinue and a large part of the clerics, but for lack of suitable ships the Patriarch was left behind, much to his annoyance as he considered that, the question at issue between the Churches being ecclesiastical, he ought to have arrived at Ferrara at least in company with the Emperor, or, if one of them had to be delayed it should have been the head of the secular power. The ships went via Chioggia and along the coast to enter one of the mouths of the Po, and then up the river till it touched Ferrarese territory at Francolino. There the Emperor was met by the Pope's late Legate to Constantinople and an imposing group of prelates and courtiers, but instead of completing the journey by water he requested to be supplied with horses and with some 150 of his suite rode into Ferrara the next day 4 March, arriving shortly after noon. The Marquis of Ferrara with his two sons, all the cardinals then in the Curia² and a multitude of prelates and courtiers met him a mile outside the city and escorted him to the papal palace, seated on a black horse and covered by a rich canopy, with a riderless white horse decked with rich cloths embroidered with golden eagles preceding him. The Pope, who was awaiting him in state, rose as he entered and embraced him. After some friendly conversation, the monarch took his leave and was escorted to the palace called Paradise which had been prepared to receive him. Unfortunately the pageantry of his entry to Ferrara was marred by heavy rain.³

Four days after the Emperor the Patriarch left Venice by the same

¹ Cecconi, doc. CLXXXVI.

² A.L. p. 27; *Diarium Geminiani Inghirami in Frag.* p. 33. These were probably six (Muratori, t. XXIV, pt. VII, *Diario Ferrarese*, ed. G. Pardi (Bologna, 1928), p. 22): Giordano Orsini, bishop of Sabina; Francesco Condulmaro, cardinal of S. Clemente; Prosper de Colonna, cardinal of S. Giorgio in Velabro; Domenico Capranica (Firmanus), cardinal of S. Maria in Via Lata; Angelotto Fusco, cardinal of S. Marco; Nicolò Albergati, cardinal of S. Croce. The *Gesta* (*Frag.* p. 28) mention only the first four and by name.

³ Muratori, *ibid.*

route. As he approached Francolino he was met by a representative of the Marquis of Ferrara and the state-barge, an ornate vessel towed by men on the river-bank, whose lower deck was divided into a sumptuous bedroom and salon with windows everywhere, while the upper deck was devoted to the kitchen and the crew's quarters. There was some delay in resuming the journey because the Patriarch insisted on waiting for the arrival of some of his *entourage* and his baggage in another vessel. Just after daybreak next day he was met by a courier from the Emperor to warn him that, in spite of insistent pleas to the contrary, the Pope expected from the Greek clerics conformity with the Latin custom of kissing the papal foot. Great was the Patriarch's dismay, for he had looked for a more generous welcome as between equals. He consulted with his clerics and determined not to conform. Meanwhile, as the barge drew into the harbour of Ferrara by the castle at about ten o'clock in the morning of 7 March,¹ a group of archbishops, bishops and curial officials waited outside the city to receive him.² But he did not come. Throughout that day messengers went to and fro between Pope and Patriarch to persuade Joseph to do no more than what Sigismund the Holy Roman Emperor, all western princes and all cardinals did, but to no avail, and the Emperor encouraged his resistance. The Patriarch refused to leave the ship—indeed he threatened to return forthwith to Venice—unless the Pope desisted from demanding the kissing of his foot from both himself and his clerics. Late that evening Eugenius yielded so as not to ruin the whole project of union at the outset on a point of etiquette. But he would not receive the Greek ecclesiastics solemnly and publicly. They should salute him in groups of six in a private room.³

Very early next morning Cardinals Colonna and Firmanus (Domenico Capranica) with some twenty-five archbishops and bishops and with courtiers from the Pope, and the Marquis of Ferrara

¹ A.L. p. 27 wrongly say 8 March.

² A.L. *ibid.*; *Diarium Inghirami* in *Frag.* p. 34.

³ This incident should not be exaggerated. On neither side was it a question merely of etiquette and custom, but of the rank of the Churches they represented. For both Pope and Patriarch it was a matter of principle and neither yielded on the principle—the Patriarch because he did not kiss the Pope's foot, the Pope by his gesture of reducing the solemnity of the reception.

with his suite went to the quay to meet the Patriarch. There was no ceremony on either side beyond a few words from Colonna to say that they came from the Pope to give him escort.¹ On horseback they proceeded to Eugenius' palace and there the Greeks were led through a series of apartments till they reached the papal antechamber. First the Patriarch, though without his usual head-dress and staff, entered the papal presence with five of his metropolitans. He bowed to the Pope, whom he found standing and who clasped his hand, then kissed his cheek and then was seated on a specially prepared throne on the left of the Pope's. The rest of the Greek prelates, group by group, kissed the Pope's hand and cheek as he sat, and the minor clergy his hand only or they saluted him with a bow. After a short conversation for which Garatoni acted as interpreter, the Patriarch retired and was escorted to his lodgings by the same cardinals and prelates as had brought him from the ship.² Late that evening Cardinal Cesarini too entered Ferrara. Cardinal Vitelleschi had already arrived on 5 March.

The next day was Sunday and, after seeking permission from the Pope, the Patriarch with some fifteen priests celebrated a solemn Liturgy, giving the usual blessing at the end, a thing he had refrained from doing since leaving Corfu. The Marquis assisted with many of his court and received the blessed bread at the end. The Pope was anxious to get on with the work of the Council, but he received no support from the Greeks. The Patriarch pleaded his fatigue after the journey, and the Emperor, one of whose chief objects in coming to Italy at all was to contact the western princes, demanded that time be given for their representatives to reach Ferrara and that meantime the discussions on the principal subjects of difference between the Churches be left in abeyance. So a wait of four months was agreed upon. Meantime the combined Council should be formally opened and letters written to the different countries exhorting them to send their envoys.³

The preparation of the cathedral church of St George for the

¹ *A.L.* p. 27.

² *Diarium Inghirami* in *Frag.* p. 34. The *A.L.* (p. 28) say that the Cardinals were not in the company that escorted the Patriarch to his lodgings.

³ Cf. *E.P.* docs. 122-33 dated 18-23 February 1438.

opening session brought up the question of etiquette and precedence. The Pope appointed Cardinals Cesarini and Firmanus to treat with the delegates of the Emperor and of the Patriarch. Eugenius would have preferred to be seated in the centre of the church near the altar with the Latins arrayed on one side and the Greeks on the other, but the Emperor refused this arrangement flatly. Finally it was agreed that the Latins should occupy the north side of the church and the Greeks the south. The thrones were arranged in such a way that the Pope's was a little in advance of an empty one allotted to the Holy Roman Emperor, with the cardinals and the rest of the western prelates and members arrayed in order behind, while the throne of the Byzantine Emperor corresponded exactly with that of the western Emperor, and those of the Patriarch and the rest of the Greeks were placed accordingly. Such was the insistence on precedence that everything was settled by exact measurement. Even so, the Patriarch was displeased, for his throne had not the hangings he thought it should have, and the *Staurophoroi*¹ were even less satisfied, for they, instead of being placed near the Patriarch as his 'five senses' ought to have been, were left in the general throng. The Latins held a session on 3 April under the presidency of Cardinal Orsini to decide details about the solemn inauguration of the Council with the Greeks and to approve the arrangements about the seating. Unfortunately, after mentioning the agenda, the manuscript breaks off without describing the discussions and the conclusions arrived at.²

Another practical question came up for decision at this time. Relations between the city of Ferrara and the Pope with his Curia and the Fathers of the Council had been settled by agreements negotiated in Bologna by the Cardinal Treasurer (Francesco Condulmaro) and the Marquis on 16 and 17 January.³ Guarantees were given for the security of all persons taking part in the Council and their free entry and exit from Ferrarese territory. Accommodation for the Pope with his 'family', the Byzantine Emperor and the cardinals should be given free, and they should not be subject to local customs dues. Arrangements should be made to house all those

¹ I.e. deacons of the Great Church of St Sophia with offices connected with the church, and a kind of council of the Patriarch. In Latin documents they are often referred to as Greek cardinals.

² *Frag.* p. 24.

³ *A.C.A.* docs. 20, 21.

coming for the Council and to provide the necessary furniture and utensils. No extraordinary taxes should be imposed because of the Council so as to make food or rents dearer, and the prices of many basic foodstuffs were fixed. But apparently the arrangement made for the Greeks was that they should receive their board in kind and not in money, a thing that displeased them greatly and which the Emperor refused to accept. So it had to be changed. In future they would be given money to buy what they wanted—the Emperor to receive thirty florins monthly, the Patriarch twenty-five, the Despot Demetrius twenty, those who had been invited by name four,¹ the rest three. To what degree this new arrangement made things more difficult for the Pope will be seen in the sequel. In the three months, February to April 1438, he disbursed more than 46,733 florins for the Greeks alone.² Besides that, a large part of the upkeep of the Latins fell on his shoulders. In February, as recommended in the session of 11 February, he had repeated the injunction sequestrating the money collected under the aegis of Basel for the Council of union and issued four letters appointing collectors.³ By April he had already

¹ Fantinus Vallaresso, *Libellus de ordine generalium conciliorum et unione Florentina*, ed. B. Schultze (Roma, 1944), p. 20, says that of the approximately 700 Greeks at the Council, 200 were *notabiles*.

² A.C.A. docs. 29, 33, 34, 37, 38; Jorga, II, pp. 5–8. In a letter to a certain Baptista *clerico Camerae apostolicae* dated 9 April 1438 the Pope wrote that he had already expended up to date 80,000 ducats for the Greeks, the upkeep of the Greeks in Italy and of the ships and archers at Constantinople coming to 5000 ducats monthly (Jorga, II, p. 351). The same figures are repeated in the Bull of 1 September 1438 imposing Tenthhs (E.P. doc. 150).

The value of the money of that day may be gauged from a gift to the Emperor: 8 goats, 2 fl. 36 sol. 6 den.; 4 sheep, 3 fl. 32 sol.; 2 calves, 5 fl.; portorage, 4 sol. 6 den. (A.C.A. doc. 29); or the prices fixed at Ferrara, e.g. 1 lb. of year-old veal, 8 den.; 1 lb. pork, 9 den.; 1 lb. of sturgeon, 2 sol. etc. (*ibid.* doc. 21). Unfortunately the weight of an Italian medieval pound is hard to determine in modern measure. It varied between 250 and 450 grammes with a probability of being in Ferrara about 360 grammes, i.e. rather more than three-quarters of an English pound. The money rates were 12 den. = 1 sol.; 50 sol. = 1 fl.

Papal envoys when *en route* to their destinations were allowed 8–10 fl. a month for a man and horse, out of which all had to be found including their own expenses: e.g. John of Taranto, 280 fl. two months and fourteen horses (*en route* to Nuremberg). Soldiers in papal service got 2½–3, very rarely 5, florins a month. Latin theologians summoned by the Pope to the Council received at the rate of 4 fl. a month (A. Gortlob, 'Aus den Rechnungsbüchern Eugens IV. zur Geschichte des Florentinums' (in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XIV (München, 1893), pp. 39–66), p. 54).

³ E.P. docs. 116–20.

borrowed 10,000 florins from the Medicis of Florence, as appears from a guarantee of repayment dated 17 April 1438. Other results of the rearrangement, so laments Syropoulus, were that the payments of their monthly allowances to the Greeks were often in arrears and that, despite the pact between the Pope and Ferrara, the prices of foodstuffs soon doubled. The first payment to them in money was made on 2 April when the Patriarch received 691 florins for himself and his suite.

The solemn opening of the combined Council took place on the Wednesday of Holy Week, 9 April 1438. The initial ceremonies were the accustomed ones for such occasions, the chanting of the Litanies and the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, followed by the solemn High Mass of the Holy Spirit. At that part the Greeks did not assist: they entered the cathedral church of St George where the session was being held only after the conclusion of the Mass.¹

When all had taken their places the sacred edifice was filled with the orderly throng of clerics and laity arrayed in colours of every hue. On the north side of the church the Latins had their places, first the Pope wearing a rich cope and his precious mitre, then the cardinals with the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, then the Patriarch of Grado, the archbishops, bishops and abbots, to the number of 160,² all in copes and holding white mitres in their hands. On the opposite side were arrayed the Greeks. The Emperor and his brother Demetrius were clad in long purple robes, their heads covered with high hats, whose brims in front stretched forward to a point over the forehead and behind turned up straight, adorned with a jewel. The patriarchal throne was empty, for Joseph II was ill and not able to attend. Then came the thrones of the representatives of the other eastern Patriarchs, those of the rest of the Greek prelates, the benches for the Staurophoroi and the remaining oriental clerics—there were

twenty archbishops and eight abbots and three Staurophoroi who are called the cardinals of the Constantinopolitan church, very many calogeri, priests and monks and nobles of the laity, as well as orators of the most serene princes and

¹ *A.L.* p. 29.

² So the *A.L.* p. 28. The *Gesta* (*Frag.* p. 29) gives the number of Latin 'mitres' as 118, constituted by the Pope, ten cardinals, two patriarchs, twelve archbishops, sixty-two bishops and thirty-one abbots.

emperors of Trebizond and of the King of the Georgians and ambassadors of the Walachi. There were present also two Armenian archbishops, procurators of the Patriarch or Archbishop of the whole of Armenia.¹

The Greek archbishops wore over their black robes a *felonion* (a kind of long, closed cope) of blue variegated with white and purple longitudinal stripes and, hanging from their necks on to their breasts, a richly enamelled medallion, their heads being covered with the usual black cylindrical head-dress over which there was draped a black veil descending behind to the shoulders. The Greek monks were clad in a rough grey cloth with head-dresses like those of the prelates, and the priests in black, in contrast to the throng of oriental secular officials with their ankle-long robes held together by a broad cummerbund and their high, drooping hats of grey felt or red silk.² Presiding, as it were, over the assembly, 'the great and just judge, Our Lord Jesus Christ, that is the holy gospel' lay opened on a richly ornamented lectern flanked on either side by the reliquaries containing the heads of the Apostles St Peter and St Paul, with a three-branched candlestick lighted before each.³ On benches placed transversely across the church the protonotaries, the advocates and the other functionaries had their places and 'a very great and numerous throng of eminent personages, masters and doctors of divinity and human law, and other notable men of different stations and dignities in both the secular and the ecclesiastical world, also the procurators of various kings and princes and of the military and the mendicant Orders'.⁴ Among these there would doubtless have been many of the Greek courtiers, though some of these were seated on a low bench before the Emperor to match the attendants at the papal throne.⁵ The rest of the church was filled with the notables of Ferrara and the curious.

Owing to the Patriarch's absence through ill health (the Metropolitan of Sardis was away, too, for the same reason) it had been agreed that a pronouncement should be read showing his consent to the opening of the Council and authorising the ecclesiastics of his

¹ *Gesta in Frag.* p. 30. 'Calogero' ('good old man') was popularly used for 'monk'.

² *A.L.* pp. 29-30.

³ *A.G.* pp. 13, 36.

⁴ *Gesta in Frag.* p. 30.

⁵ *A.L.* p. 30.

Church to take part.¹ That was done in Greek and Latin by a minor church official, the *Referendarius*, before the reading of the papal Bull, when, too, the credentials of the procurators of the other eastern Patriarchs were exhibited.² Thereupon Antonius Martins, bishop of Oporto in Portugal, went into the pulpit and read the Bull *Magnas omnipotenti Deo* in Latin and he was followed by Dorotheus, Metropolitan of Mitylene, who read the same in Greek. The papal document was short. It started by noting that East and West, so long to their mutual distress divided, were now come together urged by their desire of union; that the Emperor with the Patriarch of Constantinople, the representatives of the other Patriarchates and a throng of archbishops, ecclesiastics and nobles had reached Venice on 8 February previously and had exhorted those still congregated at Basel to repair to Ferrara; that the Pope intended to implement the agreement that the Fathers of Basel had entered into with the Greeks and the choice of a site for the Council which he himself had confirmed in Bologna; and ended by declaring that, the Emperor, the Patriarch and all present agreeing, the present synod was universal, i.e. oecumenical, and must be held as such, where with peace and charity the holy project of union should be treated of and with God's help brought to a happy conclusion. As each of the two announcers finished his recital, the prelates of his Church signified their approval by exclaiming *Placet*, and so, after a short prayer of thanksgiving, the proceedings ended.³

As a preliminary to this official opening of the combined Council and perhaps as a condition imposed from the Greek side, the agreement had been made between the Pope, the Emperor and the Patriarch that there should be a delay of four months to allow time for the

¹ The text is to be found in *A.L.* p. 30; Cecconi, doc. CXCIII. What purports to be the Patriarch's 'exhortation' in the *A.G.* (pp. 14-15) is a wordy document that not only declares the Council open in the Patriarch's name, but threatens Latin ecclesiastics and princes with excommunication if they should not present themselves in person or by procurator at Ferrara within three months. It is an altogether improbable document, not least because at the end it seems to envisage the possibility of moving the site of the Council elsewhere if the princes should so desire.

² *Gesta in Frag.* p. 30. Since the arrival of the Greeks at Ferrara there had been another change by which now Alexandria was represented by Antony of Heraclea and Gregory the Confessor, Antioch by Mark of Ephesus and Isidore of Kiev, and Jerusalem by Dionysius of Sardis (*Syr.* IV, 29, pp. 105-7).

³ *E.P.* doc. 135.

western princes to send their representatives. In that interval the chief theological differences that divided East and West were not to be discussed, though minor divergencies might be explored unofficially.¹ The Pope had, in fact, circulated letters to princes and bishops before the session of inauguration inviting them to come to the Council in person or by proxy, and had appointed Fantinus Vallaresso, archbishop of Crete (to whom on 5 April the *Camera Apostolica* paid 450 florins for the expenses of his journey),² to go to France to press this demand on Charles VII. Before the end of the month Dionysius of Sardis, who because of illness had not been present at the session of 9 April, died, but before his death he had transferred his procuratorship for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to the Metropolitan of Monembasia, Dositheus. A dirge was sung for him in the little church of S. Giuliano and on 24 April he was buried just outside of it near the wall.³ A month later his compatriots

¹ Syr. iv, 27, p. 104 where he casts doubt on the sincerity of Eugenius' desire to have the princes' envoys. Later (v, 1, p. 112), apropos of the mission of Fantinus Vallaresso to the court of Charles of France, he makes a similar imputation. He was wrong in both cases, for Eugenius wanted nothing more than the presence of the envoys from as many western kingdoms as possible so as to enhance the standing of his Council at Ferrara against the continued pretensions of Basel.

The rest of this section up to the discussion on Purgatory is drawn from Syr. v, pp. 112f., unless otherwise stated.

² A.C.A. doc. 37. On 10 May 3 fl. were paid by the *Camera Apostolica* for 'copies of the decree published in the last session to be sent to the different parts of the world' (*ibid.* doc. 41). John of Torquemada with Giovanni Aurispa had already been sent to Spain in September 1437 to the King of Castile to persuade him to reject Basel and accept Ferrara (Valois, II, p. 112 and n. 5).

³ Syr. v, 1, p. 112. An inscription to the memory of Dionysius, put up by Bessarion, records the day of his death as 13 April (L. Allatius, *In Roberti Creyghthoni apparatus*, etc. (Romae, 1665), p. 61), which, if true, would make the date of burial, as given by Syropoulus, doubtful.

G. A. Scalabrini, *Memorie istoriche delle chiese di Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1773), p. 392, recounts in his history of the church of S. Maria di Bocche: 'In the cemetery of this church, under and at the foot of the campanile, during the excavations of the tombs that one now sees, there was found a large coffin of bricks with bones, with among the bricks a slab of engraved marble, damaged; and these Greek words could be made out, that is, The body of Dionysius of Sardica, believed (to be) the Archbishop of that metropoly, who died in Ferrara in the year 1438.'

Earlier in his account he inadvertently gives a reason why that church might have been chosen for the burial of Dionysius, because it had a traditional connection of some sort with the Greeks. He quotes the following from an ancient Ritual that he found in the church: 'Officium in festo Purificationis Sanctae Mariae. Ad processionem. Archpbr. Santi Georgj morans apud S. Mariam de Bucco cum Clero et Populo

celebrated a commemoration service in the same church. The *Greek Acts*¹ suggest that he died of the plague and that panic descended on all the rest of the Greeks, but there is no hint elsewhere that the plague had started as early as the beginning of April, so it may be that the author of the Descriptive part of the Acts, writing after the plague had really become a scourge and the cause of much mortality, is here confusing the later fears of the Greeks, which were real enough, with the distress at Sardis's death.

The Latins naturally wanted to start as quickly as possible on the real business of the Council. For one thing the entertainment of 700 Greeks and of even more Latins in Ferrara was costing far more than the papal exchequer could afford. Besides, the longer that the Council hung fire, the easier it was for the remnant at Basel and other opponents of the papacy to point the finger of scorn and suggest that the papal Council was a failure. Also, the Latin prelates who were unemployed and yet were not allowed to go away were dissatisfied, and different disquietening rumours reached the city every day.² The agreement about the delay of four months allowed for informal discussions on minor differences, so the Pope urged time and again that these at least should be initiated. But the Emperor kept putting him off, making vague promises and doing nothing. Meanwhile Cardinal

occurrat Episcopo venienti in navim ad ripam Padi, mulieribus expectantibus in Ecclesia: Ibique, aut in navi aut in Porta, Episcopus benedicat cereos more solito, et distribuat, et Graeci qui aderunt dicant antip. "Caire che ha ritomeno [Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη]", responder Populus "Ave gratia plena". Greci, "Theotoche partene", Populus, "Dei genetrix virgo", et caetera ut in libro Circuli anni usque ad Anastasin, Resurrectionem. ingregendo Ecclesiam occurrant mulieres, et dicant, "Adorna thalamum tuum Sion", et "suscipe Christum Regem amplectere Maria, quae est caelestis Porta, ipse portat Regem gloriae". Clerus autem ingregendo Ecclesiam, "obtulerunt Domino" et ut in Sacramentario, "Nunc dimittis" et Luc. cap. ii: sit missa, ad introitum antiph. "suscepimus" Psalm. xlviii; et sic sit singulis annis in festo Hypapantes in Ecclesia nostra prout in Sacramentario per Episcopum Marinum S. Georgj conscriptum: oblationes Populi sunt pro medietate Episcopi' (pp. 387-8). The Archpriest of the cathedral of St George lived at S. Maria di Bocche from 1110 onwards. Marinus was Bishop of Ferrara from 657 to 671 (P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873), s.n. Ferrara). I have added a little punctuation and inverted commas to make the passage more readily understood.

There was, too, a small but ancient parish church of S. Giuliano in Ferrara, rebuilt in 1405 (*ibid.* p. 72).

¹ P. 26.

² A letter of Ambrogio Traversari, written 5 May 1438, which also incidentally suggests that no conferences had yet begun: Trav. no. 514.

Giuliano Cesarini (and perhaps others too, though Syropoulus mentions no other names) tried to cultivate good relations with the visitors by inviting them to dinner, when by means of an interpreter learned conversation touching on philosophical questions was indulged in. Bessarion, Gemistus and Amiroutzes were his guests on one occasion; on another, Mark of Ephesus with his brother John the Nomophylax, and Dorotheus of Mitylene dined with him, when in the course of conversation Cesarini urged Mark to write a composition for presentation to the Pope congratulating him on his efforts for union and auguring a happy ending.

Mark with some diffidence accepted the suggestion. The result was a screed of impassioned eloquence in which he deplored the tragic divisions in Christianity and exhorted the Pope to bring to a glorious conclusion the work he had begun so well. The addition to the Creed, devised for the sake of conciliation, should for the sake of conciliation be removed. The dead sacrifice in unleavened bread should be abolished to avoid giving scandal to brethren. Return to the ancient harmony which will show that you, we and our Fathers are at one. The fate of the Church is in the balance. Do not let us go away, after enduring so many hardships in the interests of union, with nothing accomplished.¹ Eugenius gave his essay to Cesarini who, not finding what he expected, passed it on to the Emperor. John VIII was very angry and would have haled Mark before the synod for punishment if Bessarion had not intervened to pacify him, so he contented himself with forbidding his bishops to speak with the Latins.

The Pope's repeated requests for some kind of conciliar activity finally bore fruit. Some time in May committees of ten from each side were appointed. Syropoulus gives their names. The Greeks were represented by Mark of Ephesus, Dositheus of Monembasia, Bessarion of Nicaea, Sophronius of Anchialus, Michael Balsamon the Chartophylax, Syropoulus the Ecclesiarches, two superiors of Constantinopolitan monasteries and the monk Moses of Mt Athos. The Latin delegates were the Cardinals Cesarini and Capranica, Andrew, archbishop of Rhodes, O.P., John of Torquemada, O.P., and six others, among whom should probably be numbered Am-

¹ A.G. pp. 28-34.

brogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese.¹ These with two notaries for each side and Nicholas Sagundino as interpreter were to meet three times a week in the sacristy of the church of St Francis.² The Greeks had strict injunctions from the Emperor that they were not to enter into discussions on the question of the *Filioque* and they were to report to him everything that took place. He appointed Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion as the sole speakers on the Greek side and sent with them Manuel Dishypatus and Mark Iagaris as observers.³

There were four conferences to decide what should be the subject of the informal discussions. Cesarini was the Latin speaker throughout. His eloquence, polish and urbanity impressed the Greeks very deeply and made them expostulate with Mark of Ephesus whose first reply was rough and lacking in the niceties of courtesy, because, so he said, that style was more in keeping with his character as a monk. It needed all Bessarion's charm and command of language, when he followed Eugenius in the debate, to efface the unhappy impression made by his colleague without at the same time yielding any point of the Greek position.

Cesarini used all his powers of persuasion to draw the Greeks to agree to discuss dogma. The Latins had heard of the meetings of the Greek theologians in Constantinople to prepare for the Council: perhaps they had some helpful conclusions to offer. The best thing was to attack the chief point of difference first. They need not arrive at any conclusion about it and so would not be contravening the agreement about the four months' interval, but they would thereby have prepared the ground for more serious discussion and a speedy

¹ Cf. Trav. no. 528.

² Syropoulos says three times; the *Greek Acts* (p. 19) (which do not mention these preliminary discussions) say apropos of the debates on Purgatory twice a week. Syropoulos likewise calls the place of meeting St Andrew's—here he is at fault because the *Latin Acts*, p. 32 (which incidentally speak of sixteen delegates a side) agree with the *Greek Acts* in stating that it was the sacristy of St Francis's; and on 10 May the papal Camera paid 3 fl. for 'benches in the church of St Francis necessary for the disputation' (*A.C.A. doc. 41*).

³ Syropoulos reads: 'Manuel Iagaris and these....' Iagaris' name was Mark (Syr. p. 12 and Phr. p. 158: though both Syropoulos, p. 161 and Sphrantzes, p. 179 speak also of an Andronicus Iagaris), so I hazard the guess that 'Dishypatus and' has fallen out of the text. These two, Dishypatus and Iagaris, were associated shortly afterwards in a mission to Venice.

solution when that time had passed. Lack of interchange of opinion between them in the past had exaggerated the differences that divided them. Friendly inquiry would show these to be less important than was thought.

To these persuasions of Cardinal Cesarini the Greeks returned always the same answer, that the agreement precluded discussion of dogma, and when they reported to the Emperor after each session he confirmed them in their refusal. So in the end Cesarini contented himself with enumerating the chief differences that divided the Churches—the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the sacrifice in leavened or unleavened bread, Purgatory, and the position of the Pope in the Church—and left it to the Greeks to decide which of these should be the subject of debate. Mark Eugenicus immediately ruled out the first point and demanded time for consideration about the rest. After consultation with the Emperor, who negatived the second point, it was decided to leave the choice between the last two points to the Latins and they, after some little consideration, elected to discuss the subject of Purgatory. In the course of these conferences, and, so says Syropoulus, only because the Greeks had agreed to them, the second monthly maintenance grant, of 689 florins, was forthcoming on 12 May.

Meanwhile the Greeks were in a panic, for news had been brought from Venice, confirmed later by letters from Constantinople, that the Turk was preparing a fleet of 150 ships and an army of 150,000 men against the Byzantine capital. Syropoulus paints a poignant picture of their anxiety about the fate of their wives and children, their churches and possessions, should the attack succeed. Someone suggested a collection from among the Greeks themselves for the succour of the capital and the Emperor offered to arm his royal ship lying in Venice. But the prelates, for fear of the unknown future or on a plea of poverty, were niggardly in their contributions, so the whole project of a collection fell through. Whether the court officials in the Emperor's suite were more generously inclined, Syropoulus does not say. In the meantime the Emperor, the Patriarch and the prelates besought the Pope and the cardinals for help, but in vain: for a month no move was made. Then the Pope sent an envoy to Venice, and with him went two messengers of the Emperor, Dishy-

patus and Iagaris, to arm two ships. But the Venetians refused point blank to loan money to the Pope, so the papal messenger hid himself, while for some forty days the Greek envoys searched for him in vain before returning to Ferrara.

It is possible to check this exaggerated description of Syropoulus only in part, exaggerated not in respect of the distress of the Greeks which undoubtedly must have been great, but as regards the unwillingness of Eugenius and the Latins to help. Syropoulus himself mentions a few pages later that the Milanese Condottiere Nicolò Piccinino had occupied the papal cities of Bologna, Forlì and Imola, but he does not draw any conclusions as to the anxieties of the Pope and his Curia, not only for their personal safety, but for the threat that it constituted against the Council and for the effect it would have on papal finances, though he asserts that the Greeks sent to Venice for safety all the personal possessions they could dispense with and the sacred vessels of the Great Church that they had brought with them. Bologna was captured on 22 May and on the next day the papal Governor, Daniele Scoto, took refuge in Ferrara.¹ That was just at the time when there was the Greek emergency. On 1 May certainly a Venetian galley from Crete had reached Venice with news that the Venetians of Constantinople had taken refuge in Pera in face of the Turkish threat.² By 24 May the Venetian Senate had considered the request presented by John VIII's two envoys for three ships to be armed at the expense of the Pope or the Emperor, for on that day they announced their favourable reply to the Pope's Legate, Nicolò di Acciapaccio, archbishop of Capua. On 26 May the Senate acceded to a further request of the Emperor that his own galley should remain in Venice, but that its captain and crew should be transferred to one of the Venetian vessels.³ When, or indeed whether, the expedition ever set off, there is no indication, but, on the other hand, there is no suggestion of difficulties raised by the authorities of Venice.

The arrangements for the conferences on Purgatory were carried out without undue delay. We are fortunate in having such abundant sources about them as to be able to reconstruct their history fairly

¹ *Diarium Inghirami* in *Frag.* p. 35.

² Jorga, III, p. 35, n. 3.

³ *Ibid.* p. 35.

completely. Both the *Acta graeca*¹ and Syropoulus² provide information about what went on behind the scenes among the Greeks, the *Greek Acts* furnishing also a few precious dates; both, too, synopsis part of the arguments exposed, though this is of less value since the five main speeches are preserved, because happily at the end of the first of the conferences³ it was agreed that each side should furnish the other in writing with the arguments propounded on each occasion. Here Traversari's knowledge of Greek proved itself, for he complains in a letter to one of his monks: 'It is I who do all this business of the Greeks, translating from Greek into Latin or from Latin into Greek all that is said or written.'⁴

The Emperor again appointed Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nicaea to be spokesmen for the Greeks, even though Bessarion demurred that he did not know what to say on the topic of Purgatory: Mark, however, declared that he would have plenty to say. Cardinal Cesarini opened the debate on 4 June by enunciating the Roman doctrine and supporting it with arguments from Scripture and the Fathers, both Latin and Greek.⁵ Mark of Ephesus said a few courteous words, affirming that there was apparently little to divide the Churches on this doctrine, and then, after a brief speech from John of Torquemada, the proceedings closed. When the Greeks received Cesarini's speech in writing they discussed it with the Emperor who commissioned Ephesus to write the reply.⁶ Bessarion composed one too, and the Emperor decided that the urbanity of Nicaea's exordium should be combined with the force of Mark's arguments as the official Greek answer, which Bessarion expounded in the next conference on 14 June.⁷ Another meeting apparently took place on 25 June, and on 27 June the Latins, through John of Torquemada, replied

¹ Pp. 19-26.

² Pp. 130-40.

³ Syropoulus says 'after a few meetings', but the *A.G.* and the speeches preserved show that it was after the first conference.

⁴ Letter dated 10 July 1438 in Trav. no. 528.

⁵ G. Hofmann, 'Erstes Gutachten der Lateiner über das Fegfeuer', in *O.C.* xvi (1929), pp. 257-301. The Greek translation made at Ferrara is preserved in Petit, *Docs.*—'La question du Purgatoire', in *Patrol. Orient.* xv and published separately, no. 1, pp. 25-38.

⁶ This is preserved intact in Petit, *Docs.* no. 11, pp. 39-60.

⁷ *Ibid.* no. 111, pp. 61-79.

to the Greek arguments.¹ On this occasion perhaps, though more likely at some other conference, for it would seem that there were more conferences than the number of speeches preserved in writing, both because of the long intervals that separate the few dates given by the *Greek Acts* (it had been arranged that there should be meetings at least twice a week) and because there must have been discussions besides the reading of these papers (on 25 June the *Greek Acts* record a conference but no written document that corresponds to it), Torquemada quizzed Ephesus for being afraid to declare openly the Greek doctrine on Purgatory, for the Greek replies had been negative, refuting the Latin arguments, rather than positive, stating their own position. The *Greek Acts* give as the reason for this that the Greeks were humouring the Latins by enduring these conferences and not taking them seriously, in fact only filling in time till the expiry of the agreed four months' interval.² Syropoulos however lays the blame on the Emperor who would not yield on the point till an outbreak from Bessarion in full conference, stating his own position, and the complaints of Ephesus rendered him more compliant. Whereupon Mark composed an exposition of Greek doctrine:³ the date according to Syropoulos was before 30 June, for on that day the third monthly maintenance grant of 689 florins was made to the Greeks, only, so he says, when they had acceded to the Latin demand for a declaration of their dogma.⁴ More meetings followed when Andrew of Rhodes held the floor, and it may be that it was in reply to clear-cut questions put by him that Ephesus composed concise answers to fourteen Latin queries.⁵

But it must not be thought that Mark's version of Greek theology

¹ G. Hofmann, 'Zweites Gutachten der Lateiner über das Fegfeuer', in O.C. xvii (1930), pp. 184-243. The contemporary Greek translation is given by Petit, *Docs.* no. iv, pp. 80-107.

² A.G. p. 24. Bessarion says the same in *De Processione Spiritus Sancti ad Alexium Lascarin Philanthropinum* (P.G. 161, 337A) written between 1440 and 1448: cf. L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, I (Paderborn, 1928), p. 226.

³ Petit, *Docs.* no. v, pp. 108-51.

⁴ Mark can hardly have composed so long a screed between 27 June when Torquemada's paper was presented and 29 June: the interval between the other papers was nearer two weeks than two days. A more likely date is sometime after 17 July, after, that is, the private meetings of the Greeks convened by the Emperor to arrive at a common statement of their doctrine.

⁵ Petit, *Docs.* no. vi, pp. 152-68.

on Purgatory was necessarily that of his Church. As a matter of fact the opinions of the Greek prelates at Ferrara were not unanimous, for when the Emperor convoked a meeting of them in the Patriarch's residence on 16 July and, after much reading of the Fathers in an endeavour to decide what the Eastern Church really taught, required each of them to give his views in writing, such was the division among them that they had to meet again the next day before they could agree to the vague formula (which is obviously incomplete for it does not touch on the question of Purgatory at all) that the souls of the just 'attain to and do not attain to' the joys of heaven. 'The souls possess them perfectly as souls, but they will possess them more perfectly at the Last Judgement with their bodies, and then they will shine like the sun or indeed like the light which Our Lord Jesus Christ emitted on Mount Tabor.'¹

The document that the Latins delivered to the Greeks after the first conference opened with a declaration of the teaching of the Roman Church, taken almost *verbatim* from the Profession of Faith made in the name of Michael VIII Palaeologus at the second Council of Lyons: 'The souls of such as, truly penitent, shall die in charity before they have satisfied by worthy fruits of penance for their faults of commission and omission are purified after death by purifying pains, and the suffrages of the living faithful, that is the sacrifices of Masses, prayers, alms-giving and other works of piety, avail to lighten penalties of this sort; those souls, however, which after the reception of baptism have incurred no stain whatsoever of sin, those too which after contracting the stain of sin have been purified either while still in their bodies or, after the manner noted above, after leaving them are presently received into heaven; but those souls which depart this life in a state of actual mortal sin or with only original sin presently descend into hell, to be punished however by diverse penalties; and nevertheless in the day of judgement all men will appear with their bodies before the judgement-seat of Christ, to render an account of their own deeds.' The rest of the document is taken up with proofs of the first part of the declaration, that refers to Purgatory, intending to demonstrate two points, that there is such a middle state and that in it there is a punishment of fire. Arguments are drawn from the Holy

¹ A.G. pp. 25-6.

Scriptures,¹ the tradition of the Church, the authority of the Roman Church, the teaching of the Latin Fathers, chiefly St Augustine and St Gregory the Great, and of the Greek Fathers, St Basil, St Gregory Nyssenus, St John Damascene and Theodoretus, and finally there is a *ratio theologica*, that divine justice demands that all evil be expiated.

The reply that Bessarion read on 14 June, with the doors of the sacristy of St Francis's closed to keep out the crowd, was confined very largely to one aspect of the proofs of the Latins, the question of fire in the middle state. The Greeks welcomed the Latin statement that the just go to heaven and the reprobate to hell. The Greeks likewise recognise a remission of sin after this life; but the question is the means by which that is produced. Certainly not by fire, for no Greek doctor ever mentions such, and teaching of that kind is dangerous as savouring of the Origenist heresy, which taught that the fires of hell are not eternal, and as tending to relax the vigilance of the faithful. The Latin argument from Scripture is not cogent, because neither the Book of Maccabees nor St Matthew mentions fire, and St Paul in speaking of fire means, as St John Chrysostom clearly shows, the fire of hell. The Greek Fathers in general refer only to the prayers of the Church as helping the souls of the departed, except for St Gregory of Nyssa, and he was tainted with the Origenist heresy in this respect. The Latin Fathers, in so far as they are known in the East, clearly assert the beneficent effects of the prayers of the faithful, less clearly and yielding rather to circumstances to meet the threat of the graver error of the finiteness of the pains of hell they embraced this middle course of temporary fire in Purgatory. It is of no use to propose the authority of the Roman Church when the universal Church is met to decide the issue. Finally, to counter the one *ratio theologica* of the Latins Bessarion proposed ten of very unequal value, based chiefly on the goodness of God to forgive all sin, the final equality of the happiness of all the saved in heaven if all shall have been completely purified, and the impossibility of a bodiless, immaterial soul being affected by material fire.

Bessarion's arguments had been mostly negative, rebutting the reasons alleged by the Latins, and had witnessed to Greek teaching only in so far as they denied certain positions of their adversaries.

¹ I Macc. xii. 46; Matt. xii. 32; I Cor. iii. 13-15.

That defensive attitude was noted by the reader of the Latin rejoinder (probably John of Torquemada) who opened his discourse by asking for clarification on the Greek position. Both Greeks and Latins believe that the souls of the just enjoy eternal happiness and those of the wicked endure eternal punishment: but do the Greeks believe that the souls of the just and of the damned enter into their eternal destiny straight after death, or do they for that await the final Judgment? Also as regards the souls in the middle state, do they undergo punishment? and if so, what punishment? Is it merely deprivation of the beatific vision, or is there some sensible punishment? and if so, what? Is that sensible punishment captivity, darkness, ignorance—but ignorance of what? And after purification, do such souls go straight to heaven?

After that series of questions which was also a commentary on the earlier part of Bessarion's speech, Torquemada proceeded under three heads to meet the defensive arguments of the Greeks. He denied that the doctrine of Purgatory tended towards the Origenist heresy and laxity among the faithful; experience in fact showed the opposite, that it conduced to greater piety. The Greek rejection of the testimony of St Gregory of Nyssa, adduced by the Latins, was perilous, for it could be asserted of all the Fathers that, being men, they could err, and indeed the authority of the Bible itself could in that way be impugned as it had been transmitted by human agency: in any case the fifth Council that condemned Origen put no stigma on Gregory. For the exegesis of the texts quoted from Maccabees and St Matthew it must be borne in mind that there are two elements in sin, the guilt and the temporal punishment; of these the first can be effaced only by penitence and that in this life as there is no repentance in the next; the second can be undergone both here and hereafter, and it is in regard to this that the prayers of the Church urged by the Greeks avail for relief and the fire of Purgatory is eminently suitable.

Torquemada's third point consisted in a defence of the Latin Fathers against the aspersion laid on them by Bessarion. Augustine, commended by several Councils, was not less eminent than Chrysostom, and both he and Gregory Dialogus were conversant with the Greek language. Far from condescending to tamper with the truth Augustine abhorred falsehood of every kind as his several books on

'Lies' demonstrated. St John Chrysostom explained the text from I Corinthians differently from the Latins; his exposition proposed one possible meaning. A close study of the context, of the contrast between the materials that the text mentions, of the meaning of the words as elsewhere employed by St Paul (all of which Torquemada examined in great detail), prove that the Latin exegesis is justified, in particular showing that the word 'will be saved' applies to salvation, i.e. the eternal felicity of the soul, and not merely to a continued existence.

The rest of the discourse consisted of an answer to each of the ten theological considerations that had formed the peroration of Bessarion's speech—the degree of beatitude of the blessed depends not on the degree of purgation endured but on the degree of the virtue of each: spiritual substances normally cannot be affected by material causes, but God can evoke their 'obediential' powers to render them so susceptible.

The reply of Mark of Ephesus to this second Latin document falls into two parts. The first is a more positive exposition of the beliefs of the Greek Church, to comply with the request for such from the other side. The second is an answer to the arguments that Torquemada had adduced in his reply to Bessarion, but as this only goes over ground already described it needs no further mention here. The Greek Church, so Mark declared, teaches that neither the just nor the wicked enter into their final state of bliss or punishment till after the Last Judgement; meantime they abide in the places assigned to them, the just with the angels near God, or in the paradise vacated by Adam, or in our churches hearing our prayers and working miracles through their relics; they enjoy the blessed sight of God and the effulgence that emanates from it more perfectly than when on earth: the wicked, overwhelmed with sadness, are plunged in hell, in gloom, and darkness and the shadow of death, but not yet in the punishment of fire. Such is the teaching of the Greek Fathers, of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, whom Mark quotes at length. (So, if both just and sinners are still awaiting their final sentence, what need is there of a temporary punishment of fire? St Peter speaks of captivity.¹) So the Greeks allow a punishment that has begun, but

¹ II Pet. ii. 4.

by that they mean shame, remorse and other penalties, but not fire. The Eastern Church offers sacrifices and prayers for all the departed without exception, which benefit the wicked by procuring for them some slight alleviation of their lot and help those in the middle state by either uniting them with the just or by easing their griefs or augmenting their hopes. They assist even the just, for they are still imperfect and can grow in goodness, since they do not yet enjoy beatitude. This being so, it is erroneous to state that only those being purified by fire can be helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

This statement of Eugenius, though more positive than anything the Greeks had yet made, was apparently still too indefinite to satisfy the Latins and raised as many problems as it answered. Their doubts were reduced, possibly by Andrew of Rhodes, to precise questions, which perhaps was the occasion of the elaboration of the sixth document published by Mgr. Petit, which contains fourteen queries and the answers to them of Eugenius. The composition is clearly written for presentation to the Latins, but when, or indeed if, it was in fact delivered to them it is impossible to say. Nine of the fourteen questions refer to the state of the just and the reprobate before the day of final Judgement, five to the souls in the middle category. Eugenius' answers repeat much of what had been asserted before, but they contain, too, new and surprising declarations. Neither the just nor the wicked will attain to their final state before the Last Judgement: the just meanwhile enjoy but little of the ultimate joys, which in any case will not be the direct vision of God but only of the divine light, and that little they, like the angels, must forego when and for as long as they assist men on earth in answer to prayer (they are understood then to be present where they act); their felicity consists in the virtue of hope which is proper to their state of expectancy, as faith is proper to those on earth and charity to souls in heaven after the Last Judgement. The reprobate will not be punished by fire till after the Last Day; then and now their chief pain will be that of loss, but so long as they are awaiting the final sentence (when apparently they still entertain some hope of deliverance) the prayers of the Church can bring them some slight and temporary assuagement, though of what in particular is not stated. Those of the middle state, who die guilty of minor faults, are punished in various degrees as the case of

each requires; uncertainty of the hour of their release is one penalty they suffer; another the shame or sense of guilt (Eugenicus does not admit the debt of temporal punishment due also to sins forgiven that the Latins hold to be one of the main reasons for a Purgatory) which can be expunged only by the prayers of the Church in the case of the dead, or by penitence, but not charity, for those still living; and it could be, where both these are lacking, that a soul would remain in this middle state till the Last Day: the Greek Church imposes a penance in the Sacrament of Confession for various ascetical reasons, but not in connection with any temporal punishment.

Though these replies of Eugenicus (if ever they were presented) would assuredly have encountered opposition from the Latin theologians, there is no record of any further discussion. The last specific date mentioned in this connection is 17 July, though it is not unlikely that the conversations were prolonged for some considerable time after that. That no agreement was reached at Ferrara on the question of Purgatory is not in doubt. The matter had to be taken up again a year later when Cesarini, referring to the earlier disputations, said that he had been reduced almost to despair of ever reaching an accord. Why the conferences petered out in so undignified a manner is not clear. Various factors would have contributed to a diminution of interest, for at this time Charles VII in France had convened his clergy at Bourges to decide between Eugenius and Basel and the Diet of Nuremberg was then fixing the German attitude. But the main reason was probably the plague that by the middle of July had infested Ferrara. On 16 July Traversari addressed these words to Cosimo Medici: 'I shall try as much as I can to have the Council translated to Pisa or into (Florentine) territory because of the plague that has here begun and is alarming many, so that it has practically been decided to leave here. The Greeks almost to a man demand that.'¹ In the event no Greek died from the disease or was even attacked by it, but the Russians who arrived with Isidore of Kiev in Ferrara on either 15, 18 or 20 August fell easy victims to it.²

¹ Trav. no. 262.

² The dates given respectively by a Russian chronicle, quoted by A. Ziegler, *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz in der russischen Kirche* (Würzburg, 1938), p. 81; by a very detailed account of Isidore's journey from a Russian source translated by G. Stökl, 'Reisebericht eines unbekannten Russen (1437-1440)', p. 161 in 'Europa im XV.

Few years, indeed, passed without some Italian city being afflicted by the plague, as a cursory glance at the chronicles shows. Some years it was slight, others it was a veritable Black Death, and then most of the citizens, or at any rate those who could, would abandon their homes for the healthier countryside. In the summer of 1438 Ferrara, Florence¹ and Bologna were all visited by the pestilence. Half the cardinals and most of the Latin bishops and the Emperor left the infected city, but the Pope and the Greek clerics remained.² The disease was so serious that, as Traversari wrote, it was for a time in doubt whether the Council should not be transferred elsewhere, though it was not to Florence that it was proposed to go. The Pope discussed the question with the Emperor and sounded Venice about moving into some city of their territory, which Syropoulus records quite wrongly as a plot hatched between the Pope, the Emperor and the Patriarch to remove the Greeks further away from home and more into the heart of Italy.³ The Signoria, however, advised against any move at all at that time because of the negotiations at Nuremberg and of the bad impression it would give to Eugenius' opponents if the Council were translated again before it had achieved

Jahrhundert von Byzantinern Gesehen' (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, II, ed. E. von Ivánka), Wien, 1954, pp. 149-89; and by the *Diarium Andreae de S. Cruce in Frag.* p. 43.

Isidore left Moscow on 8 September 1437 and arrived at Riga on 4 February 1438. As Sigismund of Lithuania refused permission for him to cross his territory, he wrote to Basel (March) for instructions and was directed to John Schele, bishop of Lübeck, to whom he went by sea 5 May, arriving 19 May (he could not leave earlier because the sea was frozen, *M.C.* III, 116). Meanwhile John of Lübeck had embraced the cause of Eugenius, so he sent the Russians to Ferrara (A. Ammann, *Storia della Chiesa russa e dei paesi limitrofi* (Torino, 1948), p. 122). To Ferrara with Isidore there came of Russians Avrami, bishop of Susdal, the Archimandrite Vassian, the priest Symeon with some dozen other priests, deacons and monks as well as Thomas of Tver and other Boyars and attendants (Stökl, *op. cit.* p. 161); and of Greeks Gregory (later Metropolitan of Kiev) and others—to the number altogether of '100 horses' (Muratori, xxxiii, pt. 1, p. 50).

¹ 'In questo anno ricominciò a far danno la pestilenza dal mese di Luglio, crescendo di dì in dì, di Settembre ce ne moriva circa 16 per dì, e durò alquanto' (L. Boninsegni, *Storie della Città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460 scritte nelli stessi tempi che accadono da Domenico di Lionardo Boninsegni* (Firenze, 1637), p. 64). 'Et se fusse chi dicesse de la moria, responderete esser finita et tucti i cittadini esser tornati nella cità' (Instructions of Firenze to its envoys to the Emperor Albert, 6 October 1438, in *A.C.A.* doc. 53).

² Syr. VI, 3, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.* VI, 8, p. 153; VII, 1, p. 184.

anything.¹ But even before the Venetian reply came to hand a decision had been taken on 6 September. There would be no change of site, but leave of absence was given to those who wanted to go away.²

As the hot summer months dragged on, the Greeks in Ferrara were in a state of misery. They were beset by fears of the plague and of a possible descent on them by Nicolò Piccinino; they had little to occupy their time once the discussions on Purgatory had ceased and these, though in private they had doubtless interested all the Greek ecclesiastics, had given occupation to only the ten of the committee. They were far from home and their families, and the monthly subsidies for their maintenance were greatly in arrears, so that they had to live extremely parsimoniously. The Emperor, at least from about the middle of August onwards, lived some six miles outside the city and spent his time hunting, to the distress of his subjects for whom access to him became difficult, of the countryfolk whose fields he was damaging, and of the Marquis of Este whose game he was depopulating. A wave of nostalgia overcame them and they besought the Emperor time and again to have the main discussions begun so that they could finish and go home. An invitation to the palace of the Pope where they were entertained to dinner and a refreshment in the afternoon did little to reconcile them: some of the Greeks ate nothing fearing that poison might have been mixed with their food. Three of the leading clerics, Antony of Heraclea, Mark of Ephesus and his brother John the Nomophylax obtained imperial leave to go to Venice and were already on the way when they were recalled because the Patriarch had pointed out to the Emperor that two of them were procurators of the absent Patriarchs and if they disappeared the Council could hardly be called oecumenical. A few other clerics went off without leave.³

¹ Letter of Venice dated 11 September 1438 in *A.C.A.* doc. 48. In this connection Eugenius already a month before had sent the Archbishop of Florence to Venice whose Senate had replied (8 August) deprecating any move of the Council. The papal proposal was to transfer it from Ferrara to Padua or Treviso (V. Chiaroni, O.P., *Lo scisma greco e il Concilio di Firenze* (Firenze, 1938), p. 111).

² *Diarium Andreae de S. Cruce* in *Frag.* p. 46.

³ John Eugenius in his *Oration of Thanksgiving for his Escape* describes the situation in these terms: 'I, seeing and hearing this and being aware of what seemed to me worse than all (may God change it to the better and may not time avenge it!), seeing indeed

To all the Greek complaints at waste of time, to their demands for a start on the real business of the Council and to their laments about their poverty, the Emperor (so says Syropoulos) replied: The time is not yet ripe; we are still awaiting the representatives of the princes; the Latins are in no better case than you, some of them are even selling their possessions to live, which is more than any of you have done; leave it all to me. There is this much to be said for the Emperor, that as long as there was any question of transferring the Council elsewhere there could be no possibility of starting public sessions. But as soon as that doubt had been settled the Pope's voice was added to that of the Greek clerics, and then things began finally to take shape.

A committee from the Greeks—Mark of Ephesus, Isidore of Kiev, Michael Balsamon and Syropoulos—was sent to the Pope to discuss arrangements. Ephesus was the spokesman. He began by declaring that the present gathering was an Oecumenical Council since the Pope and his Church were present to represent the West, while from the East there was the Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, procurators of the other Patriarchates and the better part of the oriental Church. In that respect this Council was like the preceding Oecumenical Councils. But it differed from them in that, whereas hitherto all the members had been united against a handful of dissidents whose case was being tried, here the Council was composed of two opposing parties. The usual procedure therefore should be modified, so that the overwhelming numbers of the Latins should not reduce the small Greek vote to a mere formality. After this

the plague increasing and the evil stalking among persons of all ages, cutting off very many of the Latins both of the natives of the place and strangers (for all of whom, unmourned, burial was being performed by night) and for this reason the more eminent among them securing safety by flight were departing chastened homewards, and besetting too some of us and especially the Russians but lately arrived; seeing not only that, but famine too on top of plague as the very necessities of life almost gradually failed us since for four whole months our provision came from our own resources, while some of ours, and they among the more notable, set off to depart and those who served us were discontented, some too escaped in unseemly flight, and when ours had already gone to Venice while the Venetians and the troops of the Duke of Milan were in a state of tension—nay, were already engaged in fierce warfare by sea and land—when things were in this state of anguish and still further hardships were in sight, on which it was the judgement of all, after a common decision had been proposed, that at all costs an effort must be made to gain permission for us to return home...', in Lambros, I, pp. 275-6.

speech of Eugenius the Greeks retired to a waiting-room to let the Pope consult with his *entourage*. On their return Eugenius addressed them. They had reached Venice in February when they could easily have arrived in November. Then two or three months should have seen the business of the Council finished, whereas by now seven months had passed and it had barely begun. What the change in procedure should be that the Greeks hinted at was beyond comprehension. The methods of the earlier Councils should be followed. The Greeks should take steps to get the Synod and the sessions under way.

A few days later a Latin committee consisting of Cardinals Cesarini and Firmanus, the Archbishop of Rhodes and five other bishops visited the Greeks, when Cesarini astounded the audience by analysing a speech of Ephesus into fifteen points, to each of which he gave an answer. The problem that was bothering the Greeks was the method of voting, for they were reasonably afraid that if it was a question of sheer numbers they would be outvoted every time. They wanted that an equality should be established between the Churches, the Latin Church and the Greek Church being counted as units, irrespective of the numbers actually present in each. After several meetings among themselves the Emperor said that he and the Patriarch would discuss the matter with the Pope, which they did. But they refused afterwards to disclose to their clerics, to their great discontent, what had been arranged, and would go no further than repeat: 'We did very well indeed.'

Cardinals continued to visit the Emperor. A Greek committee met to decide what should be the subject to be discussed first, the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit or the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed. Bessarion, Scholarius and Amiroutzes urged the desirability of settling the doctrinal point first:¹ Ephesus, Gemistus and the greater part of the members were in favour of disputations about the legitimacy of the addition, and the Emperor ratified the decision of the majority. At the instance of the Latins it was arranged that there should be three sessions each week, no matter whether the Patriarch or the Emperor was prevented from being present, and the illness of a speaker or the incidence of a feast should

¹ Cf. also Bessarion, *P.G.* 161, 337B-340A.

only defer a session for one day, not cancel it altogether. All that was put into writing and accepted by both parties. The date was about 14 September.¹ The choice of opening the debate or of answering was left to the Greeks and they elected to initiate the proceedings. Both sides chose six orators—the Latins, Cardinal Cesarini; Andrew Chrysoberges, O.P., archbishop of Rhodes; Aloysius de Pirano, O.F.M., bishop of Forlì; Giovanni di Montenero, O.P., provincial of Lombardy; Petrus Perquerii, O.F.M. and Giovanni di S. Toma, Er. S. Aug.;² the Greeks, Mark Eugenicus, metropolitan of Ephesus; Isidore, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia; Bessarion, metropolitan of Nicaea; Gemistus; Michael Balsamon, the Great Chartophylax; and Theodore Xanthopoulus, the Great Skevophylax. Of these the Emperor appointed Eugenicus and Bessarion to speak for the Greeks.

When these arrangements had been concluded, the Emperor sent Andronicus Iagaris and Syropoulus to inform the Sovereign Pontiff. They were also to request the Pope to fix a day for the first session and, since presumably the Emperor had been notified that the sessions were to be held in the papal palace, to ask that the first few, or at least the first one, should take place in the cathedral of St George where the Council had been inaugurated on 9 April. The Pope could not assent to the imperial request—he was suffering from gout, according to the *Greek Acts*,³ or, according to the *Memoirs* of Syropoulus, he was unwilling to expose himself to ridicule by proceeding from his palace to the cathedral with only four or five cardinals and some fifty prelates of an *entourage*.⁴

At last the public discussions were about to start.

¹ John Eugenicus left Ferrara to return to Constantinople on 18 September shortly after these arrangements had been made: cf. Lambros, 1, p. 277.

² *A.L.* p. 330. Torquemada was away in Germany at this time. He was later one of the six Latin orators.

³ *A.G.* p. 35.

⁴ *Syr.* VI, 14, p. 162.

THE ADDITION TO THE CREED

THE Emperor's hopes that the western princes and perhaps too the Fathers of Basel would all rally to the Council of the Pope in Ferrara were doomed to disappointment. But he knew that long before the first dogmatic session took place on 8 October 1438.

Yet of the princes only Aragon and Milan were hostile to the papacy;¹ the rest were either favourable or neutral. Eugenius in a covering letter sent with the Bull *Exposcit debitum* had exhorted some of them (not, however, the King of France) to withdraw the safe-conducts they had given in favour of Basel.² Stephen of Bavaria took the exhortation seriously, wrote (30 April 1438) a threatening letter to Basel,³ and in fact did for a few days arrest two of its most notable members as they passed through his territory. René of Anjou at Marseilles accredited to Eugenius on 20 January⁴ an embassy of five persons led by Bertrand de Chaston, bishop of Orange, which was officially incorporated into the Council in Ferrara on 1 April 1438.⁵ Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, had always favoured Eugenius: his imposing embassy of three bishops, an abbot and four other clerics was incorporated on 27 November.⁶ England sent no embassy, but it was not for lack of good will. Throughout all the quarrel between Eugenius and Basel the English monarch and clergy had given their support to the Pope. There were various factors that conduced to this—hostility to France, dislike of the method of division into nations adopted by the Council, the oath exacted from members, squabbles about precedence—but the main and abiding

¹ A.C.A. doc. 30.

² E.P. doc. 129; M.C. III, pp. 58-9; Valois, II, p. 138, n. 1.

³ Mansi, 31, 243.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1438, x.

⁵ A.C.A. doc. 36.

⁶ For the names cf. Valois, II, p. 128, n. 4; for the account of their incorporation into the Council, cf. below p. 157f.

reason for their attitude was their loyalty to the papacy and their acceptance of Eugenius as legitimate Pope. Already in November 1437 Henry VI had written to Basel (and to Sigismund of Hungary) to rebut the *Monitorium* of 31 July previously. There he speaks of Eugenius as *indubitatum Christi vicarium*, exhorts the Baseler to suspend their action and animosity against the Pope and to go to Ferrara or wheresoever the Greeks were with the Pope, and threatens that the princes will treat the contumacious as *seditiones et utriusque pacis, tam ecclesiasticae videlicet quam civilis, proculdubio violatores*.¹ In letters to Eugenius he informed him of his acceptance of Ferrara, of his instructions to his prelates at Basel to depart either for Ferrara or their dioceses and of his steps with Basel, Sigismund and the German Electors in his favour.² The bearer of these letters was Henry O'Heyne, O.F.M., who went first to Germany where, finding Sigismund dead, he remained till after the election of his successor Albert on 18 March 1438 and then went on to Basel. There the Fathers (who meantime had gone much further against the Pope than the *Monitorium* that had provoked King Henry's missive) would not believe that the by now four-months-old letter was really from the English monarch³ and treated O'Heyne and his mission with scant respect.⁴ News of this reached England just before the arrival of two envoys from Basel, which was another reason why they failed in their purpose of winning English support.⁵ O'Heyne went on from Basel to Ferrara where he delivered his royal letters to the Pope, and was followed very shortly by another messenger, Giovanni Obizzi, papal collector in England from 1427, the bearer to Eugenius, John VIII, the Patriarch Joseph, various cardinals and Nicolò d'Este, of letters from Henry VI with congratulations and encouragement for the success of the Council in Ferrara.⁶ Obizzi returned in the beginning of October 1438 to

¹ T. Bekynton, *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams (London, 1872), II, letters CCXII, pp. 37-45, CCXXX, p. 83.

² *Ibid.* II, letters CCXIII, CCXXVIII, p. 80, CCXXIX, p. 82.

³ M.C. III, 103.

⁴ A. Zellfelder, *England und das Basler Konzil* (Berlin, 1913: Historische Studien, Hft. 113), p. 184; Valois, II, p. 133, n. 1.

⁵ Valois, II, pp. 133-4 with notes; Haller, v, pp. 171-2; J. Haller, *Piero da Monte* (Rom, 1941), pp. 62-70, doc. 69; p. 271, doc. 45 (to supplement Zellfelder, *op. cit.* p. 339); pp. 274-7 (to supplement Zellfelder, *op. cit.* p. 356).

⁶ Bekynton, *op. cit.* I, letter XLIV, p. 60, etc.; II, letters CCXXVI, p. 77, CCXXVII, p. 80; Zellfelder, *op. cit.* p. 206.

England in company with O'Heyne (now bishop of Clonfert), carrying to Henry and the Duke of Beaufort letters of thanks and encouragement from the Pope, begging the monarch to retain Englishmen in the papal court.¹ But the imposing embassies that it had been proposed to send to Ferrara never left England.² The lower clergy of the Convocation of Canterbury (28 April–18 October 1438), pleading the fewness of their numbers present, their poverty, the famine and the plague, refused to accept any further taxation even though the representatives of the Religious Orders had agreed to pay fourpence in the pound.³

Charles VII of France began by being hostile. He still clung to the hope of having the unionistic council assembled in Avignon and so, on 23 January 1438, he declared for Basel and forbade his subjects to go to Ferrara. In this sense he wrote to the Roman Emperor and other princes on 30 January⁴ and on the same day to Basel, but in this last letter he speaks of making a final attempt to persuade the Pope to submit to the General Council (of Basel), and in the event

¹ Zellfelder, *op. cit.* p. 209; Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1438, xiv; J. Haller, *Piero da Monte* (Rom, 1941), pp. 217–19. The letter, after stating that in the time of Gregory XII and Martin V there were many Englishmen in the Roman Curia, goes on: 'Quod quidem magno honore et gloria illius nationis eiusque regni regum et principum proculdubio censebatur. Ex quo fiebat ut de ipsa Anglicana natione quotidie modo prothonotarii, modo auditores, modo clerici camere, modo diversarum dignitatum prelati efficerentur, qui in dicta curia diversantes honorem, iura et auctoritatem regiam affectuose et fideliter tuebantur in magnum honorem, commodum ac gloriam regie maiestatis ipsiusque Anglicane nationis. Ceterum temporibus istis, quacumque id factum sit causa nescimus, nullus preter virum fenicis avis instar, videlicet dilectum filium magistrum Andream Oles subdiaconum nostrum et procuratorem regium, de natione Anglicana in ipsa Romana curia invenitur, qui tamen et diligens et fidelis et ab omnibus dilectus omnibusque gratus...'.

Eugenius sent by Obizzi letters to William of Lincoln dated 27 September 1438; to the Councillors of the King, to Beaufort and to Henry himself dated 28 September; to the Duke of Gloucester, to Beaufort, to the Chancellor of Bath, to Piero da Monte dated 1 October; and by the hand of the Bishop of Clonfert a letter to Henry dated 8 October.

Obizzi on his way back to England was detained in prison by Philip of Burgundy because he had no safe-conduct.

² From the king and Canterbury four bishops, six abbots, five deans, six archdeacons, twelve doctors, two counts, two barons and several knights; from York one bishop, three abbots and six orators—A. Zanelli, 'Pietro del Monte', in *Archivio storico Lombardo*, Serie 4^a VII (1907), p. 350.

³ *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob III (Oxford, 1945), pp. 261 ff.; Mansi, 31^a, 146–50, 158–9.

⁴ M.C. III, 52.

of failure declares that he will give his full allegiance to Basel. This letter was read in the Council only on 30 March.¹ A few days later (4 April) another royal letter was read in session, which showed what was Charles's really prevailing desire, a desire he shared with all the other princes, to avoid a new schism in the Church. He had heard that the Council was initiating proceedings for the suspension of the Pope (in fact that suspension had already been decreed on 15 January, but news of it had not reached the French monarch when he wrote on 21 February), so he begged them to hold up the process and try to aid 'the languishing Church with a milder medicine', as his orators, who would pass through Basel on their way to the Pope, would explain at greater length.² An envoy of Charles, Thomas Narducci, went to Eugenius about this time. The Pope's reply explains his mission; for Eugenius on 15 May wrote to Charles, thanking him and praising his zeal for the peace of the Church, justifying his own action against Basel on the grounds of their excesses against himself, promising that he would refrain from further measures provided that the Baseler also abstained from such, and excused himself for not revoking solely on his own authority the penalties already uttered against them as these had been imposed by the Council in Ferrara, on which subject however he would consult with Charles's envoys when they arrived, as he hoped they would.³

The upshot was that Charles summoned his clergy to Bourges for 1 May 1438 to decide 'whether the King should try to effect agreement' between Pope and Council.⁴ Eugenius was represented there by Fantinus Vallaresso (archbishop of Crete), Pierre de Versailles, O.S.B. (bishop of Digne), Gonsalvo de Valbuena (bishop of Granada) and John Diego (abbot of Cervatos) who demanded that the King should recognise the Council of Ferrara, send envoys there, allow his subjects to go there, recall his representatives from Basel and exact the annulment of the decree of suspension against the Pope. From Basel Géraud de Bricogne (bishop of St Pons), the Abbot Alexandre of Vézelay, Thomas de Courcelles (archdeacon of Metz),

¹ M.C. III, 59; Haller, v, p. 154.

² M.C. III, 100; Haller, v, p. 155.

³ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1438, XIII.

⁴ A full account is given in N. Valois, *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII* (Paris, 1906); cf. also H.L. VII, pp. 1054-61.

Guillaume Hugues and Jean d'Amanzé (sacristan of Lyons) urged Charles to accept the Council's decrees of reform, to forbid his prelates to go to Ferrara, to send new envoys to Basel and to promulgate in his kingdom the decree of suspension against Eugenius. In this judgement between the claims of Eugenius and of Basel the decision, after leisurely deliberation, was rather in favour of the latter, though there was no rupture with the Pope and no complete subservience to Basel. The principle enunciated at Constance, as renewed in the first session of Basel, of the superiority of a General Council over a pope was accepted: many of the reforms decreed by Basel, mostly dealing with the conferring of benefices, with taxation and trials, were adopted though with modifications to suit the interests of the French: the Tenth imposed for the repayment of the money expended by the Avignonnais for the abortive expedition to Constantinople were to be rigorously exacted. Basel was not altogether satisfied with the result and took a long time to acquiesce in the modifications made in its decrees. Eugenius did not accept it as settling ecclesiastical questions without reference to himself, continued to appoint his own nominees regardless of canonical elections¹ and by negotiation and in various other ways tried over the ensuing years to have it abrogated. Charles himself, though he signed the 'Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges' on 7 July 1438, was not loyal to it. He followed its provisions or fell in with the Pope's arrangements according as it was more convenient, and not infrequently he arrogated to himself the rights denied by it to the Pope to put his servants into many a benefice, forcing the local clergy to agree in the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. Valois' final judgement on it is that by the later years of Charles's reign *l'application de la Pragmatique n'avait ni diminué le nombre des conflits, ni supprimé l'abus de la force, le recours à la violence, trop fréquents dans l'histoire des monastères et des chapitres*,² even though some improvements could be noted after 1438 in more peaceful elections and papal remission of taxes. The meaning of Bourges 1438 was that France was neutral in the conflict between Pope and Council.

The assembly at Bourges had approved that the King should imitate his predecessors in working to maintain peace and harmony in the Church and that, to this end, he should send envoys and letters

¹ E.g. Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, xxxvii.

² P. cxx.

to both Council and Pope. Letters were despatched from Bourges on 20 June.¹ The embassy arrived in Basel in the beginning of December but its message was not to the Fathers' liking, for Charles's instructions to it savoured too much of the neutrality proclaimed at Bourges. He still demanded some compensation for the Annates withdrawn from the Pope in 1435; he spoke of referring the decision between Eugenius and Basel to a future council which, if not to be held in France as he hoped, should be sited by arbitration; he threatened to use force to make whichever party might be recalcitrant to the project concur.² The Fathers were to abstain from any further measures against Eugenius, and in this his ambassadors were supported by the representatives of Castile, always submissive to the directives from France.

Meanwhile the Electors of Germany also had adopted a policy of neutrality towards both Pope and Council.³ In the Diet of Frankfort, March 1438, where Eugenius was represented only by the Bishop of Urbino, the resident papal Nuncio, whereas Basel had sent three redoubtable orators including Nicolò Tudeschi (archbishop of Palermo, 'Panormitanus'), one of the best canonists of his day, the Electors decreed a formal declaration of neutrality on 17 March, protesting their continued respect for the Pope but declaring that, because of the conflict between him and the 'holy Council of Basel, *quod dolenter sustinemus, . . . nullam partem adversus alteram de presenti quomodolibet fovere proponimus*', and refusing to implement in their territories any sanctions enacted by either party against the other till such time as the Roman Emperor should be elected.⁴ Albert, duke of Austria, was elected the next day. The Pope wrote to congratulate him and on 30 March made the Bishop of Zengg, who was already in Hungary, Internuncio for Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia.⁵ Four envoys from the Electors travelled first to Basel where they were

¹ M.C. III, 141.

² Valois, II, pp. 144-5 with notes.

³ Cf. Augustinus Patricius, *Summa Conciliorum Basileensis, Florentini*, etc. c. LXXIII in Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, IX (Parisii, 1714) c. 1146; H.-L. VII, pp. 1061-8; G. Hofmann, *Papato, conciliarismo, patriarcato* (1438-1439) (Roma, 1940), pp. 9-30.

⁴ M.C. III, 109-10.

⁵ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1438, XXIII, XXII. Albert's envoy *cum magna militum comitiva* arrived in Ferrara to announce his election on 1 July (*Frag.* etc. p. 43). On 10 July Eugenius wrote to the King saying he would send an ambassador to arrange peace between him and Ladislas of Poland (Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1438, XXII).

heard on 12 April, but they failed to persuade the Fathers to suspend their action against Eugenius, even though the delegates of Aragon and Milan (including Tudeschi who at Frankfort had been most vocal against the Pope, but in the interval his principal had transmitted new orders) urged moderation and with the representatives of Castile ostentatiously left the session of 28 April that decided to continue with the judicial process against Eugenius, who was declared contumacious.¹ The same German envoys went on to Ferrara where they were graciously received by the Sovereign Pontiff, who agreed to take into consideration their proposal for a change in the site of the Council and to send fully-empowered representatives to a German assembly shortly to be convened.² With this reply they returned to Basel (13 July) to ask the Fathers there to imitate the compliant attitude of the Pope and to send plenipotentiaries to the future Diet, but they could get no satisfaction beyond a promise that the Council's representatives would give a full answer at the forthcoming meeting.³ A Diet was held in Nuremberg in early July, but the Pope was not represented there. To the German demand that they be allowed to mediate between Pope and Council, the envoys from Basel refused to accept seculars as judges in matters ecclesiastical and so the *status quo* remained. However, in October 1438 at a second Diet in Nuremberg (at which King Albert was not present in person) both Pope and Council were splendidly represented, the head of the papal embassy being Cardinal Nicolò Albergati and that of the Basel faction Ludovico d'Aquileia, who as 'legate *a latere*' of the Council bestowed indulgences on the faithful. The Byzantine Emperor John also sent a representative, Nicholas Goudeles.⁴

The papal embassy was received with scant honour and only Nicholas de Cusa was allowed to speak publicly on the papal cause, and that before the arrival of the Baseler (24 October). The ecclesiastical question was discussed in committee where it was proposed that both the existing Councils should be dissolved, to be reconstituted in one of three German towns, Strassburg, Constance or Mainz. This proposal was supported also by the representatives of France,

¹ *M.C.* III, 111-15.

² *M.C.* III, 123-4; Letters dated 28 May 1438 in *E.P.* docs. 140, 141.

³ *M.C.* III, 140.

⁴ *A.C.A.* doc. 56.

Castile, Portugal, Navarre, Aragon and Milan, but the envoys from Basel pleaded that they had no power to decide, though the papal plenipotentiaries were not averse to it. So this second Diet achieved nothing new, though it repeated the declaration of neutrality and showed greater honour to Basel than the Pope. It would send legates to both to urge its proposals and would meet again to settle the question in another Diet on 1 March 1439 in Frankfort. Cardinal Albergati thereupon returned to Ferrara where he arrived on 26 December,¹ and the other papal delegates remained in Nuremberg to await the next assembly.

The Council in Basel meantime continued preparing its case against the Pope, but with the envoys of Milan and Aragon, obedient to the instructions of their princes, now all in favour of procrastination, and with the other secular powers all urging a spirit of reconciliation, even though on 8 August Eugenius was publicly cited to appear before the Council, a decision was deferred first till 5 September, then to 12, 19, 26 of the same month, and to 3, 10, 17 October, on which day witnesses against him were heard. On 2 December the envoys from Albert and the German princes arrived and pleased the Fathers by roundly declaring their assembly to be a legitimate Oecumenical Council and by showing the letters of credence given them by the King in which he reaffirmed his protection of the Council and the validity of the safe-conducts he had accorded it.² But they could not bring the Fathers to agree to a dissolution in favour of a new council. For the best part of three months there were meetings and disputes, and demands for guarantees, and assertions that the Pope, who on 10 January had transferred the Council of Ferrara further away from Germany to Florence, would not do his part, so, as the gathering of Basel showed no sign of yielding, the envoys had in the end to depart with empty hands to be in time for the assembly summoned for 1 March in Frankfort.

The Diet actually met in Mainz because of an epidemic rampant in Frankfort. Besides the representatives of King Albert there were present three of the Electors in person and the rest by deputy, plenipotentiaries of the Kings of France, Castile and Portugal and of the Duke of Milan, and an imposing embassy from Basel led once again

¹ *Frag.* etc. p. 44.

² *M.C.* III, 185-6.

by the Patriarch of Aquileia, as 'legate *a latere*' of the Council, with two other bishops and six doctors. But the papal delegates came late, for the Electors had neglected to furnish them with safe-conducts for their short journey from Nuremberg, though on 25 March they managed to convey to the Diet certain conditions required by the Pope for the continuation of the negotiations for peace in the Church, one of which was his inability to accept the proposals lately made by the German envoys at Basel. With the main ecclesiastical question of a new council no progress was made and the only practical result of the Diet was the issue on 26 March 1439 of an *Instrumentum acceptationis*, reminiscent of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges—acceptance of the principle of Constance as re-enacted at Basel of the superiority of council to pope, and of many of the reform-decrees dealing mostly with benefices, appointments to office, taxation and ecclesiastical processes. And its results too were not dissimilar. The princes and ecclesiastics of Germany appealed to Pope, Council or the *Instrumentum* as was most convenient; the Pope did not accept it: the Council of Basel went its way in disregard of it: it did not even bring ecclesiastical unity into Germany for the old divisions of loyalty between Pope and Council continued and even increased as a consequence of it. But it probably did Basel more harm in the long run than Eugenius. It gave the German princes an excuse for not transmitting to Basel the money collected on the indulgence it had granted for the Greeks (an example not lost on others too).¹ John of Segovia accounted it as one of the main reasons that 'the other nations did not yield obedience to the election to the papacy made by the holy Synod of Basel, since they saw the Electors of the Empire with the King of the Romans, on whose threshold the Council was situated and who, so they professed, were fully convinced of the legitimacy of the Synod, preserving for so long their neutrality'.²

Aragon and Milan, the only two princes accounted positively hostile to the Pope by Venice, were more concerned to further their own private political interests than to conduce to ecclesiastical harmony. Aragon desired Naples which the Pope had consigned to René of Anjou. The Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan wanted the continuation of unsettled conditions in northern Italy so

¹ M.C. III, 116.

² M.C. III, 108.

that he could annex, or at least exploit, as much papal territory there as possible. After his general Piccinino had occupied the papal cities of the Romagna 'in the name of the Council', he even duped the Fathers of Basel into believing that some one of Eugenius' cardinals would agree to govern those territories—and even Rome—in the name of the Council, and letters of appointment were issued from Basel to Orsini, Lusignon, Colonna, and even to Albergati and Cesarini.¹ Yet it was Visconti's representatives at Basel who were mainly responsible for the continued delay in condemning the Pope, and by a letter of 5 November 1438 the Duke threatened (and in this he was probably genuine) that, should it elect another pope in the lifetime of Eugenius, he would not accept him as pope or obey him and would treat all who did so as enemies of God and the Church.² Eugenius was not ungrateful as clearly appears from his letters of 12 February³ and 21 February 1439⁴ in reply to letters of the Duke of Milan.

In spite, however, of the absence of official embassies from most of the Christian princes, by 8 October there was a goodly number of members present at the Council of Ferrara. Already in the autumn of 1437 Eugenius had sent letters throughout the western world to summon, besides the representatives of the secular powers, bishops and abbots. The universities were exhorted to provide doctors and masters of theology. The heads of the Religious Orders were bidden attend and to bring with them twelve doctors,⁵ and from December 1437 onwards it became a monthly charge on the *Camera Apostolica* to pay 24 fl. to each of these for the maintenance of six theologians,⁶ though they had more members present than that. The Dominicans, besides six bishops of their Order, were represented by the redoubtable John of Torquemada and Giovanni Montenero and at least seven others.⁷ The Franciscans had four bishops, their Minister General,

¹ M.C. III, 30-4; Valois II, p. 151, n. 1, p. 152, nn. 1, 2.

² M.C. III, 165; Valois II, p. 155, n. 1.

³ E.P. doc. 170.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, XVIII.

⁵ E.P. docs. 90-102.

⁶ A.C.A. docs. 13, 14, 16. The Servites received 12 fl. for four theologians (*ibid.* doc. 16).

⁷ G. Meersseman, O.P., 'Les Dominicains présents au Concile de Ferrare-Florence jusqu'au décret d'union pour les Grecs (6 juillet 1439)', in *Arch. O.P.* IX (1939), pp. 62-75.

their Procurator General, a Provincial and eight others, including St Bernardine of Siena.¹ Among the Carmelites present were William and Walter *de Anglia*, the latter probably the Walter Hunt who after his return to Oxford (where he died on 28 November 1478) wrote the *Acta Ferrariae et Florentiae* in six books and the *De processu concilii sacri* and other works, all of which unfortunately seem to be lost.² Ambrogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese, was there and in great demand for his knowledge of Greek. On 21 December 1438 the *Camera Apostolica* paid 300 fl. for the journey to Ferrara of the Abbot of Grottaferrata and his maintenance there.³ While waiting for the opening of the conciliar discussions these theologians spent their time preparing. The Franciscans for example were entrusted by the Pope with the defence *De primatu ecclesiae romanae* and *De attributis divinis* and to make ready for this they held three meetings a week among themselves.⁴ By the time the Council began the doctrinal sessions, there were present some 360 Latin ecclesiastics—cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, monks, doctors.⁵

Besides these there were the Greeks, who the same authority says amounted to 200 notable personages and in all to 700.⁶ Since the session of inauguration Isidore of Kiev had arrived and was present on 8 October with Avrami bishop of Susdal, the Archimandrite Vassian, the priest Symeon and others up to the number of fourteen. Thomas of Tver, Neagoe of Moldo-Wallachia, John of Iberia, the Great Logariastes of Trebizond, Macrodocas, and Menonos representing the Despot Theodore were among the notable lay-envoys.⁷

¹ L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (3rd ed. Quaracchi 1932), xi, pp. 34 ff.

² Cf. e.g. T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, sive de scriptoribus...* (London, 1748), s.n., dependent on Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium majoris Britanniae... catalogus* (Basileae, 1559), p. 616. ³ A.C.A. doc. 61. ⁴ Wadding, *op. cit.* pp. 2-3.

⁵ Fantinus Vallarosso, *Libellus de ordine generalium conciliorum et unione Florentina*, ed. B. Schultze (Roma, 1944), p. 20. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The number fourteen is taken from G. Stökl, *Reisebericht*, etc. p. 161; the name Thomas of Tver from Stökl and elsewhere; Neagoe from Syropoulos, p. 45 (was his companion called Thomikula? cf. Stökl, p. 162); John of Iberia from A.C.A. doc. 49; the office of the envoy of Trebizond from the same, doc. 98. The same document, which is a payment of final expenses of the Orientals dated 23 October 1439, gives the following numbers: Isidore, Gregory and twenty-nine *familiares*; Nagoi (Neagoe) of Moldavia, companion, and five; the *megas Logariastes* of Trebizond and four; the orator of Iberia, companion, and four; Avrami of Susdal, Thomas Math (of Tver?) and eight. The names Menonos and Macrodocas are given by Syropoulos (ix, 11, p. 268).

Even the western princes were not unrepresented. Venice had its ambassador with Eugenius, Giovanni Michel:¹ England had its agent, Andrew Holes:² France its procurator, Nicholas Cœur:³ and other princes and city-states were doubtless represented in some fashion even if not by official embassies, for they would all have business with the Roman Curia and be interested in the progress of the Council.

The Patriarch and the higher Greek ecclesiastical dignitaries went from their lodgings to the ducal palace, where Eugenius resided and where the session was to be held, on horses provided by the Pope. All was in a ferment for the approaches and the halls of the palace were full of people attracted by the spectacle that was to take place. On their arrival Joseph II and his clerics waited in an antechamber for the Emperor to come in from his residence in the country. He was on horseback and wanted to ride through the rooms leading to the chapel of the palace so as to dismount only when close to his imperial throne. But the papal attendants, in spite of his insistence, would not permit this, so perforce he had to dismount. Then came the question of how he was to reach his throne according to the rules of Byzantine court procedure when all the nearby rooms were thronged with people. After some little delay he sent orders first by an attendant, then by the Despot Demetrius himself, and finally by Demetrius and the imperial chamberlain Dermokaïtes to the Patriarch to clear the room where he was with his clerics of all his ecclesiastics as the Emperor would pass through it. But Joseph refused to dismiss his prelates and Staurophoroi, so in the end willy-nilly John VIII was half-assisted, half-carried through it and through an adjoining room to the chapel and set on his throne. The Patriarch with his suite followed him in and shortly afterwards Eugenius IV, preceded by cross, canons and protonotaries, entered with a cardinal holding his train and the other cardinals and prelates following in procession. He prayed for a short time at a prie-dieu before the altar and then went to his throne.⁴ The time would be about nine o'clock in the

¹ V. Chiaroni, O.P., *Lo scisma greco e il Concilio di Firenze* (Firenze, 1938), p. 112.

² G. B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy*. Vol. 1, *The Middle Ages (to 1525)*, (Rome, 1954), p. 302.

³ N. Valois, *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction*, etc. p. CXIV; Raynaldus; *ad annum* 1438, XIII.

⁴ Syr. VI, 15, pp. 163-4.

morning¹ when the Mass that always preceded a session had already been sung.²

The chapel of the palace had been transformed for the occasion. At the east end was the altar with on it an open gospel, the reliquaries of the heads of St Peter and St Paul and a lighted triple candlestick on either side. The thrones were arranged along the sides in the same manner as earlier in the cathedral and between them were two long transverse benches, facing each other, for the six speakers chosen from each side, while a little in front of them were placed Nicholas Sagundino the Greek interpreter, who won golden praise from all for his versatility in both Latin and Greek,³ and the 'three trustworthy notaries, appointed for each party, who wrote down accurately what was done in Latin and Greek'.⁴ The Pope was surrounded by his attendants; the Emperor, with Philanthropinus at his side holding the imperial sword, by his courtiers. The rest of the chapel, up to a barrier with a single entry erected lower down to exclude the crowd of curious onlookers, was occupied by the thrones of the cardinals, archbishops and bishops, the tribunes of princely embassies, the benches of abbots, ecclesiastics, theologians and courtiers, with here and there seats for Latin shorthand writers, and the intervening spaces were filled with bystanders. The day was 8 October 1438.⁵

The privilege of opening the proceedings had been accorded to the Greeks, so Bessarion rose and with a low bow towards the first thrones on either side began a long oration, encouraging and exhorting his hearers with thoughts like these.⁶ Of great enterprises the conclusion brings with it great joy; not less so their beginning.

¹ *A.L.* p. 45.

² *Ibid.* pp. 43, 46, 50, 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 39.

⁴ Fantinus Vallaresso, *op. cit.* p. 21.

⁵ This date is attested by *A.G.*, Stökl, *op. cit.* p. 161 and the *Diarium* of Andrew da Santa Croce (*Frag. etc.* p. 46 who, however, mistakes the month). The same writer's *A.L.* read *hoc modo deventum est cum Grecis usque ad octavam mensis octobris. Nonoque die, ut publice disputationes fierent, est conventum...* p. 32. Syropoulos gives 6 October as the date. The *Description* (contained in *A.G.*) allots three days, 8, 11, 13 October for Bessarion's panegyric, Rhodes's oration and the beginning of the debate respectively. The non-protocol part of the *Acta graeca* that is not the *Description* mentions 4 October for Bessarion's panegyric and 8 October for the debate.

⁶ For a summary account of the sessions cf. *H.L.* VII, pp. 973 ff.; G. Hofmann, 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara II', in *O.C.P.* III (1937), pp. 403-55.

And now the beginning has here been made to heal a breach that has lasted so long. The aim is, however, to seek the truth, and the natural tendency of man to wish to prevail, even at the cost of truth, must be sternly suppressed. For this all must give of their best.

Great is the beauty of harmony. May Christ Our Lord, Who died to restore harmony between man and God, grant it to the two Churches and join them together in mind and will, and not let them remain divided. May the Holy Spirit, Giver of all good gifts, the Spirit of truth, inspire us with the truth and, as in the Blessed Trinity there are three Persons but only one substance and nature, yet the plurality does not destroy the identity, grant that we, though many and of diverse nations and, alas, from the machinations of the arch-enemy of beliefs and faiths, may rid ourselves of the diversity and prove ourselves one in belief and faith in regard of You.

It is because of the initiative, the zeal, the efforts of the Holy Father that this Synod has been convened. To him, therefore, all praise and congratulation are due, and great will be the renown accruing to him if, with an eye ever on the end proposed, with mutual unity growing as the proceedings advance, this splendid start is crowned by a more splendid end.

He will ever have the Emperor at his side seconding his efforts, an Emperor who has always from boyhood on desired the concord of the Churches, who grasped the occasion of achieving it when it offered, who scorned danger, neglected comfort, put considerations of life, wealth and fatherland in second place, to co-operate with Christ and protect the peace of the Church.

No less is the zeal of the Patriarch, who despite age and broken health yearns to assist in this great work, and the rest of the Greeks gathered here from most distant lands will support his good will. May God prevent the enemy of mankind from hindering this work, against whom we must arm ourselves. It is sometimes better to be overcome for a good purpose than to overcome.

Let the Emperor and the Patriarch retain their zeal to the end and inspire the rest so that, with the ready co-operation of the Roman prelates, they may bring this enterprise to a happy conclusion.¹

When the orator sat down, Sagundino the interpreter read his

¹ A.G. pp. 37-46.

Latin translation of the speech,¹ and was followed by Andrew Chrysoberges, archbishop of Rhodes, who—extempore according to Andrew da Santa Croce—on behalf of the Latins expressed to Pope, Emperor and Patriarch congratulations for the work begun and a happy augury of its successful end.²

When Andrew had finished, Mark Eugenicus, metropolitan of Ephesus, rose to open the discussions on the legitimacy of adding to the Creed.³ After a few words on the charity that should inform both sides in the debate he announced: 'We shall speak about the addition made in the Creed that it was not rightfully made and ought never to have been made, for it was the original reason for the schism.' Whereupon Andrew of Rhodes rose to answer, but Mark objected that he had not yet advanced any reasons for his assertion as was his right, so he was allowed to proceed. Christ, he said, left peace to his Church as a legacy, but it would be enjoyed only on condition that his disciples preserved mutual charity. The Roman Church in days gone by broke that charity by approving a doctrine unsupported by Gospels, Councils or Fathers, but now wishing to restore the peace in charity it has set its hand to the task by inviting our Church. The only way of curing a disease is to establish the cause and then eliminate it. So let them return to the days of unity and be joined with the Fathers who made the Councils illustrious. The definitions, therefore, of the Councils should be read, first to show that we agree with them and follow them in mind as well as in order, and then that we may have the benefit of their prayers for our success to build our words on theirs as on a sure foundation.

Andrew replied dividing Mark's words into five points. The assertion that the Roman Church had broken the bonds of charity

¹ *A.L.* pp. 34-8.

² *Ibid.* p. 38. Syr. vi, 17, p. 166 makes Andrew open the proceedings to be followed by Bessarion. Here he is certainly wrong, being opposed by the *A.L.* and the *Description of the Acta graeca*.

³ The sources for this précis of the discourses at Ferrara are (1) *A.G.* pp. 49-217 which, however, omit the second half of session VIII and the beginning of session IX and record virtually nothing of the last three sessions XII-XIV; and (2) *A.L.* pp. 40-132 which pass over sessions IV and V. Syropoulos (pp. 166-77), after a brief résumé of Mark Eugenicus' opening speech, does little more than mention the dates of the rest, for details of which he refers his readers to the *Practica* of the Council. H.L. recounts this history, VII, 973-85.

was unfair. Did Mark forget that the Roman pontiffs had come to the aid of the Eastern Church on so many occasions, being present in person or by proxy at councils to still the storms of heresy? They had never ceased by messengers or letters to urge them to peace and concord, witness the present Pope who had done so much, witness Pope Gregory at the Council of Lyons. The definitions of the Councils can, indeed, be read, but they are not necessary. Eugenius replied acknowledging the debt that the East owed to Rome, but urging that all endeavours for peace were futile so long as the cause of the schism remained: it was essential to have the definitions read for they forbade any addition to or subtraction from the Creed. If the Latin Church, asked Andrew, has erred in the faith, why have the Orientals never proved it? And if the addition is true, why not add it? Because it is forbidden, rejoined Mark.

So ended the first session. But the Emperor would not undergo a second time the humiliation he had been subjected to on his entry to this session and, despite the entreaties of the Patriarch who was afraid that it might give an impression that the Greeks were afraid of the encounter with the Latins if they failed to appear on the appointed day for only the second session, refused to go himself or let them attend until a means had been devised by which he could occupy his throne after a fashion befitting his dignity. So the Latins perforce had to meet the difficulty. An opening was made in the wall of the first chamber where the Emperor had earlier been forced to dismount so that from that he could be carried unobserved through a series of rooms to a small apartment with a door opening into the chapel in the corner near his throne. From there it was not difficult to convey him to his place so surrounded by his attendants that he was invisible to the throng until he was seated. Because of these adjustments, the second session did not meet till Monday, 13 October.¹

When it did meet, however, it was taken up with an altercation of Greeks and Latins as to whether Andrew of Rhodes was entitled then and there to reply formally to the speech of Eugenius. Rhodes himself and Ephesus were involved in it and at different times Cesarini, Isidore of Russia, Master John (Montenero?) and Besarion, each adducing reasons why his side was in the right. The

¹ Syr. vi, 17, pp. 167-8.

Greeks protested that no answer was called for till they had supported their statements by arguments and documents: the Latins claimed the right of debate to make their defence straightaway. Neither side would yield, so the Pope through Cesarini closed the session so that the question might be settled at a meeting of the six orators of both sides on the next day. The Emperor concurred.

The meeting was held in the Patriarch's apartments on 14 October. The Greeks were there in strength, Emperor, Patriarch, all the prelates and the Staurophoroi with some others. The Latin delegates urged with all possible insistence that there was no need to read the definitions, at least in public—if the Greeks wanted them read, let it be done in private; but the Greeks resisted obstinately, declaring that unless they were read, and in public session, they would not go on with the discussions. In the end the Latins yielded, owing, so says Andrew da Santa Croce to the conciliatory spirit of the Pope and Cardinal Cesarini, though he himself (and doubtless others with him) had done all he could to dissuade them.

So, in the third session (16 October), with grudging assent of the Latins,¹ Mark Eugenicus had read various excerpts from the first seven General Councils—the Nicene Creed together with the prohibition against making 'another faith', both from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, and some comments on them of Cyril of Alexandria, the protagonist of orthodoxy at that Council, who had written: 'In no way do we allow the defined faith to be upset by anyone, that is the Creed of our holy Fathers who once on a time assembled in Nicaea. Nor indeed do we permit either ourselves or others to change a word of what is laid down there or to transgress even one syllable, mindful of the text: 'Do not remove the ancient boundaries which your fathers set.'² For it was not they who spoke but the Spirit of God and Father, who proceeds from him, yet is not alien to the Son in respect of substance.'³ There followed the defini-

¹ This, so says Syropoulos (vi, 19, pp. 169–70), they showed by leaving the book of the Gospels closed, the reliquaries lying flat and the candles unlit on the altar and by excluding as many spectators as possible. Symeon of Russia records (unquestionably wrongly) that the Latins left the session during Eugenicus' reading and explanation of the decrees (T. Frommann, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kirchen-einigung* (Halle, 1872), p. 123.

² Prov. xxii. 28.

³ Letter to John of Antioch, Mansi, 5, 308E.

tions of Chalcedon with the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople and a somewhat expanded version of the prohibition enacted at the Council of Ephesus.¹ Extracts also were read from subsequent Councils—part of a letter of John Patriarch of Constantinople² and part of a letter of Pope Vigilius³ to represent the fifth Council; the decree of the third Council of Constantinople⁴ with the prohibition appended⁵ and parts of two letters of Pope Agatho;⁶ then finally the decree of the second Council of Nicaea⁷—all extolling the inviolability of the faith handed down and imposing its strict observance.

When the Greeks had read the decree of the seventh Council Cardinal Cesarini exhibited a Latin codex⁸ which he claimed, written as it was on parchment, was very ancient and, though it agreed with the Greek codex in all else, yet contained in the profession of faith of the Patriarch Tarasius the words *et ex Filio*. Tarasius, of course, was noted for having used the phrase ‘through the Son’, so the Greeks were not impressed, even though the Cardinal had this Latin version read officially at the end of the session.⁹ It was perhaps the undisguised incredulity of the orators facing him that prompted Cesarini the very next day to write to Traversari then in Florence describing the incident and reminding him of a memorandum he had made for him earlier about a codex belonging to Nicholas of Cusa, bought probably in Constantinople, that contained accounts of the sixth, seventh and eighth Councils, in which (so Cesarini thought he remembered) the words *et ex Filio* had been erased, but so badly that they could still be read: ‘I would have paid down a hundred ducats if yesterday I could have displayed in public session along with our book of the seventh Council a Greek

¹ Mansi, 7, 109 C, 116 C.

² Mansi, 8, 1063 CD, which belongs to a council of Constantinople of 518, but Mark mistakenly put it forward as part of the second general Council of Constantinople of 533 and it was not challenged.

³ Mansi, 9, 401 C.

⁴ Mansi, 11, 633.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 640 B.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 236 D, 289 A.

⁷ Mansi 13, 323 D.

⁸ Syropoulus wrongly says a Greek codex, VI, 19, p. 170.

⁹ Schol. (III, p. 52) asserts that Andrew of Rhodes was responsible and that the Latins were so humiliated at the scornful laughter of the Greeks that they dismissed Rhodes from the number of the orators—an error, for it was Rhodes who spoke throughout the next two sessions. Cf. also Mark Eugenicus, *Confessio fidei* in Petit, *Docs.* p. 438 (300).

codex of the same Council with the above-mentioned phrase clearly and manifestly erased.¹ But in the rest of the discussions no Latin ever put forward this argument again, still less corroborated it with Greek evidence, so presumably the Cardinal was disappointed in his hopes.

The prohibition of the third Council must be given in full, as it played a predominant part in all the debate, for it was the basis of the Greek position and all the subsequent discussions were concerned with its interpretation. It runs as follows:

When therefore these things had been read out, the holy Synod enacted that it was lawful for no one to put forward, that is to write or compose, another faith than that defined by the holy Fathers congregated in the Holy Spirit in Nicaea. Those who dared either to compose or to proffer or put forward another faith to those wishing to return to the acknowledgement of the truth whether from paganism or from Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, such, if they were bishops or clerics should be alienated, bishops from the episcopacy and clerics from the clergy; but if laymen they should be under anathema.²

The Council of Chalcedon repeated this prohibition but with some changes. It now became unlawful 'to put forward another faith, that is to write or compose or think or teach differently. Those who dared either to compose another faith, that is to put forward or teach or hand on another symbol' were subjected to the penalties imposed by the Council of Ephesus.³ The sixth Council followed the phraseology of the fourth.⁴

Mark Eugenicus did not simply have the excerpts read. He added his own comments in between and so built up his argument. The Council of Ephesus approved and as it were crystallised the Creed of Nicaea and declared that it should remain unchanged, a thing that the first two Councils that made the Creeds could hardly have done for themselves without appearing arrogant. The Fathers of Ephesus added the prohibition because after the second Council there had been a spate of local creeds, ending with that of Nestorius. Such variety was fraught with danger and so, though the second Council had amplified the Creed of Nicaea (as it lawfully could because as yet there was no prohibition against it), they determined

¹ Letter dated 17 October 1438 in Trav. no. 848.

² Mansi, 4, 1361D.

³ Mansi, 7, 116C.

⁴ Mansi, 11, 640B.

to remove such a possibility for the future both from themselves (they did not add the word *Theotokos* though it was most apt to rebut the blasphemies of Nestorius) and from posterity, and imposed the use of the Creed of Nicaea or, since it was the equivalent, the Creed of Constantinople. It is true that the Fathers of Ephesus made no mention of the Creed of Constantinople: they spoke only of that of Nicaea, because that was the baptismal Creed and the more ancient and fundamental. The Creed of Constantinople they looked on as one with that of Nicaea as the later Councils had done too, which repeated the prohibition enacted at Ephesus.

A couple of days later a private meeting of the orators of both sides, with the interpreter and the notaries whose task it was during the sessions to take down the speeches, was held in the sacristy of the church of St Francis. Each public session was followed by a private meeting of this kind. There a speaker who had quoted from Councils or Fathers had to produce the codices he had used for the inspection of the other side, and the two sets of notaries had to compare their versions of the speeches they had taken down, so that each side should have an accurate and mutually-agreed record of what had been publicly said. It was on the basis of these records that subsequent speakers met the arguments of their adversaries. There are frequent references to these private meetings in the Acts of the Council, but few of them are included in the protocol. The *Greek Acts* and Syropoulos (who here has his dates a little confused) refer to this meeting of 18 October; the former gives also a short account of the one that followed the next session; Syropoulos mentions one after the fifth session, Andrew da Santa Croce refers to one after the eighth session, and both he and the *Greek Acts* record one after the last session in Florence. But there is no doubt that it was the regular practice and it furnishes a guarantee of the accuracy of the protocol recorded in the *Greek Acts*.

In the private meeting of 18 October it had been agreed that each side should lend the other its codices, if so requested, at least for the space of an hour. At the beginning of the next public session (the fourth, on 20 October) Cardinal Cesarini complained that the Greeks had failed to comply with a Latin request for the loan of a codex containing the eighth Council. Eugenius justified their

reluctance by declaring that the so-called eighth Council, in which Photius had been condemned, had been annulled by a subsequent council (which he referred to as the eighth¹) and so was no valid basis for any argument. Surprisingly Cesarini did not challenge this assertion; indeed he reassured the Greeks that they need have no fear of Latin use of it; what he really wanted was the accounts of the sixth and seventh Councils contained in the same volume. Whereupon Eugenius promised that it should be forthcoming. But there was probably some dissatisfaction among the Latins on account of Cesarini's too great complaisance; at any rate Andrew of Rhodes came back to this topic in the fifth session and corrected Mark's exposition of its history.²

With the question of the codex settled, Andrew, archbishop of Rhodes, began his speech to answer the oration of Ephesus. His method was more scholastic. He began his first point, that the *Filioque* is not an addition, with a syllogism: An exposition or development is not an addition; but the *Filioque* is a development being contained in *ex Patre*—therefore it is not an addition. To prove the major premiss he argued: Every addition is from without (as nutriment is from without); but development or clarification is not from without—therefore it is not an addition. The minor premiss of his second syllogism he demonstrated by examples to show that the faith of Nicaea was an amplification of the New Testament and that later Councils had clarified Nicaea, not least the Council of Constantinople whose Creed, as Eugenius admitted, differed from the Nicene Creed, yet was accepted by the Council of Ephesus and posterity as its equivalent. None of these could have added to the faith of the New Testament; so developments were not additions. He next proceeded to prove the minor premiss of his first syllogism, that 'from the Son' was contained in 'from the Father', and immediately came up against Greek protests, for it was said that this was to enter into another question, the truth of the dogma, and to leave aside the immediate question of the lawfulness of the addition. However, even though the Greeks averred that they would refuse to

¹ This was used by Mark Eugenius as an argument against the Latins (Petit, *Docs.* pp. 421, 440) and by his brother John in a letter to Notaras (Lambros, I, p. 138).

² A.G. pp. 133 ff.

refer to this in their replies, he persisted by having excerpts read from some of the Greek Fathers—Cyril¹ and Basil².

Andrew's second point was that development is not forbidden, either by the New Testament or the Fathers or the Councils, for there had been innumerable developments and their authors were not held to be censured. The Apostles' Creed was a development of the New Testament; the Nicene of the Apostles' Creed, that of Constantinople of the Creed of Nicaea. Many Greek Fathers (e.g. Gregory Theologus³ and Gregory Palamas⁴) have said that it was not a matter of words, and the Creed is read in different languages. First principles contain in themselves the conclusions that can be drawn from them. St Paul proclaimed 'one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all',⁵ one Church—but the Church abides and must abide the same for ever, with its power intact. The prohibition, however, as understood by the Greeks would reduce that power and render the Church unable to meet the crises of the moment and so would prove itself harmful to the faithful. So Rome acted when necessity arose, but not against a decision of a Council, because the 'another faith' of the prohibition means not another formulation of the same faith, but a formulation of another, diverse faith. That was the sense of the first prohibition, and the Fathers and Councils that followed must be interpreted by that.

On 21 October 1218 florins were given to the Patriarch as the allowance for two months for himself and his clerics.

In the following session (the fifth, on 25 October) Andrew continued his speech, devoting the first part of it to an answer to the arguments of the Metropolitan of Ephesus.⁶ The extracts read for Eugenius were recited again, interspersed by comments from Andrew, the burden of which was that Rome had done no more than what the Council of Constantinople did to the Creed of Nicaea. It has retained the same faith, but clarified it; so 'other faith' in the prohibition must mean 'diverse faith'. The Symbol of Nicaea, as stated by Mark, is complete—yes, as regards faith, but not as regards its

¹ P.G. 74, 257C.

² P.G. 32, 332BC; 31, 468A.

³ P.G. 36, 345C.

⁴ P.G. 151, 725A.

⁵ Eph. iv. 5.

⁶ All these arguments will be repeated later by Cesarini, so they are not described at length here.

explanation. The Roman Church found this doctrine in the Fathers—Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Basil,¹ Gregory of Nyssa,² Athanasius,³ John Chrysostom,⁴ Symeon Metaphrastes,⁵ Epiphanius.⁶ The occasion, the heresies in Spain, demanded its assertion. It was approved by a numerous council in Rome (Oecumenical Synods had in the past often approved the conclusions of local synods) headed by the Pope within whose power it is to summon councils, as the Greek martyr Stephen testified.⁷ The Greeks long knew of it and made no demur; even Photius, who looked for any and every handle against the Pope, did not allege this one; their silence gave a tacit acknowledgement and so the addition was not the cause of the schism.

The Greek orator chosen to answer Andrew of Rhodes in the sixth session on 1 November was Bessarion, Metropolitan of Nicaea.⁸ After recapitulating briefly the main heads of Andrew's arguments, he said he would confine himself to Rhodes' second point and prove against it that it is forbidden to add anything to the Creed, even though that thing be true. However, he started by discussing Andrew's second syllogism. He challenged the minor premiss (Development is not from without), asserting that in the matter under discussion that was not true, because to prove that *Filioque* is contained in *ex Patre* there had to be introduced from the New Testament, that is from outside, the axiom 'Whatsoever is the Father's is the Son's'.⁹ Even the major was not sound because, to use the example that Andrew had taken from Aristotle, food from outside is not an addition till it has been assimilated to the body.

Andrew's second point had been: Development is not forbidden. Bessarion agreed. Development is not forbidden, but it is forbidden

¹ P.G. 32, 148A.

² P.G. 44, 1160B.

³ P.G. 26, 580B.

⁴ P.G. 59, 220.

⁵ P.G. 115, 1032B.

⁶ P.G. 42, 493 AB.

⁷ P.G. 100, 1144B.

⁸ Syropoulos asserts that this speech was composed for Bessarion by George Scholarius (vi, 21, p. 174). Bessarion, however, claims that it was he who produced the best arguments for the defence of the Greek position (Bessarion, *Epist. ad Alex. Lascarin*, P.G. 161, 341C). Isidore of Kiev also began to write a speech in reply to Rhodes. So perhaps several of the Greek theologians set themselves to refute the Latin arguments, and Bessarion may have profited by their labours.

⁹ 'All things whatsoever the Father hath, are mine', John xvi. 15.

to add to the Creed. Even that was allowed till the Council of Ephesus, but Ephesus forbade another profession of the same faith, not merely a profession of another faith, which was always in the nature of things forbidden. And Ephesus was the first Council to obey its own injunction for it refrained from inserting *Theotokos* into the Creed, though it was contained in principle in the Symbol of Nicaea and it would have been eminently useful to have added it. The subsequent Councils likewise observed the prohibition. Quotations from the Fathers do not help here. Can the Latins show any Council that added to the Creed? They cannot, because the Councils found another way—to leave the Creed inviolate and to add outside of it definitions to meet the situation of the moment.

Andrew's argument from the fact that the Creed is recited in different languages is beside the point. The *Filioque* has changed the meaning, because *ex Patre* is one proposition, whereas *ex Patre Filioque* is two joined by a copulative. Similarly his plea that a general principle and its conclusions are really one thing is not valid—the one is self-evident, the other to be proved—and, even if the conclusions are contained in the principle, they need not be added—in this case of the Creed, they must not be added. After all we do not add to the New Testament though it is the foundation of the whole faith. That the Church is always one and the same is of course true, but the later Church must reverence the earlier, otherwise it stultifies itself. It may develop the faith provided it preserve intact the original formularies. That is what was done by Agatho, Cyril and the other Fathers cited by Andrew.

The rest of Bessarion's speech, continued in the seventh session of 4 November, was directed against what Rhodes had said in his second discourse when he had replied to the arguments of Eugenius. It was an answer to an answer and so somewhat disjointed. The Council of Ephesus read the Creed of Nicaea to give it approval and to seal it off against further change. The prohibition regards not only meanings but words—later Councils did not add. Cyril and Agatho both meant the words and not only the sense of the Creed, and in any case Agatho's profession was a private one, not of the whole Church. The word *Theotokos* was *not* added, though it was almost essential.

We wish your Reverence to know that we withhold this permission from every Church and synod even oecumenical and not from the Roman Church alone, since no matter how great is the Roman Church, it is notwithstanding less than an Oecumenical Synod and the universal Church: and we withhold it from the whole Church, much more so then from the Roman Church do we withhold it. But we withhold it not as by ourselves, but we consider that this has been forbidden by the decrees of the Fathers.

Bessarion ended his discourse with a question: 'We ask you then whether these provisions and the prohibition refer to the Symbol of the faith or to something else.' The Latins were for a moment at a loss for an answer and their orators and the cardinals gathered round the Pope for a short time in consultation. Finally Andrew of Rhodes began to speak.¹ After some little altercation as to what Nicaea had or had not said, Andrew proceeded to defend the syllogism that Bessarion had impugned. Bessarion had denied, at least in respect of the *Filioque*, Andrew's minor premiss: 'Development is not from without.' Rhodes explained that 'without' has two senses—a thing can be different in word or different in subject-matter. The subject-matter of the Gospels, the three Creeds and the Roman Creed is the same—to deny that would be to assert as many different faiths, and the Greeks say that the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople are really one and the same—so the *Filioque*, not being from without (i.e. from a different principle or subject-matter) is no addition.

The eighth session followed on 8 November when the speaker for the Latins was Aloysius de Pirano, O.F.M., bishop of Forlì.² After a few words on the harmony that should prevail between both sides he declared his object was to prove two points, that the *Filioque* is not properly speaking an addition and that it is not forbidden. There was a gradual evolution in the faith. The Old Testament led to the New; the New Testament led to the Creeds. The Apostles' Creed reads; 'I believe in the Holy Ghost'; Nicaea and Constantinople wrote: 'who proceeds from the Father'; that in turn led to the 'and from the Son', which is therefore not an addition.

Nor is it forbidden. Though the Greeks say that till the Council of

¹ The Greek notaries (*A.G.* p. 160) declare that Andrew was talking only to fill up time and was not speaking to the point, so they did not take down what he said, which in consequence is wanting in the *Greek Acts*.

² Aloysius of Forlì, unlike the other orators, read his speech (*Syr.* vi, 21, p. 174).

Ephesus the Fathers could add to the Creed, that must be modified to mean that the Fathers in a General Council could do so, but not individuals. But to get to the roots of the question we must investigate the intention of the framers of the prohibition. What they purposed was to check false faiths. Such power can never be denied to the whole Church or to its head, 'with whom lies all power and right over the universal Church', to confront heresy. Such was not the intention of the framers of the law, as the action of the Council in regard to Nestorius and the letters both of Celestine and Cyril show. That prohibition was not new. It had been applied to the Apostles' Creed, yet the later Creeds did add. So what is forbidden is, not to clarify the traditional faith, but to produce a different one—that was why Nestorius was condemned.

The rest of Aloysius' speech in this session and his words in the beginning of the next (the ninth, on 11 November) were taken up with a direct reply to the arguments of Bessarion, insisting that the prohibition refers and must refer to a different faith, not merely to a different expression of the same faith, because the power of clarification and development must always reside within the Church. In particular he defended the argument of Andrew of Rhodes that Bessarion had challenged. Andrew's assertion that a principle contains its conclusions was, he said, applicable also in the case of the *Filioque*, though Bessarion had said that 'from the Father and the Son' was two propositions instead of the one proposition of 'from the Father', because the *Filioque* follows logically and directly from the 'ex Patre'. Similarly Andrew was right in declaring that what follows from a principle is not extrinsic to that principle. It is akin to it in truth, as dogmas taken from the Scriptures are like the Scriptures in truth, and akin to it in kind, as both refer to the faith. In words the major 'All that is the Father's is the Son's' is different from the minor 'But the Spirit proceeds from the Father', but it is not different in truth or in kind. So if it can be proved (as proved it can be) from the Gospels and St Paul that *ex Patre* implies also *e Filio*, then the *Filioque* should not be said to be extrinsic and additional. He ended by proclaiming, in answer to Bessarion's peroration, that 'freedom of this sort can be taken away from the Roman Church neither by us nor by our predecessors, for it possesses it by divine right.'

When Aloysius of Forlì had finished, Cardinal Cesarini took the floor. In fact the rest of the debates at Ferrara were a duel between him and Mark of Ephesus,¹ usually with urbanity, occasionally with some little asperity, the Emperor intervening every now and again to protest that the Cardinal spoke too often and too long and did not allow the Greeks to have their say. In point of fact, in all the subsequent sessions (18 November, 4 December, 8 December, 13 December) the Metropolitan of Ephesus opened proceedings with a fairly long exposition which, however, owing to the interruptions of Cesarini soon developed into a discussion in which the Cardinal had rather more than a fair share of the time.

The rhythm of the sessions was broken by the advent of the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy who presented themselves officially to the Pope in session on 27 November. The seating arrangements were such that to reach the Pope they had to pass before the Emperor and in fact they went straight by him without any recognition of his presence either by word or gesture. Arrived at the papal throne they saluted the Pontiff by kissing his foot and cheek, presented their letters of credence which were read out in Latin but not translated into Greek, and delivered by the mouth of the Abbot of Clairvaux a long discourse dilating on the blessings of peace and union and on the good dispositions of their Prince.² With that the session ended.

The Emperor was very angry, claiming that the envoys should have brought letters to him also and have addressed him as they had done the Pope. He refused to attend any more sessions or let his subjects

¹ Isidore of Kiev, three days after Cesarini's speech (therefore on 14 November), wrote a long refutation taking eleven headings from the Cardinal's words and answering them with fifty-two arguments, most of which were either repetitions of previous Greek replies or anticipations of what Mark Eugenikos would say in subsequent sessions (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1896, 1391-156v). The document ends abruptly after the 52nd argument with no peroration to round it off. For this reason, and because neither the *Acta graeca* nor the *Acta lat.* mention any noteworthy contribution to the debate on the part of Isidore (still less any lengthy speech), one must conclude that this oration was never delivered in public session. The same should, it would seem, be said of other writings of Isidore: (1) a short piece of early October 1438 on the peace and charity that should obtain between the disputants' (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1896, 2141-216v); (2) another short oration of c. 14 October on the procedure of the Council (Cod. Vat. Gr. 706, 1661-169v); (3) part of the draft of a speech against the addition written shortly after 25 October (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1896, 1811-1841).

² Text in *A.L.* pp. 87-95 and *Frag.* pp. 63-70.

participate further until the insult had been atoned for. The Patriarch, who had not been present during the incident for reasons of health, acted as peacemaker, and the Pope too interposed his good offices. Fictitious letters from the Duke of Burgundy to the Emperor were prepared and in the next session, eight days later (the Emperor, against the advice of his counsellors, insisted that the *amende* should be made as publicly as the insult) the Bishop of Chalon presented them saying: 'The most illustrious Prince, the Duke of Burgundy, filled with a burning desire for the union of the Greeks sends these letters to your Serene Highness with his greetings, and since they contain credentials we are ready to explain them by word of mouth in your Serene Highness's palace.' The Emperor accepted the letters and the session continued with Mark of Ephesus speaking in answer to Cesarini's last discourse.¹

Cesarini's first speech had occupied the latter half of the ninth session of 11 November. Shortly after he gave it in writing to the Greeks, a copy of which still survives.² It contains most of his arguments. What was said in the later sessions both by him and by Mark Eugenicus was for the most part a repetition (or rather repetitions) of their previous reasoning with an occasional new approach suggested by the opponent's attack. What follows is a summary of the arguments proposed on both sides from all these last sessions. To follow in detail the meandering of the debate would be too tedious and too confusing.

Cesarini began with a sound principle. When there is question of learning the meaning of a law, one must investigate the intention of the legislators. What did the Fathers of Ephesus mean when they wrote 'another faith'? Clearly a different or diverse faith. They approved Cyril's letters written before the Council, and condemned Nestorius. They read the Creed of Nicaea so as to discover whose teaching was

¹ The *Acta lat.* say that the six Greek orators entered only after the giving of the letter, which is in contradiction to Syropoulos' assertion that the Emperor insisted that the apology should be made in full session: the *Greek Acts* also recount it otherwise. But the *Acta lat.* are here very vague about dates. Of the following sessions the *Acta graeca* recount very little and imply that there were only two; Syropoulos refers to two or three more with no further comment; the exact dates are given by the account of the unknown Russian companion of Isidore published by Stökl, *op. cit.* p. 162.

² G. Hofmann, 'Denkschrift des Kardinals Cesarini über das Symbolum', in O.C. xxii (1931), pp. 3-62.

consonant with it and whose opposed to it. After the definition they wrote to the Emperor approving Cyril's doctrine and rejecting that of Nestorius,¹ and Cyril wrote to the monks of Constantinople asserting that the 'main intention of the Council was to condemn Nestorius'.²

The incident of Charisius is enlightening and final.³ He had complained to the Fathers of Ephesus about the profession of faith of certain of Nestorius' adherents, a profession he called not a faith but a perfidy. Then to prove his own orthodoxy he read out his own profession, which differed verbally, but not in substance, from the Nicene Creed. The Council condemned Nestorius. It did not condemn Charisius. But it should have done if *alia fides* meant a profession differing from that of Nicaea only in 'words and syllables'.

If it be said that the prohibition refers only to public or common professions of faith and not to those of individuals, the objection has no validity because the prohibition is general: it says 'it is lawful to no one': it does not say 'publicly' or 'for use at baptism' or add any other restrictive clause: and it proclaims penalties against bishops, clerics and even laymen, and that in the singular number: it does not say that only communities are forbidden. In point of fact Pope Agatho and the Patriarchs Tarasius (of Constantinople) and Theodore (of Jerusalem) with their synods made professions of faith verbally different from the Creed of Nicaea and were not reprobated. Not that any and every local Church may chant its own variety—not, however, because of the prohibition of the third Council, but because only the whole Church or its head can allow such a practice.

That local Churches may offer to their faithful other professions of faith clarifying that of Nicaea is shown by the need of preaching as Pope St Celestine said,⁴ and from the defence of Pope St Leo by the Council of Chalcedon.⁵

St Paul speaks of 'one faith', so that any other must be a second, i.e. a different and false faith; and that is the meaning of the words of the prohibition. St Cyril, writing to John of Antioch, declared the necessity of reciting the faith with the right interpretation and so insisted on his accepting the XII Anathemas.⁶ It would be absurd

¹ Mansi, 4, 1237 E, 1240 AB.

³ *Ibid.* 1345 ff.

⁵ Mansi, 7, 457 BC.

² *Ibid.* 1436 E.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1283 DE.

⁶ Mansi, 4, 1069 E–1072 A.

if any one who enunciated or 'thought' (thinking is included in the prohibition) a Gospel truth not specified in the Nicene Creed should be deemed subject to the penalties. The prohibition follows, in the proceedings at Ephesus, not the Creed but the definitions and so applies to them too—yet later Councils have defined with impunity. If they had not made new creeds, that does not necessarily mean that they could not have done so.

It is not forbidden to explain. Chalcedon asserted that nothing was wanting to the Creed of Nicæa, yet 'wishing to exclude the machinations' of heresies 'felt itself constrained to define' further.¹ Similarly the seventh Council claimed to add nothing to and to take nothing away from Nicæa, yet formulated a definition about images.²

There is no difference of doctrine. All admit that the Creed of Constantinople is the same in truth as that of Nicæa, though it has additions. In like manner the Latin Creed is the Creed of Nicæa, just as the later Old Testament elaborated the primitive Decalogue and we interpret many of the injunctions enunciated by Our Lord in the New. St Paul forbade any to evangelise differently from himself,³ and the Greeks understand by that to deliver a different doctrine. But they say that the third Council made that restriction more stringent, specifying words and syllables. That prohibition was repeated by many other Councils. Did they all, one after the other, add a greater stringency? Not at all. All the prohibitions come back to that of St Paul and what is intended is difference of doctrine, not variation in word.

In any case the prohibition existed before the time of the Council of Ephesus. The Wise Man in Proverbs xxii. 28 forbade the moving of the bounds set by the fathers. Pope Liberius at the request of the Africans searched the Roman archives for the acts of the Council of Nicæa and found among them a prohibition, couched in almost identical terms as that of Ephesus, forbidding any change.⁴ Yet the Fathers of Constantinople did change the Creed of Nicæa and those of Chalcedon altered the order of the Patriarchates, putting Constantinople in the second place. Were those Fathers then under an anathema? If the Greek interpretation of the prohibition is correct,

¹ Mansi, 7, 112-13.

² Mansi, 13, 729 A.

³ Gal. i. 8.

⁴ Ps. Liberius in P.G. 28, 1469 C-1471 A.

then they were, and what are we to think about their teaching?—but that is an absurdity. Pope Celestine deems a man worthy of anathema who changes the Apostles' Creed (there are three Creeds, not only two as the Greeks hold) and condemned Nestorius for denying what was contained in it, not in so many words, but only in sense.¹ Yet Nicaea and Constantinople added to the Apostles' Creed. So it is not a change of word, but of meaning, that is forbidden. The sixth Council explained the meaning of the prohibition of Ephesus, which it repeated, by adding to the end of it 'to the upsetting of what has been handed down':² an explanation confirms; it does not 'upset'.

With all this in view we can now see what Cyril meant when he spoke of not allowing 'either ourselves or others to change a word of what is laid down or to transgress even one syllable'.³ The Latins have changed no word nor have they omitted any syllable from the Creeds nor added anything 'to the upsetting of what has been handed down'. The words quoted by Cyril from the Book of Proverbs apply also to the teaching of the Fathers. Are later Fathers then to be dubbed transgressors?

The events at the 'Robber Council' and at the Council of Chalcedon confirm our view. Eutyches recited the Nicene Creed and affirmed his loyalty to it, yet was condemned. Flavian and Eusebius were deposed by Dioscorus as contravening the prohibition of Ephesus, but were reinstated and Dioscorus himself was condemned. So the prohibition must be understood as referring to the sense not to the words of the faith of Nicaea. If the *Filioque* is not true, it should not have been added to the Creed. But if it is true, then there is no law against its inclusion there.

The Greek answer to Cesarini's arguments was in its main lines very simple. The prohibition refers not to the private professions of faith of individuals but to the symbol of the Church that is used in the Liturgy and as the profession of faith at baptism. So all that the Cardinal had urged about the case of Charisius and the professions of Agatho, Tarasius and any others was beside the point. They were all private, not public. Individuals could write their own professions,

¹ Mansi, 4, 1028 E–1029 A.

² Mansi, 11, 899 CD, 639 B.

³ Mansi, 5, 308 E.

but not declare them to be the commonly accepted ones, or employ them in the Liturgy or at baptism. Charisius, Agatho, Tarasius did not do that. 'To say that the prohibition forbids only 'another, i.e. diverse, faith' is absurd. That was forbidden already from the nature of things.'

Eugenius put his thought into a syllogism. 'Every symbol should be one and the same with all those who use it: but the exposition of the faith is a symbol. Therefore'. A symbol is an exposition of the faith in words and phrases and that is what the legislators had in mind when they wrote 'to put forward, to compose, to put together'. It is true that the prohibition forbids also 'thinking' another faith. Manifestly the Fathers had two things in view as their words show. 'Put forward', 'write', 'compose' clearly refer to writing, to words, to syllables, and to 'put forward', 'write' or 'compose' another faith is forbidden under penalty—obviously here it is a question of a profession of faith, not just its content. 'Think' implies the inner intention or meaning of a man and so here the Fathers meant in addition to forbid heretical views, also under pain of censure, to meet cases like that of Eutyches who claimed to profess the faith of Nicaea but in fact did not hold it.

The mind of the legislators is to be gauged not from what went before but from the circumstances that surrounded the formulation of the prohibition and their letters afterwards. They wished to avoid any other profession like that of the Nestorians, so they forbade any others at all. That is what Cyril said in his letters and he speaks of syllables. 'Other faith' cannot mean 'different faith', otherwise there would have been many subsequent symbols, but in fact there are none. The later Councils did not compose creeds: they added definitions. Nor is it of any avail to bring up the fact that the Council of Constantinople added to the Creed of Nicaea, as that was done before the Council of Ephesus and so before the enactment of the prohibition. Of any alleged prohibition laid down by Nicaea we know nothing. It is not in the Acts of the Council and is disproved by the action of the Fathers who did in fact make a second Creed. The incident of Flavian and Eusebius at Chalcedon proves nothing except the veneration that the Fathers had for the Creed of Nicaea, for no one had added to that Creed and what was condemned was

opinions outside of it. The seventh Council admittedly added to the prohibition 'to the upsetting of those things which are defined' but, as the prohibition is itself a definition, that only strengthens our case. Pope Vigilius is a good advocate of the Greek cause, for after he had enumerated in his letter to the Patriarch Eutychius the list of the Councils, he noted that they had 'accepted' and 'confirmed' the Creed: he did not say that they had 'expounded' and 'clarified' it.

[This Symbol, this noble heritage of our Fathers, we demand back from you. Restore it then as you received it.] It may not be enlarged; it may not be diminished. It has been closed and sealed, and such as dare to innovate in its regard are cast out and those who fashion another in its stead are laid under penalty. The addition of a word seems to you a small matter and of no great consequence. So then to remove it would cost you little or nothing; indeed it would be of the greatest profit, for it would bind together all Christians. But what was done was in truth a big matter and of the greatest consequence, so that we are not at fault in making a great consequence of it. It was added in the exercise of mercy; in the exercise of mercy remove it again so that you may receive to your bosoms brethren torn apart who value fraternal love so highly.¹

It is clear from these words of Eugenius that the arguments of Cesarini had availed nothing to make him change his views, while on the other hand the Cardinal remained unmoved by Mark's impassioned exhortation and went coldly on with the discussion.

One of the difficulties that beset the contestants was the paucity of trustworthy codices. Mark of Ephesus, it is true, talked of a thousand copies of the works of St Basil in Constantinople alone,² yet John of Ragusa wrote to Basel on 9 February 1436 that he was finding it impossible to discover there 'original books of the Greeks' that he had been commissioned by the Council to get for the verification of quotations,³ though on the other hand Nicholas of Cusa managed to procure some during his sojourn there⁴ and Cristoforo Garatoni in the course of his many journeys amassed a small library, though few of his manuscripts were on religious subjects.⁵ The Greeks brought some with them. The Emperor, so wrote Traversari, had *pleraque volumina* including a totum Plato, a totum Plutarch and a

¹ A.G. p. 216.

² *Ibid.* p. 386.

³ Cecconi, doc. LXXVIII.

⁴ A.G. p. 297; Trav. no. 848.

⁵ G. Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno', in *S.T.* no. 46 (Roma, 1926), pp. 106-116.

commentary on all the works of Aristotle.¹ Other Greeks brought others. Bessarion, for instance, though he had left the bulk of his library at Methone (to Traversari's disgust) had in Ferrara a large volume of Cyril *Contra Julianum apostatam* and a number of books on mathematics and geometry; and Mark of Ephesus had several codices too.² Of the *Adversus Eunomium* of St Basil, which would figure so largely in the discussions at Florence, Dorotheus of Mitylene had three copies, the Emperor had one and the Patriarch another which he procured from the monastery of Xanthopouloi, while the Latins possessed still another.³ To ease the difficulty, therefore, it was agreed that each side should on request lend its books to the other, and there were occasional complaints that codices were being held back.⁴

To make up for this dearth the Latins collected manuscripts from wherever they could. While Traversari was in Florence in the autumn of 1438 he was bidden by the Pope to bring to Ferrara all the Greek and Latin books he could, and Cesarini in the letter by which he notified him of the incident of the seventh Council urged him to find manuscripts of that Council, the writings of Manuel Calecas (which Traversari had translated for Martin V), the *Thesaurus* of Cyril of Alexandria and anything else at all, which would not cost him anything for transport as arrangements had been made with the Medicis to send on immediately any books he might consign to them.⁵ Florence was not the only place ransacked. Cesarini produced in the Council a codex belonging to the Dominicans of Rimini and others for which he had had to send to Verona and to Pomposa.⁶ Search was made even in England where Pietro del Monte promised Traversari that he would himself go to St Albans to locate a codex of the fifth Council that he could not find elsewhere.⁷ But the Greek

¹ Letter of 11 March 1438 in Trav. no. 510; letter of March/April 1438 in G. Mercati, 'Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti', fasc. 1; *Traversariana*, S. T. no. 90 (Roma, 1939), p. 24.

² *Ibid.* pp. 25-6.

³ Bessarion, *Epist. ad Alex. Lascarin*, P. G. 161, 325 AB.

⁴ A. G. p. 89; A. L. pp. 165, 222.

⁵ Trav. nos. 846, 848.

⁶ A. L. p. 112. The bill for the transport of the Florentine books and for the messengers to the three other places mentioned was paid on 21 December 1438 (A. C. A. doc. 61, 'pontificatus anno VIII', i.e. 1438).

⁷ G. Hofmann, 'Briefe eines päpstlichen Nuntius in London über das Konzil von Florenz', in O. C. P. v (1939), p. 423.

manuscripts were not of much use to most of the Latins till they were translated, so Traversari was told by Cesarini that if he lived to the age of Methuselah he could do nothing so useful as spend night and day now translating the entire volume of Basil *Adversus Eunomium*.¹ Whether, in point of fact, he translated the whole of it is not certain, but he certainly translated large parts of it² and devilled for Montenero in other works of Basil³ and Epiphanius,⁴ and probably was responsible for a *florilegium* of quotations from Latin Fathers and Councils translated into Greek and of Greek Fathers which almost certainly was the basis of much of Montenero's patristic argument in Florence.⁵ But the translation had to be exact, as another Greek speaker among the Latins, the Greek-born Andrew Chrysoberges, found when he was twice challenged by the interpreter Nicholas Sagundino for inaccuracy.⁶

There had been fourteen sessions for debate in Ferrara, the first on 8 October, the last on 13 December.⁷ Clearly the pact to hold three sessions a week had not been observed. Incidents connected with the Emperor and the difference of opinion about whether to read the Acts of the Councils publicly were some of the causes for this defect. What the reasons might have been on other occasions there is no evidence. The sessions had begun at the fifteenth hour, that is about nine in the morning, and had continued for several hours, getting longer and longer as they went on. Andrew da Santa Croce notes that the sixth session ended at 21 hours, the seventh at 22 hours, the tenth at 23 hours and the eleventh likewise when the *Greek Acts* say that evening had already come, the twelfth as late as the striking of the 24th hour 'when all were distressed by cold, hunger and close application', as one can well believe for the time by then would have been about six o'clock in the evening. Yet the results as regards open

¹ Trav. no. 849.

² A.L. p. 180.

³ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 173, 137.

⁵ I. Ortiz de Urbina, 'Un codice fiorentino di raccolte patristiche', in O.C.P. iv (1938), pp. 423-40; G. Hofmann, 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Florenz', *ibid.* pp. 165ff. Was Cesarini referring to this when he wrote to Traversari: *Reperi libellum illum Auctortatum, quem mitto tibi, ut post Basilium etiam transferas, sicut mihi polliceri dignatus es* (Trav. no. 849)?

⁶ A.G. p. 132.

⁷ Including that of 27 November when the Burgundian envoys were incorporated, but when there was no theological discussion.

agreement between Latins and Greeks were negligible, though Latin arguments had produced their effect on some of the leading Greek theologians.

Mark of Ephesus, it is true, was unpersuaded, indeed, if anything, more than ever confirmed in his belief of the unassailability of the Greek position, convinced by his own eloquence. In a *votum* that he wrote early in June 1439 but did not present to the Emperor, he professes:

...since I hold that the holy Symbol of the faith must be preserved intact as it was issued...never will I admit to communion those who have presumed to add in the Symbol the innovation about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, so long as they stand fast by such an innovation...All the teachers of the Church, all the Councils, and all the divine Scriptures warn us to flee the heterodox and to hold ourselves aloof from their communion. Shall I, therefore, in despite of these, follow those who bid us unite behind the façade of a fictitious union, who have adulterated the holy and divine Symbol and brought in the Son as a second cause of the Holy Spirit?¹

Scholarius, back again in Constantinople and having assumed the mantle let fall by Mark of Ephesus at his death, wrote in the same sense:

But they managed the vote and assert...that the addition to the Symbol of the faith was added lawfully and well. {Where was this proved? In Ferrara was not just the opposite proved about the addition?} Did not the Latins beg persistently that the provisions about it not being permitted to add [to the Creed] and the penalties attached to this should not be read in public session? And we, what ought we then to have done? Ought we not to have rent our garments, to have cried out aloud, to have protested? Ought we not to have read them there at the crossroads and in the markets?...But we conceded to them that they should not be produced in the open, and with the public excluded they were read to the few who were responsible for this terrible pass, mutteringly, uselessly...How then do they aver that the addition was made well and lawfully?²

Yet the same Scholarius (and that he was the same there is no question), while he was in Florence, spoke in an entirely opposite sense:

Now then, who is ignorant that these notorious provisions about the illegality of adding to and subtracting from the Creed are, as understood by those who

¹ Petit, *Docs.* pp. 440-2; cf. also Mark Eugenicus, *Dialogus de additione*, *ibid.* pp. 415-21.

² Schol. III, pp. 87-8.

repeat them, just an insult and a device to cover up the disgrace of contention? If the Greeks should have any reason for rejecting the Latin doctrine and for declining to add it to the Creed, that would be another question and no one will blame those who understand that decision rightly, for it was brought in originally against those who were defiling the faith with subtractions and additions and introducing unsound theology, and all would say that, from reverence for it, they would not dare any such thing themselves nor communicate with those who did so dare. But if on the contrary they are convinced that that doctrine is perfectly true and fully harmonious with the foundations of the faith and consonant with the Fathers, to take shelter behind excuses like those would be futile. For perverting the decree of the Fathers they do not say that these enacted that decree for the suppression of falsehood, nor for the ejection of true doctrines, for they threaten those who compose another faith and they restrain additions and deceitful subtractions; so, if the decree is understood as it should be, the Latins would not be rightly censured for having added the truth, and the only alternative left is that the Greeks who agree with them do no wrong whatever, but that those who assert the opposite are rankly unjust. Then again, even if we allow that the Latins by themselves, or the Greeks apart from the Latins, may not add anything at all, no one however can deprive an Oecumenical Synod of this prerogative, since we know that other synods have declared the true faith by additions, and the definition that made the condemnation rejects such additions as an individual might make to promulgate his own private belief, not such as a whole synod might wish to add—for there is no mention of synod in it, but it says ‘it is lawful to no one’. The fact is, it does not allow a man to add to the symbol of the faith what it forbids him to believe, i.e. whatsoever is opposed to true teaching and does not harmonise with what after much contention has prevailed; but what it is lawful to believe, that it is allowed to profess. . . . Either then it must be shown that the doctrine of the Latins is far removed from the truth or, if we cannot do that, we should respect it and entertain it in our minds and then manifest the faith also by the Creed. For the Latins, if we accept this doctrine and adjudge it ratified, will not perhaps be very insistent on the point of its profession, for they will be content to have shown that their traditional faith is real and that we have ceased from contention and from persecuting the truth as if it were falsehood; but for us the faith of the heart alone will not suffice for salvation, unless it is joined also with its external profession, and the restrictions that once we feared we should view and use rather as a benefit for ourselves and for wholesome additions, and understand them as those wanted who made them for the advantage of themselves and of others. For they did not wish to deprive either themselves or those possessed of a like office from power in this regard and from defining about the faith, otherwise unwittingly they would have shown that the restrictions they defined were unsound and that they could be transgressed. For these definitions themselves

are an addition and a judgement in respect of the faith made then for the first time, which had commended itself to no one of the previous synods, for all, as was clear and natural, made additions.¹

Cardinal Cesarini himself could hardly have been more forthright and plainspoken.

Another Greek whose confidence in the traditional attitude of his Church on the question of the addition was first shaken and then utterly shattered was the Metropolitan of Nicaea, Bessarion.² He relates in his letter to Alexius Lascaris that at Ferrara the Greeks, once through his agency they had prevailed on Eugenius not to rest their case on St Paul's words to the Galatians 'If any one preach you a gospel besides that which you have received, let him be anathema'³ and on a quotation from the Pseudo-Denis, as these predated the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople and would have condemned the Fathers of those Councils as much as their posterity as having added to the faith, determined to stand fast on the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus as forbidding to add the truth as much as it did falsehood—earlier than that they could not go since the Acts of the first two Councils were incomplete and these Councils had in fact added. The Latin defence of the earlier sessions, he says, was of little merit and much of it beside the point, so that at that time the Greeks were in the ascendant. Then came Cesarini who went to the bottom of the question and with clear and unanswerable arguments proved that it is always lawful for a Council to add the truth to the Creed, 'and we after many days of intense study could make no reply'. (He outlines to his correspondent some of Cesarini's arguments, of which, and this the most curious circumstance, the one that made the deepest impression on him and utterly broke his confidence in the Greek position was one that, as we know now but as neither Bessarion nor Cesarini knew then, is founded on an apocryphal document. It was the assertion by Cesarini that the Council of Nicaea had condemned any addition to the Creed in words practically identical with those of the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus—an assertion that he supported by the 'Letter to Athanasius' of the Pseudo-Liberius.³

¹ *Ibid.* I, pp. 341-3.

² Gal. i. 9.

³ Bessarion, *Epist. ad Alex. Lascarin*, P.G. 161, 340 B ff.

Bessarion says that he was not the only one of the Greeks who was confounded by Cesarini's proofs. The whole body of them was, and when the Cardinal several times urged that the discussions should now be turned to the doctrinal point of the Procession of the Holy Spirit and declared that he and his colleagues would adduce many and valid arguments in favour of their doctrine, a panic seized the Greeks and they all began to clamour that they should return home, afraid that they might be reduced to silence over the Procession as they had been over the Addition.

It was in that atmosphere that the Emperor had to cajole them to agree to the discussion of doctrine and even to go to Florence for it.

That Bessarion's assessment of the situation had a basis in fact is shown by incidental remarks in the *Memoirs* of Syropoulus, who twice mentions Greek apprehension about discussion on the doctrine of the Procession on the grounds that the Latins claimed to have strong proofs from the western Saints, once putting the words into the mouth of the Patriarch¹ and once ascribing them to himself.² The Latins, however, kept on urging examination of the dogmatic question, Cristoforo Garatoni, Andrew of Rhodes and Traversari (who spoke Greek) making assiduous visits to the Patriarch to win his support for this. But the Greeks were in no mood for more debates. The *Greek Acts* graphically describe their attitude of hopeless weariness: 'So we Greeks began to chafe, not only the prelates, but all the clerics as well and the higher-ranking courtiers and the whole gathering, and to say: "What on earth are we doing talking and listening to empty words; they are not likely to persuade us nor we them, so we ought to go back home".'³ Only the Emperor did not lose heart.

Meanwhile both Emperor and Patriarch fell ill, the former from rheumatism, the latter probably from complications of the quartan ague from which he had suffered, so says Syropoulus, since 10 August, which now kept him in bed for sixteen days barely able to speak or

¹ Syr. VII, 4, p. 190.

² Syr. VII, 7, p. 195. The events related in the rest of this chapter are drawn from the A.G. pp. 217-26 and Syr. VII, pp. 184-211, except where other authorities are specifically mentioned.

³ A.G. p. 217.

listen to others. Without the moral support of both Emperor and Patriarch, at least the Greek clerics gave way to their feelings of misery, for which in any case they had ample cause. They were now more than a year away from home and family, and with Christmas approaching for the second time since their departure their nostalgia grew more poignant. Their maintenance grants were very badly in arrears—the last allowance they had received had been on 21 October and even that had been a back-payment—so that now they were owed for some five months. What that meant for the less eminent among them of privation, of begging from their prelates and their fellows, and haggling over debts with the Ferrarese tradesmen, of borrowing perhaps at impossible rates of interest, who can say? To these privations were added the cold and rains of winter. And it was not as if they felt buoyed up either by a sense of success or the prospect of a speedy end of the business. The Latins argued and argued and were disposed to go on arguing in public discussions for ever, so it seemed to them, with a grim determination to have the last word and never to yield, while the answers proposed by Eugenius with, it is true, an equal obstinacy seemed to many of his colleagues to be no solution of the myriad considerations put forward by Cesarini, but only a never-ending repetition of only one point, 'It is not lawful', which had already several times been explained away by the reasoning of their opponents. And now the possibility of beginning all this over again with regard to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and the Latins boasting already of the strength of the patristic arguments they would produce!

This sense of frustration and despair is reflected in the *Acta graeca* and is descanted on by Syropoulos with his usual exaggeration. Reading Syropoulos only, one would have to conclude that the period between the end of the public sessions and the first clear proposal by the Emperor of discussions on the dogma lasted at least two months. In fact he mentions a period of 'two months while there were no discussions' towards the beginning of his description of the events that followed the last session of 14 December,¹ and that, with phrases like 'some days later', 'time went by', 'often we approached the Patriarch', 'for many days' and so on, creates in the mind of the

¹ Syr. VII, 2, p. 188.

reader of his *Memoirs* an impression of a wearily-interminable interval of mounting misery and idleness. The last public discussion at Ferrara, however, took place on 14 December. The Patriarch, carried in a litter, visited the Emperor, spent two days with him, and along with the rest of the ecclesiastics assisted at a meeting in the imperial residence concerned with the question of the discussions on the dogma; he then returned home and was again ill so that the next meeting of the Greeks, dealing with the transfer to Florence, had to be held in his apartments—and this last meeting took place on Friday 2 January 1439, so that the first mentioned above could not have occurred later than 30 December, that is sixteen days after the last session. If Syropoulus had only included one or two specific dates in his account, it would have served as a check on his too romantic memory.

It is, however, not impossible that he includes, as falling within this short interval, incidents that occurred before, for the tale of events he narrates is so long that they could hardly all have fitted into so short a space of time. Rumours, he says, were current among the Greeks about a forthcoming change-over to the dogma as the subject of discussion and of the transferring of the Council to Florence. So they besieged the Patriarch, in spite of his sickness, in ones and twos and all together, pouring out to him their laments about their present situation of misery and idleness, convincing him of their unwillingness to go on debating and especially to go elsewhere to debate, urging that the only reasonable solution was a return forthwith to Constantinople, and trying to persuade him that as head of the Church the decision lay in his hands no matter what the Emperor might think, for he could do nothing if the Church solidly refused to co-operate. Worn down finally by their persistence Joseph, who declared that he had no knowledge of any move to Florence and that he did not believe that it had ever been seriously proposed, sent a delegation of prelates to the Emperor, but they got short shrift from him. Later another committee of six prelates and two of the *Staurophoroi*, the *Chartophylax* and Syropoulus himself, had a like reception from the Emperor and this time they suspected that the Patriarch was privy to it, because he had been visited the evening before by John VIII. Some time later, the Patriarch initiated a

solution, accepted by all but Bessarion, suggesting that an ultimatum of fifteen days should be given the Pope within which to exclude the *Filioque* from the Creed, otherwise the Greek Church would co-operate in no more discussions but would go home. Mitylene and Syropoulos were commissioned to carry this proposal to the Emperor, who meantime, because of a fracas between some of his servants and the monks of the monastery where he was residing, had returned from the country to his palace in Ferrara. He, angry at first that the ecclesiastics had dared to meet and make arrangements without reference to himself, after a time condescended to reason about the suggestion, in the end winning over Dorotheus to his point of view that the Greeks could hardly go back honourably without ever having touched on the main question that divided the Churches, but failing lamentably to shake the determination of Syropoulos: he would, he said finally, give his reply to the Patriarch. The next day then he had a long conversation with the Patriarch and at different times over some days he tried privately to persuade the prelates of the need of further discussions. Finally he decided to moot the question at a general meeting of the clerics in his palace. The Patriarch, barely recovered from his sickness, was taken in a litter: the rest, two days later, joined him to hear the Emperor's suggestions. (That would be in the last days of December 1438.

To the assembled ecclesiastics, therefore, (there were no court officials present) John VIII put forward his assessment of the situation. They had come to Italy to examine the differences that divided the Churches, the chief of which was the question of the Holy Spirit, and that they had so far approached from only one aspect, the addition to the Creed. However sound their arguments on that point had been, unless they went into the other side of it, they would have gone through great hardships and trials, and at great expense, uselessly both for the Church and for their fatherland, and besides would leave behind them ill-will and contempt and an impression that Latin theology at any rate on the Procession was sound, because they had left it not merely unanswered but untouched.

When the Emperor had finished speaking the prelates fell to discussing his proposal. Isidore of Russia and Bessarion were outright in favour of examining the dogmatic question, and even Mark

Eugenicus and the rest raised no objection:¹ they would agree to examine the difference about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, preferably not in public debate but through committees of twelve members from either side. With this question once settled, the Emperor informed them of the Pope's desire to transfer the Council to Florence.² But he did not find the prelates so amenable on this point. Why, they asked, go to Florence: what could be said there that could not be said in Ferrara which alone was the city decided on for the Council? When the Emperor asked them how they could expect means to return home if they refused to accompany the Pope to a place where he could procure the money for it, they still did not yield but insisted that the debates should continue in Ferrara, and they proceeded to elect representatives to make up their committee of twelve.

After the meeting broke up and the Patriarch had returned to his own lodgings, the reasons for the proposed transfer of the Council and the inducements that the Pope offered to recommend it were circulated among them. Those were that for various causes like the loss of many papal cities to Piccinino the Pope could not support them any longer in Ferrara, but in Florence he would be able not only to see that they were paid regularly through the local bank and independently of his Treasury, but also to send a goodly sum to Constantinople for its defence. The news of the Pope's bankrupt condition, however much they ought to have been prepared for it, came as a shock to the Greeks, who were not immediately convinced that things would certainly be better in Florence than in Ferrara, and there they would be further away from home and perhaps no better off. They were doubtless relieved when the Emperor, who was being pressed for an answer by the Latins, summoned them to another meeting which had to be in the Patriarch's apartments as he was in

¹ Syr. VII, 10, pp. 202-4 declares that the Patriarch alone of the prelates was against it and was supported by no one else except himself and the Chartophylax, an unlikely statement at least as regards the Patriarch.

² Syropoulus here differs from the *Acta graeca*, reporting (VII, 10, pp. 202-3) on the contrary that Antony of Heraclea asked the Emperor if there were any truth in the current rumours about a move to Florence, and that John denied categorically that the Pope had said anything at all on that subject to him: again an improbability because the Emperor would have known that he would have to contradict himself very soon (as, so says Syropoulus, he actually did two days later, VII, 12, p. 205).

bed too ill to move. So they gathered in a room near his bedchamber so that he could overhear what was being said.

The Emperor in his address to them exposed the financial situation of the Pope, reminded them that they were already owed for five months' maintenance, which as things stood could not be paid, and explained the promises that Florence had made to Eugenius. He himself had left home, wife, and comfort in no other hope than to succour their country in its distress. That hope should give them courage. The journey to Florence was not long, not more than from Constantinople to Heraclea, and once arrived they could initiate the discussions straightaway and finish them by the feast of St George. They should not for the sake of so small a hardship hazard the safety of their city.

After these words from the Emperor there was some argument among the prelates, but finally by the mouths of Antony of Heraclea and Mark of Ephesus they acquiesced, though on conditions. They demanded among other things that their back-pay should be fully made up, that in Florence they should receive their allowances through a bank, that the expenses of the journey should be paid by the Pope and that they should go to Florence and nowhere else and that for not more than four months. The Patriarch was asked his opinion and he concurred in the acceptance. The rest of the prelates gave their votes on the question and all agreed. The day was Friday, 2 January 1439.

There was no exaggeration when it was said that Eugenius by the close of 1438 had come to the end of his resources.¹ His expenses for the Council had been enormous. He had fulfilled the provisions of the Decree *Sicut pia mater*, the contract entered into between the Council of Basel and John VIII which he had undertaken to implement, by sending to Constantinople in 1437 with his legates the specified sums of 15,000 ducats for local Greek expenses and 10,000 ducats as a deposit to be left in that city to meet unexpected emergencies. The journey of the Greeks had taken far longer than had been allowed for—the Pope was responsible for the hire of the ships from July when they sailed from Venice till February when they

¹ For a detailed study of this question cf. J. Gill, 'The Cost of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* xxii (1956), pp. 299–318.

returned to port. For the entertainment of the Greeks in Italy and for the upkeep of the two ships and the 300 crossbowmen guarding Constantinople at his expense he calculated that he paid an average of 5000 ducats a month.¹ Besides that he had to maintain his own Curia and to support many of the Latin theologians. To meet all these calls on his Treasury he had few resources. The Council of Basel with its curial offices set up parallel to and in rivalry to his took from him no small portion of the usual papal income: the neutrality as between Basel and Pope of France and the German States gave their princes an excuse for not letting money go from their territories to either of the contending ecclesiastical powers: the incessant attacks instigated by Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan on the Papal States not only robbed Eugenius of some of the papal cities and their revenues but further involved him in costly wars to protect the rest. His financial difficulties dated, in fact, not from the end of 1438, but almost from its beginning. He had, as early as April 1438, borrowed 10,000 fl. from the Medicis of Florence² and as the months went by he borrowed more as the entries in the registers of the *Camera Apostolica* show,³ for at various subsequent dates there is record of repayments to Florence for sums advanced to different papal agents 'for the expenses of the Greeks'. In June 1439 he acknowledged loans of 10,000 ducats from each of Florence and Venice.⁴ In October of the same year he offered half the revenues of the *Camera Apostolica* as security for a loan of 12,000 ducats to be paid in Constantinople.⁵ To meet these obligations he had from the beginning of 1438 taken means to sequester whatever sums had been collected in different places on the indulgence proclaimed by the Council of Basel to promote union with the Greeks. But it would seem that this was not enough, for on 1 September 1438 he imposed the Tenth that Basel had earlier enacted in the same cause⁶ and some three weeks later himself proclaimed an indulgence to promote the same end.⁷ But it is not likely that, in the conditions of that time, these means would prove very fruitful. Certain it is that he supplemented these resources by selling a certain number of cities belonging

¹ *E.P.* doc. 150.

² *Ibid.* doc. 138.

³ *A.C.A. passim.*

⁴ *E.P.* docs. 174-5.

⁵ *Ibid.* doc. 221.

⁶ *Ibid.* doc. 150.

⁷ *Ibid.* doc. 152.

to the Holy See¹ (thereby incurring the wrath and condemnation of the remnant at Basel): Nicolò d'Este in that way acquired at least three and Florence early in 1441 took over Borgo S. Sepolcro till such time as a debt of 25,000 ducats owed to them by Eugenius was repaid.¹

When Eugenius first began to cast eyes on Florence as the new site for the Council cannot be determined with accuracy. He had certainly favoured it in 1437 but had finally chosen Ferrara. Then the incidence of the plague in the summer of 1438 made him think of Padua or Treviso, but he had not found Venetian opinion favourable. Now the financial situation weighted the balance in favour of Florence, which city offered also another advantage. The inroads of Piccinino in the pay of the Duke of Milan, the inveterate enemy of Eugenius as he was also of Florence and Venice, had brought that resourceful Condottiere unpleasantly close to the city of the Council. There was no knowing whether, in the blessed name of the Council of Basel, he might not make a sudden descent on Ferrara and that would have been fatal, for apart from the fact that he might have succeeded even in making the Pope himself prisoner, the Council could not have carried on with war at the very doors. Florence was out of the danger zone and was, too, the enemy of Milan. It was a further recommendation and no slight one.

Florence probably had a resident envoy at the papal court and the first overtures would have been made through him. Certainly Traversari, contrary to the twice repeated assertion of Syropoulus, however much he might have favoured the transfer of the Council to his own city, had no hand in the negotiations. He had left Ferrara early in September with permission from the Pope to absent himself for fifteen days to visit his sick mother,² and it needed an exhortation from Cesarini speaking in the Pope's name³ and then a peremptory order of Eugenius himself to bring him back to the Council.⁴ There

¹ E.P. doc. 246.

² Trav. no. 53 dated Bononiae 7 September: cf. also no. 846.

³ *Ibid.* no. 848 dated Ferrariae 17 October 1438.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 846 dated Ferrariae 3 November 1438. Syropoulus argues that Traversari went to Florence ostensibly to procure books, actually to arrange the move: He returned with no books: Therefore. In fact, once Traversari was in Florence he was commissioned to find books. The *Camera Apost.* on 21 December 1438 paid 3 fl. for the carriage of the books he procured (A.C.A. doc. 61).

might have been rumours current about a possible move early in October. At any rate the city of Florence directed the ambassadors it was sending to congratulate Albert of Austria on his election to pass through Ferrara and, while they proffered the homage of their city to the Pope, to recommend it as a new site for the Council if events should prove there was need of one.¹ Negotiations were certainly in progress by the beginning of December, for on 3 December and again on the thirteenth the Commune gave instructions to its plenipotentiary in that regard. Lorenzo de' Medici was empowered to offer free accommodation for all the Greeks; to promise that 1500, or at the most 1700, ducats a month for not more than eight months would be advanced by the city with securities offered by the Pope if possible, if not, without; and to assure His Holiness that all else could be arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.² The embassy bore fruit, for on 18 December an agreement was entered into by the Cardinal Treasurer and Lorenzo embodying the offers made by Florence and containing also guarantees for the freedom of movement of all the members of the Synod, and provisions about rents, prices, taxes and the good order of both citizens and visitors for the duration of the Council.³ That all those arrangements could not have been made without the agreement of the Greek Emperor and probably also of the Patriarch goes without saying. John Dishypatus, so declares Syropoulos, returned from Florence with safe-conducts for the Orientals towards the end of December.⁴

Once the negotiations with Florence had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion and the Emperor had persuaded the Greek community in Ferrara to acquiesce in them, it only remained to put the

¹ *Ibid.* doc. 53.

² *A.C.A.* doc. 59.

³ *Ibid.* doc. 60.

⁴ *Syr. vii, 11, p. 205.* But cf. G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879), doc. cxx, a letter from Cesarini, dated 22 January 1439, to the brothers Medici recommending John Dishypatus as being sent by the Emperor to inspect the accommodation assigned in Florence to the Greeks. He makes no mention of any visit of Dishypatus to Florence shortly before (if there was such a one as Syropoulos asserts), which one would have expected if he had returned from Florence only a few weeks earlier. Indeed, in that case a letter of recommendation from Cesarini would hardly have been necessary.

The safe-conduct for the Pope and his Curia was approved by the Commune only on 23 January 1439, so it is unlikely that it would have issued one for the Greeks earlier (*A.C.A.* doc. 66).

arrangements into execution. John VIII spent the days immediately following the meeting of 2 January in consultation with the Pope and showed his clerics for their approval a short time after the feast of the Epiphany the agreement, as yet unsigned, that he had entered into with Eugenius. Demetrius his brother who had some time before gone off to Venice was with difficulty persuaded to return. The Patriarch bade his clerics get ready for the journey and roused great indignation (so says Syropoulus) by telling them to send most of their baggage to Venice, but to take their sacred vestments with them to Florence, as union of the Churches would soon follow—as if it were a foregone conclusion. On 6 January the Pope proposed to the Latin members of the Council the expediency of transferring the Council to Florence because of the plague that still lingered on and threatened to revive in all its virulence with the return of spring.¹ At about the same time John VIII explained to his clerics the need of an official proclamation of the translation and advanced the same reason to justify it. On 10 January the Council met in full session in the cathedral church of St George (the Patriarch, however, was absent from ill health) to hear the Archbishop of Oporto and the Archbishop of Mitylene, who had read from the same pulpit the Bull of inauguration, now recite in Latin and Greek the Bull of translation, *Decet oecumenici concilii*.² The Commune of Florence had on 30 December voted 4000 fl. to facilitate the move of the Council³ and Lorenzo de' Medici paid 1200 fl., which he later recovered from the city treasury,⁴ for the expenses of the voyage of the Greeks. So Eugenius was able before leaving Ferrara to cancel his debt to

¹ *Frag.* p. 46. Syropoulus asserts (VII, 14, p. 211) that the plague had ceased two months before: Cesarini, writing to Traversari on 17 October (Trav. no. 848), had said *nam pestis adtenuatur*. That was usual in winter, but unless it had ceased altogether it was likely to revive in the spring. In any case the Pope could hardly have said in a Bull to be promulgated throughout the Christian world that he was bankrupt and afraid of attacks from his enemies.

² *E.P.* doc. 160. The *Reisebericht eines unbekannten Russen (1437-1440)*, p. 163, edited by G. Stökl, gives this account: 'There was the Pope clad in full pontificals and he sat in a horned headdress (i.e. a mitre) on a raised place, and with him 44 cardinals and bishops, likewise clad in their priestly vestments and in mitres; the Patriarch, however, and the metropolitans sat there in their monks' habits.'

³ *A.C.A.* doc. 63: the *A.G.* (p. 220) mistakenly speak of a loan of 40,000 fl. from Florence to Eugenius.

⁴ *A.C.A.* doc. 72.

the Greeks. On 12 January 2412 fl. were paid to the Patriarch to cover the deficit owing to the ecclesiastics and on the twenty-fifth of the same month a viaticum of 340 fl., at the rate of 2 fl. per person, was given to the clerics independently of the hire of ships and horses for their use which was paid for by Lorenzo de' Medici.¹

¹ These sums and the dates of payment are taken from Syropoulos who, though throughout his *Memoirs* he gives very, very few specific dates, always adds a date to a payment, which leads one to think that he was the agent used for the distribution of the allowances. As the sums he mentions correspond with entries in the registers of the *Camera Apostolica* almost exactly (cf. J. Gill, 'The 'Acta' and the Memoirs of Syropoulos as History', in *O.C.P.* xiv (1948), pp. 303-55, especially pp. 331-40), it is likely that his dates too are exact! The *Acta graeca* (p. 225) report that: 'On 11 Jan. the Greeks were given a viaticum and expenses by the Pope' and add that 19,000 fl. were sent to Constantinople, but of this last there is no mention elsewhere.

From the payment of 340 fl. at the rate of 2 fl. per cleric, it can be concluded that there were 170 clerics (and dependents). These received a monthly allowance, of 25 fl. for the Patriarch, 4 fl. for 'those invited by name' (i.e. considered to have some right to sit in the sessions—prelates, Staurophoroi, heads of monasteries, theologians, etc.), 3 fl. for the rest (Syr. iv, 28, p. 105). The average monthly payment for all the ecclesiastics was 603 fl., so that it would seem that there were sixty-seven clerics in the first category (apart from the Patriarch) and 102 in the second in January 1439.

FLORENCE AND THE
DOGMATIC DISCUSSIONS

EUGENIUS IV was the first to set out. In the late afternoon of 16 January

all the archbishops, bishops and other prelates and clergy went on foot in procession with the crosses. There followed the cardinals on horseback, staffs in hand, in order of precedence, and after them came twelve (white) horses with crimson trappings, one bearing the umbrella, one the chair, and another the cushion and so on until the end. The last horse was covered with brocade and on a rich silver saddle was a casket containing the Blessed Sacrament. This horse had a silver bell and two prelates led it by the reins (with men on foot on either side bearing torches, about fifty in number). Then came the Pope himself upon a horse with crimson trappings. He was vested as for Mass, wearing a bishop's mitre and giving his blessing on one side and the other, while men cast coins into the street, so that those who picked them up might gain pardon. This was done to prevent the crowds pressing upon the Pope, whose horse was led by the Marquis of Ferrara and the Count of Urbino (his son, and was surrounded by many torches, while ahead and behind were troops of soldiers, in large numbers).

It was rumoured that the Duke of Milan was lying in wait to capture the Pope, so that the Marquis escorted him that day (with a great company of armed men) to a hermitage a mile from there (—a convent of women, called St Antony's, roomy and near the river where, as it was the feast-day of the patron, the Pope assisted at Vespers—), making it seem that the Pope was travelling with troops to one of his cities where he had arranged great festivities. But in fact (rising early on the morning of 17 January) he rode with him in a different direction and in two days brought him safely to Florence.¹

¹ Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435-39*, ed. M. Lewis (London, 1926), p. 225; the additions in brackets are not from Tafur but from A.G. pp. 225-6. The Pope took not two days but seven to reach Florence. Accounts of the journeys and/or of the receptions in Florence of (1) the Pope are given by the *Diarium* of Andrew da S. Croce (*Frag.* p. 46) and by several Italian chronicles; (2) of the Patriarch by Syr. pp. 212-13, A.G. p. 226, A.L. p. 134 and Italian chronicles; (3) of Isidore of Kiev by G. Stökl

The usual route from Ferrara to Florence was through Bologna, but as this city was in rebellion against Eugenius and had opened its gates to Piccinino this way was barred to Pope and Council. The next most convenient route was to go by river from Ferrara via Argenta to Conselice, there to take horse and proceed via Lugo to Faenza, thence by the Valley of the Lamone to cross the Apennines and so to descend to the plain near Florence. This was the way followed by the Council, but it was not without danger, for Faenza lay between Imola and Forlì, both in the hands of Piccinino, and its Prince was in league with the Milanese Condottiere.¹ Eugenius gave out that this was the route he would follow. At Ferrara river-boats were all ready, with prows turned towards Faenza, as if for his use, but he did no more than send his baggage that way, while he himself accompanied by the son of the Marquis d'Este and a strong armed force rode at daybreak hastily in the opposite direction to Modena² and thence crossing the Pistoiese Alps reached the episcopal palace of S. Antonio at the gates of Florence via Frignano and Pistoia on Saturday, 24 January. The city of Venice had on 2 January appointed two special envoys to accompany him on his journey and to remain with him in Florence for one month.³ He made his solemn entry into the city on the following Tuesday.

When the Pope had departed the rest made ready to go. The Patriarch insisted with the Emperor that he should enter Florence first and after some altercation had his way. John VIII, to ease the journey for the more aged and infirm of the prelates—by whatever route they travelled they had to cross the mountains in mid-winter⁴

op. cit. p. 163; and (4) of the Emperor by *A.G.* p. 227, *A.L.* pp. 134-5, *Syr.* pp. 213-14 and Italian chronicles.

The dates given by the various sources do not always agree: I follow those of the *Acta graeca* and Syropoulos for the departures from Ferrara and those of Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*—xix: *Historia Florentiae ab anno 1406-1438* (Milano, 1731), for the arrivals in Florence.

¹ *Diarium* And. da S. Croce in *Frag.* p. 46.

² So two Bolognese chronicles (Muratori, 2nd ed. xviii, pt. I, p. 95; xxxiii, pt. I, p. 56), whereas a Ferrarese chronicler says he went to Modena by water (*ibid.* xxiv, pt. vii, p. 23).

³ *A.C.A.* p. 60, n. *sub* 9.

⁴ 'But the mountains are all high cliffs and the way is narrow and difficult; for that reason there travelled no carts but the baggage was carried on post horses': one circumstance, however, gave some consolation to the Russian traveller: 'In those mountains there is produced a very good, sweet red wine' (*G. Stökl, op. cit.* p. 163).

—offered to take them with him, but so many were the applications that he had to limit his offer to a few and only the Metropolitans of Trebizond, Ephesus, Heraclea, Monembasia and Cyzicus were in the end so favoured. Joseph II with the greater part of his clerics went on board on the evening of 26 January and arrived late the next day at Conselice where they had to stay for two days on the boat awaiting horses. Three hours' travel brought them to a castle (Lugo?) where they passed that night, and next day they reached Faenza after five hours' riding. There the horses to be provided by Florence had not arrived and several days passed before they came.¹ Three days of riding and he reached the gates of Florence on Saturday evening, 7 February, exhausted and ill, so that it was not till four days later that he was fit to make his official entry into the city.² Meanwhile the whole company of Latins and Greeks was drifting piecemeal into Florence. Isidore of Russia, who had left Ferrara a day later than the Patriarch, reached the city on 4 February with several other prelates, the first of the Greeks to arrive. The Cardinal of S. Clemente (Francesco Condulmaro, the papal Treasurer) entered on 5 February, the day of the death in Florence of the Cardinal of S. Marcello (Antonio Casino). Cardinal Nicolò Albergati came on the thirteenth, and the next day the Emperor accompanied by Cardinal Cesarini reached the monastery outside the gates of the city, to make his official entry next day, Sunday, 15 February. Demetrius, his brother, came some weeks later, on 4 March.

As the different dignitaries entered the city they were received by the authorities with fitting pomp, though the Patriarch who made his entry on a day that was not a 'festa', when the people were held to their daily tasks, was received with relatively little celebration. Even so two cardinals, some thirty bishops and all the papal court went to escort him, 'more than 500 horses'; the Signori of the city were awaiting his passing before the doors of their palace and, when

¹ Cesarini in his letter to the brothers Medici of 22 January 1439 mentioned earlier had particularly asked that the horses, if they had not been sent off already, should be despatched without delay so as to reduce the hardships of the journey (Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879), doc. CXX).

² The Russian writer of the *Reisebericht* (Stökl, *op. cit.*) calculated the distance as 154.5 km. or 96.6 English miles.

he came, the Chancellor Leonardo Aretino in a long Greek oration presented their homage and their welcome before he proceeded to the Ferrantini palace that had been prepared to receive him. Neither was Tuesday, 25 January, the day when the Pope entered the city, normally a holiday, but it had been declared such for the occasion.¹ Eugenius had been met by the three cardinals already arrived and the curial officials, by all the officials and dignitaries of the city, two of whom led his horse as with banners and the standard of gold and a canopy he went first to the cathedral to pray and then gave his benediction and an indulgence to the populace before going on to S. Maria Novella's, the Dominican church and monastery which had lately been set in order for his use (when, too, the piazza in front had been repaved) at the expense of the Commune.² That very same day he despatched copies of the decree of the translation of the Council with covering letters to various kings and to the Prince Electors of Germany.³

It was with almost as much pomp that the Emperor rode into the city on the Sunday of the Carnival when Florence would in any case have been in gala mood. The royal cortège added to the usual festivities, and all the streets, the balconies and the roofs of the houses that lined the processional route were filled with gaily-dressed men and women, excitedly awaiting the royal passing. Five cardinals, the papal court, most of the Greeks who had already arrived and a throng of the populace went to accompany him from the monastery outside the walls where he had stayed the night to the gates of the city. There the Signori, the Colleges, the Captains of the Parties with representatives of all the Guilds, more cardinals, and clerics both Latin and Greek, awaited him. Once again Leonardo Aretino made a Greek oration of welcome. The canopy was extended over the Emperor, the procession was forming up, when suddenly rain came down in torrents. The crowd of onlookers and the gay figures that filled the balconies and the roofs dashed for shelter, and soon there was left on the streets only the bedraggled royal procession that abandoned the organised route and with unseemly haste went the quickest way to

¹ Jorga, II, p. 358.

² 300 fl. had been voted for these purposes on 22 December 1438: *A.C.A.* doc. 62.

³ *E.P.* docs. 161-9.

the palace of Rodolfo Peruzzi (now Buoncompagni) allotted to him for his use. 'The cardinals and all his company and the colleges that surrounded him were full of water. The Emperor wore a white gown with over it a mantle of red stuff and a white hat coming to a point in front in which he had a ruby bigger than a pigeon's egg and many other precious stones.'¹ Hardly had the Emperor set foot in the house, than the rain ceased. Next day, however, he was invited to a spectacle in the hippodrome, the *palustrum sive giostra* presumably that had been decreed on 9 February,² and the presents usual on a visit of a great personage were given to him—big wax candles, sixteen boxes of candied fruits, marzipan, wine, oats for his horses, but no meat, 'because he was not eating meat'. The Patriarch had received also capons, partridge, hares, veal and birds: perhaps it was because he had informed his donors that the Greek Lent had already begun that they did not embarrass the Emperor.

¹ Florence welcomed the Council for two reasons, because the city was very alive to commercial openings and because, more than any other, it was the home of so many humanists who drew their inspiration from the Greek language and culture. Florence had for long had a chequered history of rivalry between the ambitions of the big families and the aspirations of the artisans. As early as the twelfth century these had formed their *Arti* or Guilds, so complete in their organisation as to be almost States within the State, which in spite of the efforts and intrigues of the *grandi* acquired more power and rights and made possible the rise to prominence of the rich merchants. External war and internal upheavals never stopped their commerce and early they were the leading merchants of the age and then bankers of international repute. For instance, Edward III of England carried on his war with France largely on his loans from two leading Florentine merchant-bankers, the houses of Bardi and Peruzzi, and when he repudiated his debts in 1339 he bankrupted his creditors, and his action combined with other circumstances of the time seriously shook the reputation of Florence for financial stability. The rivalries of the neighbouring States were a permanent cause of war, and Florence was constantly trying to enlarge its territory by conquering

¹ Muratori, 1st ed. XIX: *Historia Florentiae ab anno 1406-1438*, c. 982.

² Jorga, *ibid.*

adjoining cities. Pisa was one of the places it coveted, for Pisa was a port, and Florence wanted its own outlet for its wares. Pisa it acquired, but by purchase, in 1405, and some sixteen years later it obtained another port, Leghorn, in the same way, paying for it 100,000 florins to Genoa. Till then Florence had had no merchant fleet of its own, but once it was possessed of a port it naturally looked to extend its trade. In 1416 it requested Manuel Palaeologus to grant it the privileges that the Pisans had enjoyed in Byzantine harbours and markets, since Pisa was now a Florentine possession.¹ In June 1422 it approached Antonio degli Acciaiuolo, Prince of Athens and of Florentine stock, for a similar concession, which it received.² Byzantine representatives were in Florence in June 1430 to discuss a commercial treaty,³ but it was not till November 1436 that its first ships visited Constantinople, for which the Signoria asked the Emperor's favour.⁴ But apparently the Byzantine Emperors had not yet conceded the full privileges earlier given to the Pisans. That was done only in August 1439 by John VIII as a token of his gratitude to the city for its entertainment of the Greeks and as a result doubtless of the vision of wealth and commercial activity he had witnessed during his sojourn there.⁵ His example was followed by Demetrius his brother who promised trading privileges in the Morea.⁶ So the Council had its larger commercial results for the Florentines besides the smaller degree of prosperity which so large a concourse of personages was bound to bring to the city that housed them.

Meanwhile the Medici family had imposed itself on the Commune. Giovanni de' Medici had been elected Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1421. His more famous son Cosimo, after a short exile in Venice, from which he returned partly owing to the intervention of Eugenius IV then a refugee in Florence (1434), 'succeeded in dominating the Republic while remaining, if nominally, a private citizen'. Whatever may be said of him as a man (and opinions differ very widely) the Florence of today and indeed all posterity has cause to be grateful to him for the generosity with which he used his enormous wealth to succour the needy artist and littérateur and to give an outlet

¹ Müller, *op. cit.* doc. CI.

³ *Ibid.* doc. CXI.

⁵ *Ibid.* docs. CXXI, CXXII.

² *Ibid.* docs. CV, CVI.

⁴ *Ibid.* doc. CXVII.

⁶ *Ibid.* doc. CXXIII.

to their creative talent. If at the same time it resulted in innumerable people being dependent on him and kept the *populani* quiet by the spectacle of so many public works executed by a private citizen, all at any rate was not loss.

Florence at the start of the fifteenth century was at the beginning of a fresh period of artistic development and creative activity, and it had the talent to exploit the new ideas. Under the influence of the humanistic movement its artists were striving to achieve a more realistic presentation of objects, to view things as a whole and from every aspect and to portray the depth of perspective. Complete success did not crown their efforts all at once, but some measure of progress was achieved—and in rapidly increasing degree—even before the advent of the Council in 1439. If they continued to portray religious subjects, they now by no means confined their skill to them, but took in secular and mythological themes to decorate the new palaces being constructed. And they had ample outlet for their art. Brunelleschi, inspired by the Pantheon of Rome, completed the church of S. Maria del Fiore by adding the cupola. In 1436 Eugenius IV dedicated the finished cathedral with solemn pomp—a wooden platform was built two arms' lengths high and four broad all the way from S. Maria Novella to S. Maria del Fiore so that the populace could see the whole of the papal procession. The churches of S. Spirito, of S. Lorenzo, the monasteries of S. Marco and of Fiesole, the Pitti palace, the Quaratesi palace—all these were started and several of them finished and decorated in the first half of the fifteenth century. Lorenzo Ghiberti contributed the reliefs for the bronze doors of the Baptistery, and Donatello executed his David in 1432. Massaccio, who died at the age of twenty-six (c. 1428), decorated the Brancacci chapel. Luca della Robbia was embellishing the campanile with his terracottas at about the same time. Fra Angelico began the decoration of the cloisters and cells of S. Marco a few years before the arrival of the Greeks. Paolo Uccello was designing stained glass windows and painting animated scenes of hunting and battle, with the art of perspective still eluding his earnest search, round about the time of the Council.

These and a number of other painters, sculptors and architects—many of them exercised all these arts—made the Florence that wel-

comed the Greeks famous. But they were not the only ones. Ever since the brief stay of Manuel Chrysoloras (1396) as teacher of Greek in the *Studio* of the city, enthusiasm for the Greek language and books rivalled the cult of classical Latin, which had taken such a grip on Italian minds that soon there would hardly be a princely court that had not its Latinist to frame its diplomatic documents. The papal Curia was not immune from the new influence, which accounted for such unworthy figures among its secretaries as Poggio Bracciolini, for not a few of the humanists of that day imitated not only the style of their models but also their morals. Their enthusiasm for things Greek once aroused, some of Chrysoloras's hearers, like Aurispa, Filelfo and Guarino, went themselves to Constantinople to drink deeper at the springs and on their return themselves taught in Florence: others like Leonardo Bruni (Aretino), Nicolò Nicoli, Ambrogio Traversari (it is doubtful if Traversari ever sat under Chrysoloras, however¹) cultivated their passion at home and became Greek scholars of great merit. All, however, were seized with a desire to acquire books, and so began the journeys to Constantinople, the correspondence, the searching of old ecclesiastical libraries over Europe, to locate texts of ancient authors which could be bought or at least copied and become a treasured possession.² To Nicolò Nicoli fell the honour of creating the first public library of the time. He had amassed, to his own financial ruin, some 800 manuscripts, which at his death he left in the hands of a committee. Cosimo Medici (who had supported Nicoli for the last years of his life) soon had charge of them. He had them arranged by Tommaso da Sarzana, later Pope Nicholas V, and then deposited them in the monastery he had built of S. Marco, and augmented their number, employing for this Vespasiano da Bisticci, who soon had 100 copyists working

¹ A. Dino Traversari, *Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi*, p. 28.

² England was caught by the same fever. Vespasiano da Bisticci in his life of Lionardo d'Arezzo (Aretino) relates: 'He had a very great fame in England and especially with the Duke of Worcester; and having translated the Politics of Aristotle, he had dedicated it to him and sent it to England. Delaying his reply he seemed to Messer Lionardo that he did not appreciate a book of such worth as he ought, and for this reason he had that dedication removed and made a dedication to Pope Eugenius who was in Bologna, and Messer Lionardo in person took it to His Holiness, where he was accorded great honour.' (A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*: tom. 1. *Virorum illustrium CIII...vitae auctore coaevo Vespasiano Florentino* (Romae, 1839), pp. 568-9.)

under him to supplement whatever of importance seemed to be lacking.¹

With this ferment at work in Florence for classical texts and especially Greek texts, small wonder that there was a general desire to attract the Greek visitors to the city and if necessary to pay for their coming. Yet, curiously, there is little record of the relations that the Florentine humanists must have had, during the months that the Council sat in Florence, with their Greek counterparts (for there had been also in Constantinople a florescence of classical culture centring round Plato and Platonism). Pier Candido Decembrio in a letter written in late 1439 implies that the Greeks while in Florence willingly copied manuscripts, and that cheaply, and states that one of them had remained behind as a scribe: he also laments that almost the only books brought by the Greeks had been ecclesiastical.² The one effect of any moment that might perhaps be ascribed to the contact was that the lectures during that period of George Gemistus Pletho, the ardent octogenarian Platonist and a semi-pagan,³ created such enthusiasm that some years later Cosimo Medici founded his Platonic Academy which eventually produced from the pen of Massilio Ficino, an 'Academician', translations of many of Plato's works and his massive *Theologia platonica*.⁴

It was no wonder that the Russian traveller in Isidore's suite who recorded the long journey from Moscow with notices on every town they passed through should have said, as he introduces an account, two pages long, of the wonders to be seen: 'This famous city of Florence is very big and we had not come across its equal in all the towns hitherto described.'⁵ The many churches and their ornaments, especially the cathedral and the campanile 'of white and black

¹ Printing, of course, had not yet been invented, so all books of that day were manuscripts.

² R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Roma, 1931), pp. 166-7.

³ Some ten years later Scholarius threatened to burn certain writings of Gemistus if they came into his hands (*Letter to Gemistus Pletho*, Schol. IV, p. 125).

⁴ The Academy was founded only in 1462, but it is Ficino himself who attributes the impulse to Gemistus. Contrary, however, to the commonly stated opinion, Gemistus did not stay on in Florence for some years after the departure of the rest of the Greeks: he left with Demetrius and Scholarius on 25 June 1439 (Syr. IX, 11, p. 268; Schol. III, pp. 118, 126).

⁵ *Reisebericht*, ed. G. Stökl, p. 164.

marble', the pictures, the monasteries, the palaces flanking the wide streets, the stone bridge crossing the Arno lined on either side with houses, and especially the hospitals and the hostel for pilgrims—'with 1000 beds where even the least has a feather mattress and expensive trappings'¹—filled him with amazement. Tafur also, who passed eight days in Florence, was equally impressed by the hospitals, of which he says there were two, 'one for men and one for women, so clean and well ordered and provisioned that if it happens that a king or prince falls sick, he straightway leaves his house and goes there in order to be nursed'.² To this magnificent city, then, the Greeks came in the beginning of February 1439, but the firstcomers, so wrote Traversari to Cosimo Medici, were received 'not with fitting honours. . . . They thought they would find the houses prepared but nothing so far has been done that they should have no cause for complaint.'³

Once the Emperor had arrived the Greeks did not wait long before getting down to business. On Ash Wednesday, 18 February, there was a meeting in the Emperor's palace to discuss procedure, when it was decided, in reply to a query from the Latins whom they had informed of their readiness to start, that they preferred private discussions between select committees rather than public debates. Nothing, however, was done for a week, but on Thursday, 26 February, the first combined meeting took place when the Patriarch, despite the entreaties of his clerics that he should be present on at least this first occasion, could not attend because of the swollen state of his legs, which rendered him unable to move. In a great hall of the Convent of S. Maria Novella which had been somewhat adapted twenty years before to accommodate Martin V and his court, the monks vacating their refectory and other apartments for the enter-

¹ *Reisebericht*, *ibid.* There was, of course, at that time no hospital or hostel of such dimensions, but there were some twenty-eight hospitals with accommodation ranging from four or five to 150 beds (two or three persons used the same bed simultaneously), two orphanages and various hospices for vagrants and travellers, a large home for old ladies (200 rooms), etc.: and while the Council was in progress the orphanage of S. Maria degli Innocenti to the plans of Brunelleschi was under construction (L. Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istruzione elementare gratuita della città di Firenze* (Firenze, 1853).

² Pero Tafur, *op. cit.* p. 227.

³ Trav. no. 263.

tainment of their guests,¹ and which Eugenius had inhabited a few years earlier, the Pope, the Emperor and forty representatives of each of the two Churches met.²

Cardinal Cesarini, speaking for the Latins, recalled to the minds of his hearers the arrangements agreed to between the Pope and the Emperor before the Council had left Ferrara. There were to be three meetings of at least three hours each. The Latins, though they were strongly of the opinion that the best method of procedure was by public discussion, yet in deference to the Emperor's wish accepted the private meetings, presuming that the Greeks had found some simpler means of arriving at union, which he begged them therefore to disclose. The Emperor answered the Cardinal, objecting to his presentation of the case. The question debated at such length at Ferrara had been left unsolved, so that the Greeks still had the right of returning to it if they wished: private discussions were far more preferable, but the means for arriving at union was a common problem so that the Latins as much as the Greeks, who had no solution to offer, should consider it. On this rejoinder the Latin prelates held a consultation with the Pope, after which the Cardinal spoke again, claiming that the Latins had decisively proved their case at Ferrara but that, if the Greeks had any further arguments to put forward, it was better to do it immediately than leave the question in the air and liable to be opened up afresh. The Emperor was as little desirous as the Latins to start all over again on the Addition, so, though he reasserted the Greek right to debate it if they wished, he disclaimed any intention of doing so, and in this way the meeting closed with the onus of finding another means towards union left on the shoulders of the Greeks, if they wished to avoid public discussions on the doctrinal question.

After this private session the Greeks held a meeting in the sick Patriarch's apartments to see if they could devise the means the Latins demanded, but without success. All the same they still urged the

¹ Cf. R. P. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, 1909), IV, p. 113.

² *A.L.* p. 135 state the numbers precisely, but nothing more of the meeting. *A.G.* pp. 239-48 record the speeches at length and in the course of one of these imply that the meeting was not a full session (p. 241). Syropoulos (VI, 1, 216-17) gives no hint that this was any different from any other session in his synopsis of this meeting.

Emperor to persuade the Pope to agree to private meetings instead of public sessions and elected a representative committee composed of the five procurators of the Patriarchs with Bessarion and Dorotheus of Mitylene to supervise the presentation of their doctrine and to formulate whatever answers they might be called upon to make. John VIII did his best with the Pope to meet the wishes of his clerics, but Eugenius, when he found that the Greeks had no positive suggestions to offer, could not see his way to agree, and so on Monday, 2 March, Latins and Greeks met for the first full session in Florence.

To make it easier to understand the arguments propounded by the disputants in Florence it will be useful first to examine briefly the terminology they used. This is all the more necessary now, as modern philosophy has discarded the ancient concepts of being, personality and the like in favour of a more empirical and psychological approach. But then both Latins and Greeks were agreed in treating such questions on a basis of metaphysics. That made common discussions possible and promising of results. Unfortunately, however, their technical terms had not always quite the same connotation and the general approach on the one side and the other was somewhat different, and this was the cause of no little misunderstanding.

The differences arose from two sources. The theology of the Blessed Trinity was evolved and its enunciation clarified under the pressure of heresy. The Holy Scripture gives no metaphysical definitions nor even terms. These had to be sought from pagan philosophy, from the writings of Aristotle, and they were introduced as occasion demanded. The result was that the terms themselves underwent change, so that what earlier was more general in meaning and which could be regarded as a synonym of other words, later as its significance was refined became more stereotyped and limited in connotation and even opposed to terms that before had been used as equivalents. Yet that process was not universal and simultaneous. When one Father was insisting on a precise meaning, another could be employing the old looseness of expression. Hence the difficulty of determining the real mind of the writer in the many quotations produced in the Council.

The two words in use in the East almost from the beginning of

any theology of the Trinity were *ousia* and *hypostasis*. *Ousia* could have two meanings, the one designating an individual existing in himself—this particular thing or man, the other signifying the genus with the species, i.e. man (not *this* man), and so equivalent to essence or nature. Similarly *hypostasis* in the early period was used in a double sense as meaning an objective, existing reality and so was considered equivalent to *ousia*, or as designating what exists by itself and in its own existence, the individual numerically different from everything else, which in the case of rational beings meant person. So it could be said of God that he was one *hypostasis* (namely, existing reality) or that he was three *hypostases* (i.e. three individuated realities or persons). Gradually, however, the formula prevailed of one *ousia* in three *hypostases*.

The Latins of the same period had begun by asserting one *substantia* in God and three Persons, where the Latin *substantia* was equivalent to the Greek *ousia*. How then to turn *hypostasis*, which purely on principles of derivation was the same as *substantia*? They used the word *persona*, but the Orientals for long would not accept into their theological vocabulary the parallel Greek word *prosopon*, which to them savoured of playing a part and suggested not reality but only appearance, which, applied to the Son, was heresy. The controversies and divisions on this lasted long, but eventually *hypostasis* and *prosopon* were accepted as equivalents by the Greeks. On the other side the Latins later adopted the word *subsistentia* to translate *hypostasis*, despite the classical definition of Boethius for person as *naturae rationalis individua substantia*, where however *substantia* must be taken as meaning subsistence in a concrete sense, i.e. a subsisting thing.

The terms used above, substance or *ousia*, subsistence or *hypostasis*, all sound very abstract, but in the beginning for both Latins and Greeks they were not purely abstract but always envisaged concretely. Substance was a subsisting reality existing in an individual. *Hypostasis* was this person: John was not thought of as *having* an *hypostasis*, but as being an *hypostasis*. A person was not a nature personified, but an individual possessed of a nature. But as time went on and dogma was developed into theology, for the Latins, though not for the Greeks, these terms tended to become abstract.

Substance retained its sense of a concrete essence, but subsistence became the quality by which a thing subsists; nature the sum of the essential qualities that differentiate one thing from another; *suppositum* not the concrete reality but that to which the mind can attribute individuality, nature, subsistence, individuating characteristics, accidents. Person was a *res naturae*, an objective reality.

Other terms too, and among them words in the most common use in the theology of the Trinity, had in the course of time come to have different extensions of meaning. For instance *ekporeuesthai* signified for the Greeks to come forth from an original source, whereas the Latin *procedere*, always used to translate it, had the more general sense of coming forth from any source. So, too, though the Latin word nearest in meaning to the Greek *aitia* was *principium*, both having a more general extension, the translation usually given was *causa*, and *principium* was employed to turn the Greek *arche*, though this word corresponded better to *causa* in a narrower extension.¹

Neither Greeks nor Latins involved themselves in these intricacies of metaphysical thought just for its own sake. It was forced upon them by the need to defend Christian doctrine first against the Jews who accused them of polytheism—they had then to assert the unicity of the divine essence—and then against erring Christians who, stressing too much the oneness of God, denied the divinity first of the Son and then of the Holy Spirit. So was their trinitarian theology formulated in the face of attack. Later the cognate Christological controversies led to a further clarification as they defended the doctrine of the hypostatic union of two natures in the one Person of Jesus Christ.

The trinitarian formula *Una substantia tres personae* or *One ousia* three hypostases did not of course dissolve the mystery in the dogma of the Holy Trinity, but it asserted the truth drawn from the New Testament and it met objections. The substance or essence or nature is one in all three Persons, but it is distinguished in them by what is individual to each. These individuating marks are the relations that obtain between the Persons. The Father is he from whom the others come as from a source; the Son and the Holy Spirit are they who are from another, the one by generation, the other by procession. On

¹ Cf. V. Grumel, 'Saint Thomas et la doctrine des Grecs sur la procession du Saint-Esprit', in *E.O.* xxv (1926), pp. 257–80.

the generation of the Son there was accord between Greeks and Latins (though, as will be seen, there were at Florence long discussions on the philosophy of generation). The root of the trinitarian differences between the Churches was the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The Scripture clearly asserts that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. The Greek Doctors had for the most part been content to repeat the declaration of Scripture, for there was no need to go further to meet their adversaries, though a few had employed the phrase 'proceed from the Father through the Son'. Later Greek theologians had made the silence of the Fathers into a positive doctrine—the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone—though meantime Latin theology with its more psychological approach had formulated western teaching into 'proceeds from the Father and the Son'. The debates at Florence will be concerned with this one point, Giovanni Montenero, the Dominican Provincial of Lombardy, striving to persuade Mark Eugenius, the protagonist of the Greeks, that, as the Father and the Son are identical except that the one is generator and the other generated, then since the Father is also spirator of the Spirit, so is the Son. An abundance of patristic quotations will be put forward, examined, explained as each speaker endeavours to urge his view or to rebut his opponent's arguments.

The dogmatic discussion began on Monday, 2 March, though both the Emperor and the Patriarch were absent for reasons of health, with Montenero opening the debate, a concession made, so Syropoulos says, to the Latins by the Emperor without previous consultation with the Greek prelates who in fact did not approve.¹ This time, unlike the procedure in most of the sessions in Ferrara, there was till the very last sessions real discussion. That had been agreed on between Pope and Emperor in the hope of shortening the proceedings, and it was carried out often in a very lively fashion, which makes it extremely difficult to reproduce a clear and at the same time brief account of the arguments put forward on either side.²

¹ Syr. VIII, I, p. 215.

² The following account is drawn from *A.G.* pp. 250–387 and *A.L.* pp. 135–94, whose extremely close agreement proves the reliability of both sources. The *Latin Acts* are particularly useful in indicating the Latin technical terms that Montenero used because, as the Greeks had fewer of these, the interpreter sometimes had to find the

Montenero opened by asking what the Greeks meant by 'procession' in respect of the divinity, and pinned on the word 'essential' in Eugenicus' answer as applied to the Holy Spirit, concluding from it that, as 'being' and 'essence' are the same when used of God, the Spirit received being from the Father which is the same thing as to proceed from him. But, he went on, the Holy Spirit receives being also from the Son and so must proceed also from him, for Epiphanius (in the Latin translation made by Traversari) says: 'I call him Son who is from him (i.e. the Father), but Holy Spirit him who alone is from both';¹ and '...except the Holy Spirit who is from the Father and the Son'.² Epiphanius, replied Eugenicus, does not necessarily mean that the Spirit receives being from Father and Son: he is thinking in terms of St John's words: '...will receive from me and announce to you',³ that is, the Spirit is given by the Son to the faithful who receive him: a little later in the same passage he distinguishes between 'receive from the Son' and 'proceed from the Father': but in any case your manuscript of Epiphanius' works is corrupt for there is no 'is' in the text to correspond to the 'being' which you assert.

When Montenero insisted on his interpretation and explained the passage again, Eugenicus changed the subject with a question.

Mark: When you say 'from the Father', do you mean from his person? And when you say 'from the Son', also from his person? And when 'from both', from the persons of both?

John: Yes, when we speak of Father and Son separately; but when from both, we say that the Holy Spirit is from one principle, since the Procession is common to Father and Son. But that is not the present question.

Mark: Never mind that. Let us see the consequences of your admission. St Basil says: (God) 'sends forth the Spirit through his mouth... for the Spirit is from him and not from elsewhere'.⁴

John: Yes, but Basil says that in metaphor, and elsewhere affirms that the Spirit receives being from the Son. But first let us finish with Epiphanius.

nearest Greek equivalent which occasionally leads to a certain obscurity. Sytopoulos, after a short account of the opening meeting of 26 February, merely adds that there were seven other sessions and directs his readers to the *Practica* to find the details (VIII, 1, p. 217). For summary accounts cf. H.-L. VII, pp. 987-95 (where John of Montenero is throughout wrongly called John of Ragusa) and G. Hofmann, 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Florenz', in *O.C.P.* IV (1938), pp. 157-88.

¹ P.G. 43, 148B.

² *Ibid.* 153A.

³ John xvi. 15.

⁴ P.G. 29, 736B.

Mark: You say from the person of the Father—so does Basil and ‘not from elsewhere’, that is from the Father alone.

John: Basil was proving against Eunomius that the Spirit was not a creature—that is the meaning of ‘elsewhere’. Epiphanius and Basil in the quotations I have given say that the Spirit has being from the Son. Do you admit that the Spirit is from the substance of the Father and not elsewhere?

Bessarion: At one time you say person, then substance.

John: We say that essence and person are one in themselves but differ according to our way of thinking, so that person consists of the essence and the properties.¹ As these are distinguished in our thinking, the essence is communicated between the Persons of the Trinity, the properties are not; for, if the Persons are to remain distinct, the properties must remain uncommunicated, that is, the relationships of origin. So the Father and the Son are distinct from one another only because the Father is he from whom another is and the Son he who is from another, that is the Father is the principle, the Son is from the principle; all else they possess in common and so have a common being.

To this Ephesus assented and John continued. In human generation the person generates, but the person is not communicated. It is the nature, humanity, that is communicated, whereas the person acts. So this person is the principle which generates and the nature the principle by which he generates. In the divine generation likewise the Father is the person, the principle, who generates and his nature is the principle by which he generates the Son; so the nature, not the person, of the Father is communicated to the Son. But in God the nature or essence of all three Persons is one and the same, and the only difference is what arises from the opposition of relationships, so that if one person is from another he is said to receive being and existence from another, which is what Basil and Epiphanius meant when they wrote that the Spirit has being from the Son.

At this point the codex of Epiphanius, requested earlier, was produced and the passage in question read. Eugenius returned to his former answer that there is no ‘is’ in the text, which can also be understood of the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit. But, allowing for the moment Montenero’s explanation, the words ‘from both’ or ‘from the Father and the Son’ can quite well be understood of Father and Son, not as distinct Persons, but as possessing a

¹ Property, i.e. what is peculiar to an object or a kind of object and distinguishes it from others. In the Blessed Trinity the properties are—to generate, to be generated, to proceed.

common nature, and this explanation was enough to refute the heretical opinions those two Doctors were opposing. Epiphanius must have agreed with Basil, and Basil clearly referred to the person of the Father when he said that the Holy Spirit 'proceeds from the Father', so he obviously still meant person when straight after he added 'and not from elsewhere', that is, not from the person of the Son. With that the session ended.

The next day was the eighth anniversary of the election of Eugenius as Pope. The Cardinal of S. Marco, Angelotto Fusco, sang the Mass to celebrate the occasion in the presence of the Pope, and Latins and Greeks thronged the church. A chronicle records that the Patriarch was there, but in view of the fact that he had not been able to assist at the session of the previous day that is unlikely: that chronicler, however, was an eye-witness of most of the events he narrates.¹

On Thursday, 5 March, the discussions were resumed in the second session, when Montenero again opened the proceedings. The passage from St Basil quoted in the last session was read again and from the explanation and discussion that followed it was agreed that Basil with his eye on the heretics of his day meant that the Spirit was from the substance of the Father and from no other substance. But when Montenero added that if the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father he must be also from the substance of the Son, since the Father and the Son are one in substance, Eugenius objected, repeating the question he put in the previous session: 'When we hear that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, must we understand from their persons?', which was the occasion of a repetition from his adversary of his exposition of the Latin metaphysical theory of generation. But Mark was nothing daunted.

Mark: So, if the common substance of Father and Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit, then the Spirit is principled and caused.

John: That does not follow, because what is produced is produced by the *suppositum* or person acting, not by the nature which is an abstract name, but through the nature. But the traditional way of solving these questions is by recurrence to the words of the Fathers. Let us keep to that.

Mark: The quotation can wait. You said that in things human the existing

¹ Muratori (1st ed.), XIX, c. 983.

object comes from an individual existing object, i.e. this man from this man, according to the common nature. If it is the same in respect of God, then we should not say that any of the Persons comes from the substance which is not a person by itself, nor therefore that the substance is a cause, for it does not produce.

John: When we say someone from someone, it is necessarily from the person. As I quoted from St Basil last session: 'What then is the need, if the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, that he should be third also in nature? For in dignity he is second to the Son, having his being from him.'¹ There St Basil says that the Spirit has his being from the Son and depends on him as on a cause. I have already shown that in God 'to receive' and 'to be' are the same. Here we have that the Spirit has his being and receives from the Son, and that means that he proceeds from him.

Mark: We will deal with St Basil later. Now let us see the conclusions that follow from your words. You say that the common substance of the Father and the Son, which is one and the same, is the cause and principle of the Holy Spirit, so that the substance of the Spirit is caused, and there are two substances in the Trinity, one causing and one caused. But that is contrary to all good theology, for all the Doctors say that substance neither generates nor produces, so neither Father nor Son produces by the common substance, but by his own proper substance or individual property.

John: Substance can be understood in two senses. In the one it corresponds to the definition of a thing, that is the species, essence or nature, and in this sense never means the existing object:² in the other it stands for the existing object which possesses the species,³ e.g. Plato, Socrates, and in this sense is called hypostasis, subsistence, *res naturae* and, in human nature, person. Both Greek and Latin Fathers defended against Arius and Macedonius that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of Father and Son. To say that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father is sound, because substance can mean person, even though the property of fatherhood is not communicated. So we Latins do not use substance in the sense of the Person of the Father, but of the nature which is communicated to the Son. Therefore the Father generates the Son communicating everything of Himself except the property of fatherhood, and also that the Son should be the principle of the Holy Spirit, which in no way militates against the property of sonship. That is why it does not follow that in the Blessed Trinity there is a distinction of cause and caused—the Son is from the substance of the Father and the Holy Spirit is from the substance of Father and Son.

After that the discussion continued for some little time, turning to the question of what kind of distinction there is between the

¹ P.G. 29, 653 B.

² This was called *substantia secunda*.

³ This was called *substantia prima*.

Persons of the Trinity, a real distinction or only a distinction of our understanding, till Cardinal Cesarini announced: 'The fourth hour has passed, so that will do. We shall meet again on Saturday.'

On 7 March, then, the Fathers convened for the third session when Eugenius spoke first. In deference, so he said, to Montenero's wish, he began with the quotation from St Basil introduced in the first session. The books used respectively by the Latins and the Greeks, though both were Greek texts, yet differed and the Latin one, he said, had clearly been tampered with, for in Constantinople there were some thousand copies which agreed with his text and only a few—four or five—that followed Montenero's. The passage was read out.¹

John replied acknowledging Mark's gesture of condescension, but vindicating the veracity of his own book, which he said, had been brought from Constantinople by Nicholas de Cusa and so had not

¹ This passage from St Basil's *Adversus Eunomium*, bk. III will be discussed so often that it as well to have the two texts clearly in mind from the start, with the differences between them. They can be easily reconstructed from the frequent quotations made by Montenero and Eugenius *passim* in the debates.

TEXT UPHELD BY THE LATINS

P.G. 29, 653 B

Even if the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, why need he be third also in nature? For that he is second to the Son, *having his being from him and receiving from him and announcing to us and being completely dependent on him*, pious tradition recounts; but that his nature is third we are not taught by the Saints nor can we conclude logically from what has been said

TEXT UPHELD BY THE GREEKS

Even if the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, why need he be third also in nature? For that he is second *let us* pious tradition *perhaps* recounts; but that his nature is third we are not taught by the Saints nor can we conclude from what has been said

P.G. 29, 656 A

so that, although the Holy Spirit is behind the Son *in order and dignity*, all the same he would not be considered as of another nature,

that although he is subordinated to the Son, *let us* make this supposition, still it does not follow that he is also of another nature,

P.G. 29, 657 C

so, namely, although the Holy Spirit is below in dignity and order, for we have received

so, therefore, although the Holy Spirit is below in dignity and order, *as they say*, for we have received and hold

been long enough in Latin hands for it to have been tampered with, and, besides, it was very old. The corruption of texts was more typical of the East than the West. Did not Cyril warn John of Antioch against the possible falsification of his letters¹ and repeat the caution to Acacius by recounting the story of the letter of Athanasius?² It was much more likely that the change was made in the early days of the schism to remove from St Basil what favoured the traditional doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, who, we may think, preserved this book from corruption to witness to the truth. With this he exhibited to the Emperor the Latin book written on parchment, along with the Greek one written on paper.

The Greeks, Mark replied, admitted that Montenero's text was to be found in a very few books in Constantinople, and the fact that these had not been destroyed proved the Greek honesty of mind. Falsification, however, was not an eastern monopoly. The West had done its share and indeed no less a person than a pope. For Zosimus tried to impose on the Council of Carthage a supposed canon of Nicaea that gave to Rome a universal right as court of appeal. Carthage compared his version with those preserved in Alexandria and Constantinople, which had no such canon at all. In any case, the number and quality of the Greeks' books proved the genuineness of their text.

The passage, as found in the Greeks' book, was then read, and Mark went on to comment on it, his purpose being to prove that his text was the original one. His contention was that Basil did not believe that any Saints at all had ever taught that the Holy Spirit was third in dignity and order and that he had expressed his disbelief by asking in this same passage who were the Saints that had taught that, and then remarking—'Eunomius does not say'. What he does here is to concede for the sake of argument, but without accepting as true, Eunomius' statement and then to declare that even in that case the heretic's conclusion that the Holy Spirit is third also in nature would not follow. So the various words and phrases in dispute—'perhaps', 'let us make this concession', 'as they say'—are consonant with Basil's thought and therefore belong to the original text,¹ whereas the Latin insertion about the Spirit having his being

¹ P.G. 77, 181B.

² *Ibid.* 200C.

from the Son and receiving from him is an interpolation, foreign to his mind/

Basil, he said, made this plain in a letter to his brother Gregory:

Since the Holy Spirit, from Whom all provision of good flows to creation, depends on the Son with Whom he is inseparably apprehended, but has his being dependent on the Father as cause from Whom he proceeds, he has this mark of his hypostatic individuality that he is known after the Son and with him and that he subsists from the Father. But the Son, the sole only-begotten emitted from the unbegotten light, knowing through himself and with himself the Spirit proceeding from the Father, has no communion with the Father or the Holy Spirit as regards individuating marks, but is known by only the above-mentioned signs.¹

Here Basil states, commented Mark, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only. He 'depends on the Son', that is, is placed in order after him, not because he proceeds from him, says St Basil, but because he is apprehended with him. Then 'the Son knowing the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father,' that is manifesting him with himself, 'yet has no communion with the Father or the Holy Spirit', not therefore the communion of producing the Spirit with the Father—this is Basil's mind, that the Procession is attributed to the Father alone.

Montenero in reply first touched on the question of Zosimus. Mark had produced no document to support his statement which the Latins had never heard of before: the documents rather lay on the Latin side, as Cardinal Cesarini had shown in Ferrara when he exhibited the codex that reported the incident of Athanasius and the synod of Antioch with regard to those same canons of Nicaea. He then took up Mark's comments on the quotation from St Basil, enquiring what difference there was between 'dependent on' and 'be the cause of'. Eugenius replied that 'dependent on' meant for Basil simply 'ordered with', for if things are to be enumerated they must be mentioned one after another and, as between Father and Son there is an order of nature, the Spirit perforce comes third in any enumeration. So Basil says that the Son is second to the Father, but of the Spirit he says no more than that he depends, a word he never uses of the Son in respect of the Father.

¹ P.G. 32, 329C.

But, so Montenero objected, if there is nothing but an enumeration, on the part of the thing, abstracting from our words to express it, there is no order at all. St Basil says there is an order and, what is more, an order of nature. The very names Father and Son imply an order of nature and dependence, as the Father is the cause of the Son. So the dependence of the Spirit on the Son is also an order of nature. St Basil himself says so: 'Just as the Son is second to the Father because he is from him . . . but in nature he is not second since the divinity in each is one, so though the Holy Spirit in dignity and order is below the Son, it does not logically follow that he is of another nature.'¹ Here he clearly is proving what he said before, that, as is the order of Son to Father, so is the order of the Spirit to the Son. The Father is principle and cause of the Son in one nature. So then the Son is principle and cause of the Spirit in one nature. This Basil exemplified by the angels, that though there are among them principalities, powers, higher and lower, yet it does not follow that they are of diverse natures. (So there is an order and that means an order of origin.

Mark: A moment. Do you say that Basil held that the Holy Spirit was third in order and dignity?

John: Yes, in the same way as the Son is second to the Father.

Mark: Eunomius also said the Spirit was third in order and dignity.

John: Eunomius said that he got that from the Holy Scriptures and from that would prove that the Spirit was third also in nature. Basil did not deny his statement: he attacked only his conclusion.

Mark: So Eunomius was right in saying third in order and dignity?

John: Yes.

Mark: But does not your book say Eunomius 'pretends to preserve the teaching of the Saints'?

John: Yes. Eunomius pretends to have found the deduction 'third in nature' in the Fathers.

Mark: No, it does not say that. It says, pretends to preserve the teaching of the Fathers as saying third in order and dignity.

John: No. The pretence refers to the deduction, and that is what Basil denied as his examples show.

Mark: If Basil had held that the Spirit was third in order and dignity he would not have said that Eunomius 'pretends to preserve the teaching of the Fathers' but that he did preserve it and concluded wrongly. Instead he asserts

¹ P.G. 29, 656A.

that 'Eunomius had no word to say as to who had transmitted that doctrine', and he calls him 'a greatly daring innovator', which shows that Basil did not believe there were any such Saints.

John: Athanasius asks: 'If then he (i.e. the Holy Spirit) is not from the substance of the Father and the Son, why did the Son name him' in the trinitarian formula of baptism?:¹ and elsewhere wrote: 'If then the Spirit has such an order and nature in respect of the Son as the Son has to the Father, surely he who calls the Spirit a creature will think the same of the Son.'² Athanasius, therefore, declares an order and an order of nature, and Basil could do no less. In the next session we will prove it clearly of Basil too.

On Tuesday, 10 March, in the fourth session Eugenicus addressed the Fathers, resuming his previous arguments to show that St Basil could not have approved of what he did not believe, namely that the Spirit is third in order and dignity, and so the words in the text suggesting doubt are genuinely his. Neither did St Athanasius teach any such subordination of the Spirit. The first passage used by Montenero certainly puts him in the third place in the formula of baptism but neither states nor implies any third position in dignity. The Letter to Serapion from which the second passage is taken was directed against the enemies of the Holy Spirit, who reduced him to the level of a creature. So Athanasius' purpose there was not to stress the distinctions within the Holy Trinity, but the unity of will and operation of all three persons to conclude to their unity in Godhead and vindicate the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Consequently by his words 'such is the order and nature of the Spirit to the Son, as the Son's to the Father' he means no more than that the Holy Spirit is conjoined and connatural with the Son. When, however, he approaches the question of origin within the Holy Trinity he states clearly that he does not believe the Son to be the cause of the Holy Spirit, because he calls the Father 'the sole unbegotten and sole fount of deity',³ that is, the sole generator of the Son and sole producer of the Holy Spirit.

At this point another codex of St Basil was brought in belonging to the Greek Metropolitan of Mitylene, Dorotheus, which, so Montenero claimed, was very old and which agreed with the text he was defending. He took the occasion to prove again that his text and

¹ Ps. Athanasius: *P.G.* 28, 489 B.

² *P.G.* 26, 580 B.

³ *P.G.* 28, 97 BC.

his interpretation of Basil were right. He had, he said, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit come across another work of Basil in a codex belonging to Leonardo Aretino when with Traversari he was looking for a certain letter written by the Saint. That work was a homily on the Holy Spirit where, if anywhere, one should find Basil's mature thought on the subject. There it is written: 'One Father, one Son, one Holy Spirit must be confessed according to the divine tradition. Not two Fathers, nor two Sons, since the Spirit neither is the Son nor is so called. For we do not receive anything from the Spirit in the same way as the Spirit from the Son; but we receive him (i.e. the Spirit) coming to us and sanctifying us, the communication of divinity, the pledge of eternal inheritance, and the first fruits of the eternal good.'¹ That is what we receive from the Spirit, created and caused, in us. But the Spirit, says St Basil, receives from the Son, but not as we receive from the Spirit—we receive things created; he receives therefore things divine, for there is no third class of things apart from the created and the uncreated or divine.

Then, to show that Eugenicus' text made St Basil contradict himself, Montenero compared the two books again phrase by phrase, concluding that the whole purpose of that chapter of the *Adversus Eunomium* was to prove that there were firsts, seconds and thirds in order and dignity of beings of one and the same nature and consequently that the so-called concessions postulated by Eugenicus made St Basil seem to hesitate where he should have been most forthright. The same conclusion, he continued, is proved by the words that precede and those that follow the passage in question. Basil denied, not Eunomius' assertion that the Saints put the Spirit third in order and dignity, but only his deduction that he is third in nature, as he himself states clearly after he had proposed the examples of the angels, the heavenly mansions² and the stars:³ 'although the Holy Spirit is behind the Son in dignity, yet not in nature. We have received that he is numbered third from the Father, the Lord saying in the tradition of baptism. . . . But that he is thrust out to some third nature we

¹ P.G. 31, 1433 C.

² Referring to John xiv. 2: 'In my Father's house there are many mansions.'

³ Referring to I Cor. xv. 41: 'For star differeth from star in glory.'

have neither learnt nor ever heard.¹ If then the Spirit is divine and third in order, that can only be by the communication of the divine nature and that by the Son also, which is to say that he proceeds also from the Son.

Having dilated thus on St Basil, the Lombard Provincial defended his previous explanation of the passages from St Athanasius, repeating the exposition he had given earlier. He had, however, talked for so long that he provoked an expostulation from the Emperor that the Greeks had no time to reply for the session now had to close.

'Wednesday the eleventh. There was great festivity because it was the day of the coronation of Pope Eugenius IV'²—so records the chronicler, but provokingly adds no more. There would assuredly have been a special, solemn Mass, perhaps sung by the Pope himself, and a variety of other celebrations, spiritual and temporal. But what they were we are left to guess.

On the following day there were no discussions for the fifth session opened on Saturday, 14 March, with Eugenius taking up Montenegro's explanation of the words of St Athanasius. Whereupon John objected that Mark was inverting the order of his argument and should have begun with the text of St Basil; so, after some altercation, Mark yielded gracefully and spoke on the passage adduced from the Homily on the Holy Spirit. There, he said, the quotation does not assert that the Spirit receives being from the Son. St Basil wished to prove that the Spirit is different from the Son, so he said 'we do not receive from the Spirit in the same way as we receive the Spirit from the Son'. Here Mark was taking the Greek word 'Spirit' as being in the accusative, objective case, whereas John had understood it as nominative or subjective, the Greek form of the word being the same for both. So he concluded that we receive the Spirit from the Son as something different from the Son and added: 'From the Spirit himself we receive nothing else than the Spirit himself.'

This last phrase was to Latin ears most unsound, and John pressed Mark as to whether the gifts of the Spirit were different from the Spirit himself. Eugenius remained silent for some little time searching for an answer. There was every likelihood that the discussion would

¹ P.G. 29, 657D-660A.

² Muratori, *op. cit.* XIX, c. 984.

turn to the question that had torn the Greek ecclesiastical world a century before, the Palamitic question of the 'divine energies', which Mark with most Greeks held to be really distinct from the divine essence, an opinion that the Latins both then and now consider wrong. So the Emperor summoned his orators to a brief colloquy and then forbade further argument on that point as being outside of the scope of the discussion and, when Montenero and Cesarini urged that it was necessary so as to clarify the meaning of the text in dispute, he silenced the interpreter. But John still pressed his point. Mark's interpretation that we do not receive anything from the Spirit as we receive the Spirit from the Son was wrong because, receiving the gifts, we receive the Spirit himself, as St Paul says: 'because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to us'.¹ But St Basil says that we do not receive as the Spirit receives, so he was contrasting the uncreated, divine essence that the Spirit receives from the Son with the created gifts which we receive from the Spirit, which gifts St Basil goes on immediately to enumerate in this same passage, and so Spirit must be the subject of the verb, not the object.

The Emperor intervened again and there was some little altercation between him and Montenero and Cesarini. He sent one of his attendants with a message to the Pope and summoned Cesarini to his side, who then spoke with the Pope. As a result, after a little skirmishing, Ephesus continued the debate. He went back to the question of Basil's 'Perhaps' in his *Adversus Eunomium*, changing somewhat his line of argument, to defend the presence of that word and the other similar expressions in the passages quoted, as indicating that St Basil was only making a concession for the sake of argument. The formula of baptism, founded on the Gospels, put the Holy Spirit in the third place and that could be taken as a ground for placing him third also in dignity. Allowing, so Ephesus interpreted St Basil, that in that formula, which is the pious tradition referred to, the Spirit comes third, even so that is no proof that he is third in dignity, still less in nature.

By way of reply Montenero recapitulated once again the comparison of the two texts, adding comments here and there mainly to show

¹ Rom. v. 6.

that the common opinion that Eunomius spurned was the general opinion of the Saints which Basil knew well and followed, and that Basil's argument against Eunomius was not to deny that opinion but the conclusion that he drew from it, that the Spirit was third in nature.

The sixth session took place on 17 March, when Mark Eugenicus, abandoning on the Emperor's instructions (as he wrote later) the method of 'question and answer' or discussion in favour of making a complete exposition of the Greek position, started by commenting on St John's words: 'But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony of me',¹ pointing out that that passage first showed the freedom of the Holy Spirit, then the benevolence towards him of the other two Persons, and then his origin from the Father alone, so that the two propositions 'The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father' and 'Whatever proceeds from the Father is the Holy Spirit' are convertible, with the consequence that any one who proceeds from another than the Father is not the Holy Spirit.

St Paul says no less: 'Now we received not the spirit of this world but the Spirit that is of God',² which Gregory Thaumaturgus interprets in these words: 'One Holy Spirit having existence from God and manifested to men through the Son',³ clearly distinguishing his different relations to Father and Son. St Paul's disciple, Denis, in a passage whose purpose is to establish the distinction of the Persons asserts: 'Sole fount of the supersubstantial divinity is the Father':⁴ but that would not be distinctive of the Father if the Son also produced the Spirit. Athanasius says the same: 'The sole unbegotten and sole fount of divinity, the Father',⁵ so that, just as the property of being unbegotten cannot be communicated to either of the other Persons, so neither can the property of being 'sole fount of divinity'. The Fathers, therefore, are in complete accord with the Holy Scriptures in rejecting that the Son is cause of the Spirit.

The Councils no less than the Fathers profess this same doctrine.

¹ John xv. 26.

² I Cor. ii. 12.

⁴ P.G. 3, 641 D.

³ P.G. 10, 985 A.

⁵ P.G. 28, 97 BC.

Leontius of Caesarea at the Council of Nicaea declared: 'and of the Holy Spirit proceeding from him, the Father',¹ adding the word 'Father' lest his hearers should think that he referred to the Son whom he had mentioned immediately previously.

At this point there was an interruption from the Latin side charging Mark with abandoning the agreed method of discussion by question and answer and of not following the order of the arguments as they had so far been put forward in the debate. Montenero asserted that good order demanded an answer to what he had said about the text of St Basil. If Mark accepted his exposition, let him acknowledge the fact. If he only wanted to avoid answering it because he had no reply to make, he should then have gone on to the quotation from Athanasius. At any rate, till either an acknowledgement of acceptance or an answer was forthcoming, John affirmed that he would not reply to these new arguments of Mark.

Eugenius, after a little colloquy among the Greeks, defended his action declaring that all the time so far had been spent on one or two texts, which meant that the Greeks could not produce the full panoply of their armoury. So he had had recourse to the Holy Scriptures and to the Fathers and the Councils that every one knew, not to certain recondite books (a hit at Montenero's reference to Basil's Homily on the Holy Spirit) or to corrupt texts, to show that Basil's doctrine was in harmony with the tradition of the Church and that the text put forward by the Greeks was the correct one. The Emperor supported him, telling Montenero that had he had a little patience, he would have seen the force of the method, and that he had instructed Mark to act as he did, because otherwise the Greeks would never have been able to say what they wanted owing to continual interruptions. Cesarini then conversed with the Pope, after which he addressed the Emperor, that though the order of debate ought to be adhered to, still they were content that Ephesus should follow his own way and reply afterwards to his opponent's arguments.

So Mark proceeded with his speech, repeating what he had said about the Council of Nicaea—'The Spirit proceeds from the Father and belongs to the Son'—which Cyril also affirmed: 'Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, still he is not alien to the

¹ P.G. 85, 1288c.

Son',¹ that is, he is of the same nature as the Son. Basil's thought was no different when he wrote: 'He is called the Spirit of Christ, as being related to him according to his nature'²—he did not write 'as proceeding from him' or 'as receiving being from him'—and: 'His relationship with the Father I know, since he proceeds from the Father; his relationship with the Son, because I hear: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his".'³ (Here Montenegro asked to see the codex, but Mark had not got it with him.) Would he have written so, had he thought that the Spirit proceeded also from the Son?

The second Council, developing the Credo of the first, ordained in its Creed: 'We believe also in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified.' The purpose of the Fathers of that Council was to propound the theology of the Holy Spirit and the mode of his union with Father and Son, and they did it by stating clearly that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but 'is glorified with Father and Son', that is, is of equal honour and substance. Had the Fathers believed that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, they would have said 'who proceedeth from the Father and the Son etc.'. But by leaving out 'proceedeth from the Son', they showed that they did not hold that doctrine.

That profession of faith was final. No other Council added 'from the Son': indeed all addition was forbidden as if there was a foreboding of what one day the Latin Church would do. Gregory of Nazianzus, who it is said wrote that Creed, asserts clearly: 'All that the Father has is the Son's except the cause.'⁴ It could not be clearer. If the Son is distinguished from the Father as regards cause, he is neither Father nor producer, and so not the cause of the Holy Spirit.

The third Council both in word and deed was conformed to the second. Charisius had read the symbol put out by Nestorius which declared that the Holy Spirit is not the Son nor does he have his existence through the Son. Did the Council condemn that? It condemned only Nestorius' 'perverse and corrupt teaching' in regard to the Incarnation of the Son of God,⁵ but said not a word

¹ P.G. 76, 433 B.

² P.G. 32, 152 B.

³ P.G. 31, 612 BC.; Rom. viii. 9.

⁴ P.G. 36, 252 A.

⁵ Mansi, 4, 1364 AB.

about his theology of the Holy Spirit, which is no light proof that that theology was the common opinion of the Church. Cyril, however, attacking Nestorius about the Procession of the Holy Spirit seemed to imply that he had his existence from the Son. Theodoretus took him up: 'That the Spirit belongs to the Son, if by that he intended as of the same nature and proceeding from the Father, we agree and accept the phrase as pious: but if as having his existence from the Son or through the Son, we shall reject it as blasphemous and impious.'¹ Cyril's defence was to declare that Theodoretus was maliciously slandering him, in other words that he did not hold the 'blasphemous and impious' opinion attributed to him, but the 'pious':² as he also said: 'Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, all the same he is not alien to the Son, for he has everything with the Father',³ and in his letter to John of Antioch: 'For it was not they (i.e. the Fathers of Nicaea) who were speaking, but the Spirit of God and Father Who proceeds from him, but is not alien to the Son in respect of substance.'⁴ When Theodoretus read Cyril's letter to John of Antioch he wrote also to him in these words: 'What you have lately sent to me (i.e. Cyril's letter) is beautified by evangelical nobility...and the Holy Spirit having his existence not from the Son or through the Son, but proceeding from the Father though called proper to the Son—we have extolled the physician who has cured the stuttering tongues and changed discordant sounds into sweet harmony.'⁵ Note the complete agreement of all these authorities, an agreement observed by Cyril himself,⁶ who elsewhere makes this comparison: 'As the finger depends from the hand not being alien to it but naturally on it, so too the Holy Spirit by reason of consubstantiality is fitted to union with the Son, although he proceeds from God and Father',⁷ which is the same thing as saying that he does not proceed from the Son, but only from the Father.

By all these reasons we demonstrate that our belief is harmonious with the Holy Scriptures, with the divine Fathers and teachers; we have neither changed nor adulterated anything of the divine dogmas transmitted to us from ages past; we have added nothing, we have taken nothing away, no innovation at all have we made. Again then we beseech your Charity and Honour to agree with us

¹ P.G. 76, 432D.

² *Ibid.* 388A.

³ *Ibid.* 433B.

⁴ P.G. 77, 180D.

⁵ P.G. 83, 1484BC.

⁶ P.G. 77, 177B.

⁷ P.G. 72, 704B.

and with the divine Fathers and not to recite or receive in the Church anything beyond what they have said, but to be content with them alone, so that saying and thinking the same, with one voice and one heart, we may together glorify the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to Whom is due all glory, honour and worship for ever and ever, amen.¹

Now, rejoined Cardinal Cesarini, it is only right that you should reply to the last arguments of the Father Provincial.

Mark: We have shown clearly that the expressions of doubt in our copy of St Basil are well founded. Your argumentation was so long that it escapes the memory and leads to endless discussion. So we are content to show, by reason of its antiquity, of the number of copies, of its consistency with itself, that our book is sound. More we have not to say nor do we want to.

John: I will remind you with pleasure of my arguments so that you can fulfil the promise made by His Serene Highness the Emperor. And that he proceeded to do ending with an example from St Augustine to show that an absolute conclusion must be reached when the hypothesis of a conditional proposition is affirmed. That, he said, is what Basil did: 'If angels can be in diverse orders and yet of one nature, so can the Son and the Holy Spirit: But angels can be so: Therefore...', and this conclusion is absolute, not conditional or doubtful, so our text, not yours, is the original.

Mark: St Basil was arguing on a supposition: 'Allowing for the sake of argument that the Spirit is third in order and dignity, even so he is not third in nature.' That is a regular form of argument. It is what we were doing all the time at Ferrara—'Even if the *Filioque* is true, even so it may not be added.' Neither he nor we accepted the truth of the proposition, but taking it by concession as agreed, we use it to prove the truth of the conclusion and that truth is thereby not doubtful but absolute. I am surprised that this has escaped a man of your intelligence.

At this point in the account of the sessions the *Greek Acts* end, but the tale is carried on (even though cursorily) by the *Description* that is combined with the Acts in all the editions of the *Greek Practica*,² and in complete detail by the *Latin Acts*,³ so happily the history of the debates can be completed.

John and Mark continued to argue about the nature of conditional propositions, the Provincial having the last word—Basil was arguing *a pari*. In the earlier books of the *Adversus Eunomium* he had proved that though the Son was second in order to the Father, yet they were of one nature. Now he is repeating the same procedure exactly—

¹ A.G. p. 382.

² *Ibid.* pp. 387-98.

³ A.L. pp. 194-222.

the Spirit is third in order, yet he is of one nature with the others. He believes that and so states it without ambiguity. Therefore whether or not there are a thousand codices of your text in Constantinople, here there are three in all, two of which and the more ancient agree against you and harmonise with Basil's thought. But perhaps your fear of accepting our text arises from the fact that you think we are affirming, and making Basil agree with us, that there are two causes of the Holy Spirit. You need have no fear on this point. The Roman Church has never erred and does not err on this. There is only one cause of the Holy Spirit. The Father is the principle both of Son and Spirit, but the Son, identical in nature with the Father, receives also to be producer of the Spirit, in respect of the common nature he has with the Father, and so is with him the principle, numerically one, of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. There is then but one cause of the Spirit, not two.

With this declaration the session closed.

Montenero's assertion brought relief to the minds of the Greeks.¹ The Emperor visited the Patriarch next day, Wednesday, to discuss it with him and on Thursday summoned the Greeks to a meeting.

I did not start the question of union, he said, but I inherited it from my father who, as you all know, was an acute philosopher and a competent theologian. He, with the support of the Patriarch Euthymius, set the negotiations going and he would have brought them to a conclusion had he not been impeded. So it fell to me to complete the project and with your approval the Patriarch and I embarked on it. Time is going by and we have achieved nothing worth while, and if that goes on what will be the fate of our race? a persecution worse than that of Diocletian and Maximinian. So we must give up discussions and find some other means towards union. I will remind you of one thing. Fra Giovanni declared openly in the Council that the Latins confess one cause, the Father with the Son, of the Holy Spirit and anathematised those who assert two, and he has given me this, at my request, in writing.²

So the Greeks fell to discussion till someone produced a passage from St Maximus' Letter to Marinus:

The royal city has received the synodical letters of the present pope, not on as many points as you have written but on two only, the one about the doctrine of

¹ The Greek relief is reflected by a phrase of Traversari's in a letter of 18 March: 'Yesterday great hope dawned of achieving union' (Trav. no. 493).

² The speech that Syropoulos (ix, 7, pp. 258-9) attributes to the Emperor on some unspecified date towards the end of May is to be referred to this occasion.

the Holy Trinity where, so they say, he asserts that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, the other about the divine Incarnation, viz. that he wrote: 'The Lord as man is free from original sin.' And as regards the first they brought forward consonant passages of the Roman Fathers and, besides, even of Cyril of Alexandria from the holy treatise he elaborated on St John the Evangelist, from which they showed that they were not making the Son the cause of the Spirit, for they know one cause of Son and Spirit, the Father, of the one by generation, of the other by Procession, but so as to show that he comes forth through him and in that way to establish the conjunction and the immutability of substance.¹

All else was put aside to concentrate on these words of Maximus, and it was universally agreed that if the Latins would subscribe to them the Greeks would unite with them without more ado. The Emperor was to ask the Pope if the Latins accepted the letter and faith of Maximus, which he did. But the Pope insisted that there should be another session to allow of a reply to Eugenicus' exposition of the Greek arguments. So on the usual day, Saturday, 21 March, there was another general session, the seventh, but Ephesus and Antony of Heraclea were not present.

When the session opened the Emperor informed the Fathers that the Greeks were present to satisfy the Latin request, but they were not prepared to speak, and so Ephesus had not come. Syropoulos gives as the reason for Mark's absence, that Eugenicus himself wanted to put an end to useless, interminable discussion² and that the Emperor knowing the attitude that Mark would take to the Latin arguments kept him away so as to be able to try less direct means of conciliating the Latin and the Greek positions.³ The Metropolitan of Ephesus himself in his *Account of His Action* at the Council states that the reason was ill health.⁴ So in the absence of his chief opponent and also of Antony of Heraclea Montenero started his discourse. He regretted, he said, that Eugenicus would not hear the confutation of his arguments: however, he proposed to treat the subject under four heads—the Scriptures, Latin doctors held in respect by the early Councils, Greek doctors of the greatest repute, reply to the Greek objections.

The Scriptures call the Spirit the Spirit of the Son.⁵ That usage

¹ P.G. 91, 133D-136A.

² Syr. viii, 2, p. 218.

³ *Ibid.* viii, 4, p. 220.

⁴ Petit, *Docs.* p. 446 (308).

⁵ Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 9; Acts xvi. 7.

implies a relation or respect of the Spirit to the Son—not merely to his manhood, but to the Person—which is either of origin or of dominance. But in the Blessed Trinity no Person is the servant of or is owned by another, so it must be of a relation of origin.

Again St John records Our Lord's words: '...the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name';¹ 'But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father'.² No one is sent except as by a master, a counsellor or a source. But of these three only the last can apply in the Blessed Trinity, so that this temporal mission of the Holy Spirit necessarily presupposes his origin from that Person by whom he is sent, as all the Fathers agree.

By the gift of the Spirit we are made conformable to the image of the Son and receive the adoption of sons. But that by which a thing is conformed to another must have being from that to which it is conformed—somewhat in the same way as in physical generation the seed is determined by the producer to produce what is like the producer. But we are made conformable to the Son by the Spirit and so the Spirit must have received from the Son. This is a favourite argument of the Greek doctors, especially Athanasius and Basil, who are fond of saying that as the Son is the image of the Father, so is the Spirit said to be the image of the Son.

'He shall glorify me, because he shall receive of mine',³ but if the Spirit receives from the Son, he must proceed from him. He cannot receive what he had not before, so he receives from eternity, that is he proceeds from the Son from eternity. Christ himself gives us the reason: 'All things whatsoever the Father hath, are mine.'⁴ So that whatsoever the Son has, he has received eternally from the Father, that is the divine nature and the productive power by which he produces the Spirit, which in no way militates with the sonship as the nature of the Father and of the Son is one and the same. So the first source of this procession is the Father, since the Son has that power not from himself but from the Father, and this the doctors, like St Augustine, express by saying that the Spirit proceeds principally from the Father in that the Father is the first principle and source of all divinity, a quality not possessed by the Son, yet as the

¹ John xiv. 26.

³ *Ibid.* xvi. 14.

² *Ibid.* xv. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* xvi. 15.

divine nature in both Father and Son is one and the same and equal in both, the Father is not a fuller and more perfect cause of the Spirit than the Son. These two are one and the same principle of the Spirit—these are not two principles or causes, even though St Basil says that the Son is second to the Father and the Spirit second to the Son.

In the New Testament the Son is said to operate through the Spirit and the Spirit through the Son. One, therefore, is giving operative power to the other, which in the divinity is nothing else than the divine essence. Now, no one at all ever suggests that the Son receives his essence from the Spirit, so it must be that the Spirit receives from the Son, which means that he proceeds from him. But because the Son receives from the Father that he is the principle of the Spirit, while the Father has that from no other source than himself, that is no reason for saying that the Son is not also the source of the Spirit. If a man moves a stone with a stick, both the stick and the man move the stone. The same reasoning is valid in things divine, but with greater force since everything there is substantial and common. So to accept that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son and to deny that he is from the Father and the Son is to be self-contradictory.

Montenero's second line of proof was the testimony of the ancient Latin Fathers. First Leo the Great whom both the fourth and the sixth Councils extolled. Writing to Turribius of Spain he spoke of the Spirit as 'other, he who proceeds from both', and in a sermon delivered on Whitsunday: 'Seeing then that the only-begotten Son is from the Father and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Father and Son, not like a creature which also belongs to Father and Son, but as one living with each and powerful and eternally subsisting from that which is Father and Son.'¹ This last passage is noteworthy because Leo gives a reason, namely, that the Spirit is not a creature, because he is from the Father and the Son as subsisting, that is from the divine nature common to both.

John's next document was a work of Pope Damasus which he persisted in producing though the Greeks averred that they accepted it. It was, he said, Damasus' profession of faith as contained in the original text: 'We believe...in the existence of the Spirit the

¹ *P.L.* 54, 402 A.

Paraclete, who is neither Father nor Son, but proceeds from Father and Son.' And so Montenero continued with passages from Hilary, the contemporary of Athanasius;¹ Jerome, who, he said, was the disciple of the Greek Gregory of Nazianzus; Ambrose, the contemporary of Basil the Great, who founding himself on the Gospel of St John asserts that "since all things whatsoever the Father hath are mine", what he (i.e. the Son) receives through the unity of nature, that through the same unity of nature the Spirit received from the Son himself² and declares the Son, like the Father, to be a source of life to the Spirit.³

Next came Ambrose's spiritual son Augustine, and from him Montenero read a multitude of texts⁴ all asserting plainly, on the basis of Scripture, that the Spirit proceeds from Father and Son. Here John was content to quote the words of his authority without adding any comment or argument. These were clear enough and abundant enough to impress by themselves.

After Augustine came Pope Hormisdas who reigned in the days of the Emperor Justin, when John, Patriarch of Constantinople, was trying to bring peace again to the Church after the aberrations of his predecessor Acacius. Both Emperor and Patriarch accepted the profession of faith of Hormisdas to make it the norm of orthodoxy. Yet that profession contained the following:

Great and incomprehensible is the mystery of the Trinity. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, an undivided Trinity, and yet it is known because it is characteristic of the Father to generate the Son, characteristic of the Son of God to be born of the Father equal to the Father, characteristic of the Spirit to proceed from Father and Son in one substance of deity.⁵

When Maurice was Emperor after the fifth Council, Gregory the Great flourished, who in many writings affirmed the same truth.⁶ Boethius the philosopher says the same⁷ and Isidore of Spain, who wrote many works on the Holy Scripture, declares no less.⁸ In

¹ *P.L.* 10, 250C-251B; 69A-70A; 471A-472A.

² *P.L.* 16, 771BC.

³ *Ibid.* 739AB.

⁴ E.g. *Ps.-Augustine* (=Fulgentius), *P.L.* 65, 674A; 42, 770-1; 35, 1888-9; 42, 908, 921, 1092.

⁵ *P.L.* 63, 514B.

⁶ E.g. *P.L.* 75, 87B-88A; 66, 204B; 75, 541B, 598B; 76, 533D-534A.

⁷ *P.L.* 64, 1249C, 1254C.

⁸ *P.L.* 82, 268C.

Spain, too, not long after the time of Isidore, the Arian king Richard was converted with his subjects, in consequence of which many local councils had to be held to establish orthodoxy. The first of them indeed took place in the time of Leo I and with his approval sent the rule of faith drawn up there by the bishops of Tarragona, Cartagena, Lusitania and Baetica (Andalusia) to Balconius, bishop of Galicia.¹ It reads like this:

We believe in God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, maker of things visible and invisible, by whom all things in heaven and on earth were made, that this one God and this one Trinity is of the divine substance: that however the Father is not the Son but has the Son who is not the Father; the Son is not the Father but is the Son of God from the nature of the Father; that there is the Spirit the Paraclete who is neither Father nor Son, but proceeds from Father and Son.

That doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit was repeated in many other councils of Toledo after the first—the third, the fourth, the sixth, the twelfth and the thirteenth.² All these took place before the sixth general Council³ and were held in high esteem. Now if the Church reverences the authority of individual Fathers, how much more that of such synods, convened and confirmed by the authority of the Holy See, wherein doctors of great name played their part.

There then, said Montenero, are some of the authorities I could quote of Saints and teachers who lived before the seventh Council, teachers recognized as such both in West and East. Next I must marshal the array of venerable Greek teachers who declare this truth like flashes of lightning.

But there was no time for him to begin the third part of his discourse because the day was already drawing on towards evening, so the session closed and he finished his exposition on 24 March.

On the following Tuesday, then, in the eighth session, the Dominican Provincial went through a long *catena* of passages from the eastern Fathers, and because these were more likely to impress the Greeks than his western authorities he let few pass without adding

¹ The council was held in A.D. 400 and the profession of faith was sent by Leo in 447.

² I Toledo (A.D. 400), Mansi, 3, 1003 A; III (A.D. 589), *ibid.* 9, 978 D, 985 A; IV (A.D. 633), *ibid.* 10, 615 D; VI (A.D. 638), *ibid.* 10, 662 A, 661 E; XII (A.D. 681), *ibid.* 11, 1027 D; XIII (A.D. 683), *ibid.* 11, 1062 D.

³ More strictly the seventh.

his commentary and drawing his conclusions. As he ended his quotation and explanation the Greek text was on each occasion read out by Ambrogio Traversari. He began with two texts from St Basil, other than those already quoted in the earlier sessions, where Basil calls the Spirit the image and the word of the Son as the Son is image and word of the Father,¹ which, he argued, implies a like relationship of nature and existence of the Spirit to the Son as the Son bears to the Father, and this with no suggestion of ambiguity. Epiphanius, too, had been twice quoted earlier, so now Montenero brought forward two other passages. In the one Epiphanius described the Spirit as 'breathed from Father and Son',² which, said Montenero, was our way of expressing the act of Procession: the other declared: 'If however Christ is believed to be from the Father, God from God; and the Spirit from Christ, in other words from both, as Christ said: "Who proceeds from the Father" and this "He will receive from mine"'.³ Epiphanius, said John, founds his statement on the Scripture and on that basis asserts—and without any hesitation, so Basil too cannot have doubted—that the Spirit is God from God and from both.

Didymus, the master of St Jerome who translated his book on the Holy Spirit into Latin, comes next in order of time. 'The Spirit', he wrote, 'when the Son speaks cannot hear what he does not know, since this is what is uttered by the Son',⁴ where (concluded Montenero) the knowledge he received must be the divine essence, which in God is one and the same. A little later in the same work are these words: 'The Son is nothing else than what is given him by the Father, and the Holy Spirit is no other substance than what is given by the Son'⁵—a clear and unconditional declaration, and as Basil must have seen this work he cannot be thought to have expressed any doubt on this truth.

From Athanasius the Lombard Provincial quoted many passages,⁶ mostly comments on St John's 'He will receive from mine', designed in his arguments to prove that the Spirit receives from the Son as the

¹ Ps.-Basil, *P.G.* 29, 724 C.

² *P.G.* 43, 153 B.

⁴ *P.G.* 39, 1064 C.

⁶ E.g. *P.G.* 26, 376 A, 118 AB, 625 AB, 640 A, 580 B.

³ *P.G.* 42, 493 B.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1065 D–1066 A.

Son from the Father, which in respect of the divine means an order of origin that, as the Son receives the divine nature from the Father, so the Spirit receives the divine nature from the Son. St Basil, as Montenero notes, in his books against Eunomius follows the same line of argument as Athanasius, establishing first a relation between Son and Father and then a parallel one between Spirit and Son. So Athanasius wrote: 'For since the Son is one, the living Word, so the perfect, full, sanctifying and illuminating life should be one which is the operation and gift, which too is said to proceed from the Father, since he shines forth and is sent and given by the Word Whom we confess to be from the Father'¹; and elsewhere he compares the Son as the source of the Spirit to a river flowing from its source. In the *Dialogue against Arius* that took place at Nicæa Athanasius objected: 'If the Spirit is not from the substance of the Father and the Son, why did the Son name him in the tradition of sanctification (i.e. the institution of baptism) where he says: "Going therefore teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"?'² Here (proceeded Montenero) he clearly states that the Spirit is of the substance of the Son. Eugenicius explained it thus—of the substance in so far as it is common to both, thereby making the order between them merely one of words. But that explanation cannot stand, for in the same way we could say that the Father is of the substance of the Holy Spirit, or the Son of the substance of the Spirit, phrases which no theologian can view without horror. The preposition 'from' implies origin and consubstantiality, and to say that the Spirit is from the substance of the Son is tantamount to saying that he is from the Son substantially or that the Son produces him.

Cyril of Alexandria had been used at length by Eugenicius. Montenero quoted him even more, with a little introduction to prove that the Nestorians were heretical not only with regard to the Incarnation but also (*pace* Eugenicius) as regards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, for, denying the divinity of Christ, they had to assert that he performed his miracles not in his own power, but by the power of another, in other words that the Spirit did not receive his essence from the Son, otherwise Christ, operating by the Spirit, would have

¹ P.G. 26, 580 A.

² Ps. Athanasius, P.G. 28, 489 B.

been exercising his own power. That was the theme of much of Cyril's letter *Salvatore nostro* which was approved by the Council of Chalcedon.¹ The phrase 'He is not alien to the Son in respect of the one essence'² of his letter to John of Antioch is explained by Cyril himself, and not in the way in which the Metropolitan of Ephesus explained it as simply being of the same nature. For he calls him the Spirit of truth, which implies an origin, for Christ is the Truth; and goes on to say 'and flows forth from him as from God and Father'.³ This is clear enough, but just in case some should say that 'to flow forth' is not the same as 'proceed', listen to Cyril: 'He is consubstantial and flows forth indeed, that is proceeds as from a source from God and Father'⁴ where the Doctor of Chalcedon equates those two words. That Council approved Cyril's letter and approved also that 'pillar of the faith' Leo who wrote: 'One Who generated, another Who was generated, another Who proceeded from both',⁵ so that two Councils can be said to hold that the Spirit has his essence from the Son and proceeds from both.

In his book addressed to Hermias Cyril declares that the Son is in everything equal to the Father except in generation, and so therefore in spiration, which is not generation. He goes on to say: 'You shall call him the Holy Spirit Who naturally flows forth from the Father through the Son.'⁶ But Procession through the Son implies Procession from the Son, for these two phrases though different as regards the formula of words yet mean the same thing. Theologians, however, are chary of using 'through' for fear of seeming to give grounds for the Arian explanation of the Son's being only a kind of conduit of the Spirit. Again his word 'naturally' indicates a flowing forth according to a likeness of nature, that is a receiving of a nature. So it follows that when Cyril used the words 'flow forth' he meant an eternal Procession by which the Spirit receives his nature from Father and Son.

Several more passages were quoted by Montenero out of the many that he said he could have produced had there been time, where Cyril speaks of the Son as 'producing from his plenitude his own,

¹ P.G. 77, 105C f.

³ *Ibid.* 173C.

⁵ P.L. 54, 680C, 681A.

² *Ibid.* 181A.

⁴ *Ibid.* 316D.

⁶ P.G. 75, 721D.

immovably residing, Spirit'¹; of the Spirit as teaching that he is 'not alien in substance from the Son, but in him and from him there comes a certain natural operation able to fill everything that he wishes'²; 'We must confess him to be from the substance of the Son and possessing all the power and operation of God himself just as steam rises from water'³; he calls him the 'Spirit of life', which even more than 'the Spirit of truth' indicates a relationship of origin⁴; he declares that 'He comes forth from Father and Son'⁵; that we must 'confess that he is from the substance of the Son. For as existing naturally from him and from him being sent to creatures he effects a renovation, he who is the completion of the Blessed Trinity.'⁶

With these quotations Montenero finished his exposition of his third part and then went on to criticise the arguments of Eugenicus. Mark had quoted Gregory of Nazianzus to show that the Spirit is from the Father only. Gregory certainly said that he proceeded from the Father, but that does not exclude the Son, just as Christ said; 'No one knows the Father but the Son',⁷ though obviously the Spirit knows him too. It is Eugenicus who always adds to 'proceeds from the Father' the word 'alone', a thing no doctor of the Church whether Greek or Latin did or dared to do, for they knew that everything is common to the three Persons except solely when relationship prevents it. The only thing in the strictest sense proper to the Father is the generative power; just as the only thing in the strictest sense proper to the Son is to be generated. The spirative power of producing the Spirit is proper only in a wider sense and then to both, though the resultant Procession is in the strictest sense proper to the Spirit. The Son, however, has that spirative power (which does not militate with his property of sonship) from the Father, so that the Father is the first source and principle. This explanation solves not only Eugenicus' difficulty from Gregory but also invalidates the conclusions he drew from the words of Denis the Areopagite and of Athanasius, who call the Father the 'sole source of divinity'. On the other hand, his argument from the words of Basil who says: 'I understand the special relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father

¹ P.G. 75, 844A.

² *Ibid.* 581C.

³ *Ibid.* 573C.

⁴ *Ibid.* 600D.

⁵ *Ibid.* 585A.

⁶ *Ibid.* 608AB.

⁷ Matt. xi. 27.

when it is said: "He proceeds from the Father", and the special relationship of the Spirit to the Son when I hear: "Now if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his"¹ needs no answer: it clearly indicates origin and proves my thesis, not Mark's.

There remain only the question of Charisius and the correspondence of Cyril with Theodoretus. Mark's statements on the former I have already refuted by explaining the scope of Cyril's letter *Salvatore nostro*. Cyril himself rejects the conclusions Mark would draw from the second, for Eugenicus implied that Cyril had made a retraction of what he had upheld at Ephesus, whereas that Saint had warned his friends 'even if a signed letter should be produced that we have done penance for what we did at Ephesus, let this be examined—for we are by God's grace in our right minds and not out of our minds'²—that is, should he do such a thing, he would be mad: Theodoretus on the other hand was condemned by the fifth Council.

The Metropolitan of Ephesus has produced no other arguments, so I have nothing more to answer. The sacred Scriptures, then, the testimony of Greek Fathers and Latins alike, show that the Spirit is from Father and Son and that these are one principle, and that it cannot be denied that they are one principle unless a distinction is made after the fashion of the Arians between the natures of Father and Son. Their witness proves it clear as daylight. So I have performed my office. If anyone of you remains in doubt, I offer myself and these Fathers here as ready to defend the truth we profess.

When Giovanni da Montenero had finished speaking there was a brief silence and then Isidore of Russia made a short comment from the Greek side. After listening for more than eight hours to a series of quotations and explanations, it was impossible, he said, to remember them all. He asked therefore that a written text of the orator's arguments should be given to the Greeks, especially of his passages from the Latin Fathers, so that they might check them with what books they had and read those books to get a better understanding of them. Cardinal Cesarini replied, regretting the absence of Mark of Ephesus and agreeing to exhibit the Latin codices (of which he would have copies made at least of the relevant parts) in

¹ Cf. P.G. 31, 609AB.

² P.G. 77, 201A.

the sacristy of St Francis's on the following Thursday, where the notaries of both sides could compare their transcripts of the speeches. He urged the Greeks, however, not to let the lack of Latin texts make them put off considering their answer.

That was the end of the public discussions on the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Even in this brief description of the debates one noteworthy difference can be remarked between the Greek and the Latin methods as illustrated by Mark Eugenicus and Montenero. Though Mark showed that he understood and was at home in the philosophical explanation of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, he did not bring that into his arguments except when pressed by his opponent. When he was putting forward his own proofs he was content to quote his scriptural or patristic authority and add comments which amounted to little more than a repetition of the words of his texts. The Latin orator on the other hand almost invariably argued from the passages he quoted to the conclusion that he claimed must follow from an acceptance of the truth enunciated in the quotation. That is why, in writing this synopsis of the discussions, it was easier to be brief without at the same time being guilty of any rank injustice in the case of Mark's contribution to the debate than it was in the case of Montenero's. But the resultant disproportion of space allotted to each (if really there be such) fairly reflects their relative argumentation, if not the length of their arguments. Besides, when Montenero entered into metaphysical reasoning, there was the reader also to be considered.

Five sessions out of the eight were, as Eugenicus said, devoted to disputes over two or three texts. There were three questions that arose from them, the authenticity of the dubitative phrases in St Basil's *Adversus Eunomium*, the understanding of 'Is' in the text of St Epiphanius and the grammatical case of the word 'Spirit' in the passage from St Basil's *Homily on the Holy Spirit*. The Metropolitan of Ephesus was wrong on each of these points. Bessarion wrote at some length on the first of these in his letter to Alex. Lascaris, where he says that there were six codices in all of the *Adversus Eunomium* in Florence, five of which were against and one for Mark's contention, and that he took the opportunity of his return to Constantinople immediately after the Council to check by manuscripts there. He

examined as far as he could all the manuscripts of all the Constantinopolitan monasteries and found that the more ancient codices had the text of the Latins and the more recent ones that upheld by Eugenius, and what is more significant, that two codices, both ancient, one of them dated some 350 years before, had the Latin 'additions', in the one case badly erased so that they were still visible, in the other inked over.¹ On the other two points Montenero in the sessions themselves conclusively showed that Mark was wrong. There is no question but that 'Is' must be understood in the passage of Epiphanius, though whether it stated 'exists' so strongly as Montenero affirmed may be doubted; but that did not affect his argument. Then the word 'Spirit' of the other passage from St Basil must assuredly be read as subjective: even Mark after a time ceased to defend the opposite, though on that as on the other points he would not admit himself defeated.

Bessarion's summing up of the Greek defence, though sweeping, is not really unjust.

They brought forward passages not only of the western teachers but quite as many of the eastern...to which we had no reply whatsoever to make except that they were corrupt and corrupted by the Latins. They brought forward our own Epiphanius as in many places clearly declaring that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son: corrupt we said they were. They read the text mentioned earlier in Basil's work against Eunomius: in our judgement it was interpolated. They adduced the words of the Saints of the West: the whole of our answer was 'corrupt' and nothing more. We consider and consult among ourselves for several days as to what answer we shall make, but find no other defence at all but that....

We had no books that would prove the Latin texts to be corrupt, no Saints who spoke differently from those put forward. 'We found ourselves deprived of a just case in every direction. So we kept silent.'²

Bessarion, it is true, had a mind open to persuasion more than

¹ P.G. 161, 324-8. Bessarion goes on to assert that the phrases are so typically Greek that a Latin could hardly have written them and inserted them so neatly, and to quote earlier witnesses to the text as it was read in previous centuries. Cf. also L. Lohn, 'Doctrina S. Basilii M. de processionibus divinarum Personarum', in *Greg. x* (1929), pp. 329-64, 461-500, especially pp. 461-84, who argues on palaeological, historical and theological lines for the authenticity of the Latin text.

² P.G. 161, 358 CD.

Eugenicus and perhaps more than the rest of the Greek prelates. For after reading the treatment of St Thomas Aquinas on the identity of essence and operation in God (much of St Thomas had been translated into Greek in the previous century) and contrasting it with the hesychastic doctrine approved in his own Church, wherein the divine essence was held as really distinct from innumerable divine operations, he had been moved to wonder whether the Greek Church, departing in this respect from the tradition of its Fathers, was not in error; and, if it was wrong on one point of dogma, it was legitimate to doubt whether it was the Church to which Christ had promised his continual guiding presence.¹

George Scholarius, however, though he was by no means unacquainted with the philosophy of the Latin Church,² had not, as far as is known, been assailed by any previous doubts about the orthodoxy of his own Church, yet he shared Bessarion's views as to the solidity of the Latin presentation of their doctrine and the complete inadequacy of the Greek reply.

But you all see that the Latins have contended brilliantly for their faith so that no one with a sense of justice has any reason to reproach them... They brought forward from the common Fathers of the Church the six most renowned in dignity, wisdom and the struggles for the faith (I pass over the others) as witnesses of their doctrine, each of whom must be judged the equal of all the men in the world, and those not just incidentally and casually but as if they were for us judges of the present dispute. They argued so precisely and clearly, expressing the question in exact words and as befits teachers, appending also the reasons and the texts of Holy Scripture from which they had drawn that doctrine as an inevitable conclusion, just as they culled others from other texts... Besides, they put forward others from the common Fathers, those of the East I mean, adorned with an equal wisdom and honour who said, they too, just the same as those others, though not so plainly, if their words are examined in a spirit of truth and wisdom, and they offered in proof of their doctrine no merely specious reasoning, no coercion, but everything straightforwardly and as flowing from the divine Scriptures and the Fathers. On our part nothing was said to

¹ E. Candal, 'Andreae Rhodiensis, O.P. inedita ad Bessarionem epistula', in *O.C.P.* IV (1938), pp. 329-71. On pp. 346, 348 Andrew repeats the section of Bessarion's letter which was written, it would seem, some little time before his arrival in Italy.

² 'Discours justificatif de Scholarios accusé de latinisme', in *Schol.* I, pp. 376-89. Vols. v and vi of the *Oeuvres complètes* contain nothing but Scholarius' translations of works of St Thomas.

them to which they did not manifestly reply with wisdom, magnanimity and truth, and we have no Saint at all who clearly contradicts them. If indeed there were such, he should in some fashion or manner be made to harmonise with the majority much more justly than that the multitude of the Teachers should be forced into his mould. . . . Nor shall we say that the Doctors are mutually contradictory, for this is to introduce complete confusion and to deny the whole of the faith. Who is so simple-minded as to believe that the Latins wish to destroy the faith and to adulterate the trinitarian theology of all the Doctors? Surely a man who affirms this deserves nothing but ridicule, for no accusation would be disproved by more numerous, more weighty and more truthful arguments than this one.¹

Mark Eugenicus, however, remained unmoved.

The words of the western Fathers and Doctors, which attribute to the Son the cause of the Spirit, I never recognise (for they have never been translated into our tongue nor approved by the Oecumenical Councils) nor do I admit them, presuming that they are corrupt and interpolated. . . .²

¹ Speech, 'On the Need of Aiding Constantinople', addressed to the Greeks by Scholarius in Florence, in Schol. 1, pp. 297-8, 299.

² Mark's *Confessio fidei*, in Petit, *Docs.* p. 438 (300).

UNION: THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

ISIDORE of Kiev, in a speech he wrote some time between 17 April and 10 June, after recapitulating briefly the arguments of both sides on the question of *Dia* and *Ek* and adverting to the frequent Latin use of syllogisms, continues: 'I say with regret that they have rather deepened the schism and have made the disagreement greater and stronger.'¹ It is a sad judgement on all the fervent discourses of Montenero and an insight into the Greek mind. There is no doubt that the Greeks distrusted reasoning of that kind on theological questions. Scholarius addressing the oriental Synod in Florence noted their fear in these words: 'I know that you, O Greeks, in matters of this sort have no confidence in proofs from reason but consider them suspect and misleading; much more then will you both keep clear of syllogising *per impossibile* and be on your guard against others who do that.'² Even Bessarion wrote: 'The words (of the Fathers) by themselves alone are enough to solve every doubt and to persuade every soul. It was not syllogisms or probabilities or arguments that convinced me, but the bare words (of the Fathers).'³ And Syropoulus records the impression made on one of the Georgian envoys when Montenero appealed to the authority of Aristotle: 'He said: "What about Aristotle, Aristotle? A fig for your fine Aristotle." And when I by word and gesture asked: "What is fine?", the Georgian replied: "St Peter, St Paul, St Basil, Gregory the Theologian; a fig for your Aristotle, Aristotle."'⁴

The Georgian put into words what probably most of the Greek prelates were thinking. Their approach to theology, and particularly the theology of the Blessed Trinity, was on purely patristic lines and

¹ Cod. Vat. Gr. 706, 121-221.

² *Means to obtain Religious Peace*, Schol. 1, p. 355.

³ *Letter to Alex. Lascaris*, P.G. 161, 360B.

⁴ Syr. x, 12, p. 270.

that in the simplest way. It is noteworthy that even Mark Eugenicus was content for the most part with quoting the words of his authorities, adding only the barest commentary, and he was one of the best theologians among them. The rest of them, with very few exceptions, had little theological formation apart from the general tradition of the faith which they had imbibed from childhood. John VIII twice excused the want of precision of the Greek prelates on the ground of their lack of learning.¹ One of the things he threw in the face of Antony of Heraclea when he got angry with him was his ignorance: 'Do you not know your own limitations and the extent of your knowledge? But because you are uneducated and a rustic you put yourself forward to say such things. . . . Because you are ignorant and uneducated and vulgar and a rustic and don't know or realise what you are saying.'² A little later Heraclea, urged to give his opinion in writing, replied not without irony: 'Even if I am ignorant I will obey your injunction, and I shall not deem it a catastrophe if I make solecisms or barbarisms.'³ Scholarius, writing in 1451, said much the same about the Patriarch's scholarship: '...as if *diá* meant, as the late futile Patriarch said, "cause", and having said it without further ado he died. For he had no right to go on living after philosophising so brilliantly about the preposition and cause, and arrogating to himself pre-eminence in three sciences, namely grammar, philosophy and this quintessence of theology, about which he never hoped even in his dreams to have the courage to make any pronouncement.'⁴ Indeed, in his address of April 1439 to the Greek synod in Florence Scholarius went so far as to taunt his hearers with their ignorance, calling them 'men of no great capacity to vie with the Latins in theology and philosophy, owing to the sad state of our affairs, because of which those in the highest positions attain to just so much of theology and philosophy as merely not to seem utterly uneducated, since institutions of learning are lacking, ambition for study and letters is quenched and everything is done under the pressure of need and necessity'.⁵ Syropoulus once replied to the Patriarch with words no less scathing:

¹ A.G. pp. 418, 421.

² Syr. VIII, 5, p. 224.

³ *Ibid.* VIII, 15, p. 239.

⁴ *Letter to Notaras*, Schol. III, p. 142.

⁵ *On the Need of Aiding Constantinople*, Schol. I, p. 299.

I know the prelates and, with one or two exceptions, the rest—what are they worth? Or do you bid me follow the one who said: 'I affirm the *Filioque* provided that the Holy Trinity be preserved unharmed', and, being interrogated three times, three times he repeated the same unchanged and made everybody laugh, having fallen into opposition with his chorus-leader. No, I said, it is not for me to follow prelates whose theology is of that standard.¹

Gregory, the procurator of Alexandria, in a letter to Philotheus the Patriarch, just after the end of the sessions wrote: 'But though we all agreed, as has been said, still two prelates dissented from us, the Metropolitan of Ephesus, assuredly a man of learning, and the Bishop of Stauropolis, a man entirely devoid of education to whom nothing is certain.'²

These testimonies (and more could be adduced) are not exaggerated calumnies of the Latins, but the judgements of Greeks about Greeks, and are therefore in their general sense true. Why else were Mark Eugenicus, Bessarion and Dionysius consecrated on the eve of the Council 'to be present as champions in the Synod',³ if not because the rest of the hierarchy was not conspicuous for learning? And why did the Emperor think it necessary to bring the aged, neo-pagan Gemistus, the probably religiously sceptical Amiroutzes⁴ and the judge Scholarius as advisers except because they had a reputation as philosophers which the prelates lacked? The six orators of the Greeks at the sessions included none of the older prelates but three of those lately consecrated, Eugenicus, Bessarion and Isidore, with two Staurophoroi and the lay philosopher Gemistus. So Montenero's display of metaphysical niceties, his disquisitions on *substantia prima* and *secunda* and the philosophy of generation and the rest, far from clarifying the thoughts of most of his Greek hearers (and perhaps of not a few of the Latins too), would have served only to mystify them the more and to make them cleave the more tenaciously to their sheet-anchor in trinitarian theology—'from the Father alone'—feeling that Latin thought on the Blessed Trinity was far removed from the simple tradition they had inherited.

¹ Syr. IX, 14, p. 274.

² G. Hofmann, *Orientalium documenta minora* (Roma, 1953), p. 44.

³ Syr. III, 15, p. 59.

⁴ Cf. N. B. Tomadakis: 'Ετοῦρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης;', in E.E.B.S. XVIII (1948), pp. 140-1.

But the Lombard Provincial had done two things that had impressed them. He had roundly affirmed western belief in there being but one cause of the Holy Spirit and, particularly in the last two sessions, he had produced an array of Fathers both Latin and Greek to support his assertions. There he was approaching the ground that the orientals were more familiar with. They too believed that there was but one cause of the Holy Spirit. They too based their belief on the authority of the Fathers. The works of Montenero's Latin Fathers, it is true, they did not know, but names like Leo, Hilary, Jerome, Damasus, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory Dialogus could not be disregarded. The Greek Fathers were their own spiritual ancestors and even if they were familiar more with *catenae* of passages as found in the writings of Cabasilas and such-like authors rather than with the originals, still they could not reject John's quotations, because they had all been recited in the original Greek and chapter and verse specified. It was probably a shock to many of them that so large a number of the Greek Fathers spoke of 'proceeding' or 'issuing from both', of 'proceeding through the Son' or even of 'being from the Son', and that no Father was produced even by Eugenius who had bluntly said 'from the Father only'. But they were as yet by no means convinced. The Scriptures declared 'proceedeth from the Father' and said nothing about the Son. John's many Greek authorities had made them feel uneasy, but as yet had not persuaded them to abandon what they thought was the tradition of their Church, and they probably experienced the feeling that simpler folk commonly have when faced with a display of erudition, that did they but know a little more about the subject they could readily find an answer.

All the same a seed had been sown that could bear fruit. The Saints of both Churches had written at length on the doctrine of the Trinity. The Latin Saints, it is true, used a phraseology that was suspect to the Greek mind, for they wrote 'From the Father and the Son'. The Greek Saints were less emphatic, but they spoke of the Spirit being produced 'from both' and 'through the Son'. No Saint could err in matters of faith, for they all—this was taken almost as a definition of sanctity—were inspired by the one Holy Spirit. So what they said about the Holy Spirit, no matter how different it might seem to be, could not in actual fact be different. The divergence

must be only apparent: it could not be real. If, therefore, the Latin Saints really did say 'From the Son' and the Greek Saints 'Through the Son', then these two expressions must mean the same thing and no obstacle could remain to prevent union between East and West at least as regards the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Amiroutzes in a written judgement he presented at a Greek meeting early in June sums up this attitude of mind:

On the basis of these two suppositions I do not see how the Holy Spirit is not from the Father and the Son. For if we must submit to the Saints in everything they say and they really declare that the Holy Spirit is and proceeds from the Father and the Son and that the Father and the Son are the one cause of the Holy Spirit, if the Holy Spirit is not from the Father and the Son, it would be a miracle. For I consider that this necessarily follows. Therefore....¹

It is important to appreciate this conviction of the Greeks, that the Saints could not err in the faith and therefore must agree, for it is both the explanation and the justification of their accepting union (which they did accept) without being open to a true charge of insincerity and of inexcusable moral cowardice. It was for them an axiom and it was accepted by all without exception. It was the reason why they so often put forward the words of St Maximus to the Latins as a basis of agreement. Bessarion delivered a long speech before the Greek synod exclusively to prove the harmony of the Saints.² Scholarius wrote two long treatises with the same object.³ Isidore without meeting with any opposition propounded it at a public meeting as a self-evident truth.⁴ Dorotheus of Mitylene proclaimed the same.⁵ Mark Eugenius accepted the principle as much as any one else.⁶ That is why he persisted in asserting that the quotations advanced from the Latin Fathers were falsified⁷ (since the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, the Saints could not have said that He does, was his reasoning⁸), in spite of their number and in spite of the fact that they are found so widespread in Latin writings and so interwoven into the treatises that to exclude them would leave no more than blank pages (as Bessarion rejoined):⁹ at the least

¹ G. Hofmann, *op. cit.* pp. 38-9.

³ Cf. below, p. 258.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 402, 405.

⁷ *Relatio de rebus a se gestis, ibid.* p. 445.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 448.

² Cf. below, pp. 240-1.

⁴ *A.G.* pp. 400, 426.

⁶ *Confessio fidei*, Petit, *Docs.* p. 438

⁹ *A.G.* p. 401.

they were doubtfully authentic, since the Greeks lacked the means of checking them, so only the Greek Fathers should be followed.¹ Syropoulos was of the same opinion and, if we are to accept all that he retails in his *Memoirs*, he dilated on this theme even more than Mark of Ephesus.²

But it was some time before this promising line of agreement was seriously taken up and pursued. The Greek mind, immediately on the end of the public sessions, was dominated by a weariness of endless discourses and a determination to endure no more of them. There they were always out-talked and out-argued by the Latins. Half of what was said they did not understand. However much Eugenius might strive to find answers, they felt that they had in fact no adequate reply, for the Latins could always produce new arguments and new texts. So either some other way for union must be found or else they finished with it all and went home. And as neither side had any expedient to suggest, an atmosphere of despair reigned for two months. It is true that half-way through that period both Bessarion and Scholarius delivered long orations precisely on this point of the concord of the Saints, but they do not seem to have made any deep impression, though they must have had some effect. It was not till nearly the end of May, more than two months after the last public session, that the possibilities for union latent in the agreement of the Saints were thoroughly investigated. Bessarion and a few others then exploited them to the full. The rest, unable to controvert the facts exposed and unwilling to deny a principle they deemed true, were led to admit the equivalence of 'Through the Son' and 'From the Son', and to subscribe to a profession of faith that embodied that acceptance. So the main obstacle that divided the Churches was overcome.

That in brief is how things went with the Greeks during the months of April and May. How the Latins occupied their time in that same period is not known for lack of documents, but their way of guiding the Greeks towards dogmatic agreement was to present them for acceptance and discussion with successive draft statements on the

¹ *Confessio fidei*, Petit, *Docs.* pp. 438, 448; Syr. VIII, 2, p. 218.

² Syr. IX, 3, pp. 252-3; IX, 14, p. 273. The words he ascribed to himself on p. 253 are an echo of what Eugenius wrote in his *Professio fidei* (Petit, *Docs.* p. 438) including the reference to the Latin production of the Acts of the seventh Council, cf. above p. 148.

various points of difference and these were finally combined to form the doctrinal part of the decree of union.¹ These statements are preserved for posterity in the *Latin Acts* (Syropoulos also records the first of them) and the same source indicates clearly enough that they were part of a method.¹ On the Greek side the authorities are the *Description* that follows the protocol of the public sessions in the *Greek Acts*² and the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos.³ Of these the former consists of records of day-to-day events in chronological order, recounted briefly and in proportion to their actual importance. The writer was increasingly in favour of union, a fact which of course is discernible in this diary-account, but which never makes him write as an advocate or propagandist of union for he states facts not arguments. The *Memoirs* of Syropoulos are very different. Though his narrative for the most part follows the chronology of the events, it makes no mention at all of many meetings and negotiations recorded by the *Acta graeca*, but dilates on isolated gatherings, encounters (frequently hostile) between individuals and certain themes, the chief one, of course, being the pressure exerted by the Emperor and the Latins on the Greeks and the insincerity and treachery of the 'Latinisers'.

To write the history of what really took place between April and July 1439, these two sources have to be appraised, that is, not only the bare events and the incidents described in them, but also the atmosphere, the background, the attitude and the motives of the actors. In this respect the *Description* offers very little material, whereas the *Memoirs* abound in it, and it is precisely in this regard that, in my judgement, they are most misleading, for one motive of Syropoulos in writing his *Memoirs* at all was unquestionably to provide an apologia for himself and others accused of betraying orthodoxy for their having signed the decree of union, and this led him, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless really, to select his material, to stress, perhaps to exaggerate, certainly to interpret anything that would fit in with his conviction about the iniquity of the union and to omit entirely or almost entirely what might have suggested sincerity in those who disagreed with Eugenius and himself, because he could

¹ Cf. also Syr. x, 1, pp. 277-8.

² A.G. pp. 399-445.

³ Syr. VIII, 3, p. 219-IX, 16, p. 276.

not believe that they could have acted from any other motive than expediency or personal advantage. In what follows I accept the chronological order of the *Description* in the *Greek Acts* and date the incidents given by Syropoulus accordingly, omitting nothing substantial of this latter writer in my narrative even though I think much of it is historically unreliable or at least suspect. Other people, however, may have other opinions and I leave it to them to make their own assessment.¹ Now to fill out this brief summary of the situation with some detail.

The meeting in the sacristy of St Francis's convoked by Cardinal Cesarini took place on the morning of Thursday, 26 March, when the texts of both Greek and Latin Fathers were produced for examination. The result was a feeling in the minds of many of the Greeks that here at last they had found a way towards agreement. The Patriarch therefore arranged with the Pope that, as Holy Week was at hand, there should be no more discussions till Low Sunday (12 April) when the Greeks would give their answer, and he announced this decision at a meeting in his palace on the Monday of Holy Week, 30 March. In the course of this gathering there was heated argument. Isidore and Bessarion had advocated union and so to return home, when Dositheus of Monembasia broke in: 'What do you mean with your going home at the expense of the Pope? Do you want us to betray our faith? I would rather die than latinise.' Isidore replied that, as both Greek and Latin Fathers affirmed the *Filioque*, union would mean nothing more than that the Greeks would be agreeing with their own Saints. Whereupon Antony of Heraclea remarked that the Fathers of the Councils and the Greek Saints together outnumbered the Latins, so the majority should be followed; and Ephesus spoke at length declaring that the Latins were not merely schismatics but heretics, though the Greek Church for motives of prudence refrained from calling them such, and that was the real reason of the schism. Bessarion heatedly replied: 'So the Saints who taught the *Filioque* are heretics! The western and the eastern Saints do not disagree, for the same Spirit spoke in all the Saints. Compare their works and they will be found harmonious.'

¹ Cf. Introduction, pp. viii-xiv.

'But', said Ephesus, 'who knows if the books have not been falsified by them?' 'If', replied Bessarion, 'we remove all such words from the books—whole homilies, commentaries on the Gospels, complete treatises on trinitarian theology—there will be nothing left but blank pages.' Dorotheus of Mitylene and Methodius of Lacedaemon (so says Syropoulus), even more incensed than Bessarion, angrily attacked Mark with opprobrious words and came very near to attacking him physically.¹

So the result of the Patriarch's efforts to create harmony was in fact to increase the disagreement, news of which reached the Emperor's ears. The next day he went in the rain to visit the Patriarch to try to restore concord. It was perhaps on this occasion that there occurred incidents related by Syropoulus,² though he allots them to three separate meetings all in the Emperor's presence, when Eugenicus, in obedience to a request from the monarch, expressed his doubts about the authenticity of the Latin quotations, which, he said, should be held as dubious for lack of the means of checking them, and proposed the letter of Maximus to Marinus as a kind of touch-stone to test them by: 'Those that agree with that letter I accept as genuine: those that disagree I reject.'

On the morning of the Wednesday of Holy Week there was another meeting in the apartments of the Patriarch and further altercation, in the course of which Mitylene said they could choose either to agree with the Saints and unite with the Latins, or to stigmatise the Saints and depart. He too proposed as a formula for agreement the words of Maximus: 'The Holy Spirit proceeding substantially from the Father through the ineffably generated Son.'³ Bessarion took him up and produced other Greek quotations to the same effect, especially from Tarasius of Constantinople. Whereupon the Patriarch bade them write out those passages for consideration at a meeting the next day when the Emperor would be present. But the Emperor could not attend on Holy Thursday and asked that the

¹ This is recounted by Syropoulus much later (ix, 5, p. 256) introduced by 'Again on another day': it probably refers to this same incident. If it be thought that this account is too detailed for a general history of the Council, it must be borne in mind that it is just such details that are quoted by controversialists and so a certain amount of this must be recorded.

² Syr. viii, 2, pp. 218-19.

³ P.G. 90, 972 C

meeting should be deferred till the Saturday. On the Saturday, however, the Patriarch was so ill that he was anointed and the discussion had perforce to be put off.

Meanwhile among the Latins the Holy Week services had been celebrated with great solemnity. On Palm Sunday the Sovereign Pontiff himself, whose train was carried by the Capitano di Giustizia of Florence, distributed the blessed twigs of olive to the cardinals and the personages of the city. On the last three days of the week his throne was set on the *loggia* of S. Maria Novella overlooking the piazza, from which he gave his benediction to the crowds assembled below. The ceremonies of Holy Saturday were performed by Cardinal Cesarini, but the Solemn Mass of Easter Sunday was sung in the church of S. Maria Novella by the Pope himself, in the presence of seven cardinals and many bishops, after which he gave his benediction again from the *loggia*.¹

As the interval requested by the Patriarch for consideration was coming to a close, the Latins began to urge the Greeks to formulate their reply to Montenero's exposition of doctrine and the general question of union. A meeting with the Emperor on the Friday of Easter Week produced only a message to the Pope affirming the reluctance of the Greeks to enter into further public discussions, which were endless; let the Latins find some other way towards union; if they could not, 'we have said as much as we can: what we hold is the tradition of our Fathers handed on by the seven Councils and that suffices for us'. Mark of Ephesus,² Isidore, Syropoulus and another of the Staurophoroi were appointed to convey this ultimatum. The next day they fulfilled their office and before Vespers recounted to the Emperor and the other prelates the answer they had received. Eugenius had begun by complaining that they had not fulfilled the obligations they had undertaken as regards the frequency of public sessions and then proposed three points for their consideration—did they accept the Latin proofs of the *Filioque* and if not wherein lay their doubts so that they could be settled; had they texts from Scripture affirming the opposite; or texts from Scripture showing that their

¹ Muratori, 1st ed. xix, p. 984, where it is stated also that the Patriarch was present—clearly a mistake.

² The *Acta graeca*, p. 404, say Bessarion.

view was the better founded and the more holy: he then suggested that each prelate of both Churches should affirm on oath his own opinion, so that the majority view should be accepted.

On hearing this reply the Greek assembly was at a loss, for they had no solid argument to put forward against any of the three points, and the suggestion of the oath (that, so says Syropoulus, was Mitylene's invention) they shrank from, for no other Council had ever had recourse to such an expedient. Mitylene tried to rally them, urging that the doctrines of both Churches were holy as coming from the Scriptures and the Saints, so they should hesitate no longer but enter into union: let that be our answer to His Holiness. There was silence till the Emperor said that their answer should be to take up one of the Pope's four points; whereupon the Protosyncellus remarked: 'What can we answer? We can say that some of their quotations are false and others corrupt; that we know nothing of some and reject others, which is unreasonable. What then is left? To reply with lies? That is unbecoming.' The upshot was that the next day, Sunday, the Emperor sent the same four delegates back to Eugenius to say that the four points he proposed amounted in reality to only one—to renew discussions, and that the Greeks would not do, for they were useless: the Greeks retained the Creed approved by the Councils; the Latins were not disposed to alter theirs; so what was the use of disputes and arguments? If the Pope could find a way towards union, well and good; otherwise they would go home in a spirit of friendship. The Pope's reply was to say that he would send some of his cardinals to talk with the Greeks.

In one of these private meetings among the Greeks the Emperor took the opportunity, so recounts Syropoulus, to explain the principles that animated him in regard to the Church. I am, he said, the defender of the Church, and this in the present circumstances seems to me to involve two things, the first to preserve and defend the Church's doctrine and to assure freedom of speech for all who wish to support it and to restrain such as captiously contradict; the second to try to preserve concord amongst us. This I say to warn those who persist in pointless cavilling and who refuse to submit to a majority opinion that they will feel the weight of my imperial displeasure. We must try to find a means towards union, and I suggest that if the

Latins accept the trinitarian theology of St Maximus we should unite with them. Isidore, Bessarion and the Protosyncellus immediately agreed (continues Syropoulus), but Ephesus and Heraclea and a few others dissented, Eugenicus remarking that even if the Latins accepted the words of Maximus they would read a different meaning into them. 'That does not matter' rejoined the Emperor, and proceeded forthwith to demand that all should declare their opinions on his proposal, not individually but by acclamation, and when some remained silent he asked ominously: 'Have they lost their voices?'¹ There ensued a bitter argument between Isidore and Bessarion on the one side and Antony of Heraclea and Eugenicus on the other, which was ended only by the intervention of the Emperor who spoke scathingly to Heraclea, taunting him with his ignorance and lack of culture.²

The Greeks meanwhile, recounts Syropoulus, were subject to all kinds of privations. Bessarion wishing to go for a ride outside the city for exercise found the way barred by the Emperor's orders. Most of them had nothing to do (despite apparently the almost daily meetings); only Isidore, Bessarion and Gregory, the Emperor's chaplain, were for ever busy making suggestions and proposals to their sovereign. The monthly provision for their needs was not forthcoming and as April drew to a close they were in great want, especially the lower ranks among them like the Emperor's janissaries, which gave rise to a revealing incident. These under the pressure of hunger appealed to the Protosyncellus to represent their need to the Emperor. Gregory, knowing John's disposition, preferred to assist them with a little money of his own, and when he had no more he gave them a small part of his sacred vestments to sell. After a time, having by now pawned their weapons and most of their clothes, they returned to him but he was at the end of his resources. Instead he bade them go

¹ When this incident is supposed to have taken place Syropoulus does not disclose, except that he places it early in his narrative of the events that followed immediately after the end of the public sessions (VIII, 15, pp. 221-3) and at about the time of the reception of the disquieting news from Constantinople, which certainly was in the first half of April. It is, however, in flagrant contradiction with the dated events narrated by the *Acta graeca* where the Emperor is the protagonist in warning the Pope that the Greek attitude as regards doctrine was intransigent and that unless the Latins found an acceptable way to union the Greeks wanted to return home.

² Cf. above, p. 228.

to Mark of Ephesus and ask why he kept them in such a state of want by impeding union. A group of some twenty or so of them, failing to find Mark at home, angrily and threateningly assailed the Great Sakellarius who, at first at a loss to know why, was enlightened when they repeated Gregory's words. He wanted to have the Protosyncellus brought before the holy synod for judgement but was restrained by his friends. A few days later Gregory in the course of a conversation about the lack of means quietly remarked: 'It is I who have held back and retained the maintenance allowances.'¹ [Whatever the truth of this story, the Greeks were really living in straitened circumstances; The ecclesiastics complained time and again to the Patriarch who finally sent the Bishop Damianus with Syropoulos and another of the Staurophoroi to declare to the Emperor in his name and their own that they could bear it no longer but should return home. They got little consolation from him, however. All he did was to say that, if they were idle, he was not, and that it was all very well to talk of breaking off discussions and going home—that would have to be done by stages and it was the Church's business to do it, not his, as he did not want to incur all the opprobrium for failure that would follow on such a step.

At about this time, too, disquieting news came from Constantinople with an urgent request for two papal ships to forestall a

¹ This highly improbable story is in keeping with the bitter hostility that Syropoulos shows for Gregory throughout the whole of his book. Highly improbable because: (1) it is completely out of harmony with the machinery for paying the Greeks in Florence and contradicted by the documents, cf. J. Gill, 'The Cost of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* xxii (1956), pp. 314-16; (2) it runs counter to Syropoulos' own thesis that it was the Latins who consistently kept back the money so as to force the Greeks to one concession after another; (3) a little later Syropoulos mentions a payment on 22 May with no reference, even by the Latins in self-defence, to this incident—a payment for two months beginning 15 February; (4) such an action on the part of Gregory, far from helping the cause of union (which according to Syropoulos he pushed by fair means and foul), could have done nothing but hinder it—and Gregory was no fool; (5) it is out of keeping with the character Syropoulos paints of Gregory that he should so tamely and unnecessarily have confessed.

It will, however, have some basis in fact. Gregory may have made some remark to someone, possibly one of the Emperor's dependents, suggesting that Ephesus' tactics were prolonging their misery, possibly when he was giving an alms; but that he could have received and kept the money, or if ἐγὼ κατέσθησα καὶ ἐκράτησα τὸ σιτηρέσιον (not easy to translate) does not mean that but only that in some other way he caused it to be withheld, is more than highly improbable.

possible attack. John was confident that he would get them and indeed that in a fortnight he would sail with them himself. But when he approached the Pope, appealing to the provision in the agreement between them whereby His Holiness had bound himself to send help in extraordinary danger and even suggesting that the 10,000 fl. owed by the papal exchequer for the upkeep of the ships and bowmen already in Constantinople should be used to arm new vessels in Italy, he met with a blank refusal. 'Such was the help for his country in its pressing needs that the Emperor found from the Latins', comments Syropoulos.

The cardinals, whom the Pope on 12 April had promised to send, did not come till three days later. In the interval Bessarion delivered his *Oratio dogmatica* to the assembled Greeks.¹ It is a work of erudition and sober argument. After a brief introduction he referred to the discussions in Ferrara on the Addition: 'For they (i.e. the Latins) already have given an account of what they say and believe and we have replied to the best of our power...to some of their arguments by complete silence, to others with no answer worthy of the name.' However, till there was a general Council there was an excuse for the division between the Churches, but now there is such no longer. The Councils have always relied on the words of the Doctors who went before. All Doctors are inspired by the same Holy Spirit; they must, therefore, all be in agreement among themselves and there can be no real opposition between them, so that if there is any apparent contradiction we must try to conciliate their different statements. It is logical that the words of those who spoke more obscurely should be interpreted by the clearer utterances of others, which in the present case means to explain the Greek Fathers by the Latins. Still for Easterns the eastern Fathers have most weight, so the task is to prove from these that they agree with the western Saints. The preposition *Dia* (through) always has the force of a mediating cause. When used in connection with the Holy Spirit it is an efficient cause, for there is no place for any other kind, and always refers back to the

¹ P.G. 161, 543-612. It is given in full at this point in the MSS. of the *Acta graeca* which include the *Description*, though I suspect that it was the scribe Plousiadenus who put it there, not the original author. Syropoulos says no word at all of this speech nor of that of Scholarius that followed it.

Father. The Greek Doctors (who are quoted at length) who used the preposition 'through' of the production of the Holy Spirit are many—Athanasius, Basil, Maximus, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Damascene, the seventh Council and Tarasius. St Maximus and St John Damascene, though they admit of the use of the word 'through', seem to some to deny that the Son is also the cause of the Holy Spirit, but that denial is only apparent, for in those passages they intend by the preposition *Ek* (from) the principal cause. St Cyril, quoted so much by both Montenero and Eugenicus, has a whole section to himself and appears again immediately afterwards where the speaker goes on to treat of the Doctors who employed 'From the Son' and 'From both', to show that they were referring to the 'going forth' and the 'flowing forth' of the Person of the Holy Spirit, not merely to his action among men by grace, and Cyril is discussed still again in regard to his relation with Theodoretus, another point on which Montenero and Eugenicus had disagreed. The western Saints say the same as the eastern. The quotations from them made in the sessions and later delivered to the Greeks in writing so that they could be read at leisure and studied prove that. The doctrine of the *Filioque* is universal among the Latin Doctors, so it is clear that these agree among themselves and agree too with the eastern Saints. Whatever was the case before, now at any rate there is no excuse for division. Three courses are possible—not to accept the *Filioque*, to accept it, to declare that the Latin books are falsified. The first of these courses is absurd; the third unworthy and impossible, for the doctrine of the *Filioque* is found in so many and such ancient Latin books and the Greeks have no early Latin codices to check them by. There remains therefore the second choice. The alternative would be dishonour for the nation and calamity both temporal and spiritual for their people. Union with the Latins is their only hope of salvation. Yet Bessarion declared that he himself, unless he were completely convinced that the Latin faith was sound, would not have exhorted his hearers to union: he would have preferred death first. But as the Latin Doctors and the Greek Fathers agree there is no reason left for disunion.

In the course of these same few days while they were waiting for the promised visit of the cardinals, Scholarius also delivered an

address to his compatriots.¹ His discourse, usually called: *On the Need of Aiding Constantinople*, is of another temper altogether. Whereas Bessarion's had been the calm, persuasive, reasoned exposition of a theologian, Scholarius, obviously in a high state of nervous tension, due partly perhaps to ill health² but mainly to his anxiety for Constantinople in view of the news lately received, harangued his hearers and at times came very near to invective.³ The Greeks at large, he said, were ignorant of Latin skill in dialectic and theological learning; but even those not unacquainted with Latin scholarship came to Italy confident that they would easily convict them of ignorance and error, and so effect the union they desired—that perhaps would have been the happiest issue. What actually has happened is that the Latins have defended their faith brilliantly, invoking in their favour the six most renowned Doctors of the Church with apt and sober comment, Greek Doctors, too, in like manner, and have replied learnedly and truthfully to our arguments. We have no Saint who clearly contradicts them and, if there were such, he should be interpreted to conform with the majority.⁴ The contradictions we deem the Latins liable to do not necessarily follow from their doctrine. They affirm that they believe like us. They harmonise the words of the Saints and make no Saint clash with any other. They do not demand from us the profession of the truth—that they leave to our consciences. They seek neither their own glory nor our confusion. Words perhaps we can oppose, but not of any great moment. The Saints we may not deny, or say that they are mutually opposed—that would be to confuse and reject the whole of the faith, while to say that the Latins have falsified them is the height of stupidity.⁵

¹ The *Description* here says that Scholarius delivered three exhortations to the Greek synod which will be found by the reader at the end of the *Practica*. That notice was assuredly not in the original: it was inserted by Plousiadentus the copyist—and it is mistaken. Scholarius at this time made only one speech or delivered one written exhortation (from Scholarius' own words it is not quite clear which) because (1) in his written judgement delivered on 30 May he himself says so distinctly (*A.G.*, p. 428), and (2) the other two speeches (always edited as 3) were presented in writing on the same occasion (*ibid.*). The present discourse is to be found in Schol. 1, pp 296–306; *P.G.* 160, 385–437.

² He had been ill just before leaving Ferrara: cf. his letter to Traversari begging a corner in his monastery during his stay in Florence, Schol. IV, pp. 440–1.

³ Cf. e.g. the quotation given above, p. 228.

⁴ Cf. the quotation on pp. 225–6.

⁵ Cf. the quotation on p. 226.

If we object certain apparent differences among the Doctors, the Latins will dissolve them in a moment—they have indeed already done so. We could do that for ourselves without recourse to them—even I could do it within a couple of hours for you. There is no time now to sit idle and at ease exchanging empty words and striving for victory. Scholarship amongst us is at a very low ebb.¹ Words and words again lead not to peace but to further dissension, so omit further words, and embrace peace and with it return home, for there is no obstacle to this since the Latins have shown their orthodoxy with so many witnesses that we may join them and that with no innovation in our Creed. You all know the particular reason why we longed for union of the Churches, to bring relief in the danger that threatens us. Since then with honour we can achieve that, we must do so; if we do not, our case will be worse. Give no credence to them who urge that even after union no help will be forthcoming because of the divisions among the western secular powers and the uncertain position of the Pope. No great force will be required. The enemy fears our union. Latins and barbarians know that the chief cause of union is our hope of help and that if we fail all hope is gone. Remember the gravity of the situation, the strength of the enemy, the weakness of our defences, the length of wall to be manned, the size of our population halved by the plague. So, leaving everything else aside, we should consider whether we can honourably, that is conformably with the sacred Scriptures and the Doctors, join with the Latins, and if so we should straightway renew our friendship with them, prepare ships partly at their expense partly at our own, selling our very bodies if necessary and striving night and day. So, union immediately and then away. Remember wives, families, dependents, and what conquest by the infidel will mean for them who look to us as their saviours. We are the advance-guard of Christianity. The Latins will think we have hearts of stone if after the reception of such news from home we sit idle with no Saint to oppose theirs and no other answer but 'corrupt'. God helps them who help themselves. The present danger forces us to union. The Latins, I say, should be received and communion with them welcomed, for they err in no point of the faith. They exhibit the Doctors in harmony: it is we

¹ Cf. the quotation on p. 228.

who put discord among them, as I will show if asked. So we should receive them and recite the Creed as before. Ships should be got ready and, leaving behind three or four of ours to settle what questions still remain, the rest of us should depart and reach home within seventy days. But if you will not unite, you will not be ill-disposed to the Latins as before. The alternative before us is either to unite and then return or to send help, or if there is no hope of union at least not to sit idle but to render help to Constantinople as best we can—any other course will deservedly lead to our shame and the just reproach of treachery to our own.

The Cardinals came to the Greeks in the palace of the Patriarch on Wednesday, 15 April, Cesarini, Condulmaro the Treasurer and Domenico de Capranica (Firmanus) with some ten bishops and a few doctors of theology and others. Cesarini was spokesman. He began by recalling to their minds the long delays they had caused first in Constantinople, then in Venice, later in Ferrara. They had three times formally agreed to a fixed number of sessions per week not to be omitted on any account and they had failed to implement any of them. The Pope had fulfilled and more than fulfilled his obligations. The Latins had proved their faith amply, so the Greeks should either accept the necessary conclusion or if they still had doubts get them solved in public discussion. The Emperor replied flatly rejecting any further discussions. A remedy for a disease is used only till the disease is cured, then it is discontinued. So it was with discussions. It was now time to find another method. We, rejoined Cesarini, have clarified the doctrine with the words of the Saints. Your reply is neither yes nor no. The cure for the disease is discussion; the schism still remains, so the remedy is still to be applied. We, said the Emperor, will join in no more discussions. Discussion will lead us nowhere. You drown us in words and then claim victory. 'So Your Highness is a prophet', replied Cesarini. 'He who lacks for an answer seems to give consent as when the Metropolitan of Ephesus abandoned the debate, for he has not made any answer yet. Discussion should go on till the truth is established.'

But Cesarini could not convince the Emperor. Instead John proposed that ten representatives from each side should meet in eight conferences to see if any result could be obtained that way, and the

Latin delegates had to be content with that. On the following Friday he visited the Pope and won his consent to the expedient, after which he spoke to the Greeks gathered together in the Patriarch's apartments to explain the procedure, that he with the interpreter would accompany the ten delegates to a hall in the papal palace and there on alternate days a Greek and a Latin would develop some suggestion that promised a lead to union, not as an official proposal but as his own idea independently of the views of others, and that what was there said should be communicated afterwards each day to those who were not present. For this purpose he appointed Antony of Heraclea, Mark of Ephesus, Isidore of Russia, Dositheus of Monembasia, Dorotheus of Trebizond, Metrophanes of Cyzicus and Bessarion of Nicaea with three other prelates.

Syropoulus remarks that what went on in these conferences was never divulged, though some information was forthcoming by hearsay. The *Description* is rather more detailed in its account, recording too that after two meetings the Greeks were disinclined for more, but under pressure they attended another three. Both authorities agree that at the first meeting it was urged on the Greek side (by Bessarion, according to Syropoulus) that the text of Maximus should be mutually accepted as a formula of union, but the Latins objected that, though they too did not hold the Son to be the primary cause of the Holy Spirit, they did teach that with the Father he was the cause of the Spirit. The second conference, on the following day, discussed the profession of faith of Tarasius of Constantinople with its 'Through the Son'. This suggestion may have come from Isidore. At any rate he wrote a paper about this time that proposes a solution of the problem along these lines.¹ But the Latins could not agree. They inquired if 'through' and 'from' were the same in Greek, and as they were not, they rejected 'through' lest it be interpreted merely as an instrument, like a pipe for water. At another of the conferences, according to Syropoulus, Ephesus bluntly proposed the excision of the *Filioque* from the Creed, since the Greeks would never accept it. A further suggestion put forward was perhaps that each Church should retain

¹ Cf. above, p. 227. However, he ends the treatise with warm words of exhortation not only to the Pope and the Emperor, but also to the Patriarch and to the body of clerics and laymen, who were not present; Cod. Vat. Gr. 706, 121-221.

its own profession and interpretation of the faith.¹ These last two expedients, as is obvious, were unacceptable to the Latins.

(So the private conferences failed in their purpose.) But they proved in the event to have been a step in the right direction, for as a result of them the Latins sent to the Greeks at their request² a statement for their acceptance which was ultimately approved and incorporated into the final decree of union. Here, however, there is a difference of some factual importance between the two Greek authorities. The *Description* recounts that at the end of the conferences the Western Church transmitted in writing a short profession of faith affirming its belief that there is only one principle and cause of the Holy Spirit, namely the Father primarily but not so as to exclude the Son, and that the addition to the Creed was made to preclude error in regard to the divinity of the Son, which those who deny the *Filioque* are assuredly liable to. On Wednesday, 26 April, the Greeks, Patriarch included, met in the palace of the Emperor, who was ill, to consider their answer, but they could not agree. Two days later they received another statement from the Latins to the same effect as the first though phrased differently. There followed two days of consultation with the Patriarch which with difficulty produced a reply based on St Cyril and St Basil, describing the Spirit as 'gushing forth', 'springing forth', 'flowing from', 'being sent forth from' the Son. This did not satisfy the Latins who demanded to know what precise meaning the Greeks attributed to such phrases: did they refer them only to the second and temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, though the words themselves, as the Saints understood them, clearly indicated the one eternal mission and declared that the Spirit receives being from the Son.³ Syropoulos, on the other hand, records only one formula of union from the Latins, that was discussed on some unspecified date by the Greeks, in the presence of the Patriarch, before the Emperor who was ill and in bed. The text he gives of that statement tallies with the text found in the *Latin Acts* (neither of them is quite accurate) and with the relevant part of the decree of union, and is verbally so different from the two Latin documents included in the *Description* that it is unlikely that either of these is meant as an outline

¹ Sermon of Cesarini 27 June 1439 to the Latin synod: *A.L.* pp. 253-6, esp. p. 254.

² *A.G.* p. 423.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 413-16.

of the western formula. What place quite these hold in the course of events is obscure. They may have been memoranda presented by the Latins at some time during the private conferences, confused by the author of the *Description* with the more official statement.¹

As the meeting in the Emperor's palace took place on 29 April,² the *cedula* must have been presented some few days before, since John excused his receiving the prelates in such conditions on the grounds that the Latins were impatient at the delay. He bade them consider it so as either to accept it, to amend it, or to reject it, and in the last case to draw up themselves a statement that would satisfy both parties. The Latin statement read as follows:

Since in this sacred Oecumenical Council, by the grace of Almighty God, we Latins and Greeks have met to effect holy union conjointly, we have in common been at great pains that that article about the Procession of the Holy Spirit should be discussed with great care and assiduous investigation; after, then, the production of texts from the divine Scriptures and very many quotations of the holy Doctors both eastern and western (some indeed saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, some however from the Father through the Son, and after perceiving that all bore the same meaning though expressed differently),

We Greeks declared that what we say, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, we do not say with the intention of excluding the Son [from Whom we do not deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally and has his essence as from the Father,] but, because we thought that the Latins say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and two spirations, we refrained from saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son;

We Latins, however, assert that what we say, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, we do not say with the intention of excluding the Father from being the source and principle of the whole of divinity, of the Son namely and of the Holy Spirit, nor by declaring that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, that the Son has not this from the Father, nor thereby do we assert that there are two principles or spirations, but we assert

¹ So the account that here follows of the Latin *cedula* and the Greek reply to it is drawn from Syr. VIII, 13, p. 235-16, p. 247 and *A.L.* pp. 224, 254. For the decree of union cf. *A.G.* pp. 461-2. Cf. G. Hofmann, 'Formulae praeviae ad definitionem Concilii Florentini de Processione Spiritus Sancti', in *A.A.V.* xiii (1937), pp. 81-105, 237-60.

² This gave occasion to Syropoulos to write one of the few kind things about John to be found in his *Memoirs*: 'He was so ill as not to be able to lift his head from his pillow and he who was always repeating that he was well then only said: "I am ill and I do not know if I can manage to express what I want to say"' (VIII, 13, p. 235).

that there is only one principle and a single spiration of the Holy Spirit, as we have asserted hitherto.¹

In the name, therefore, of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, finally in this holy union, pleasing to God, with the same sense, the same soul, the same mind we Latins and Greeks agree and accept that this truth of the faith should be believed and received by all Christians and so we profess that the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son² and proceeds eternally from both as from one principle and a single spiration; (declaring that what the holy Doctors and Fathers say, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son is directed to this sense that by it is meant that the Son like the Father is according to the Greeks the cause, but according to the Latins the principle, of the subsistence of the Holy Spirit,) and since all that is the Father's the Father himself in generating gave to the only-begotten Son except to be the Father, this too, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, the Son Himself has eternally from the Father from Whom also he was eternally generated.³

When this statement had been read out the hearers (continues Syropoulos) were immediately divided into two parties, Isidore, Bessarion, Dorotheus of Mitylene, Gregory, Methodius of Lacedaemon willing to accept, the rest led by Mark of Ephesus entirely opposed. Soon the Patriarch, being unwell, retired to the room of Philanthropinus, but the Emperor followed with close attention as Isidore and his associates contended for the equivalence of 'through' and 'from', which Eugenius flatly denied. John bade everyone speak freely, but to state the reasons for his assertions as well as his opinion, which would be recorded in writing. To Heraclea objecting that this was an innovation in the procedure of Oecumenical Councils, he replied: 'It is my will, so that afterwards people may not change.' So the morning passed. The prelates returned in the afternoon with

¹ The decree adds here: 'And since from all these one and the same understanding of the truth emerges, finally they unanimously agreed with the same sense and the same mind to the following holy union, pleasing to God', because it replaces the similar sentence of the *cedula* by 'We define'.

² The decree adds here: 'and has his essence and his subsistent being from the Father and the Son together.'

³ The square brackets signify that the words contained in them are to be found in the decree and the *Acta Lat.* but are omitted in Syropoulos; the round brackets contain words found in Syropoulos but neither in the decree nor in the *Acta Lat.* The decree therefore repeated the *cedula* with the two small additions noted above, a few other very slight variations of words and the changing of the first person plural of the verbs of the *cedula* into the third person plural.

the three lay philosophers, Scholarius, Gemistus and Amiroutzes and the secretaries of the Patriarch (who was still in the bedroom of Philanthropinus), and the argument began afresh, with Amiroutzes an ardent supporter of Bessarion. Eugenicus quoted St Maximus and St John Damascene as denying the *Filioque*, and Bessarion's only answer was that the letter to Marinus was incomplete and so inadmissible, and that the Damascene's was but an isolated voice.¹ Evening found them still arguing. Next morning, at the Emperor's command, they all assembled again, with the same results, Ephesus quoting the Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa,² to prove that they used of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son both the prepositions 'through' and 'with'. Bessarion, frustrated, tried to turn the tables by declaring that Mark had already conceded the doctrine to the Latins. Syropoulos demanded to know when and, Bessarion replying that it had been in the private conferences, Ephesus rebutted the charge by explaining the obvious intention that had underlain his words—he had agreed to unite with the Latins if they removed the *Filioque* from the Creed, knowing that, if they did that, they denied the whole basis of their doctrine, admitted themselves in error and embraced the Greek faith, which he had not for one instant expected they would do. The Emperor, then, reminded them that they were there to compose an answer to the Latin statement. Whereupon Isidore produced a treatise written by Beccus³ and began to read out some of the patristic quotations it contained. Bidden by John to select a few as a basis of an answer for the Latins, they chose a quotation from the Council of Nicæa⁴ and a phrase from Cyril of Alexandria⁵ showing that the Greek Saints agreed

¹ Yet Bessarion had treated of these two authorities at length in his discourse of a few days before, and explained their apparent opposition to the *Filioque* doctrine—but Syropoulos in his *Memoirs* ignores that speech.

² P.G. 45, 369A.

³ The Patriarch of Constantinople who later favoured the union made under Michael VIII at the Council of Lyons (1274), deposed, imprisoned and several times tried by the Synod after Michael's death. Beccus was an acute theologian whose patristic arguments neither then nor since have been refuted by his opponents. At the time of the Council of Florence he was held in execration by the non-unionists.

⁴ 'The Spirit will be found proceeding from the Father, proper to the Son and gushing forth from Him' (Mansi, 2, 868CD and in the *Epigraphæ* of Beccus, P.G. 141, 616C).

⁵ 'The Spirit flowing forth substantially from both, that is from the Father through the Son' (P.G. 68, 148A and in the *Epigraphæ* of Beccus, P.G. 141, 617B).

with the Latins and as a sufficient ground for union. All were asked if they accepted this solution and the special secretary (*hypomnematographos*) was told to write down their answers, yes or no. The first three or four to reply having spoken at length, the rest were bidden to be brief as time was passing. Syropoulos insisted on a more lengthy reply and, on being cut short, gave his answer as No. Sophronius of Anchialus, he says, and Damianus of Moldo-Wallachia with George Cappadox the Protekdikus and the best of the superiors of the monasteries agreed with him, but the majority was of a contrary opinion. Isidore, Bessarion, Michael Balsamon the Chartophylax, Gemistus and Scholarius were commissioned to frame the Greek statement, but when this last produced an answer he had composed already, Isidore and Bessarion accepted it without further ado, though the other two demurred.

Scholarius' draft-statement was a very clever piece of work. It was modelled on the Latin *cedula*, much of which it repeated almost verbally, inverting, however, the order in which the Latin and the Greek positions are outlined and modifying only the résumé of Greek theology there given, to read as follows:

We, however, the Greeks confess and believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, is proper to the Son and gushes forth from him,¹ and we affirm and believe that he flows forth substantially from both, namely from the Father through the Son:² and now we unite with each other and are conjoined in a way pleasing to God. Having given proof to each other each of his own faith and confession, we decree that for the future neither will hold aloof from union and communion with the other, but once again we are brought together and are of one mind and are all re-established by the grace of God into one Church.

It was hardly to be expected that this would please everyone and it did not.³ When the Emperor numbered the votes there were twelve against and, counting in also the secretaries included at Mitylene's suggestion, twenty-four in favour. The Patriarch also gave his vote from the other room in favour. Two metropolitans with the

¹ Cf. p. 249 n. 4.

² Cf. p. 249 n. 5.

³ 'What was done was a very big step and, besides, contrary to the opinion of three of our procurators [of the eastern Patriarchs]. For Heraclea and Ephesus and Monembasia and Anchialus did not give their approval for the statement of faith that was sent and, besides, from the clerics the Great Chartophylax and the Protekdikus' (A.G. pp. 416-17).

Skevophylax and the Sakellarius were commissioned to take it to the Pope. The Latins, however, were not satisfied, which is not surprising for even Mark Eugenicus later described it as deliberately equivocal, 'as holding a middle ground and capable of being taken according to both doctrines, like an actor's boot'.¹ The Latins knew that the Greeks commonly interpreted words like those found in their draft-statement as referring to the mission of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of the faithful and, therefore, as in no way clarifying the eternal relationship of the Spirit to the Son.² So their reply, after two pointed paragraphs inquiring if the Greeks besides repeating the Latin outline of trinitarian theology also accepted it, contained ten other questions framed to elicit a precise statement of what the Greeks meant by this formula of union. An ambiguous formula, they wrote, is useless, for one of the two interpretations allowed by it is false. Union of body without union of mind is no union at all. So let the Greeks make a plain statement of their faith in unambiguous words, or else accept the Latin *cedula*. This answer from the Latins was never communicated to the Greek synod. The Emperor held it back.³

While all these negotiations were taking place, time was passing and now it was well on into May. In the meantime Traversari had written a letter full of joy to Cesarini:

Our friend Bessarion today in a public meeting of the Greeks before the Emperor and all the bishops burst out into words of confession and praise, saying openly to all that the holy Roman Church believes correctly in the mystery of the faith and that the addition to the Creed was most rightly made and that this belief, this profession, which he was now proclaiming he was ready to give in writing; declaring that when they went away from this place he would separate himself from them and endure every hardship if that should be necessary.... The Confessor of the Emperor acceded to his opinion and very many were in tears.⁴

¹ *Relatio de rebus a se gestis*, Petit, *Docs.* p. 447.

² Cf. *A.G.* p. 416.

³ This would hardly seem to be true. The *A.G.* p. 416 and Eugenicus (*Relatio*, etc. p. 447) both show a knowledge of it with no suggestion of its having been concealed.

⁴ Letter dated 21 April: Trav. no. 52. What the occasion of this declaration of Bessarion was, which from the date coincides roughly with the period of the private conferences, it is impossible to determine. Were it not for the date it could be a reflection of the conclusion of Bessarion's *Oratio dogmatica*, but the *Acta graeca* are quite positive in assigning that to the days immediately preceding the Wednesday of the week of St Thomas, viz. 15 April.

Another event of the time was the solemn translation on Sunday, 26 April, of the bodies of St Zenobius, a former bishop of Florence and patron of the diocese to whom the citizens had a great devotion, and of St Eugenius and St Crescentius from the crypt to a specially prepared chapel. Pope Eugenius himself officiated and six cardinals and a great number of archbishops and bishops, both Greek and Latin, assisted him. Demetrius, the Emperor's brother, was present with the envoys of the various princes and communities, protonotaries of the Latin Church and Greek nobles and no small number of the populace.¹

The Latin rejection of their formula for union threw the Greeks into despondency so that their only thought was to finish with it all. If things went on like that, they would be in Italy all the autumn and the winter. Three of the Staurophoroi, the Chartophylax, the Protekdikus and Syropoulus, as he himself relates, independently of each other besought the Patriarch to let them return home, but the only result was a severe reprimand from the Emperor. No maintenance allowances had been paid since their arrival in Florence and repeated requests had moved, not the Latins to give, but the Emperor to wrath.² The clerics poured out their laments to the Patriarch and the Emperor, who on Sunday, 10 May, promised that he would shortly visit the Pope to make some definite arrangement, a thing he had lately been prevented from doing because of his illness. So on Wednesday, 13 May, the eve of the feast of the Ascension, he went to Eugenius, but without result. The Pope's reply was that he wanted time till the following Friday to consider. On the Friday, then, the Emperor returned. Cardinal Cesarini spoke for the Pope—the Greeks refused to take part in public discussions and now, after an exchange of written statements, were unwilling to explain theirs. In such circumstances what could be done? John answered that he had no wish to force union on his people: they had spontaneously formulated their statement and it was adequate since 'gush forth', 'pour forth', and the rest attribute cause to the Son, 'even if they

¹ Domenico di Lionardo Boninsegni, *Storia della città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460 scritta nelli stessi tempi che accadono* (Firenze, 1637), p. 69; L. G. Cerracchini, *Cronologia sacra de' vescovi e arcivescovi di Firenze* (Firenze, 1716), p. 143.

² Syr. IX, 1, pp. 248–50; rest from A.G.

(i.e. the writers) do not state it clearly owing to the ignorance of individuals': you profess that the Son is cause of the Spirit; we do not deny it; what else do you want? But Cesarini was not satisfied, because the Greeks attributed these phrases to the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit whereas the Latins wanted an unequivocal statement of their trinitarian doctrine. So no concord was reached.

On 17 May the prelates met in the Patriarch's palace (for Joseph was again ill) at the Emperor's behest, but at the last minute John himself could not come as he was expecting a visit from some cardinals. The Patriarch told them of what had gone on between the Emperor and the papal court and dissipated their gloom as best he could, counselling them to patience and confidence in their sovereign's efforts. These, however, were not producing very encouraging results. On 21 May John went again to the Pope and later received in audience three cardinals who insisted once more on the necessity of a clear reply from the Greeks to their queries about the statement of union, but in vain, for the answer they got from John was: 'We neither write nor say anything else, except that if you accept what we have given you we will unite; if not, we shall go home.' The next day the cardinals came back again and on the same day, 22 May, the Patriarch received 1208 fl. as the allowance for two months for the ecclesiastics.¹ Two days later, Whitsunday, the Pope invited the Emperor to visit him. John went after Vespers. Eugenius, however, had nothing new to say and only expressed his disappointment at the vacillation of the Greeks and their refusal to define their position more clearly. The Emperor explained the reasons:

What Your Holiness says is very just; we ought to make our statement clear. But the Orientals are not all of one mind about this. The majority of them have doubts about what you demand, either from ignorance of the subjects being discussed or from inability suddenly to give up their traditional belief, for our fathers thought that the Latins asserted two subsistent causes of the Holy Spirit, and so they do not all easily accept this union because of the expression 'From the Son'. So perforce we do as much as we find them disposed to. I am not the master of the Greek synod, nor do I want to use my authority to force it to any statement. So I cannot be of any help in what Your Holiness enjoins.

At this the Pope asked John's consent to address the Greek synod, and this was arranged for the following Wednesday.

¹ Syr., IX, 2, p. 251.

The meeting was a solemn occasion. Nine cardinals were present with the rest of the Latin Fathers, the whole of the Greek Church in Florence apart from the Patriarch, and larger numbers than usual of Latin notaries summoned especially by the Pope. The Emperor was not there.¹ His Holiness began by recounting his high hopes of a successful issue of this Council of union when he had noted the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the Greeks who had endured so many sacrifices to be present at it. Then his growing disappointment as delay followed delay in Ferrara and as in Florence the discussions were abandoned, despite the exact provisions of the formal agreements. The Latins had deferred to the Greek desire for private meetings; these had been given up: they had even condescended to present a profession of their faith in writing; the Greeks had returned an ambiguous answer, which they were unwilling to clarify.

What am I to say? I see division everywhere before my eyes and I wonder what use to you division will be. Still if it shall be, how are the western princes going to look on it? And what grief will you yourselves have; indeed how are you going to return home? Union however once achieved, both the western princes and all of us will be greatly rejoiced and will provide generous help for you. And our aid will be a source of great alleviation to the Christians dwelling in the East and to those in the power of the infidel. I exhort you then, brethren, following the precept of Our Lord Jesus Christ, let there not be division in the Church of God, but be urgent, be vigilant, let us give glory to God together. Our union will produce abundant help to the soul; our union will give great honour to the body; our union will bring dismay to our enemies both corporeal and incorporeal; our union will cause rejoicing among the Saints and angels and gladness in heaven and on earth.

The Pope's words moved his hearers deeply. For the Greeks Isidore of Russia replied with a few words thanking him and pleading that as the issue was of the very highest importance time was needed for consideration. The Greeks, he said, had never been inactive in their efforts for union, but in discussions either public or private had been striving for it; it demanded time, however, and deep thought.

After this meeting with the Latins the Greek prelates gave a full

¹ I am taking the papal speech recorded in the *A.L.* p. 223 to refer to this same occasion, even though Andrew da S. Croce specifies the date as 1 June. Syr. (x, 1, p. 279) gives the gist of a discourse of the Pope in the midst of his account of the discussions on the Eucharist which took place a month or so later: I think he is confusing it with this speech of 27 May.

report to the Patriarch. He sent four of them, Isidore, Bessarion, Methodius of Lacedaemon and Dorotheus of Mitylene, to the Emperor, who not only recounted to him the Pope's speech but urged him strongly to action, going so far as to say that whether or not he wanted union they would unite with the Latins. (John was rather overawed by their firm stand (which was the real beginning of the movement that ended in union) and as a result summoned a meeting of the Greek synod.¹

On Thursday of Whitweek therefore the prelates and clerics gathered in the Patriarch's apartments. The Emperor spoke to them recalling that the whole purpose of their long journey to Italy had been to unite the Churches, yet after fifteen months there was no result. In this regard there were two possible disasters—to unite, but unrightfully; or to be divided, yet unjustly. They should remember too the plight of Constantinople and give such votes as would harm neither soul nor body, but beware lest they let slip an opportunity of achieving so great a good: whoever should impede this holy union would be execrated more than Judas the Traitor.

When he had finished speaking he found that all approved of union in principle, but, says, Syropoulus, there was soon acrimonious argument on the value of 'through' and 'from', Ephesus being the centre of a stormy debate. Whereupon the Emperor imposed silence and limited the question at issue to the one point: Are the quotations from the Latin Fathers put forward by the Westerns genuine or spurious? Those, he said, who declare them spurious could speak their minds freely, but they should give a proof of their statements and produce the books in support. Isidore of Kiev (as the *Greek Acts* recount) spoke after the Emperor, arguing that the books of the Saints of the Latin Church should be read and harmonised because they are in fact harmonious, since the Saints always write in agreement with each other, seeing that the Holy Spirit speaks in them. This principle met with general consent and Bessarion, taking the cue,

¹ The account that follows is an attempt to combine the narratives of the *Acta graeca*, pp. 426–45 and of the *Memoirs*, ix, 2, p. 251–16, p. 276—a hopeless undertaking really both because they differ so widely in spirit and because Syropoulus spreads over two weeks what the *Acta* bring within the compass of three days—in such a manner that the reader may know what part each authority contributes. What is not indicated as taken from Syropoulus should be attributed to the *Acta*.

proceeded to recite passages from some of the works of Cyril and Epiphanius where these Saints declared the Holy Spirit to be from Father and Son, or from both, or to have his being from the Son, or to flow forth from him. Mitylene followed with quotations from Latin Fathers where they state clearly that the Father and the Son constitute one cause of the Holy Spirit and he proceeds from both. 'Till now', declared the Greeks, 'we never knew the Latin Saints nor read them: now however we have come to know them, have read them and approve them.' When the Emperor, therefore, bade them declare their opinions there was general agreement to accept the Latin Saints and their writings as genuine.¹

Hardly (continues Syropoulus) had the pro-unionists finished deafening the audience with quotations than, without leaving time for consideration, demand was made that all should give their votes. After the first four or five had spoken the rest were bidden be concise, but Syropoulus, when his turn came, despite the Emperor's impatience embarked on a lengthy disquisition about the difficulty of finding criteria to judge of the authenticity even of well-known writings, let alone of works utterly unfamiliar. So, rendered distrustful by the episode of the interpolated copy of the Acts of the seventh Council that the Latins had put forward in Ferrara, he would accept only those Latin writings as genuine that were in agreement with the letter of St Maximus and the words of St Cyril, the rest he rejected as spurious. The general result was that all except four or five of the prelates accepted the genuineness of the Latin quotations while most of those who followed Syropoulus in the order of voting adhered to his opinion. That did not suit the Emperor's book, so three days later he had recourse to a stratagem to close the mouths of the recalcitrant Staurophoroi. He announced in a meeting of the Greeks that for the future only those should vote in their assemblies who had the right of signing a decree of a Council. To settle who those were, though everyone already knew, the farce was enacted of consulting the Acts of the former Councils. Only bishops and

¹ A. Warschauer, *Ueber die Quellen zur Geschichte des Florentiner Concils* (Paderborn, 1891), p. 11, accuses the *Acta graeca* of deliberate falsification in its account of the voting in the private Greek sessions. Cf. J. Gill, 'The "Acta" and the Memoirs of Syropoulus as History', in *O.C.P.* XIV (1948), pp. 319f. for an examination of the charge.

archimandrites subscribed to the Acts, so only bishops and archimandrites should give their opinions in the meetings. Thereupon the question of 'through' and 'from' was ventilated again, and when Antony of Heraclea wished to read out some passages touching on the topic, Gregory the Emperor's chaplain bade him first anathematise Cabasilas and in this way silenced him with his sarcastic comments. Two days later¹ there was another general meeting and another on the following day when all the old quarrels were renewed; two days afterwards there was still another when the Patriarch demanded to hear the words of the early Fathers, so on the following day Bessarion read out cunningly edited passages from St Cyril and Epiphanius after which the Emperor addressed the clerics.² Two days later there was still another gathering when all were asked to vote on the *Filioque* question. The Patriarch, pressed to speak first, murmured something so indistinct that he was thought to reject the doctrine. Of the bishops and the heads of monasteries ten were in favour and seventeen against. The Emperor was for having the senators vote, but the Patriarch opposed him. Then followed two days of canvassing, the Patriarch cajoling Ignatius of Tornovo, Joasaph of Amasia, and Damianus of Moldo-Wallachia that in loyalty to himself who consecrated them they should vote with him (he failed, however, in a like attempt with Ephesus), Isidore winning Matthew of Melenicus, Dositheus of Drama,³ Callistus of Dristra with the blandishments of a good dinner, and the Emperor following similar tactics with other prelates and the envoys of Trebizond and of Moldo-Wallachia. In this fashion the way was prepared for a final vote which, says Syropoulos, took place on 2 June.⁴

¹ Syropoulos recounts that before the meeting there was a casual gathering in the Patriarch's lodgings: I think that this refers to the incidents of 30 March; cf. above, p. 235.

² This speech is so like an earlier one of the Emperor that I think that it must be referred to the meeting after the sixth session on 19 March; cf. above, p. 212.

³ It was Drama who, reports Syropoulos elsewhere, accepted the *Filioque* 'provided the Holy Trinity remained unharmed'.

⁴ The voting that Syropoulos puts on 2 June took place according to the *Acta graeca* on 30 May, supplemented on 3 June. Syropoulos, who very rarely specifies a date, will have had some reason for stating this one. Probably some of the votes on this vital question were to be found in the archives at Constantinople, perhaps among them the Patriarch's (Scholarius says it was preserved: Schol. III, p. 194) which may have borne the date 2 June. That would not disprove the chronology of the *Acta*, for the

This long series of meetings, all connected with the question of the Latin texts, which culminated in the voting of 2 June, must, if Syropoulos' chronology, vague though it be, is anything like correct, have started about the middle of May. That is not very likely because the narrative of the *Acta*, where the events are attached to a clearly stated and closely integrated series of days, dates and liturgical feasts, portrays the atmosphere of mid-May as one of despondency and discouragement with regard to union, with no gleam of hope to relieve it till after the Pope's speech of 27 May. Then, according to the *Acta*, things moved quickly. On 28 May, as has been said, a general agreement was reached on the genuineness of the Latin writings. Friday the 29th was passed, both morning and afternoon, examining still further the doctrine of the Fathers, especially the oriental Fathers. On Saturday there was another meeting in the Patriarch's palace when George Scholarius read out his judgement on the *Filioque*.¹ It began by recalling that he had already in the exhortation he had delivered earlier to the Greek synod disclosed his opinion on the question:² that opinion he had since amplified in two carefully worked out treatises which he now offered for their perusal, the first a consideration of the nature of union and other kindred topics, the second a proof of the agreement of the Teachers based not on human argumentation but on the Scriptures and their own words,³

Patriarch's vote could have been dated, after it was read out, later either by the Patriarch himself, or delivered later to the secretary who added a date. The vote of Boullotes is extant, dated 3 June. V. Laurent, 'La profession de foi de Manuel Tarchaniotès Boullorès au Concile de Florence', in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, x (1952), pp. 60-9.

¹ Scholarius after Eugenius' death became the leader of the anti-unionists in Constantinople and the first patriarch after the capture of that city by the Turks.

² Cf. pp. 242-4.

³ These two treatises are always printed as three under the headings: (1) On the Character of Religious Peace, that it should be a Dogmatic Union not a Peace of Expediency; (2) The Solving of the Difficulties that impede such a Peace; and (3) The Factors that will make for such a Peace (Schol. 1, pp. 306-72; P.G. 160, 405-524). Of these (1) and (2) go together to form the first treatise as Scholarius presented it. They are too long to recapitulate here: this is how Scholarius himself summed them up: 'I advised you not even to take into consideration the method of expediency that some have in view, but I declared that it was essential to effect true union and community of doctrine, which I said was to accept a single opinion about the questions in dispute and to profess this also in the symbol of the faith, either by adding or by taking away according as the grace of God should indicate. Further, the reason for which some are disturbed and pessimistic about this union I showed to

which he was sure would convince any unprejudiced reader. Then, after submitting his judgement to the decision of the Greek synod, or rather to the Oecumenical Council then sitting, and protesting that as a layman he had no wish to usurp the functions of the clergy by speaking publicly on a doctrinal question—he did it only, he said, from respect to the Emperor's wish—he solemnly declared that, as the Saints agreed in accepting the twofold Procession of the Holy Spirit yet as from one principle and without either making the Father and the Son two principles or confusing their Persons, so he professed and believed the same.¹ When he finished he went out and his hearers fell once again to studying the eastern Saints.

The next written vote to be recorded is that of the Patriarch:

Since we have heard the words of the Holy Fathers both western and eastern, the former saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, the latter from the Father through the Son, even though 'Through the Son' is the same as 'From the Son' and 'From the Son' the same as 'Through the Son', still we, not using 'From the Son', say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son eternally and substantially, as from one principle and cause, the 'Through' in that phrase meaning cause in this matter of the Procession of the Holy Spirit;

and he added to this acceptance of the Latin Fathers the proviso that the Greeks should not introduce the *Filioque* into their Creed, but would unite retaining all their ancient customs.²

The Patriarch was followed by the Emperor who, as a layman, abstained from pronouncing on the dogmatic question. He confined his decision to a declaration that he accepted the present Council as Oecumenical no less than any of those that had gone before and that he considered that his position as Emperor imposed on him the duty of defending whatsoever should be sanctioned by it or its majority, since the Church cannot err in doctrine without rendering void the promise Our Lord made to St Peter.³ But as that is absurd, 'therefore the Church of God must be infallible and we must follow its be utterly weak and reasonably conducive to anything but hindering you from union. Then I added the factors that make for it, without dilating on them but for the most part just mentioning them, and these are, in a word, the union of the holy Scriptures and the Teachers of the Church' (Schol. 1, pp. 371-2).

¹ Text in *A.G.* pp. 428-31; Schol. 1, pp. 372-4. Syropoulos does not even mention that Scholarius gave any opinion at all.

² Text in *A.G.* p. 432; Syr. ix, 9, p. 262.

³ Cf. Matt. xvi. 18.

decision, I especially who by God's grace bear the imperial insignia, and hold and defend it, it being understood that the Latins do not compel us to make any addition to the holy Creed, or to change any of the customs of our Church'.¹

Isidore spoke next approving of the Latin Saints and the doctrine of the Procession from Father and Son. Bessarion agreed, adding that that doctrine was necessary to salvation. Antony of Heraclea, Mark of Ephesus, Dositheus of Monembasia and Sophronius of Anchialus were all opposed: Dorotheus of Mitylene approved.² When all the prelates had delivered their judgements it appeared that in addition to Isidore, Bessarion, and Dorotheus, also Methodius of Lacedaemon, Nathanael of Rhodes, Callistus of Dristra, Genadius of Ganos, Dositheus of Drama, Matthew of Melenicus, Gregory the procurator of Alexandria and the monk Pachomius were in favour of the Latin doctrine. 'Later', continues the narrative of the *Greek Acts*, 'there were added to us Cyzicus (Metrophanes), Trebizond (Dorotheus) and Monembasia (Dositheus) the procurator of Jerusalem.' Tuesday 2 June (so recount the *Greek Acts*) passed and on Wednesday, 3 June, there was another meeting in the apartments of the sick Patriarch, this time with the imperial courtiers, the philosophers, the Staurophoroi, the superiors of monasteries—and, in a word, with all the Greeks present. The Emperor addressed them. Most, he said, on the occasion when he had given his judgement after the Patriarch, and those the more notable, had pronounced in favour of the Latins and the equivalence of 'through' and 'from', and all had accepted the words of the Latin Fathers. As most had already delivered their decisions in writing, it was fitting now that the rest should declare their minds and that the voice of the majority should prevail. The Patriarch spoke first:

I will never change or vary the doctrine handed down from our fathers but will abide in it till my last breath. But since the Latins, not of themselves but from the holy Scriptures, explain the Procession of the Holy Spirit as being also from the Son, I agree with them and I give my judgement that this 'Through' gives to the Son to be cause of the Holy Spirit. I both unite with them and am in communion with them.

¹ Text in *A.G.* pp. 432-4; *Syr.* ix, 10, pp. 264-5.

² Text in *A.G.* pp. 434-6.

When the Patriarch finished speaking there was general accord that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Father and Son as from one principle and one substance, that he proceeds through the Son as of like nature and substance, that he proceeds from Father and Son as from one spiration and procession.

It was on this day, 3 June, that the senator Boullotes gave his written vote: 'After all the bishops and the Patriarch and, besides, the procurators of the other Patriarchs had accepted it (i.e. the *Filioque*, because the Saints equiparate "Through" and "From" and "Through" indicates cause), the senatorial courtiers were asked their views on this and on whether it was expedient that there should be union of the Churches.' On the doctrinal question, however, he refused to speak; but on the political aspect of it he favoured union, thereby agreeing with the Emperor.¹ George Amiroutzes probably on this same day also delivered a written vote that recapitulates very briefly the Latin arguments, asserts that all the Greeks accepted the Latin writings as genuine, enunciates the principle that all the Saints must agree and concludes to the inevitability of the Latin doctrine.² Mark Eugenicus in his brief account of his action in the Synod narrates that the Greeks on being interrogated about the Latin writings and the causality of the Son 'replied that they had no doubt but that the writings were genuinely of the Fathers since the letter of Maximus assured them of this, but the majority utterly refused to attribute the cause of the Spirit to the Son'. However, he continues, the more audacious did not hesitate to call the Son cause and the Patriarch agreed. 'But I, though I had with me my judgement and profession in writing, . . . when I saw them now rushing feverishly towards union and those who earlier had supported me now falling into their arms, as they forgot about the written judgements, I kept mine back so as not to provoke them. . . .'³ His judgement is, however, preserved and is, of course, a refusal to accept either the Latin texts or the Latin doctrine.⁴

So there is no doubt that the *Greek Acts* do not exaggerate in

¹ V. Laurent, *op. cit.* Text and translation pp. 68-9.

² Text in G. Hofmann, *Orientalium opera minora*, pp. 36-9; cf. quotation above p. 231.

³ *Relatio de rebus a se gestis*, in Petit, *Docs.* p. 448.

⁴ *Confessio fidei*, *ibid.* pp. 435-42.

saying that there was a general approval of union with the Latins, but they add that Heraclea, Ephesus, Stauropolis (Isaias) and Anchialus remained opposed.

Syropoulus' account of the events does not greatly differ materially (except for the date) from that of the *Description*: the difference is rather in spirit. There was a general meeting on 2 June when, after the Emperor and the Patriarch had conversed a little in private and by promising Cyzicus some land he had long wanted won his adherence, the votes of all were asked for and recorded by the general secretary. The Patriarch spoke first in the words recounted above. Heraclea, asked next as procurator of the throne of Alexandria, did not accept the *Filioque*. His fellow-procurator of Alexandria, Gregory, though only three days before, when the first votes had been taken, he had been denying the validity of the Latin baptism and had pronounced against the *Filioque*, now accepted it. Trebizond, in bed ill, had refused many demands of the Patriarch and the Emperor to declare his opinion at all and still refused. 'So therefore with the exception of Heraclea, Ephesus, Monembasia, Trebizond and Anchialus, the rest of the prelates gave their votes in favour of the *Filioque* and union with the Latins. There were thirteen in favour and the six against.' Then the Chartophylax asked the Emperor if the superiors of the monasteries should vote (as earlier they had been against the *Filioque*). John replied that he understood that the Patriarch was opposed to that on the grounds that they were not ordained, though he himself had always thought they were, and in this Gregory the Protosyncellus supported him. The matter was referred to the Patriarch, who had retired meanwhile into his bedchamber, and he repeated his assertion that they were not ordained and so should not vote; so they did not vote. Then the Emperor asked his brother Demetrius to give his opinion but he refused, then the members of the imperial court down to the lowest ranking officials, who all approved of union with the Latins. Only the Staurophoroi sat there in silence, their opinions not asked, despite their clerical dress, their office, their familiarity with the Church's doctrine. Finally all stood as the Emperor delivered his judgement in the terms recounted earlier, and all noted the sinister omen that a favourite dog of his whined and would not be quieted all the time he spoke and stopped only when his

master ceased speaking. Demetrius, who some time before had by the good offices of the Patriarch obtained leave to go to Venice and had remained in Florence only in deference to his imperial brother's wish when certain cardinals had persuaded the Emperor to rescind the leave, though now asked again to give an opinion, still refused to pronounce on the dogmatic question although he was ready to admit that politically union would be a benefit. The ambassadors Menonos representing the Despot Theodore, Macrodocas of Trebizond (because, so he said, of the dependence of his Church on Constantinople) and Neagoe of Moldo-Wallachia all approved of union. The two Georgian envoys had already left Florence. The bishop, when he saw that union was in the offing, went off journeying through several Italian cities and ended up ill in Modena. The Metropolitan of Tornovo on his arrival in Venice on his way home, hearing of this, went and fetched him and took him back to Constantinople. The lay envoy, who on one occasion had listened to a long exhortation of Eugenius on the primacy of the See of Peter and had rebuked the Pope because the Latin Church had in that abandoned the tradition of the Fathers, when union was near went on a visit to Rome.¹ The meeting ended with the Emperor warning his subjects that, now that the general opinion had decided in favour of the Latin dogma and union, he would take severe measures against any who tried to introduce discord.²

Meanwhile, as the *Acta graeca* report, while the voting among the Greeks was still in progress, John, once he saw which way it would end, sent Isidore on Monday, 1 June, to treat with the Pope about the material help he would give to the imperial city. Isidore returned with the three cardinals who had earlier visited the Emperor, empowered to act in the Pope's name. On behalf of Eugenius they promised: (1) all the means necessary for the Greeks to return to Constantinople; (2) a permanent guard for the city of 300 soldiers; (3) two ships to be maintained in that area; (4) that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem should be fulfilled in Constantinople and ships carrying

¹ So Syropoulus; cf. also quotation above, p. 227, which is taken from this context.

² Though the chronology and the general account of the meetings of the *Acta graeca* are more accurate, the order of the voting as given by Syropoulus is more what one would have expected.

pilgrims should be directed there; (5) in case of urgent necessity twenty armed ships for six months or ten ships for a year; (6) that if there was need of a land army the Pope would try to unite the Christian princes of the West to provide it. The Emperor thereupon requested that these promises should be reduced to writing and sealed, and that arrangements should be made with three banks, in Venice, Genoa and Florence, for their fulfilment.¹ News of what was afoot must have become generally known, because Traversari addressed a letter to the Pope on that same day exhorting him to generosity in fulfilling the promises he had often made of help to the Greeks and notifying him that ambassadors of the princes were approaching the city and that it would be a good thing if union were already completed before their arrival, in case they should be the cause of further delay—in fact, if necessary they should be detained outside the city till union was an accomplished fact.² To what ambassadors Traversari was referring is not clear. On 15 June there did arrive two envoys of the King of Aragon,³ who had long been the Pope's opponent and the supporter of the remnant at Basel, where the process against Eugenius that would lead to his 'deposition' on 25 June had just passed the stage of condemning his 'heresies' (16 May).

The Greeks spent Thursday, 4 June, in making three copies of a statement about the Procession of the Holy Spirit embodying the agreement reached the previous day: one of them the Emperor retained, the second was given to the Patriarch and the third transmitted to the Pope on the next day.⁴ It may have been that the Emperor himself took it, for Syropoulus states that he went to acquaint the Pope with the happy result, only to be disconcerted by the coolness of its reception and the further demand that the other points of doctrine that divided the Churches should be settled before union was finally established. The Patriarch certainly thought that the whole ecclesiastical problem had been solved and pressed for a solemn session to proclaim the fact triumphantly, but there was a general opinion among the Latins that, till accord had been reached on the

¹ Eugenius presumably did not delay to do this. On 5 June he acknowledged loans of 10,000 fl. from each of Florence and Venice (*E.P.* docs. 174, 175) and on 23 September 1439 sent the Emperor a document embodying most of these obligations (*ibid.* doc. 217).

² Trav. no. 33.

³ *Frag.* p. 44.

⁴ *A.G.* pp. 438–9.

doctrines of the primacy of the Holy See, the Eucharist and Purgatory, union was not possible.¹ In any case (as the *Acta graeca* relate) the Latins did not accept even the Greek statement on the *Filioque* without examination. On the Friday it was read before the cardinals and approved in principle, but it needed recasting and putting into final form. So on Saturday ten delegates of the Greeks met the cardinals again with ten Latin theologians, who insisted that in the phrase of the Greek profession, 'the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son essentially and eternally and that he proceeds eternally and essentially from the Father through the Son', the word 'through' should be omitted and inserted elsewhere, because

this did not seem to be a good way (of defining it) as it was open to a false interpretation, viz. that the word 'from' should be expressed by 'through'. It was being urged that this way would declare that the Son was the cause: but it was not a good way of asserting it, for it would be an ambiguous declaration when it ought to be certain. The delegates of our most Holy Father and of your Paternities always stood fast that the question should be defined in accordance with the dogma of the Holy Roman Church.

Debate on this point lasted all Saturday and was continued on Sunday morning till 'after many labours we were at times nearer to despair than success, but because God wants it to be realised that everything comes from him, when we were most divided the Greeks agreed to the *cedula* of the delegates',² subject to approval by the Emperor, the Patriarch and the whole Greek synod. On the Sunday evening at a meeting in the Emperor's palace of 'the prelates, the superiors of monasteries and all the clerics' the Latin amendments were accepted and the Greek profession was again written in three copies, one for the Emperor and one for the Patriarch, while the ten delegates took the third to present it to the Latins. Next morning, Monday, 8 June, they took the statement to the Pope who was himself present when it was read. It was approved, and such was the feeling of joy that pervaded the assembly that Latins and Greeks embraced each other. A Latin translation was made of it immediately, and in the late afternoon the same Greeks returned to hear their

¹ *A.L.* pp. 224-5.

² These two quotations are from the discourse of Cesarini to the Latin synod 27 June 1439, in *A.L.* p. 254.

profession read out in both Latin and Greek. The Pope sent Fan-
tinus Vallaresso, archbishop of Crete, Garatoni, bishop of Corone,
and a master of theology, Thomas, to express his satisfaction to the
Emperor, as indeed satisfied he must have felt for the formula the
Greeks had finally agreed to was that of the *cedula* presented to them
nearly a month before.

The next day, Tuesday, the four metropolitans of Russia, Nicaea,
Trebizond¹ and Mitylene were sent to Eugenius who broached the
question of the remaining dogmatic differences. The first topic
touched on was the Eucharist, and in this they agreed that, provided
the minister was ordained and the place consecrated, whether the
bread was fermented or unfermented, so long as it was wheaten, it
did not matter. The subject of Purgatory was next introduced. Here
it was concluded that the souls both of the just and the wicked
reached their final destiny after death and that there was also a middle
state of trial, though its precise nature, whether with fire or not, was
left undetermined. As regards the position of the Pope, the criterion
accepted was that such privileges as it should be found that he had
enjoyed from the beginning and before the schism should still be
observed. Then from the Latin side it was asked why the Greeks in
their Liturgy added after the dominical words of consecration whereby
the mystery was effected the prayer of the *epiclesis*:

Moreover we offer to Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice and we
entreat and pray and beseech, send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon
these gifts set before Thee, and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ
and that which is in this chalice the precious Blood of Thy Christ, transmuting
them by Thy Holy Spirit, so that they may be to those that receive them for
purification of the soul, for remission of sins, for fellowship of the Holy Spirit,
for fulfilment of the Kingdom of heaven, for confidence before Thee, not unto
judgement nor unto condemnation.

To this the Greeks replied that they believed that it was the words of
Our Lord that effected the sacrament: they added the prayer of the
epiclesis afterwards just in the same way as the Latin Mass prays after
the consecration: 'Bid that these offerings be carried by the hands of
Thy holy angel to Thy altar on high.' Finally the subject of the

¹ So Dorotheus of Trebizond had recovered from his sickness and had presumably
agreed with the majority over the *Filioque*.

divine essence and operation was mooted. Whereupon the Greeks took fright and replied: 'That is not for us to answer, but for the whole eastern synod', which would seem perhaps to imply that as regards the other questions discussed they had held some kind of mandate from their fellows. Of all this they gave a full report to the Emperor.

On Wednesday the same four prelates visited Eugenius again at his request. They found him with only one cardinal and the delegates, holding in his hand a folded paper which he said concerned the few matters of difference that remained between them. The screed was read aloud at their request. It was the Latin *cedulae* on the primacy, the addition, Purgatory and the Eucharist, and ended with the suggestion that the question of the divine essence and operation should be debated in public session. The Greeks refused to enter into discussion on any of these topics on the grounds that they had no authority to do so, but they offered a little friendly—and disconcerting—advice particularly about the addition, ending thus: 'If you wish, say that you acted wrongly and that you will never repeat the mistake, and so you will merit forgiveness': to what was read about Purgatory and the fermented or unfermented bread of the Eucharist they had, so they said, no objection; but on the divine essence and operation they would not say a word. The Pope pressed them to take the paper but they refused and returned without it to recount to the Emperor and the Patriarch what had taken place.

That evening of 10 June the Patriarch died suddenly after supper. On his desk there was found a paper on which he had just written:

Joseph by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch. Since I am come to the end of my life and shall soon have to pay the debt common to all, by God's grace I write openly and sign my profession for my children. Everything, therefore, that the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the elder Rome understands and teaches I too understand and I declare myself as submitting in common on these points: further the most blessed Father of Fathers and supreme Pontiff and vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Pope of elder Rome, I confess for the security of all: further the Purgatory of souls. In assurance of which it is signed on 9 June 1439 in the second indiction.¹

¹ Text in *A.G.* pp. 444-5 and Fantinus Vallarosso, *op. cit.* p. 105, a work written in 1442.

It is commonly thought that this, as it were, last will and testament of Joseph II is a forgery interpolated into the *Description*.¹ The date is certainly a mistake, but it may have been the mistake of the Patriarch himself in the confusion of a last attack of the illness that carried him off. Among the Latins there was a universal conviction that he 'had agreed with us in the faith' (to use the words of Andrew da Santa Croce in his diary²), recorded in the *Acta latina*,³ by Vallaresso,⁴ by John of Torquemada, O.P.,⁵ and by many chronicles, but that conviction was founded on his subscription to the Latin *cedula* about the Procession of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand Greeks like Syropoulos, Scholarius, Amiroutzes,⁶ Gemistus knew nothing of it, and it played no part in the subsequent negotiations of the Council, ignored by the one side as much as the other. Yet Vallaresso as early as 1442 in the Greco-Latin *milieu* of Crete could include it in his treatise on the Council as an irreproachable document and as a kind of signature from the Patriarch's hand to the decree—and of course it is to be found in the *Description*.¹

Joseph II,⁷ born in Bulgaria about the year 1360, perhaps the illegitimate son of the (later) Bulgarian Czar Šišman and a Greek mother,⁸ was first Metropolitan of Ephesus before being elected Patriarch on 21 May 1416, and when he came to Italy in 1438 he was an old man of about eighty whose health was already undermined. His was a very lovable and attractive personality which easily won the admiration and affection of a Ragusa and a Traversari by his gravity of manner, his acute observation and his simple spirituality. He was not distinguished for learning, but he had an abundance of common

¹ So, e.g. T. Frommann, *op. cit.* pp. 83 ff.; B. Popoff, *The History of the Council of Florence*, ed. J. M. Neale (London, 1861), pp. 144 ff. The question is discussed in the Introduction to the *A.G.* pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii and in J. Gill, 'Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople', in *O.C.P.* xxi (1955), esp. pp. 92–8.

² *Frag.* p. 47.

³ *A.L.* p. 225.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 20.

⁵ *Ioannes de Torquemada O.P. Apparatus super decretum Florentinum unionis Graecorum*, ed. E. Candal (Rome, 1942), pp. 12–13.

⁶ If the *Letter to Demetrius of Nauplion* (L. Mohler, 'Eine bisher verlorene Schrift von Georgios Amirutzes über das Konzil von Florenz' in *Oriens Christianus*, neue Serie, ix (1920), pp. 20–35) is genuine.

⁷ Cf. J. Gill, *Joseph II...* pp. 79–101, for a fuller appreciation of Joseph II.

⁸ V. Laurent, 'Les origines princières du patriarche de Constantinople Joseph II (†1439)', in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, xiii (1955), pp. 131–4.

sense. Before leaving Constantinople he is portrayed by Ragusa as an ardent supporter of the ideal of union, and in Florence

before his death he signed with his own hand the *cedula* on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and humbly submitting himself to the rules of holy Mother Church he died. So many and such were the signs of his complete return that the Supreme Pontiff, with the approval of the holy synod of the Latins, decreed that he had been admitted to the communion of the Church. So with a great cortège of prelates and all the most reverend cardinals assisting, to the funeral chant of the Greeks clad in the sacred vestments of mourning prescribed by their rite, he was laid to rest in the church of S. Maria Novella,¹

even though the Greeks had requested from the Pope no more than permission to bury him in some church according to their own rite.

At the ninth hour (early evening) we took the body of the Patriarch and clad in our sacred vestments we went to the church of S. Maria Novella and fulfilled within the church all the ceremonies of burial. And having kissed him according to custom, we buried him within the church near the sacristy towards the south. The presence of cardinals, archbishops and with them the Signori and office-bearers of Florence added great solemnity to the obsequies. And so the Patriarch died in Florence on 10 June, in the second indiction, and was buried with honour in the convent of the monks of the Order of St Dominic where the Pope had his residence.²

On 16 August George Philanthropinus, a relative of the late Patriarch, deposited fifty ducats with the monastery of S. Maria Novella to found an anniversary and annual Mass to be said by the Friars for the repose of his immortal soul.³

¹ *A.L.* p. 225. The following inscription was engraved on his tomb: † ECCLESIAE ANTISTES FVERAM QVI MAGVS EOAE: HIC IACEO MAGNVS RELIGIONE IOSEPH: HOC VNVM OPTABA(M) MIRO INFLAMMATVS AMORE: VNVS VT EVROPAE CVLTVS VT VNA FIDES: ITALIAM PETII FOEDVS PERCVSSIMVS VNVM: IVNCTAQ. ROMANAE EST ME DVCE GRAIA FIDES: NEC MORA DECVBVI: NVNC ME FLORENTIA SERVAT: QVA TVNC CONCILIVM FLORVIT VRBE SACRVM: FELIX QVI TANTO DONARER MV(N)ERE VIVENS: QVI MORERER VOTI COMPOS ET IPSE MEI: † ΙΩΣΗΦ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ Κ(ΔΙ) ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ 578μξ.

² *A.G.* p. 445.

³ R. P. Mortier, *op. cit.* p. 317. On 12 June the Patriarch's dependents had paid 100 ducats for the expenses of the funeral (*ibid.*).

UNION: THE ADDITION, PURGATORY, THE EUCHARIST, THE PRIMACY

WITH the death of the Patriarch the community of Greek clerics in Florence had lost the man who most contributed to peace and harmony among them. He was the head of their Church and so their particular father and guide. He was the confidant to whom they poured out their laments and if he was not always as active as he might have been in getting them redress, owing partly to his health but more to a deliberate policy of guiding events by a quiet word in private rather than by official interference, he still retained the general confidence and affection, for he was neither militantly unionist nor rabidly anti-unionist and so was alienated from neither party. He said little in the innumerable discussions and debates that filled the daily life of the Greeks. When he did deliver his judgement, it favoured acceptance of the Latin faith and union, but on the grounds that thereby he was being loyal to the traditions of his own Church. The unionists would miss his quiet support more than the others, and the Emperor most of all. Hitherto, though John had 'managed' pretty well all the relations between Greeks and Latins as, owing to the Patriarch's constant illness, he had had to do (and would in any case largely have done in his capacity of 'convener of the Synod'), still he had always respected the position of the Church and its head in matters doctrinal. There had hardly been a meeting of Greek clerics but the Patriarch was present, and that meant in practice that the Emperor had waived his imperial dignity on most occasions to go to the patriarchal residence, seeing that Joseph could not go to him. Now that was changed. The Church was without a head. The Emperor perforce had to assume the duty of guiding, though not of ruling, the Church.

Joseph II died with the conviction that full concord between the Churches was not far off. Agreement on the most outstanding of the doctrinal differences that had divided East and West had been reached, and the common formula of union on that point accepted by the Greek synod with only a few, though important, dissentients. The rest were unquestionably sincere, even if with different degrees of intelligent conviction, the protagonists of union accepting it enthusiastically and without reserve, some of the others concurring only with a certain amount of misgiving. The stages by which that profession of faith had been reached are fully illustrated in the various documents that record the history of the council. The same general method was pursued in regard to the remaining divergences of dogma between the Churches. It is pungently described by Syropoulos from his point of view thus:

The cardinals were with the Emperor every day, demanding corrections in the questions they wanted, and the Emperor was striving to put them off. They, however, continued to press and to bicker, and over each subject four or five days were spent until either they gave up that demand or got their own way, the Latins striving and the Emperor resisting. After many and persistent efforts and proposals and counter-proposals they reached agreement on the four points that are contained in the decree.¹

Unfortunately Syropoulos does not follow up this caricature (every good caricature has a basis of truth) of the Latin method of putting forward statements for the consideration of the Greeks with illustrations of its application: his account jumps almost immediately to early June and the framing of the final decree. The *Description* in the *Acta graeca* is more precise and fuller, but even it is not so detailed as it was when recounting the incidents of April and May and, were it not that the *Acta latina* here furnish the text of the *cedulae* and of the discourses of the Latin theologians who explained them, with some other smaller items of information, it would be hard to reconstruct the main outlines of the events which within the short space of some three weeks made it possible to begin the writing of the final decree.

On the day following the funeral of the Patriarch the Pope sent for Isidore, Bessarion and Dorotheus of Mitylene to express his condolences at their loss but chiefly, now that the main dogmatic

¹ Syr. x, 1, p. 277.

question between the Churches had been settled, to stimulate them to greater activity with regard to the rest, namely, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Purgatory, the primacy of the pope, the addition to the Creed, the 'form' of the Eucharist, i.e. the problem as to whether it is the dominical words or the *epiclesis* in the Liturgy that should be deemed to effect the mystery. The prelates replied that they were not empowered to act as spokesmen for their synod but, as private individuals, they would give their views on those questions. The use of leavened or unleavened bread was, they said, a difference of ecclesiastical custom and of no great importance: the schism had not been caused by any quarrel over Purgatory, so discussion on that could be left till after union had been achieved: the addition would never be accepted by the Greeks but they would acquiesce in the Latins' retaining it and would explain it as a clarification of the Latin Creed introduced under the pressure of necessity so that each Church would retain its own Creed: the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is effected by the dominical words even though the Greeks later pray: 'May it become the Body and Blood of Christ.'

When the three metropolitans left the Pope they went to report what had happened to the Emperor, who was by no means pleased. On the morning of the next day, Saturday, he called a meeting of all the Greek ecclesiastics to hear and consider the proposals of the Sovereign Pontiff, with the result that the synod decided to request the Latins that three of the five outstanding differences—leavened and unleavened bread, the primacy and the addition—should be ventilated in public discussion and that the other two—Purgatory and the 'form' of the Eucharist—should be dropped, probably (so suggests the writer of the *Description*) because they had no very clear views on these questions themselves. On some occasion about this time the Emperor asked Ephesus to write a dissertation on the subject of the Eucharistic 'form', which he did,¹ but it seems to have been more for John's own personal information than for public use; at least there is no suggestion anywhere that it influenced the development of events. Late on the same day some cardinals called on the

¹ Syr. x, 2, p. 279. The text, presumably of this dissertation, is to be found in Petit, *Docs.* pp. 426-34; P.G. 160, 1079-90.

Emperor at his request and were informed of the decision of the synod. They were dissatisfied with the proposal to omit the two questions of Purgatory and of the 'form' of the Eucharist, objecting that they were essential for union, but they could make no impression on the Emperor. Whereupon they became a little less intransigent and proposed that a statement about Purgatory should be included in the decree, but that agreement on the 'form' need only be expressed orally. They went away without, apparently, receiving any definite answer to their suggestion, for the *Greek Acts* add: 'After these words two days passed and there was discussion of nothing else but of Purgatory and the consecration of the gifts.' On the following Monday Eugenius sent to urge the Greeks to a decision, and it was arranged that next day the Emperor, his brother Demetrius and the Greek synod should visit the Pope and hear the explanations they had requested on some of the points that had not yet been considered in common.¹

The Pope opened the proceedings with a short speech. He complained about the slowness of the Greeks to bring these questions of lesser importance to a conclusion when the difference that had caused the schism between the Churches had already been solved, and in particular about their reluctance to include a statement on Purgatory in the final agreement although it had been discussed at such length in Ferrara. However, cardinals and others had visited the oriental synod when there had been conversations on the subject of the primacy and the Holy Eucharist and, as a request had been made for further enlightenment on these matters, he had designated two theologians to explain the Latin doctrine about them.

John of Montenero, the Latin orator at all the public sessions in Florence, was the theologian appointed to discourse on the primacy. What he did was to take the Latin *cedula* on the subject phrase by phrase, explaining each one and adding proofs mainly from the Councils, but also from the Fathers and the Scriptures, all very

¹ There is a certain difference here between the sources. The Greek synod by deciding to discuss in public certain questions implied that all the Greeks would be present, and the *Acta lat.* give the impression that they were. The *Acta graeca*, when narrating the actual occasion, seem to say that the Emperor and his brother went of set purpose to the Pope and 'some metropolitans went too' almost casually. Syropoulos, probably referring to this event (x, 1, p. 278), says that of the Greeks only Ephesus was absent.

briefly.¹ The statement on the primacy ran as follows: 'Also in the same way we define that the holy, apostolic and Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ, head of the whole Church and father of all Christians, our teacher too, and that he holds the primacy over the whole world, and that to the same See and Roman Pontiff in St Peter the prince of the Apostles there was given plenary power of feeding, convening, ruling and governing the whole Church.'²

When John had finished his exposition (Cardinal Cesarini had interrupted him once to add quotations from the Fathers and again to remind him that he had omitted a phrase of the *cedula*), his fellow Dominican, John of Torquemada, spoke on the Eucharist, also to explain the Latin *cedula* which (to judge from his exposition) was as follows: (We define) 'also that the Body of the Lord is truly effectuated in unfermented or in fermented bread, which the words of the Saviour pronounced in the effectuating of it [bring about], and also that priests should effectuate the very Body of the Lord in one of these according to the custom of his Church, whether Latin or Oriental'.³

¹ The Greeks by now must have received the various Latin *cedulae*: Montenero takes it for granted that they are familiar with the one he is commenting on. But when they received them is not clear. The *Acta graeca* relate that the four Metropolitans refused to convey to the Emperor the paper the Pope pressed on them on 10 June, but the *Acta lat.* report the Pope as saying, after these discussions on the primacy and the Eucharist and some words of his own on the addition: 'We gave the *cedula* to Russia, Nicaea, and Mitylene who took it: if it has been made known to everyone, well and good; if not we will have it communicated' (p. 240). The *Acta lat.* (p. 230) imply that the *cedula* on Purgatory was given first, then those on the addition, on leavened and unleavened bread, and on the primacy—all before this speech of Montenero of 16 June. Cf. G. Hofmann, 'Quomodo formula definitionis Concilii Florentini de potestate plena Papae praeparata fuerit', in *A.A.V.* xiv (1938), pp. 138–48.

² For the discourse, *A.L.* pp. 231–6. The *cedula* is given here as reconstructed from Montenero's explanation of it. It differs slightly from the text of the final decree; e.g. in the latter there is no *convocandi*, a word that the Emperor took strong objection to.

³ The part of the final decree that treats of this matter adds 'wheaten' before bread, and both it and Andrew da S. Croce where he gives the texts of all the *cedulae* (*A.L.* p. 231) omit the phrase about the words of the Saviour. Subsequent negotiations explain the omission in the decree. The omission in the *Acta lat.* is due, I think, to the fact that there Andrew recounts the *cedulae* in more or less their final form and not as they were originally proposed. The same reason would explain why Montenero could discourse at length over *convocandi*, which also is not in the final decree, and say nothing of the order of the patriarchates.

The text of this discourse is in the *A.L.* pp. 236–9.

Cf. G. Hofmann, 'De praeparatione definitionis Concilii Florentini de SS. Eucharistia', in *A.A.V.* xiv (1938), pp. 45–54; Ioannes de Torquemada, O.P., *Apparatus super decretum Florentinum unionis Graecorum*, ed. E. Candal (Romae, 1942), pp. xxviii–xxxii.

Torquemada spent little time on the quality of the bread to be used in the Sacrament. For, though some of the Greeks would have liked to have unfermented bread altogether forbidden, the majority felt no great objection to the Latin custom. He insisted more on the suitability of unleavened bread, going into some detail to show from the Gospels that that was what Our Saviour used at the Last Supper when the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist was instituted. He then went on to the point on which the Greeks were more sensitive, to prove that the Sacrament was effected by the recitation of our Lord's words: 'This is my Body', etc. For this he quoted St John Chrysostom,¹ St John Damascene,² the Pseudo-Dionysius,³ St Ambrose,⁴ St Augustine,⁵ and added a number of theological reasons, among them that Christ and His Apostles used not the words of St Basil but the dominical words, and that as the unity of the Church is founded in unity of faith and unity of sacraments, of which this Sacrament is the greatest, should there be a substantial change in the 'form' of a sacrament, that unity would be lost, and so for the sake of the simple it should be made clear where the substance of the rite lies, in the words of Our Saviour, that is, and not in the words of any Saint however much to be revered.

When Torquemada had finished, the Pope addressed the Greeks. What had been said had been at their request and His Holiness did not doubt that they already believed it, especially the part that treated of the 'form' of the Eucharist. However, he would be content if the definition should cover the four points, the Procession of the Holy Spirit, leavened and unleavened bread, the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and Purgatory, all of which seemed essential.⁶ Besides, as the Greeks in the discussions in Ferrara had talked of the Roman Church being under excommunication because of the Addition, it was no more than just that the honour of that Church should be cleared of any such imputation by a declaration that the Addition had been made lawfully. So he exhorted them, keeping in view only the honour of Christ, to accept this profession of faith on which later

¹ *P.G.* 49, 380.

² *P.G.* 94, 1141 A.

³ *P.G.* 3, 441 D-443 A.

⁴ *P.L.* 16, 439 B-440 A.

⁵ *P.L.* 42, 873-4.

⁶ At this time the Pope was still insisting on the inclusion of a statement on the 'form' of the Eucharist.

they would hold a session and, if they were satisfied with it, then the Emperor could soon be on his way.

As he spoke he offered the Emperor a paper—presumably the *cedulae*—which John was disinclined to accept though pressed by some of his prelates. It would take too long to reply, he said, and it was now in any case time for him to be on his way home; he had been away too long already and the work he had come to do had by God's grace already been accomplished (referring doubtless to the agreement on the Procession of the Holy Spirit). He would, however, consult with his synod, but he could not foresee that any other answer would be forthcoming. No reply was called for, replied the Pope, but only that they should hasten their departure once union had been achieved. If he had been away so long, that was his own fault: they could have reached this stage of the proceedings at any time in the thirteen preceding months, had he wanted. But all would be done to expedite the arrangements for their departure which could be effected within six weeks, but meanwhile the *cedula* should be considered and an answer given. When John still remained truculent Eugenius informed him that, though there was as yet no union, he had already sent an agent to Venice to prepare ships. John had the last word: 'We have nothing to say: we have discussed this with the cardinals. Time is too short and we cannot waste any more of it.'

At this curt answer Eugenius got up and went out apparently distressed, leaving it to Cardinal Cesarini to placate the monarch by inviting him to send his own messengers to Venice to act with the papal agent, but himself to remain with his brother Demetrius¹ till God should crown their efforts for union with success, when his return would be the more glorious. John, either following up this suggestion of the Cardinal or on his own initiative, did send envoys to Venice at about this time. Their mission can be gathered from the answer of the Signoria. For on 23 June it granted a request from him, made through them, lending to him three of its own ships with their hulls strengthened so that they could be armed as fighting vessels.

¹ This incident may be the basis for what Syropoulus says earlier about Demetrius remaining, due to a request to the Emperor from 'the cardinals', one of whom was Cesarini: cf. above, p. 263.

A further petition that the city would delay the departure of its annual commercial fleet for Tana (Crimea) till he was ready to depart, for his greater security against Turkish marauders, it could not accede to; but a third, that the goods that the late Patriarch had deposited with Venetian citizens should be delivered to his agents, it allowed against receipts that would protect the holders against any future claims.¹

After the meeting with the Latins the Greeks gathered in the imperial palace to discuss what had happened. They recapitulated the five doctrinal differences that lay in the way of union and a certain large section of them at least (the *Description* speaks in general terms, 'we') was ready to approve of the Latin doctrine on all five points, urging the Emperor, though without success, that, as they agreed, he should put an end to indecision and indeed to the whole business. In particular, they asked, why the hesitation about Purgatory when the Greeks themselves had no very clear views about it? But there was not unanimity of opinion in the Greek synod. For on the next day (17 June) Cardinals Domenico Capranica and Condulmaro with some of the Latin theologians visited the Greeks (after they had sung a solemn commemoration at the grave of their defunct Patriarch, it being the ninth day after his death) and the questions of the primacy and the Eucharist were debated between them, both the Emperor and Bessarion raising objections to the formulae the Latins had proposed.² Cardinal Cesarini too was perhaps present, for Syropoulus, when recording the controversy on the Eucharist (where he affirms that the Latins wanted to forbid the Greeks to recite the *epiclesis* at all in their Liturgy), makes it largely centre round an encounter between him and the Emperor when the Cardinal retorted to John who had spoken of 1200 books of the liturgy with the *epiclesis*: 'And would Your Royal Highness take an oath that those liturgies were always exactly as they are now?'

The discussion certainly must have been very lively particularly as regards the words of the Liturgy that complete the sacrament. In a discourse which he held before the Latins on 27 June Cesarini said of this question (which was not, as he remarked, usually numbered

¹ A.C.A. doc. 75.

² A.L. pp. 240-1.

among the traditional differences between the Churches, but which had been raised by the Pope who had heard that the Orientals counted the *epiclesis* as of the substance of the 'form' of the sacrament and so desired to be reassured on the point) that it 'almost upset the whole work'. The Latins insisted that mention of it should be made in the definition. The Greeks resisted, claiming that their Church had always held the same doctrine as the Latins on this, namely that the 'form' of the Sacrament consists of the words of institution of Our Lord, and instanced St John Chrysostom as a witness to this, but that it had always recited the prayers of the *epiclesis* as well, and to bring this subject into the definition at all would reflect upon their Church as if it had at some time been wrong on the point. As late as 25 June Latin delegates were sent to try to convince the Orientals, but in vain, and in the end a compromise was reached—the Greeks would make a public verbal statement affirming that their belief coincided with Latin theology on that point and the Pope, like his predecessors, would be content to define only the 'matter' of the Sacrament.¹ On the evening of the same day the Emperor invited four of the metropolitans to visit him, Antony of Heraclea, Mark of Ephesus, Isidore of Russia and Bessarion of Nicaea, the first two being the centre of the opposition to union and the last two its most ardent supporters, hoping that by quiet conversation and tranquil reasoning the two 'difficult' prelates might be persuaded, and in that way a real unanimity (which was always John's aim) achieved. But the experiment failed.

As a result of the visit of the two cardinals the Pope invited the Greek prelates to another general meeting when the same two orators would answer the objections that had been raised. All went, though this time the Emperor did not accompany them, on Thursday 18 June.² Montenero who had been one of the theologians who had visited the Greeks the day before, was the first speaker, again on the subject of the primacy. His discourse indicates the trend of the discussions of the previous day. He began by replying to the ob-

¹ *A.L.* p. 255.

² The *Acta lat.* place this occasion as on 20 June. That does not fit in with the series of events described in the *Acta graeca*, so I follow the chronology of the latter. The texts of the two discourses are in the *Acta lat.* pp. 241–52: the *Acta graeca* devote to them only one short paragraph.

jection that the reverence shown to the letters of the Popes Leo, Hadrian and Agatho by the Oecumenical Councils was no proof of papal authority but only of the respect of the Fathers of the Councils for the pope's person. The Greeks demand to see canons alleged in support of the primacy, he said, but such letters are of more authority than canons, because they were quoted by the Fathers as the grounds and the proof of what they themselves defined. Then the Emperor had asked through Bessarion what exactly the Latins meant by 'father and teacher of Christians'; was it merely a certain reverence as to the first among the patriarchs? 'Not merely reverence, but a certain power of a certain obedience', was Montenero's answer, which he proceeded to support by arguments from Scripture, the words of St Leo and especially of Justinian, concluding: 'So this power which is in Peter and his successors is called a power of spiritual jurisdiction which is directed to the salvation of the souls of all Christians.' Another objection of the Emperor had been to the word in the *cedula* 'convening'. But that power, replied Montenero, is so connected with the office of 'feeding and teaching' the flock that it is essential: Emperors had convened Councils but with the approval of popes, the emperor being the secular arm to put into practical execution spiritual measures. He continued: 'I have never read in any writing or Council that the government of the Church is placed in three or five patriarchs' (though it is objected that their rights are being contravened). Christ gave the best order to his Church, the monarchical order, for he made Peter head of the Apostles, and later Alexandria and Antioch were held in special honour because of their relation with St Peter—Jerusalem and Constantinople received their privileges very much later. Finally Bessarion had asked whether the power attributed 'to the head' was like that enjoyed by a metropolitan or patriarch in his metropolis. 'No', replied Montenero, 'the power of metropolitans and patriarchs is limited to a certain area; the successor of Peter has the immediate power of a superior over all', so that all may have recourse to him for doctrine, instruction and judgement.

So Montenero finished. Some prelate, called in the *Latin Acts* Arethusa (Heraclea?), objected that while a Council cannot be summoned without agreement by the pope, still neither can it be

summoned by him apart from the Patriarchs. But the discussion was not prolonged and ended with the reading in Greek of the donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester.

The second speaker, John of Torquemada, concentrated on one point only, the desirability of including in the final decree a statement on the 'form' of the Eucharist, because the Emperor had intimated through one of the cardinals that it could not be included. He recalled to his hearers' minds his arguments of the previous occasion to prove that the Sacrament was effected by the dominical words and added that as the canon of the Latin Mass was of very slow growth (St Peter was its author, but he was responsible for only one short prayer, the rest was of later composition), Our Lord's words, the only permanent part of it, must have been and still be the effective prayer. Then he met three objections that had been moved, based on the Pseudo-Dionysius, St John Damascene and the Liturgy of St Basil. In this last the dominical words are imperative and come first, the *epiclesis* deprecatory and placed second, so not even St Basil himself could have thought that his human words were more effective than the command of Christ. The prayer of the *epiclesis*, he suggested, is directed not to the sacramental Body of Christ, but to His Mystical Body, i.e. the faithful, that by the Holy Ghost there may be fulfilled in them the ends for which Christ gives himself. That reference to the 'form' ought to enter into the text of the decree appeared, so he said, from four reasons—from the fact that it was a question needing decision since it had caused so much controversy in so august a gathering; to round off the definition of the Eucharist which mentioned the other main points; for the instruction of the simple so that they should know at what point of the Liturgy they should worship Christ present; and lastly because of charity, to unite the Churches.

The hour was by then late, so the Pope to close the proceedings addressed the gathering, confident both that the authority of the early Councils quoted had convinced them about the primacy of the Apostolic See and that no one hesitated to accept the conclusions of the second speaker, otherwise one would have to say that till the time of the great Saints who composed the liturgies there had been no Sacrament. He bade the Greeks confer with their Emperor and speedily to agree to union so that they could all concentrate attention

on the arrangements for their quick return home. As the Pope ended, Isidore of Russia asked leave to speak. The Greek Liturgy, he said, in the same form as it is now, dated from long before the schism with no controversy on either side about it. Greek faith accepts that the dominical words are the essential in effecting the Sacrament, as it were, the seed, but they are in need of other prayers and circumstances for that seed to produce its fruit. Since, then, there is agreement on this, there is no need to put it in the definition, as if there were not. The simple are not in fact misled. There are various other questions between the Churches, baptism for instance, but there is no time for them all. So let there not be demanded definition on this.

Torquemada replied, gratified that the Greeks believed with the Latins on the point of doctrine. But he could not accept all of Isidore's reasoning because first, in the Liturgy of St Basil, words of supplication could not bring about what was already effected, and secondly, the words of Christ cannot be only partially effective, as it were producing the seed, and stand in need of nothing else to supplement them: these two reasons, he said, weakened Isidore's plea that it was not necessary to include this in the definition, suggesting rather that it was necessary, so that all the essentials for the Sacrament should be defined.

The *Acta graeca* relate that after dinner on this same day, Thursday, 18 June, the Greeks gathered in the Emperor's palace to give him an account of the events of the morning. John told them to bring the books (presumably the Acts of the Councils quoted by Montenegro) and they began to examine afresh the question of the privileges of the Churches. Friday and Saturday were spent too in the same task, but without result.

But on Sunday morning we wrote and approved the privileges of the Pope except for two, that he should not convene an Oecumenical Council without the Emperor and the patriarchs if they would come, but if they had been summoned and did not come that the Synod for that reason should not be delayed; and the second, if anyone should consider he had been wronged by any of the patriarchs and the one who had lodged the appeal should come [before the pope], that the patriarchs should not come to answer and be judged, but the pope should send examiners to the spot and there in the place where

the question arose dispense justice locally to the wronged. Having reached these conclusions on the Sunday morning we asked the Emperor, and he went to the Pope towards evening to say what we had done and what privileges we had given him.¹

The *Acta latina* record: 'On the 21st at the 21st hour (i.e. late afternoon) the Emperor came to the Sovereign Pontiff and at the same time said that he believed in the four articles and agreed with us about them all, except that in respect of the article on the primacy he wished to treat.'² Both these accounts are brief and lacking in detail. The Latin one refers to four articles which presumably included that about the primacy since the question of the Eucharistic 'form' was not settled for another fortnight. The Greek account speaks of 'we examined' etc., which in the context seems to refer to all the Greek synod that had been present at the meeting with the Pope on the Thursday previous, and confines the matter treated of and agreed upon to the sole article of the primacy. This same account goes on to report that the Pope received the Emperor graciously but deferred his reply till he had consulted the Latin synod.

On Monday, 22 June, three cardinals brought Eugenius' answer to the Emperor,

that he wanted all the privileges of his Church and wants to have right as a court of appeal and to direct and pasture all the Church of Christ as a shepherd of the sheep; besides, to have authority and power to convoke an oecumenical Synod whenever there should be need, and all the patriarchs to be submitted to his will. When the Emperor heard this he gave up hope and made no other reply except: 'Make arrangements for us to depart, if you will be so kind.' And the cardinals went away.³

While the Greeks were thus reduced to the depths of despair, the citizens of Florence were preparing to celebrate with their usual pomp the feast of St John the Baptist, the patron of their city-state. The eve of the feast, 23 June, was also a public holiday, enlivened by a gigantic procession and a series of pageants. Various religious episodes were portrayed illustrating the life of Our Lord—the scene of Bethlehem with shepherds, Magi and a star, and beasts near the manger; a miracle of raising to life and the history of the Passion. The procession, to the sound of drums and trumpets, with holy

¹ A.G. p. 451.

² A.L. p. 252.

³ A.G. p. 452.

relics, banners, crosses, contained, besides grotesque figures of more than human size—hermits on high stilts, and huge paste-board effigies carried on the shoulders of men hidden in folds of drapery below—a St Augustine on a kind of dais some 25 feet high haranguing the people and a St George in deadly combat with the dragon. On the feast itself the city and its citizens displayed their riches of gold, silver and precious fabrics. In the church of the Precursor some hundred banners were dedicated and about thirty miniature wooden castles of delicate workmanship representing their territorial possessions, candles too and silver lamps, while certain citizens of known merit, wearing crowns and carrying branches of olive, represented the populace, itself present in large numbers clad in its best attire. More than a hundred lamps, high and low in the church, burned all night and dissipated the darkness.¹ The Commune made a present to the Emperor in honour of the feast.²

During those two days of general jubilation, packed streets and religious ceremonies, little could be done to solve the deadlock between the Churches. A group of the Greeks, however, Isidore, Bessarion, Dorotheus of Mitylene and others, was not inactive. Some of them visited Eugenius, others talked with the Emperor, with the result that the Pope sent for the monarch and together they devised another expedient. The next day, therefore, the Greeks chose six delegates to meet a similar group of Latins—Antony of Heraclea, Isidore, Bessarion with another metropolitan and two ‘presbyters’ for the Greeks; Cardinal Cesarini, Jean le Jeune, bishop of Terouanne and envoy of Burgundy, Juan de Mella, bishop of León, John of Montenero, John of Torquemada and Thomas of Sarzana, the future Pope Nicholas V, for the Latins³—and while this committee deliberated with the Pope, the synods both of the Latins and the Greeks waited outside, apparently in separate halls. The session of the delegates lasted for several hours and the heat, especially after midday, was intense. In the early afternoon His Holiness sent in to the Emperor and his patient clerics, as well as to the Latins, some

¹ From the short account, written probably by Plousiadenus (Joseph of Methone), to be found as a kind of appendix in many of the MSS. of the *Greek Acts* of the Council.

² Jorga, II, p. 34.

³ The number six and the names are furnished by the *Acta lat.* p. 253: the *Acta graeca* give the number as four per side and no names.

light refreshments. Finally the delegates returned 'with nothing achieved of what was wanted', say the *Greek Acts*, and that is all that is known of what went on in the committee except for what can be gathered from the events that followed.

One result of the meeting was the Pope's agreement not to insist on the inclusion in the decree of a statement about the 'form' of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.¹ Another would seem to have been the decision to repeat in it the order of the patriarchates established by previous Councils, as appears from the account of the *Greek Acts* which continue the history of events thus:²

We went to the residence of the Emperor and there after deliberation we agreed and wrote as follows: About the primacy of the Pope, we profess that he is supreme Pontiff and representative and guardian and vicar of Christ, shepherd and teacher of all Christians, that he directs and governs the Church of God, without infringement of the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East, he of Constantinople to be second after the pope, then the Alexandrine, after him the one of Antioch, then the one of Jerusalem. When we had written this we determined neither to write nor to do anything else, but if this should not be accepted by the Pope, nothing further would be done. And having sent it on the evening of Friday we learnt that he had received it with pleasure and then we were relieved.³

On the following day, 27 June, all the Greek ecclesiastics went to S. Maria Novella's to celebrate a solemn commemoration at the tomb of the Patriarch. Isidore and Dorotheus of Mitylene then went on to visit the Pope, to say that now that they had met his wishes and withdrawn their opposition and omitted whatever else they might have wanted to say for no other reason than to cut the business short in view of the early departure of the Venetian ships,⁴ the feast of the Apostles St Peter and St Paul two days later would be an excellent and very suitable occasion for the conjoint celebration of union. Eugenius answered graciously, thanking them for their expedition and, indicating the Latin synod present there in greater numbers than ever before, said that they were there to bring matters to a speedy close, so that it was very likely that union could be

¹ Cf. above pp. 277-8 and *A.L.* p. 255.

² Cf. also *A.L.* p. 255. The exact wording of this part of the decree was a cause of discord right up till Friday, 3 July, cf. p. 290. *A.G.* p. 456.

³ *A.G.* p. 453.

⁴ I.e. the fleet for Tana.

celebrated, as they suggested, on the feast of the Apostles: on that he would inform them after the meeting.

The meeting of all the Latin members of the Council took place in the main chapel of the apostolic palace. After a few words from the Pope Cesarini gave a brief history of the negotiations with the Greeks that had ended in agreement between the Churches.¹ The Cardinal began by enumerating the doctrinal points that had had to be settled, referred in passing to the public sessions already known to his hearers, spoke a little more at length about the conferences between the committees of ten from each side of mid-April and mentioned the *cedulae* in turn. On that about the addition these are his words:

Because, from the time when the subject of the addition had been mooted it had seemed right that the Synod should define that the addition was lawfully made, and in this there was great difficulty, to narrate which four hours would barely suffice. Finally it was concluded that they should proclaim that that addition or declaration was justly and well made.

On Purgatory he said:²

The subject of Purgatory was not debated in public but between some delegates and very seriously, and because there seemed to be many difficulties I almost despaired. At length by the help of God the Greeks now admit the truth that those who die in charity but not without sin go to Purgatory and the wicked and the just respectively to hell and heaven and that immediately after death.

But the Greeks were holding that they do not see God himself, but certain lights, and in this there was great difficulty and such as nearly upset the whole business; at length they yielded to argument and recognised that the souls of the blessed will see God, Three and One, as he is; but they wanted to have put into the *cedula* that some would see less and others more, and it was thought good that this should be included, since 'in our Father's house there are many mansions'.³

¹ *A.L.* p. 253-6. As much of this discourse has already been used either in general terms or by quotations in what has already been recounted, here only a very brief summary will be given, stressing rather the parts not yet utilised.

² The text of the *cedula* was that presented to the Greeks in Ferrara; cf. above, pp. 120-1.

³ So for inclusion in the decree the *cedula* was amended by the addition, towards the end, of 'and clearly see God himself, One and Three, as he is' (to counter Greek palamitic theology), 'yet according to the diversity of merits some more perfectly than others' (to meet the Greek desire about the different degrees of beatitude).

He next spoke of the controversy over the words of the Eucharist which had been settled only the day before, the Latin delegates with the Pope's permission agreeing not to include any statement on that in the decree. The last difference was on the primacy, which the Greeks traditionally regarded as a headship within a limited whole, as it were of a dean. But they were convinced by the words of Scripture and the Councils and, 'God's mercy so arranging, it came about that the Greeks agreed according to the *cedula* put forward by the Latins'. They asked, however, that mention should be made of the order of the patriarchal Sees, as had been done in other Councils and in the Lateran Council too under Innocent III. The Holy Father, continued the Cardinal, has summoned you because he has no wish to act in so vital a matter without your knowledge. The Greeks press for a speedy departure, also because they desire the protection of the Venetian fleet to Tana. It will be good that the Emperor reach home quickly to instruct his people about this union and anticipate ill-informed rumours. I will read to you the *cedulae* which are not in the form of a decree: that will be in the name of His Holiness.

The Cardinal then read out the *cedulae*, after which the Pope spoke a few words exhorting them to gratitude to Almighty God and bidding them, as the Greeks were in a hurry to depart, to meet in their Estates that evening to elect four representatives from each to form a committee for the drafting of the decree, so that its solemn promulgation might be possible on the feast of the Apostles, 29 June. At the 20th hour the three Estates met separately and chose their delegates.

Syropoulus takes up the tale again here, but mainly to recount the squabbles that marred harmony within the Greek community. He says that the Emperor several times made ominous remarks about those of his prelates who instigated the Latins to insist on precise statements from the Greeks on points that otherwise they would not have bothered about, which of course is quite contrary to the facts, for it is clear from the whole history of the Council that it was the Latins who all the time would not be put off with vague phrases of ambiguous meaning and who, on each of the questions, would be content with nothing less than the acceptance of their own carefully-

worded *cedula*. Bessarion and Isidore advised the addition to the decree of penalties for those who disobeyed it. The Protosyncellus and Lacedaemon objected, the latter remarking that it was not necessary to give it internal assent. This moved the Emperor to admonish them all and take Lacedaemon to task for yielding to his prejudices, whereas he ought, as John himself said he had done, to have kept an open mind on the dogma of both of the Churches till the Council had defined the truth. Rumours, it appeared, of the election of a successor to Joseph for the patriarchal throne were rife, and Gregory, suspecting that Isidore aspired to that honour, asked the Emperor to state publicly that no election would take place in Italy, not disguising either the reason of his request: Isidore reacted with lofty disdain. Mark of Ephesus, afraid now that union was imminent, that extreme means might be employed to break his resolution not to add his name to the document on union, pleaded through Demetrius with the Emperor that, as he had left his monastic life only in obedience to the royal wish, he should not suffer for that, and received a promise on the imperial word of honour that he should not be forced to sign and that he should return to Constantinople in liberty in the Emperor's own suite. Ambrogio Traversari wrote the decree in Greek: Bessarion wished to add polish to it here and there, but each suggestion was so scrutinised by the Latins, two hours being spent over a word sometimes, that it took ten days to complete the work.

On this last point at least, Syropoulus is guilty of exaggeration. As a matter of fact the decree was written in a day, probably because the various *cedulae* were already prepared in both languages. Delay there was, but the reasons for it will best be seen by following the story as it is given in the *Description of the Greek Acts*. After the meeting of the Latin synod on the evening of Saturday, 27 June, the Pope sent Vallaresso, archbishop of Crete, Andreas Chrysoberges, bishop of Rhodes, and Cristoforo Garatoni, bishop of Corone, to inform the Emperor of the acceptance by the Latins of the revised *cedulae* and to suggest that the decree should be composed the next day so that, if it were finished in time, it could be promulgated on the Monday, the feast of the Apostles. On the Sunday, therefore, there was a meeting in the sacristy of the church of St Francis and

the decree was written. It was submitted to the Emperor for his approval and its opening words moved him to protest, for they were: *Eugenius episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam* without any mention either of the Emperor or of the Greek Church. Then, further on, the decree accorded the Pope his privileges 'as these are contained in the sacred Scripture and the writings of the Saints',¹ and here John demurred again, objecting that, if some Saints wrote in exaggeratedly honourable terms of a pope, was that to count as the ground of a privilege. So he demanded emendation of these two phrases or else arrangements for him to depart. So the feast of St Peter and St Paul came and went, but there was no festive proclamation of union. Instead cardinals visited the Emperor to discuss these new difficulties.

According to Syropoulos the argument was fierce. The Emperor claimed that he had convoked the Council or at any rate that unless he had gathered the Orientals together there would have been no Council at all, and that his name should be first in the same way as previous emperors were mentioned in the early Councils—at least, let there be no name or two decrees, one as the Latins liked, the other to suit him. The cardinals on the other hand persisted that, no matter what had been written in earlier definitions, in those Councils the pope had not been physically present as he was in Florence, and they pointed to the Bull of 9 April to inaugurate the Council in Ferrara which began with the same formula, against which the Emperor had not then objected. 'The Emperor, seeing that they would not change their opening phrase, of necessity gave way though against his will, and they composed the decree as they wanted.'²

On the contrary, according to the *Greek Acts* and the text of the final decree itself, it was the Pope who yielded on that point, consenting to add after the initial words 'with the consent of John . . . of the procurators of the Patriarchs . . . and of the other representatives of the Oriental Church'. But on the second difficulty, that 'in accordance with the holy canons' should be substituted for 'in

¹ The final decree has 'in the acts of the Oecumenical Councils and the holy canons', so that it is possible that this first draft ran: 'in the acts of the Oecumenical Councils and the writings of the Saints'.

² Syr. x, 2, p. 281.

accordance with the writings of the Saints', no compromise was reached. On Tuesday morning, 30 June, the Greeks met but only to lament and to blame either the Latins or the Emperor, as they felt inclined, for the delay. Towards evening of the same day the Emperor summoned the clerics to tell them that, as he would not yield in his demands to the Latins, the cardinals had asked to be allowed to address them. There came cardinals, archbishops and many theologians, of whom Cardinal Cesarini was spokesman. There have arisen two difficulties, he said, the one about the name of the Pope and that has been solved already because His Holiness has agreed to the addition of the names of the Emperor and of the patriarchs; the other, the phrase about the words of the Saints. On the need of this we are in no doubt and we ask that it be included in the decree. After all, the whole faith and all the canons rest on the words of the Saints and they should not be a source of discord. So, after having heard this morning a long exposition of the Emperor's views on this question, we wished to put it to you, the representatives of the Church, whether it is right that the work of God should be hindered because of the words of the Saints. The Latins then retired while the Greeks deliberated. The upshot was that the Greek synod wrote: 'that the Pope should have his privileges according to the canons and the words of the Saints and the holy Scripture and the acts of the Councils' and delivered that screed to the Latins, who promised to give their answer next day after consultation with the Pope.

On Wednesday, 1 July, therefore, the cardinals visited the Emperor and said to him: 'The Holy Father has received the two documents and bade us choose one of them. So let the statement be read and examined so that a final decision may be given to the question.'¹ Whatever it was that the Latin document contained—presumably

¹ I have quoted here the words of the *Greek Acts* because I do not know to what 'the two documents' refers. There is a lack of precision and maybe accuracy in the account of the *Description* about the primacy narrated immediately above, because the final decree on this is worded 'as is contained in the acts of the Oecumenical Councils and the sacred canons', though the *Greek Acts* affirm that the Greeks besides had conceded what the Latins were demanding, namely, 'in the writings of the Saints': yet it is unlikely that this phrase, had the Greeks really agreed to it, would have been omitted. In point of fact the Pope here gave way to the Greek opposition.

the text that was in fact incorporated into the decree—it was acceptable to the Greeks, so the Emperor arranged that six¹ from either side should meet next day to write out the decree of union in both languages ready for the signatures, the leaden seal of the Pope, and his own gold seal. Thursday morning saw the work completed in the sacristy of St Francis's, but when the text was read over it was found, to the consternation of the Latins, that somehow the word 'all' had been added in the phrase 'without infringement of (all) the privileges and rights' of the patriarchs. The rest of that day and all the next were passed in strife over the 'all', till finally on Saturday, 4 July, in the morning, the decree was rewritten once again, retaining the word 'all',² and this time was approved by both Churches.

The Latins gave their approbation at a meeting that evening, when Cardinal Cesarini told them that both the Greek and the Latin texts had been read that morning to their twelve delegates (who had met their Greek counterparts in conference each morning and evening for the last seven days) and that they had been satisfied with it. The Pope added a few words to remind them of their duty of gratitude to God at this ending of a schism which had lasted for 437 years. The Greeks, he said, had conceded what the Latins had demanded. The decree needed no further approbation from them since they had already approved of the *cedulae*. It would be promulgated in plenary session on the following Monday, the octave of the feast of the Apostles, in the cathedral church, with himself as celebrant of the solemn Mass.

Since the payment on 22 May of maintenance allowances for two months, the Greeks had received nothing else. By the beginning of July they were feeling the pinch of poverty. Before the union Dorotheus of Mitylene obtained some money from the Pope to distribute among those most in distress, and after the union Garatoni and Traversari also dispensed papal charity, but, in any case, it was given mostly to the lower clergy who did not sign the decree. The cunning among them managed to tap more than one source—the Skevophylax for example all three. Syropoulus asserts that both at

¹ The number was probably twelve a side since the Latins chose four delegates from each of the three Estates.

² So presumably the accidental addition had been only in the Greek text. A new copy was necessary since both texts were on the same parchment in parallel columns, and Latin and Greek had to tally.

the signing of the original decree and at that of the four later copies: 'no one at all saw florins being handed out there to the signatories or heard either requests or promises.' He repeats this asseveration also twice later: 'I call God to witness, Who is over all, that there was no mention of it made by anyone then (i.e. at the first signing) nor was there the slightest hint of a demand by any of ours or promise by the Latins.'¹ The reason for Syropoulus' vehemence is obvious. By the time he was writing his *Memoirs* it was being commonly said that the signatures had been bought—and he had signed.

The reason for his signing he recounts at great length. He was summoned with the Chartophylax and the Protekdikus by the Emperor after the Greek Liturgy on the Sunday, 5 July, and all three were informed by Philanthropinus in the Emperor's name that they were both to sign the decree that same day and to be present in their sacred vestments at its solemn proclamation the next day. All three remonstrated that, as they had been excluded from expressing their opinions in the Greek synods as having no right to decide on the definition of a Council, they could not and should not take active part in its official promulgation, especially as they did not accept it. Philanthropinus bore messages between them and the monarch two or three times, but the Emperor was adamant that, as the authorities of their Church approved of the definition which would also be the decision of an Oecumenical Council, they must both sign and be present. Finally, cowed by threats of the imperial displeasure, first the Chartophylax and the Protekdikus whose written judgements in favour of the Latin doctrine the Emperor declared he possessed though they denied having made any, then Syropoulus, yielded, still protesting that it was against his conscience and that he complied only to obey the royal command.²

The Greeks signed the decree at the second hour after midday of Sunday, 5 July. For that purpose they gathered in the imperial palace where Cristoforo Garatoni, bishop of Corone, with two other

¹ Syr. x, 8, p. 292: cf. also x, 17, p. 307.

² Isidore is said to have put Avrami of Susdal in prison for eight days to force him to sign. An action of that sort could not have been kept secret, yet neither Syropoulus nor the author of the *Reisebericht* breathes a word about it. The latter, in fact, relates that Avrami went with Isidore on 4 September to get the Pope's blessing before they both left Florence, which does not imply strained relations (p. 168).

bishops and a protonotary were present to witness the ceremony. Nicholas Sagundino the interpreter carried the parchment of the decree, which was taken by him and Boullotes, accompanied by Garatoni, to Antony of Heraclea, procurator of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was absent ill, for his signature. Then the other procurators and the rest of the bishops, the Staurophoroi and the superiors of the monasteries signed in order of precedence. No one mentioned the name of Mark of Ephesus, who did not sign; and when they looked for Isaïas of Stauropolis he was not to be found: he had quietly quitted the city. That ceremony over, the Emperor appointed ten of the prelates with four Staurophoroi to go to witness the signatures of the Latins, remarking as they left (horses had been sent for their use) that Bessarion would make a short speech when they got there.

They found the Latins waiting for them, the Pope seated with the cardinals and all the rest of the western synod. When the Greeks had taken their places Bessarion in a loud voice read a statement on the 'form' of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, that the Greek Church following the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, especially St John Chrysostom, believed that the 'dominical words are they that change and transubstantiate bread and wine into the true Body and Blood of Christ'. Syropoulus, from whom the above account of the signing of the decree is taken (he says, too, that the Greeks had never heard the decree read before they signed it), avers that this statement was a stratagem concocted between the Emperor and Bessarion of which the rest had no cognisance before the event, and that Nicaea dilated on his theme bringing into it the idea of the seed (the dominical words) and the cultivator (the *epiclesis* and the circumstances of the Liturgy). Bessarion's actual statement is preserved and it is quite short.¹ That such a declaration should be made had been suggested several times in the course of the negotiations and had been decided upon at least by 26 June by the delegates who met on that day. That Bessarion should have said anything recommending the idea of the seed and the cultivator is quite unthinkable (it certainly is not in the statement itself), because when Isidore tried that line of conciliation at the public meeting with the Latins on 18 June it was firmly rejected by

¹ *Frag.* pp. 25-6.

Torquemada. So Syropoulus' memory in this respect was playing him false. When Bessarion had finished all rose and went into a neighbouring hall where the Pope, standing, signed the decree: *Ego Eugenius catholice ecclesie episcopus ita diffiniens subscripsi*, and then the rest of the Latins added their signatures.

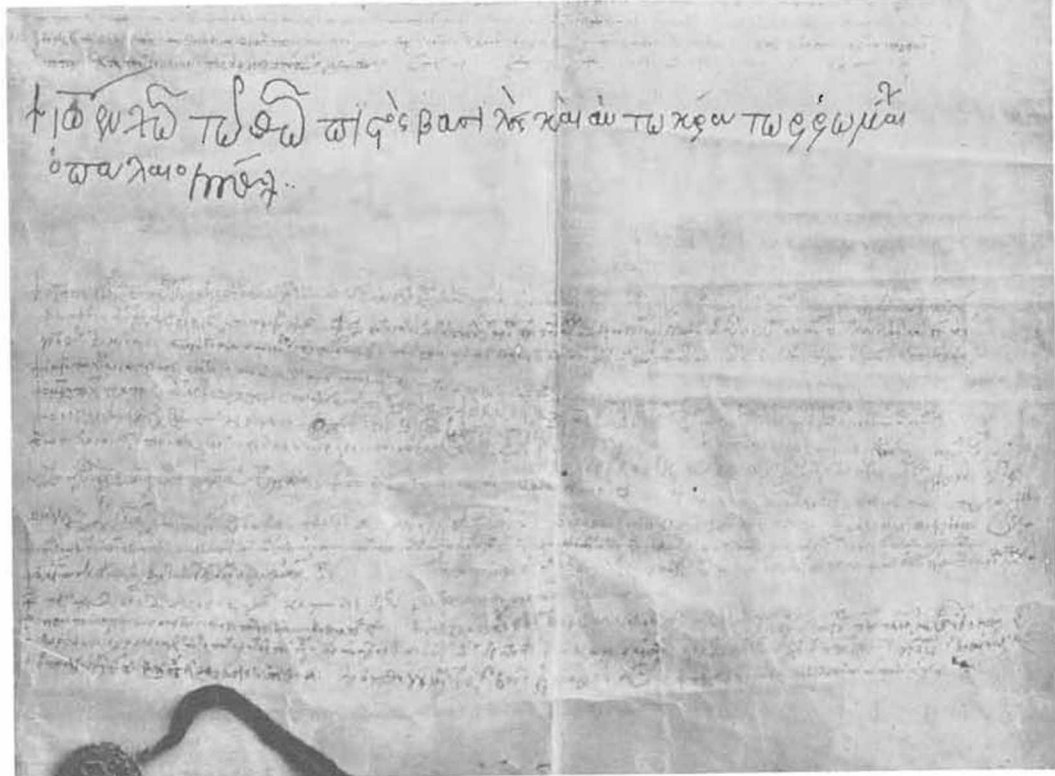
At last the day of union dawned, Monday, 6 July. It was a holiday for Florence. Every shop was closed and business ceased. The populace thronged to the cathedral which could not contain them all, so perforce a great crowd had to remain in the piazza outside. For this first plenary session in Florence, Eugenius, in cope and mitre, had gone in procession with all the cardinals, bishops and other clerics of the Latin synod to the episcopal palace overnight. The cathedral had been prepared for the ceremony with thrones for the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries and tribunes for the clerics and court officials of lesser rank, the Latins on the Gospel side of the altar, the Greeks on the Epistle side. On the morning of 6 July the Greeks were there betimes. The Emperor 'clad very richly in Greek style in a brocade of damask silk, with a hat in Greek style on the point of which was a beautiful jewel, a handsome man with a beard in Greek style', took his place on a throne with his prelates on one side of him and his higher courtiers on the other. The Pope entered in procession shortly afterwards and divesting himself of his cope at his throne put on the chasuble and the other vestments for Mass. 'All the cardinals wore copes and the cardinals and bishops mitres of white damask silk, and all the bishops both Greek and Latin wore copes, the Greeks with very rich vestments of silk after the Greek fashion, and the style of the Greek vestments seemed very much more sober and more worthy than that of the Latins.'¹ Then all the prelates, both Latin and Greek, came two by two to salute the Pope, kissing his knee and his hand. The pontifical Mass followed with the usual ceremonies, the Epistle and Gospel being read both in Latin and Greek. The Gran Gonfaloniere of Florence was among the servers, and three of the Orientals also took minor parts. Philanthropinus carried the water and towel for the washing of the Pope's hands at the beginning, one of the Russian priests in Isidore's suite did the same after the Offertory, and George Dishy-

¹ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Eugenio IV Papa* in A. Mai, *Spicilegium*, I, pp. 15-16.

patus was the bearer at the end. At the *Pax* each of the Latins gave the *amplexus* to his neighbour and the Greeks did likewise among themselves, the first of them receiving it from one of the celebrating ministers. When the Mass was finished the papal faldstool was placed centrally before the altar and from there Eugenius said certain prayers. The Litanies followed; then the Greeks chanted, and finally the Sovereign Pontiff intoned the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, blessed the whole congregation and recited two collects. Meanwhile a pulpit had been placed near the papal chair, into which Cesarini and Bessarion mounted to read out the decree. As Cesarini finished his recitation he asked first the Pope if he agreed and Eugenius replied *Placet*, then the Latin prelates who also exclaimed *Placet*. Similarly Bessarion, when he had finished reading, interrogated the Emperor and the Greeks who replied 'Agreed'. Whereupon His Holiness intoned the *Te Deum* which was taken up by all the vast throng of Latins in the cathedral, sang the prayer, and once more imparted his solemn benediction to all those present. As he went out Latins and Greeks in turn praised God with the chant of psalms.¹

In this way union, so long desired, so arduously striven for, was achieved. The decree that had taken so long to write was now the faith of both Churches, solemnly proclaimed in an Oecumenical Council. After the opening phrase 'Eugenius servant of the servants of God in perpetual memory, with the assent of our most dear son John Palaeologus illustrious Emperor of the Greeks and of the procurators of our venerable brethren the Patriarchs and of the others representing the Oriental Church', it begins: 'May the heavens rejoice' that the wall that has for so long divided the Western and Eastern Churches has been broken down and, with the dissipation of the cloud of sorrow and strife, peace has been restored. The Fathers of both Churches have overcome difficulties and perils of all kinds

¹ This description is taken mainly from the *Diary of Inghirami* (*Frag.* pp. 36-7), supplemented by the *Reisebericht*, pp. 166-7 which adds details omitted here as, e.g. about the silver cuirasses of some of the papal guards, by the *Acta lat.* p. 259 and the *Acta graeca*, pp. 458, 467, both disappointingly jejune, and by Syropoulos (x, 10, pp. 295-7), from whom the part about the hand-washing derives (though he is assuredly wrong in attributing tasting of the water to any of these occasions, for it is done only for the wine and water that the Pope consumes), but he inverts the whole order of things, putting the reading of the decree before the Mass.



The Greek signatures on the original Decree of Union

TRANSCRIPTION OF PLATE I

- † Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων
ὁ παλαιολόγος
- † ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ἡρακλείας πρόεδρος τῶν ὑπερίκων καὶ ἐξαρχὸς πάσης Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Φιλοθέου Ἀντώνιος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα
† ὁ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ δεσπότη μου κυροῦ Φιλοθέου καὶ μέγας πρωτοσύγκελλος καὶ πνευματικὸς Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος ὑπέγραψα † Ἰσίδωρος μητροπολίτης Κυβου καὶ πάσης Ῥωσίας καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κυροῦ Δωροθέου στέργων καὶ συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ μητροπολίτης Μονεμβασίας καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Ἰωακείμ, Δοσίθεος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ μητροπολίτης Τραπεζοῦντος Δωρόθεος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα † ὁ Κυζικίου Μητροφάνης ὑπέγραψα † Βησσαρίων ἐλέω θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Νικαίων μητροπόλεως στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ Νικομηδείας Μακάριος ὑπέγραψα † ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Λακεδαιμονίας Μεθόδιος ὑπέγραψα † ὁ μητροπολίτης Τορνόβου Ἰγνάτιος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ Μιτυλήνης καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ Σίδης Δωρόθεος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα
† ὁ Μολδοβλαχίας καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ Σεβαστείας Δαμιανὸς ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ἀμασειας Ἰωάσαφ ὑπέγραψα † ὁ Ῥόδου Ναθαναὴλ καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ὑπέγραψα
† ὁ Δρίστρας Κάλλιστος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ Μελενίκου Ματθαῖος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα † ὁ μητροπολίτης Γάνου Γεννάδιος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα † ὁ Δράμας Δοσίθεος στοιχήσας ὑπέγραψα † ὁ Ἀγχιάλου Σωφρόνιος ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ Νικαίας Βησσαρίων δι' ἀνάθεσιν γεγραμμένης καὶ υπογεγραμμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου σακελλαρίου Μανουὴλ διακόνου τοῦ Χρυσόκοκου τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγκαταθέσιν ἐνταῦθα ὑποσημειωσαμένου αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα παραδηλὰ δόμφρονα καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ διογνώμονα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνταῦθα στοιχεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν
- † ὁ μέγας σκευοφύλαξ διάκονος Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζανθόπουλος ὑπέγραψα † ὁ μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ καὶ ἀρχιδιάκονος Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βαλασμῶν ὑπέγραψα † ὁ μέγας ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ δικαιοφύλαξ διάκονος Σιλβεστρος ὁ Συρόπουλος ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ πρωτεύδικος διάκονος Γεώργιος ὁ Καππάδος ὑπέγραψα † Σμιρηνὴς Ἐπ. π.β. Ἀβραάμιοι Σουλδαλὴςκὴς υποπριεστυ
- † ὁ πρωτοπαπῆς Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς Μολδοβλαχίας ὑπέγραψα † ὁ ἐκκλησιάρχης τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀγιοριτικῆς Μεγάλης Λαύρας καὶ τὸν τόπον ταύτης πληρῶν Μωυσῆς ἱερομόναχος ὑπέγραψα
- † Δωρόθεος ἱερομόναχος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς ἀγιοριτικῆς μεγάλης μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου † ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος Γερῶντιος ἱερομόναχος ὑπέγραψα
- † ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς Περιβλέπτου Ἀθανάσιος ὑπέγραψα † ὁ καθηγούμενος τοῦ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου Γερμανὸς ὑπέγραψα
† Παχώμιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ὑπέγραψα

from their desire to celebrate this Oecumenical Council. After long inquiry they have achieved union. What a cause for wonder and for gratitude to God that they have seen with their eyes what so many had desired to see, but in vain. Then follow the *cedulae* exactly as they had been agreed to in the preliminary discussions except that, as the decree is in the name of the Pope, all the verbs are in the first person plural—of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, of the Addition, of the Eucharist, of Purgatory and of the primacy with the order of the patriarchates. The decree ends: 'Given in Florence in public synodical session, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1439, 6 July, the ninth year of our pontificate', after which come the signatures of the Latins and the Greeks under the respective versions of the decree.¹

According to Syropoulus the Emperor had desired that there should be an oriental Liturgy immediately after the Latin Mass on 6 July. When, however, that was said to be impossible for lack of time he sent Isidore, Bessarion, the Great Chartophylax and Syropoulus to propose to the Pope that on some convenient day the Orientals should celebrate in the cathedral in the presence of all the Latin synod, in the same way as the Greeks had assisted at the Latin ceremony, for that would be a practical demonstration of the equality of the rites. The Latins had no idea of what an eastern liturgy consisted of, and an explanation by Isidore and Bessarion did not much enlighten them. So they suggested that there should first be a private celebration which some of them could observe and then a decision could be given on the Emperor's request. John, however, was so displeased with their reply that he let the matter drop.

Various questions of discipline and administration were raised by the one side or the other in the days that followed the proclamation.

¹ The original copy was later deposited with the authorities of Florence by Card. Cesarini. It is still preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in the Cassetta Cesarini, no. 1. On the Latin half it is signed by the Pope, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, two bishops representatives of Burgundy, eight archbishops, fifty other bishops, four heads of Religious Orders, forty-one abbots and the Archdeacon of Troyes an envoy of Burgundy: on the Greek half by the Emperor, four procurators of the eastern patriarchs, eighteen metropolitans (counting over again the bishop-procurators), the Russian Bishop, three procurators of bishops, five Staurophoroi deacons of the Great Church of St Sophia, Gregory the Protosyncellus (also a procurator) and seven heads or representatives of monasteries.

On the Latin side they were mainly three—what was to be done with Mark Eugenicus who refused to accept the decree of the Oecumenical Council; the need of providing a successor to the dead Patriarch, and the practice of divorce among the Greeks. The Pope spoke on all these when he addressed the Greek synod on 14 July, and both before and after that he urgently drew the attention of the Emperor and of individual prelates to the need of action about them. But he got no satisfaction. The Emperor refused to allow Eugenicus to be judged by the Latins or by the Council in Italy, promising however that if persuasion failed to make him amend after his return home suitable measures would be taken. The Pope himself tried to win Mark over, but in vain.¹ Similarly as regards the election of a successor, John was adamant that that should be done in Constantinople according to eastern custom by all those who were entitled to vote; and in respect of divorce, the only answer forthcoming was—it is not allowed without reason. From the Greek side there was mooted the question of double episcopal or parochial jurisdiction in the same area, and the Emperor not only allowed but encouraged (according to Syropoulos) those of his prelates who lived side by side with Latin 'intruders' to petition the Sovereign Pontiff that, as both Churches were now one, he should in obedience to the canons withdraw the Latin bishops and leave the Greeks in peaceful possession. That, replied the Pope, would be difficult; and he proposed that whichever of two such bishops should outlive the other should, himself and his successors, retain the See for his rite and have jurisdiction over all Christians within the diocese.

The Pope wanted more copies of the decree. Four or five were signed by the Greeks on 20 and 21 July, but besides these there were

¹ Feeling among the Latins about Ephesus was strong. The *Diary of Inghirami* notes: *Et fuit dimissus datus imperatori cum certis conditionibus, quod si intra certum tempus non approbaret illos tres articulos et fidem nostram, promissit procedere contra eum. Ego tamen consulueram . . . declaretur hereticus et puniretur . . .* (Frag. p. 37).

Eugenius wrote to Garatoni in Constantinople 25 August 1440: *Aderat interea nequam ille Ephesinus, et conceptum virus undique evomebat; quem si imperator ita pro demerito puniri fuisset assensus . . . multo pauciores habuisset adversarios* (E.P. doc. 243).

Andrew Chrysoberges asserts that Ephesus had promised before leaving Florence that he would 'accept and subscribe to the decision of the Council in Constantinople once a patriarch had been elected' (G. Hofmann, 'Testimonium ineditum Andreae Archiepiscopi Rhodi de Marco Eugenio' in *A.A.V.* XIII (1937), pp. 13-19).

engrossed an unknown quantity of additional copies with various numbers of signatures according presumably to the number of prelates still conveniently to be found in Florence, for distribution to the eastern Patriarchs and the European princes.¹ Already by 7 July the day after the proclamation of the union, Eugenius was sending out copies of the decree to Frederick of Austria, Albert, King of the Romans, and the German princes and universities, to Amadeus of Savoy and to other kings and princes and dignitaries of the Church, with an accompanying letter. In this he expressed his joy at the achievement and his gratitude to Almighty God, who had brought to an end a division that had lasted for 450 years. The Greek Emperor and the Patriarch, the procurators of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, envoys of the King of Trebizond, of the Georgians, the Ruthenians and Walachians, with a multitude of clerics and nobles had endured great dangers from their desire for union, the Latins had been present in large numbers, and after careful inquiry and discussion the Greeks had professed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Father and Son and had recognised the authority of the Holy See. The Armenians were daily expected. Therefore there was great reason for joy, and he requested that everywhere litanies and processions with public prayers should be celebrated in thanksgiving.

¹ The *Acta graeca* give the number of the more official copies as five; Syropoulus as four, and adds that the Protosyncellus refused to sign them saying that one was enough. As all these four or five copies seem to be lost there is no means of checking this statement, but Gregory's signature is found on at least one of the additional copies (in the Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob. gr. no. 470: cf. A. Mercati, 'Il decreto d'unione del 6 luglio 1439 nell' Archivio Segreto Vaticano', in *O.C.P.* xi (1945), pp. 13 ff. and p. 9, n. 1), but is missing in a later copy of the example that once was in Venice (cf. no. 408 of Arch. Seg. Vat. *ibid.* pp. 37-8).

On 2 August 1439, 19 fl. were paid by the *Camera apost.* to *Arnoldus notarius sacri concilii* for 310 copies of the decree (*A.C.A.* doc. 82). On 2 October 1439, 59 fl. were paid for the gold that went into the Emperor's seals on the decree—enough for about twenty-five chrysobulls, and on 21 December 1439, 14 fl. 25 sol. for another four seals (*ibid.* docs. 93, 108).

A few of the copies lack the phrase in the Greek (not the Latin) 'in the whole world to have the primacy and the Roman Pontiff himself' which gave rise to controversy at the time of the Vatican Council. But the original decree, most copies, the versions of it in the *Acta graeca*, the *Memoirs* of Syropoulus, the *Libellus* of Vallaresso all include it, so its omission in some examples must be attributed to a copyist's error. Cf. G. Hofmann, *Papato, conciliarismo, patriarcato* (1438-1439), pp. 59-64: and for the imagined difficulty of Döllinger on the *quemadmodum etiam* of the Latin text, cf. *ibid.* pp. 65-8; H.L. vii, 2, pp. 1044-6.

Already, by the inspiration of God we intend to prepare a fleet and a land force next spring, with the hope that He who hath begun in us a good work will perfect it and by these endeavours of ours will be propitious and merciful to snatch the Catholic flock from the yoke of miserable servitude. We trust indeed that this enterprise will meet with an easy and happy success by your aid and labour and that of the other Christian Princes.¹

The Pope's joy at the event and his request for thanksgiving found an echo in one kingdom at least. On 3 October Henry VI of England wrote to him that he had ordered *processiones, letanias ac orationes publicas per loca nostrae ditioni supposita*.² But Pietro del Monte had already informed Eugenius of the joyful reception of the news in England:

Great manifestations, besides, of joy and gladness were ordered. Public prayers in procession were instituted especially in this royal city, which is the chief and most important of this realm. All the clergy and the people went in procession to the churches, the quarters of the city and the public squares according to custom, and returned generous thanks to God with hymns and chants and solemn ceremonies. In many places sermons were preached to the people...³

and writing a month later to the Bishop of St Asaph he told him: 'The Archbishop of Canterbury has done this, as well as other bishops....'⁴

Meanwhile Eugenius had not forgotten the Greeks in Florence. Early in July he had arranged a loan with the Medicis of 6,000 florins to be paid against money in Venice for ships for the Greeks,⁵ and on 1 August the Signoria at the instance of the Pope took measures to expedite the preparations.⁶ He made presents of various kinds of cloths to many of the Emperor's courtiers;⁷ on 13 August he granted to Bessarion an annual pension of 300 fl. as long as he remained in Constantinople or 600 if at the papal court,⁸ made Dorotheus of

¹ E.P. docs. 178-93. The entry about the payment of the messenger reads: *Item florenos auri similes quinque per eum solutos d. Haquino Gori Dalbiensi ordinis S. Aug. Lundinensis diocesis, capellano ser.mi d. regis Scotie pro subsidio*. . . (ibid. doc. 86) and that of the messenger to England: 'Pro uno cursore transmisso ad d. ducem et alios prelatos Burgundie necnon ad ser.mum d. regem, rev.mum d. cardinalem et alios prelatos Anglie florenos XXV' (ibid. doc. 90).

² Bekynton, *op. cit.* II, ep. ccxiv, p. 51.

³ G. Hofmann, 'Briefe eines päpstlichen Nuntius etc.', in O.C.P. v, (1939) p. 431

⁴ Ibid. p. 425.

⁵ E.P. doc. 194 and A.C.A. doc. 78.

⁶ A.C.A. doc. 81.

⁷ Ibid. doc. 93.

⁸ E.P. doc. 196.

Mitylene a somewhat similar gift,¹ created Nicolò Sagundino the well-deserving interpreter an apostolic secretary,² and assigned to Nathanael of Rhodes the vacant church of Nisyri (one of the islands of the Cyclades) *in commendam*.³ On 17 August he created Isidore Apostolic Delegate for Russia and the neighbouring territories, furnishing him with a safe-conduct and a letter of credence and commendation to Vasili of Moscow.⁴

The first of the Greeks to depart—the Metropolitans of Heraclea, Cyzicus, Trebizond, Monembasia, Nicomedia and Drama with some fifty clerics—left Florence round about 21 July for Venice, there to await the Emperor. Syropoulus informs us that only when they were on the point of mounting their horses were they given the much-requested and long-delayed maintenance grants, the arrears of five months.⁵ For that neglect the city of Florence was responsible,⁶ and even then the Medicis advanced the money for this last payment and were reimbursed by a vote of the Commune of 22 August,⁷ implemented only on 30 September.⁸ Other groups followed at intervals, one leaving five days after the first, another perhaps on 10 August,⁹ and the Emperor sent on his clerics before he left himself. In Bologna one of these, the deacon Philip, met an English embassy on its way to Florence,¹⁰ eager when it realised that he had just left the Council to hear how it had all ended. The English

¹ *E.P.* doc. 197.

² *Ibid.* doc. 199.

³ *Ibid.* doc. 200.

⁴ *Ibid.* docs. 202-4.

⁵ For once in a way he does not state the amount. In any case they were not owed for five months. Even counting from mid-Jan. (and the calculations of Florence all began from 15 February, as though there were no outstanding debts up till that date, cf. *A.C.A.* doc. 72; Jorga, II, pp. 33, 35—extracts from Register of *Uscite*) six months only had passed till mid-July and they had received money for two months on 22 May. Probably the Pope, besides paying the expenses of their transport, gave them also a viaticum for the journey and expenses for their stay in Venice.

⁶ Cf. J. Gill, 'The Cost of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* XXII (1956), pp. 314-16.

⁷ *A.C.A.* doc. 88.

⁸ Jorga, II, pp. 34, 35.

⁹ At any rate a house inhabited by the Greeks fell vacant on 10 August (*A.C.A.* doc. 97).

¹⁰ There is no record of any English embassy to Florence either in papal documents, or in contemporary diaries, or in Bekynton's correspondence, or in the letters of Pietro del Monte who was then in England and who certainly would have written about it. Also I could not find any authorisation for it in the relevant files of the Treasury of Receipts at the Record Office. So one must conclude that here Syropoulus is in error. Besides, no embassy of any other nation seems to have gone to Florence at that time.

asked about the *Filioque*, about leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist, about the Creed, but when they learnt that (it is Syropoulos that records the incident) nothing had been changed, that the Latin and the Greek beliefs about the Procession of the Holy Spirit were really one and the same, that the two liturgies were still allowed, and that both forms of the Creed were lawful, they concluded that the Council had effected nothing.

The Emperor stayed on in Florence for another month. On 27 July he went on an excursion to the shrine of Our Lady's Girdle at Prato, returning by Pistoia, when he moved the good man of the house in Peretola where he dined to compassion 'because he had lost the use of his legs', since he rode right into the main room of the house to dismount.¹ A fortnight later he was visited by the Armenians come to arrange union of faiths with the Pope. On 26 August, taking Mark of Ephesus with him, he left for Venice, but before his departure he rewarded the generosity of the city of Florence to him and his by granting it the rights of creating imperial notaries, by according it the privileges once enjoyed by the Pisans in Constantinople and by creating two of its citizens, Iacopo de Morellis and Michele Fedini, members of his 'family'.² Demetrius his brother, who had left Florence with Gemistus and Scholarius on 25 June,³ also showed his gratitude by promising through his ambassador Athanasius Lascaris privileges to Florentine merchants in the Morea.⁴

When John set out from Florence all the cardinals and a throng of Latin clerics and officials, with the officers of the Commune, escorted him to the confines of the city 'with trumpets and flutes, when twelve men held a canopy spread over him and two of the most respected Signori of the city led his horse on foot',⁵ and three of the cardinals with a suitable array of attendants accompanied him to the boundaries of Florentine territory. He entered Bologna on the

¹ Lambros, III, pp. 327-9. Four days later the Commune of Florence paid its citizen who had provided what was necessary for the outing (Jorga, II, p. 34).

² Lambros, III, pp. 334-52, the last of these is dated 6 August 1439; J. Müller, *op. cit.* doc. CXXI, CXXII.

³ *Reisebericht*, ed. G. Stökl, p. 166. Syropoulos says that he left four days after the Patriarch's burial (IX, 11, p. 268), namely 15/16 June, but later he implies that he was still in Florence (X, 5, p. 284). He was certainly in Florence on 16 June (*A.G.* p. 448).

⁴ J. Müller, *op. cit.* doc. CXXIII, but not till 1450 and then to further his own projects

⁵ *Reisebericht*, p. 167.

morning of Monday, 31 August. In his honour that day was declared a holiday and all business came to an end. The dignitaries of the city received him and escorted him to the palace of Cardinal Nicolò Albergati, archbishop of Bologna, who entertained him till his departure. As a gesture of gratitude, on 2 September he knighted Tadeo Manfredi and the eight-year old boy Giovanni, son of Guido Antonio, signore di Faenza. But not all the citizens were equally gratified with his visit. One of the chroniclers, remembering the taxes they had paid two years earlier, ends his account of the Emperor's passage through the city: 'The coming of this Emperor to Italy cost the Bolognese 30,000 florins.'¹

Though the ships for the Greeks were in process of being fitted out since early July, they were not ready yet for an immediate departure. The Emperor's own ship was blessed and launched on 13 September, but a fire that night in the dock-yard delayed further preparations. On 14 September (to Syropoulos' great disgust for it was Sunday and the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) John went for two days on an excursion to Padua. Some time after his return, at the request of the Doge, the Greeks celebrated their Liturgy in St Mark's. Apparently after their return to Constantinople one of the complaints levelled against them was that they had celebrated on Latin altars. Syropoulos is here writing a defence. Gregory the Protosyncellus (his *bête-noire*) and the Emperor were to blame. The former, to compromise the more those who in their hearts did not favour the union though they had signed the decree, chose them and no others as the sacred ministers and the Emperor would take no excuse from any of them. So they had to celebrate, but they used their own antiminsion,² sang the Creed without the *Filioque* and did not pray for the Pope. Other anti-unionists who had not taken part in that Liturgy were later compelled to function in a solemn commemoration of the dead Patriarch in the church of St George, when a Latin bishop and eight Latin monks in vestments assisted most devoutly.

On 14 October the Greeks went on board their four ships, but a

¹ Muratori, xviii, 1, p. 96; xxxiii, 1, p. 59.

² A square of linen ornamented with the symbols of the Passion, containing some small relics of a Saint, placed on the altar during the Liturgy.

storm that night in the harbour did such damage that three days were needed to effect the necessary repairs. Finally on 19 October, in company with two Venetian armed vessels which the Signoria sent at the Emperor's request for his greater security, they set out for Pola. From there through many storms and dangers they reached Corfu where the Greek clergy inveighed against them, saying that from then on they would have no defence in their arguments against the Latins. Methone was reached on 16 November where again they were derided by their co-religionists. Or at least Syropoulus says so. A chronicle reports:

And on 23 November the Latin bishop celebrated with his priests, and the Greek bishop and his clergy did not celebrate on that day, only the Latins, and the Greeks exchanged the kiss of peace in the Latin Liturgy. And on 24 of the same month the Greek bishop, Kyr Joseph, in the world Kontaratos, celebrated, and all the clergy and all the countryside roundabout, Latins and Greeks, assisted in the church of St John the Theologian, and the Signore the Castellano and all the men and women of position, as well as the Greeks, ate the antidoron.¹

In Euboea² Dorotheus of Mitylene organised a procession in which Latins and Greeks took part, walking side by side, ending in a Greek Liturgy in a Latin church with Mitylene as celebrant; but (once more Syropoulus) the local Greeks held that they had been betrayed by the union.

Then a desire of the Emperor to wait for couriers from Constantinople made them lose time in the small harbour of Oreon. While they were there George Cappadox, the Protekdikus, died and was buried in the Latin church of St George on a small neighbouring

¹ Lambros, III, p. 362. The date of arrival in Methone is taken from this chronicle: Syropoulus gives no date; he states, however, that they remained in Methone only five days which does not tally with the account of the chronicle. That Syropoulus is here exaggerating or reporting the opinion of only a few local Greeks appears from a letter of the Pope dated 25 August 1440 replying to a report sent by Garatoni who had accompanied the Greeks back to Constantinople: 'After your departure... we were informed, when you put into Methone, Corone, Negroponte (Euboea) and the Peloponnesus, both about the promulgation there of the glorious union of the Greeks with the Western Church and the most ready acceptance of it by the peoples of those parts' (*E.P. doc.* 243).

Antidoron—bread, blessed but not consecrated during the Liturgy, and distributed afterwards to the faithful.

² Euboea, i.e. Negroponte, at that time a Venetian possession.

island. As the Emperor did not come, after waiting for him for more than ten days they returned to Euboea and were kept there another fortnight by the weather. News reached them there of the serious illness of the Empress, and as they were about to set out again Cassandrinus Palaeologus died. But they could not wait to bury him. They entrusted that office to Nicholas Sagundino (a native of Euboea) giving him money for the expenses. Then while they were at Kotzinos a ship from Constantinople arrived with news of the Empress's death, but John was not told of it for fear that he might pass days of inactivity while mourning for his loss. More days of strong winds and perils followed, but finally the convoy reached Constantinople on 1 February 1440. The Emperor's brother Constantine, with a large company of the local nobility and of Genoese and Venetians, went to meet him. But even they shrank from breaking to him the news of his loss. It was not till he reached the palace with Demetrius that they learnt from their mother that death had robbed each of them of his wife.

THE COUNCIL GOES ON, AND ENDS IN ROME

BEFORE all the Greeks had left, the Armenians had arrived. They had been invited to take part in the negotiations for union as long ago as 1434, when Garatoni, sent to treat with the Emperor of Constantinople by Eugenius, had been instructed to contact and even to visit also the Armenian Patriarch. Those negotiations, however, came to nothing because the Council of Basel interfered and Eugenius deferred to its decision. But as soon as the break with Basel over the choice of the site for the Council was final, the Pope renewed relations with them. On 2 July 1437 he wrote to the authorities of the Genoese colony at Caffa (Crimea) recommending Giacomo dei Primadizi, the Vicar General of the Friars Minor, who was sent primarily apparently to visit the Franciscan convents of those parts, but also to contact the Armenians, of whom there was a large colony in and about Caffa, though their Patriarch resided in Sis (Cilicia).¹

The Genoese authorities in Caffa, and particularly the consul Paolo Imperiali, were most co-operative. On 12 May 1438 a kind of synod of the Armenians, composed of the Bishop Malachus with twenty-one priests, two monks and fourteen laymen, agreed at a meeting with a committee of the local Italian officials to send an envoy to the Pope whether or not their Patriarch assented, though they stipulated too for an interval of three months while a messenger went to him to seek his approval.² An Armenian Bishop, by name Guanesius (Ovanesius—Ioannes?) bore letters from the Armenians,

¹ The Armenians had refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon with its doctrine of two natures in the one Person of Christ, so they were Monophysites. *E.P. doc. 74; A.L. p. 268.*

² Hofmann, *Orientalium doc. min. doc. 29.*

the consul and Fra Giacomo, and returned with letters from the Patriarch Constantine, dated Vagarsabat 25 July 1438, addressed to the consul and to the Armenian community, warmly welcoming the proposal and nominating as his delegates with full powers three doctors, Serchis, Mark and Thomas, with Joachim, bishop of Pera, where too the Armenians were numerous.¹ Winter, however, and the lack of ships prevented an immediate departure.¹ Sometime before 1 December there set out from Caffa Serchis and Thomas, both advanced in years, in company with Giacomo dei Primadizi, Fra Basilius, O.F.M. to act as interpreter, and a monk Narses who was probably a member of the Dominican *Fratres Peregrinantes pro Christo*, also to function as interpreter. With them came also St John Capistrano who, sent some time before to regulate the affairs of the Oriental Province of the Friars Minor, had had a share in the negotiations with the Armenians.² Whether the other two delegates nominated by Constantine were with them—Mark and the Bishop Joachim—is uncertain. No further mention of them is found in the documents and the Bishop's signature is not on the decree that marked the end of the mission, as one would have expected. By 3 August they were in Genoa and on the thirteenth of the same month reached Florence.

Practically nothing is known of what went on between the Armenians and the Latins in Italy. Some time before 4 September³ one of the visiting delegates addressed the Pope, probably when he presented his credentials, in words like these:

You hold the See of Christ. You are vicar of Christ in the See of the Apostles. We have come to you, our head. We have come to our shepherd. You are the foundation of the Church. Every member that has left you is sick, and wild beasts have devoured the flock that has separated itself from you. Churches that have not followed you or been upheld by you have been utterly overthrown. You, the head, be compassionate to the members. You, the shepherd, gather together the flock. You, the foundation, confirm the Churches. You, who have the power of the heavenly keys, open to us the gates of eternal life.⁴

¹ Letter of Duke of Genoa to Pope 27 May 1439, *A.C.A.* doc. 74.

² Wadding, *op. cit.* p. 81.

³ Before 4 September because the Bull *Moses vir Dei* of 4 September refers to the Armenians as recognising the supremacy and teaching of the Pope and as having come 'for spiritual food and the truth of sound doctrine'.

⁴ Hofmann, *Orientalium doc. min.* doc. 35.

The delegates had several colloquies with the Pope, and 'nearly every day' till 22 November when the *Decretum pro Armenis* was solemnly promulgated they were engaged in discussions, held in the convent of S. Maria Novella, with Cardinals Antonio Correr, Nicolò Alberti, Giuliano Cesarini and numerous Latin theologians of all the three Estates of the Latin Council,¹ among whom Giovanni Montenegro must assuredly be numbered, for to him the Genoese authorities wrote several letters recommending their protégés to his especial care.

The *Decretum pro Armenis* (as it is usually called)—the Bull *Exultate Deo* of 22 November 1439—is a very lengthy document composed with an eye on the doctrinal history of the Armenians and the documents issued by previous popes in their regard based on information provided by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries who for more than a century had been in close contact with them. After an introduction thanking Almighty God for his gracious mercy and praising the envoys, 'avid for ecclesiastical union', for their self-sacrifice in undergoing so much hardship to achieve it, there come the texts of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed with the addition of the *Filioque* (to be recited by the Armenians in their Liturgy on Sundays and the greater feasts); the definition of Chalcedon, renewed in the Fifth and Sixth Councils, on the two natures in Christ; and the definition of the Sixth Council on the two wills in Christ. Then follows a paragraph affirming the oecumenicity of the Council of Chalcedon and the authority of Pope St Leo, anciently rejected by the Armenians. After that there is a long section on the sacraments stating their number as seven, distinguishing in them the two necessary elements of 'matter' and 'form', and declaring that three of them, Baptism, Confirmation and Orders, may never be repeated as they give a 'character to the soul'. Each sacrament is then treated of separately, to clarify what is its matter, its form, its ordinary minister, its effect.² The Athanasian Creed follows, then the Bull of union with the Greeks in full, then the dates of certain ancient feasts to bring the Armenian calendar into conformity with

¹ *A.L.* p. 268.

² In the paragraph on Orders comes the well-known phrase: 'whose matter is that by the giving of which the Order is conferred. As the priesthood is given by the delivering of a chalice with wine and a paten with bread.'

those of the Latins and the Greeks. The decree continues that, when all the above had been recited in Latin, a synopsis of it (also contained in the decree) was read out in Armenian by the monk Narses, who also proclaimed the acceptance of it all by the Armenian delegates. The Bull bears the signature of the Pope—*Ego Eugenius catholice ecclesie episcopus ita decernens subscripsi*—of eight cardinals, two patriarchs, five archbishops, thirty-five bishops and twenty-five abbots from the Latins, and of Serchis and Thomas for the Armenians.¹

By letters of the next day Eugenius announced the joyful news to Genoa and to Ferrara, ordering processions and litanies of thanksgiving and conceding an indulgence to the faithful who participated in them, and shortly afterwards to other parts of the Christian world. In Genoa certainly² and in England³ his behest was fulfilled. Genoa made all arrangements for the return journey of the envoys, providing horses to Pisa, a small ship for the voyage thence to Genoa and a galley to take them on to Chios.⁴ They reached Genoa on about 29 December with the monk Narses the bearer of two letters, dated 15 December 1439. In the first of these, meant for the Latin ecclesiastical authorities of Caffa, the Pope insists that the Armenian Bishop, despite the prevailing local custom, should be permitted to wear the mitre in public services and to bless members of his own flock, inveighs against the abuse (apparently sometimes practised) of re-baptising any, whether Greek, Slav or Armenian, who had already been baptised, and decrees that the Armenian Bishop should enjoy free and complete jurisdiction over his own Armenians—thus in fact recognising a double episcopal jurisdiction in the one area.⁵

The second letter was addressed to *Venerabili fratri Gregorio archiepiscopo Illove*, apparently the Armenian Ordinary of Lwów (Lemberg) in Poland. From this it appears that he, too, had had representatives in Florence, for the letter congratulates him on his having sent delegates, mentions the long discussions, exhorts him both to subscribe himself to the decree and to recommend it throughout his

¹ The original decree is preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana of Florence, Cassetta Cesarini. *E.P.* doc. 224.

² *A.C.A.* doc. 103.

³ Letter of Henry VI dated 8 February 1440 in Bekynton, *op. cit.* II, CCCV, p. 51.

⁴ *A.C.A.* docs. 105-7.

⁵ *E.P.* doc. 235.

jurisdiction, and asks him to reply to the Pope through Narses the monk of Caffa.¹

The city of Genoa, like Eugenius, was determined to implement the union by the removal of the restrictions on the Armenians that had hitherto obtained. In the course of the next eighteen months it directed to Caffa or Pera in favour of the Armenians no less than fourteen letters (two of them to accompany copies of the decree written in Latin and Armenian, sent by the Pope to be preserved in the cities' archives for the settlement of disputes).² For example, in a letter of 30 December 1439 the Consul, Massarii and the Council of Caffa are exhorted to welcome the returning legates and to respect and cherish them for the rest of their lives. Further they are to bring the Armenians together and to instruct them in the provisions and meaning of the decree, and for the future to allow them to build churches within the city, to treat Armenian churches in the matter of taxation as they did Latin ones, to allow Armenians to celebrate what other feasts they liked provided they observed those stipulated in the decree, not to interfere officially with poor Armenians working behind closed doors on feast-days, and to desist from the abuse of baptising and then keeping fugitive slaves of the Armenians.³

¹ S. Obertyński, 'Die Florentiner Union der polnischen Armenier und ihr Bischofs-katalog', in O.C. xxxvi (1934), pp. 1-68. Text of letter also in E.P. doc. 236. There is a certain mystery about this letter: (1) it reads like a letter to the Armenian Patriarch; (2) no letter from the Pope to the Armenian Patriarch is extant; (3) it is the only source of information about Polish co-operation in the Council; (4) and of any bishop of Lemberg called Gregory at that time (Obertyński's catalogue gives: *Avedic, nominatus 1415, obiit 1445*); (5) Lemberg had bishops not archbishops till 1635; (6) the Patriarch Constantine died c. mid-1439 and was followed by Joseph III for a few months and then by Gregory IX Musabekianz (A. Balgý, *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter Armenos*, etc. (Vienna, 1878), p. 159, who gives the date of Gregory's accession as 1440—presumably approximately).

It would be tempting to conclude that the letter was directed to the Patriarch Gregory, were it not for the inscription 'archiepiscono' and 'Illove' (which is Obertyński's conjecture for another editor's 'Illoneae', *op. cit.* p. 9); that the doc. was in the Armenian archives in Lemberg; the date 1440 for Gregory's accession; the fact that Genoa apparently did not know of Constantine's demise till after 5 September 1440; the fact that John of Segovia wrote: *Armeni... solum essent homines quinque brutales* (M.C. III, 405), whereas we know the names of only two Caffa-Armenians certainly present, Serchis and Thomas, with Narses, though possibly Fra Basilius, O.F.M., was also an Armenian, but there may have been also attendants. ² A.C.A.

³ *Ibid.* doc. 117 which gives an interesting insight into the usual relations between Latins and Armenians.

Others of the letters were addressed to the (defunct) Patriarch Constantine (4 January 1440, 5 September 1440), encouraging him to accept the union and offering him suitable residence in Caffa or Pera; and to the Patriarch Gregory, Constantine's successor (5 April 1441), urging him to subscribe to the union (with the suggestion, too, that if he did not he would not be able to collect his usual dues from the Armenians resident in Latin and Greek territories), and proposing that he should take up residence in Caffa, Pera or Famagusta. Gregory's answer was delayed, owing to the fact that he was visiting the Armenian communities of Palestine and Egypt, and that meantime a schismatical patriarch had also been elected. News, however, of the union reached him in Cairo where he met Alberto da Sarteano, sent there by the Pope on a mission to the Copts, and from there he wrote a letter of willing acceptance to Eugenius, dated 4 September 1440.¹ What the further history of the union was is not fully known, but there is every reason to believe that it flourished at least till 1475 when Caffa fell to the victorious arms of the Turk.

While Eugenius was thus striving for the union of the Eastern and the Western Churches, the remnant of Basel, dwindling in numbers and divided in opinions, but kept together by the iron determination of the Cardinal of Arles, was heading more and more rapidly towards schism. The long-drawn out legal process against the Pope was crystallised into eight propositions, the first three of which asserted:

The truth about the power of a General Council, representing the universal Church, over a pope and anyone else whatsoever, declared by the General Councils of Constance and this one of Basel, is a truth of the Catholic faith. This truth, that a General Council, representing the universal Church, legitimately convened on matters specified in the above truth [i.e. pertaining to the faith, to the extirpation of heresy and to the general reformation of the Church in head and members] or any one of them, in no authoritative way can be dissolved without its own consent, or prorogued to another time, or transferred from place to place by a pope, is a truth of the Catholic faith. Anyone who persists in opposing the above-mentioned two truths is to be held heretical.²

¹ H. Balguy, *op. cit.* pp. 161-3, who states that the original of the letter is in the Medicea-Laurenziana library of Florence and gives its date as 4 September 1450. But Alberto da Sarteano returned from the Orient in 1441 and does not seem to have visited Cairo ever again, so the year 1450 must be regarded as a mistake for 1440.

² Text as decreed 16 May 1439, *M.C.* III, 278.

The other five propositions applied these 'truths' to Eugenius. On 16 May in the thirty-third session the first three of these propositions were decreed, but not without opposition. For some time the representatives of Milan and Aragon had been using every known stratagem to stave off a decision. In the session of 16 May, when they saw that their efforts were fruitless, they left the council chamber. Aleman, however, with only nineteen other 'mitres'¹ (all of them except two belonging to the French or German 'nations'), but with the relics of Saints brought from the local churches and placed on the vacant seats of absent bishops to support him, triumphantly declared the decree accepted. On 13 June the proposal of the princes to solve the ecclesiastical problem by a third council in some other place was finally rejected. On 24 June—haste was now essential as Basel was stricken by the plague and mortality, also among the members of the Council, was very high—the other five propositions were approved. On 25 June the three hundred members, among whom there were probably only seven consecrated bishops and not more than thirty-seven 'mitres' in all, agreed that

this same holy Synod . . . pronounces, decrees and declares that Gabriel, formerly named Eugenius IV Pope, was and is notoriously and manifestly contumacious, disobedient to the commands and precepts of the universal Church, continuing in open rebellion, a persistent violator and contemner of the holy synodical canons, a destroyer of the peace and the unity of the Church, a notorious source of scandal to the universal Church, a notorious practiser of simony, perjured, an incorrigible schismatic, erring in the faith. . . . The same holy Synod, therefore, declares and pronounces that he is *ipso jure* deprived of the papacy and the Roman pontificate, and removes, deposes, deprives and dismisses him from them. . . .²

A long letter of 2 July notified to the world the 'three truths of the faith' with the five other propositions, and the deposition of 'the aforesaid Gabriel, once called Eugenius IV', and demanded assent and obedience.³

News of the action of the Baseler reached Florence on 12 July, fortunately after the promulgation of the decree of union with the Greeks.⁴ There is no sign of any reaction to it among the Orientals

¹ I.e. bishops and abbots.

² M.C. III, 326.

³ *Ibid.* 331-4.

⁴ The *Diary* of Andrew da S. Croce who adds: *quod si ante sextam pervenisset, forte reductionis Grecorum sacrosanctum opus penitus divertissent*, *Frag.* p. 47. The Bolognese

in any Greek writing. Eugenius, however, could not ignore it. First, to reassure his supporters, on 23 August he declared all penalties decreed or to be decreed by the remnant at Basel as of no effect.¹ Then in the solemn session of 4 September in the church of S. Maria Novella, where *fuerunt bene centum mitriati prelati et papa interfuit*,² with Isidore of Kiev and twelve Greeks in their vestments,³ there was promulgated the Bull *Moyses vir Dei*, the gist of which is as follows. As Moses bade the people leave the company of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, so must we warn the faithful to flee the company of the men of Basel, who are nothing but a collection of reprobates. They nearly wrecked the work of union with the Greeks, and so we had to translate the Council first to Ferrara, then because of the pestilence to Florence, where after long disputations and many labours union was happily consummated. Now there is great hope of concord with other oriental nations, the pledge of which is the presence of Armenian delegates who look to the See of Peter as to the mother and mistress of all the faithful. All this divine work the men of Basel, Christians in name yet worse than pagans, have impeded as much as they could with their futile dissensions about the site of the Council, their monitorium or citatorium which they sent even to Constantinople to prevent the Greeks setting out, their impious attempted suspension of ourselves, their so-called session of 16 May last, wherein 'saying that they adhered to certain decrees, though they were put out by only one out of three obediences after the departure of John XXIII, as he was called in that same obedience, while schism was still in being in Constance', they passed three propositions as truths of the faith, as if to make us and the rest of the Christian world heretics, concerning the supreme power of a General Council, the impossibility to dissolve, defer, or to move it without its own consent, and the stigma of heresy attaching to such as impugn the above two propositions.⁴ 'In this most pernicious, while cloaking their own malice with the colours of the truth of the faith, they pervert the

chronicler Ghirardacci says that on 25 June notices of the deposition were affixed to the doors of the two churches of S. Pietro and S. Petronio in Bologna. His date must be wrong. Perhaps he wrote *giugno* for *luglio*. Muratori, xxxiii, 1, p. 58.

¹ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, xxviii.

² *Diarium Inghirami*, *Frag.* p. 37.

³ *Reisebericht*, ed. Stökl, p. 167.

⁴ The Bull quotes the exact words of the Baseler cited above p. 310

Council of Constance to a wrong and false meaning and one altogether different from its doctrine', after the fashion of all heretics. Wherefore the penalties decreed against them by the Council in Ferrara on 15 February 1438 (in the Bull *Exposcit debitum*) are renewed, the propositions of the Baseler above described 'according to the false meaning of the Baseler themselves, which in fact they show, as contrary to the sense of the Holy Scripture, the holy Fathers and the Council of Constance itself' are condemned, and they themselves were and are schismatics and heretics.¹

The burning question between Basel and Eugenius was the relation of a General Council to a pope. The decree of union with the Greeks had already given part of Eugenius' answer, but had made no reference (as indeed it hardly could) to the decree passed in the fifth session (6 April 1415) of the Council of Constance, on which the Council of Basel based its obdurate belief. This Bull *Moses vir Dei* supplemented that answer, adumbrating Eugenius' attitude to Constance—the decree in question was the work of but one 'obedience', and that after the flight of its own antipope, and so was not the decision of a Council representing the whole Church.² But the Pope was not content with that. Some time within the six weeks or so after 4 September he staged a kind of debate between Cardinal Cesarini, defending the Baseler thesis,³ and John of Torquemada, upholding his. The exact date and the details of this disputation (it took at least two days) are not known. Cesarini's discourse has not been preserved, but its main lines can be reconstructed from Torquemada's reply which (doubtless retouched and amplified) is known now under the title *Oratio synodalis de primatu*.⁴ Its interest for us is that Torquemada was undoubtedly saying what Eugenius

¹ Text in *E.P.* doc. 210.

² In the Bull *Etsi non dubitemus* of 21 April 1441 addressed to several universities (*E.P.* doc. 248) Eugenius developed this argument still further. Basel elaborated a detailed answer (*M.C.* III, 1153–95).

³ Cesarini had at Basel been a firm supporter of the superiority of a Council as regards faith, heresy and reform, and though later greatly disillusioned by the behaviour of the fanatics in Basel, was possibly still not quite convinced of a pope's superiority in all circumstances.

⁴ Latest edition, E. Candal (Rome, 1954). The treatise contains eighty-five demy quarto pages of concise argumentation: cf. the very detailed scheme in Appendix 2 of Candal.

thought. It is too long to allow of an adequate description, but the main points are these.

The decree of Constance was issued not by a General Council but by a part under a doubtful Pope who had fled, and so is no sound foundation for the pretensions of Basel. Even a General Council speaks dependently on the pope whose supreme authority remains during a Council. Only St Peter received supreme power from Christ (which is proved in very many ways and objections to it answered). A pope is not under a Council in matters of faith, though if a pope should oppose the unanimous decision of a Council or persist in denying what clearly is of faith, the Council should be upheld; in matters of reform he is not under it at all; only for heresy may a pope be deposed or judged. Basel, begun and for some time continued legitimately, was not (because, e.g. of its attitude to the papal presidents) always a certainly legitimate Council, and in any case its decrees have not received papal approbation which, as the Scriptures, the Doctors, etc. show, is essential if they are to have authority, for the Pope's authority is not included in that of the Council, since the Pope is not a part, but has the totality of power.

Eugenius wasted no time in sending copies of the *Moses vir Dei* to the princes, for it was of the utmost importance to him, as it was to the remnant of Basel, to have their support. Couriers were despatched to the Duke of Burgundy and to the King of England, his faithful adherents, with letters dated 11 September and the text of the Bull. With the King of France he had had a regular correspondence in the course of 1439 in which, inveighing against the excesses of Basel, he exhorted him to support the work going on in Florence where there was no embassy from the French court, and complained bitterly that the Frenchmen in Basel were among the most implacably hostile to the Holy See, yet were not recalled by their sovereign.¹ Charles's policy of neutrality was not meeting with universal favour even in France itself. In April 1439 the *Etats de la Langue d'Oc* reproached him for his hasty acceptance of the decrees of Basel, laid the blame on his shoulders for the continuation of the ecclesiastical conflict, affirmed that the larger part and the more educated part of the clergy of France disapproved of the decisions taken in Bourges

¹ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, xxiv.

and begged him to assert the authority of Eugenius within his realm.¹ The Pope did not let the occasion pass of fostering such sound sentiments. He sent a letter to them of thanks and encouragement, probably early in July.² To Charles VII, then, Eugenius sent a copy of the Bull and a letter on 5 September, exhorting him to emulate his ancestors in fidelity to the Holy See, and thanking him for having ordered, as a consequence of the manifestation of the 'venom' of the 'diabolical synagogue' in Basel, obedience to himself, but urging that he should add to that the practical step of recalling his subjects from that *conciliabulum* under pain of heavy penalties.

The King of France, however, did not recall his subjects. They continued to be the prime movers in the campaign against the Pope of the remnant of Basel, who on 7 October approved a very long letter analysing the Bull *Moses vir Dei*, and purporting to rebut all its charges.³ On 30 October in their thirty-eighth session they published a decree condemning the Bull.⁴ Their chief action, however, the logical consequence of their deposition of Eugenius, was more drastic. They elected an antipope. As Aleman was the only Cardinal in Basel, a college of electors had to be created. Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan (Scotland), John of Segovia and Thomas de Courcelles, canon of Amiens, were appointed to co-opt twenty-nine others. Together they formed a college of thirty-two besides the Cardinal of Arles, made up of one archbishop, ten bishops, seven abbots, five masters of theology, eight doctors and one licensed in law. After six days of conclave they chose on 5 November 1439 Amadeus VIII, duke of Savoy, a widower with four sons still living and a layman, who by a careful neutrality respecting the wars that divided England and France and disturbed the reigns of the kings of the Romans, had extended his possessions and accumulated great wealth. For some time past, clad in a picturesque garb of his own devising, he had been living a kind of hermit's life with six companions on the luxurious estate of Ripaille, yet without losing his hold on the reins of government. He had not always supported Basel wholeheartedly, but had kept up relations also with Eugenius, offering more than once his services as mediator between them. But

¹ Valois, II, pp. 221-4.

² Raynaldus, *ibid.* xxv.

³ M.C. III, 386-96.

⁴ *Ibid.* 418-21.

the choice of Amadeus as antipope was not made haphazardly. Aleman had prepared the way in the Council,¹ and certainly had been assured that his candidate would consent,² though when the emissaries of the Council went to announce his election to Amadeus on 19 December after its ratification on 17 November, the new 'pontiff' made a great show of humility and reluctance before being enthroned in the church of Ripaille. He did not, however, intend to let his new dignity make inroads on his purse. As a condition of acceptance he demanded compensation for the Annates withdrawn by the Council in 1435, but he knew his place in respect of papal and conciliar superiority, for in writing to the Fathers he put the name of the Council first, though later a commission had to be nominated to ease the friction that arose in that regard. Before going to Basel he nominated four new cardinals (against the decree of 1432) so as to have a suitable *entourage*, but only one was allowed by his prince to accept. With his two cardinals and a large following he entered Basel on 24 June 1440. A month later he was crowned as Felix V and the next day ordained priest. Ten days later (4 August) the Germans in Basel and the delegates of the University of Paris swallowed their repugnance and agreed with the rest that, till Felix obtained possession of the Papal States, for five years he should have one-fifth of the first year's revenue from new holders of benefices and one-tenth for the next five years.³ Alas for the ideals of reform.

¹ M.C. III, 407-8.

² When this process began is disputed by historians. It is, however, interesting that as early as 13 October 1437 Rodrigo, dean of Braga, could report from Constantinople the following as an argument put forward by the Baseler legation: *Item, quod dux Sabaudie erat papa; qui quidem dux habebat magnam consanguinitatem cum rege Frantie et duce Burgundie et duce Mediolani et rege Ciprii et omnes isti erunt cum eo. Et quod habebat unam filiam viduam et dederat eis in mandatis eam tradere fratri imperatoris in uxorem, qui etiam est viduus* (Hofmann, 'Rodrigo, Dekan von Braga, etc.', in O.C.P. IX (1943), p. 183). The qualities of Amadeus mentioned by Rodrigo are precisely those that, together with his wealth, were the real reason of his election, and efforts were made to get Frederick III, King of the Romans, to marry his daughter, the widow of Louis III of Anjou (cf. Valois, II, pp. 244, 249).

³ M.C. III, 470-1, 498-502. Because he complained that he was receiving the fifth only from his own Savoy, later he was given a metropolitan church, an abbey or priory (19 January 1442); in 1444 he retained for himself the revenues of the vacant diocese of Geneva and on 28 January 1446 he was allowed to reserve to himself the nominations to all prelatures and elective benefices in the territories of the Duke of Savoy and of his sons: Valois, II, pp. 193, n. 2.

It was, of course, inevitable that Eugenius would meet this final act of schism with ecclesiastical penalties. A monitorium, decreed in a public session of the Council of Florence held in S. Maria Novella's on 23 March 1440 and promulgated by being affixed to the doors of that church and to those of the papal palace and of the cathedral, invited Amadeus and his adherents to repent, when they would readily be forgiven, and warned them that, unless within fifty days they ceased from naming and treating the antipope as a pope and presented themselves before the Council in Florence within another fifteen days after that, they would be held as heretics, schismatics and traitors.¹ As soon as the time-limit was up (without, of course, any sign of repentance from Basel) the monitorium was reissued with a short introduction.² The next day Eugenius took action against the Cardinal of Arles who, in spite of all the penalties decreed against those who persisted in supporting the *conventiculum* in Basel after the Council had been transferred to Ferrara, had further 'presumed to set himself up as leader and patron' of that assembly and 'had not shrunk from being the real author' of the election of the 'son of iniquity Amadeus as antipope': he was therefore declared excommunicated and deprived of the dignity of the cardinalate, of his archdiocese of Arles and of every other benefice or office he had once held in the Church.³

But during all this time the Pope had more to think about than just the machinations of Basel, dangerous though they were. Early in 1439 he sent the Archbishop of Taranto and the Bishop of Zengg to try to restore peace between Poland and Hungary so that those two countries might direct their energies against the Turk.⁴ Albert of Hungary did campaign against them, though with no great success, but unfortunately he died still very young on 27 November 1439. In February Eugenius entered into a league with Florence and Venice against Milan. He tried too to check the inroads of Alfonso of Aragon on Naples, sending Cardinal Capranica to treat with him on 15 March 1439.⁵ When union with the Greeks was accomplished and the arrival of the Armenians announced, he thought of the other

¹ E.P. doc. 238.

² 27 May 1439, *ibid.* doc. 239.

³ E.P. doc. 241. Eugenius was right, of course, in holding Aleman as the prime mover in the election of the antipope and as the most implacable enemy of the papacy.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, XXXVIII.

⁵ *Ibid.*

separated Christians of the East and appointed Alberto da Sarteano as his Nuncio Apostolic to visit the Copts of Egypt and the Ethiopians to persuade them also to send delegates to Florence.¹ On 3 October 1439 he appointed Garatoni Nuncio Apostolic to Greece² providing him with 12,000 ducats for the defence of Constantinople;³ and on 7 October he issued a letter to the universal Church inviting the faithful to contribute to the expenses that union with the Greeks involved.⁴ At about the same time he was sending letters to Spain and Portugal urging the princes there to desist from their fratricidal wars.⁵ Towards the end of October he despatched an imposing embassy to further the peace negotiations that had once more begun between England and France and to assist at the meeting of the French clergy that Charles VII had summoned in Bourges. On 18 December he created seventeen new cardinals including the Greeks Bessarion and Isidore, the rest divided between the western nations, England being honoured by the promotion of John Kemp of York and Louis, archbishop of Rheims.⁶

The meeting of the French clergy, originally called for October 1439, did not actually take place till August 1440 since Charles was too occupied by the internal state of his kingdom. When it did open, such was his hurry to get away again, that only two days (28 and 29 August) were consecrated to hearing the envoys from Florence and Basel, though these had been awaiting the monarch's good pleasure, the first since the end of 1439, the second since the end of February—a sign of the importance that both parties attached to the attitude of France. The result was announced on 2 September. Charles VII was ready to obey the Church legitimately assembled. But it was doubtful whether the conditions prevailing at the time of the deposition of Eugenius and of the election that followed allowed the necessary equity and validity, and whether the assembly at Basel was representative enough for measures of such importance. So 'the King, at present not sufficiently enlightened, believes he ought to persist in the obedience of Eugenius'. Later, better informed either by a General Council of the Church or of his realm or by a con-

¹ 26 July 1439, *E.P.* doc. 195.

³ *Ibid.* doc. 221.

⁵ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1439, XXXIX.

² *E.P.* doc. 219.

⁴ *Ibid.* doc. 220.

⁶ *Ibid.* XLI.

ference of princes, he would give full support to the remedy there proposed.¹ It was a solution satisfactory neither to Eugenius nor to Basel, which left the King free to follow his favourite project of a third council. The Pope's envoys, however, prevailed on Charles to issue letters interpreting the decision greatly in favour of the Pope,² but their triumph was limited because Parliament refused to register Charles's letters without the full text of the decision of Bourges and the University of Paris continued in its open support of Basel.

The attitude of Germany was very similar. Frederick III shortly after his accession renewed the safe-conducts of the assembly at Basel (2 May 1440), but at a Diet in Mainz in March 1441 (when John of Segovia, one of Felix's new cardinals, was not allowed to wear his new insignia, and when even Aleman was forbidden to be preceded by a cross as a sign of his office as 'legate'—to preserve the German attitude of neutrality), though the orators both of the Pope and of Basel expended all their eloquence to win the adherence of the German Electors, it was in fact the representatives of France that gained the day in favour of a third council which should meet in Metz. Had the two kings then taken prompt action in common, they might have forced both Eugenius and Felix to concur. But as it was, Frederick deferred a final decision to a new Diet, which took place only in the summer of 1442; and Charles meanwhile tried to persuade Eugenius to agree to a new council in France.³ With the two protagonists of the third-council idea thus divided, Eugenius, who had no desire whatever for any such dangerous solution, was able courteously but firmly to refuse the proposals of both.

Eugenius, of course, was not without wholehearted supporters. Besides the powerful Italian States of Florence and Venice, there were Burgundy, Anjou which needed papal support for René's claim to Naples, and England. In this last country, when the emissaries of Felix arrived to press for English recognition of the antipope, they received short shrift. On 23 April 1440 Henry VI answered them through the Archbishop of York, that as regards

¹ Cf. *M.C.* III, 511.

² Martène, *Thesaurus*, etc. II, 1749, which bears the date 2 September 1440.

³ Cf. sermons of Pierre de Versailles, bishop of Digne (16 December 1441) and of Robert Cybole (6 January 1442), before the Pope, both in the name of the King of France (*Frag.* pp. 71-81).

Felix he would not obey his decrees, 'nor will we hold, consider or accept the same as the supreme vicar on earth of Christ or Supreme Pontiff, but only our above-mentioned lord Eugenius and his successors canonically appointed'.¹ A month later he wrote to his Council in Rouen: 'We are completely determined and decided, for ourselves and all our vassals and subjects, to give entirely, without any hesitation, our loyal and devoted obedience and service to the Holy See of Rome and to our above-mentioned holy Father the Pope Eugenius.'² Even the King of Castile withdrew his representatives from Basel and urged Charles of France not to support the new schism.³ On 4 November 1443 Scotland, too, officially rejected Felix.⁴

But if he had ardent supporters, Eugenius had also equally bitter enemies in Visconti of Milan and Alfonso of Aragon. Filippo Maria Visconti, the son-in-law of the antipope, would not give, though he was ready to sell, his adherence to Felix, but he set the price too high, and so relations between them remained fluid. His forces, however, under Piccinino (named Gonfaloniere of the Church by Felix) continued successfully to harry papal territory till they were disastrously defeated at Anghiari (19 June 1440). Visconti, nothing daunted, in the following spring was still offering his services to the antipope at a price of 13,000 ducats a month (needed, he said, for the defence of his own territories and the conquest of the Papal States), and at the end of the same year it looked as if an agreement would be reached. Yet within six months he was the ally of the Pope, and Piccinino was still Gonfaloniere of the Church, but now nominated by Eugenius (5 June 1442), while Sforza, the Condottiere of Eugenius, Florence and Venice, was the subject of various papal letters depriving him of his titles and his rights to the various parts of the papal territories that had been assigned to him during the previous few years, to recover which Piccinino took the field as champion of Pope

¹ For the speech of the envoys of Felix cf. Zellfelder, *op. cit.* pp. 339ff., J. Haller, *Piero da Monte*, pp. 271-4; and for Kemp's answer, Zellfelder, pp. 363ff., Haller, pp. 278-80.

² 18 May 1440, cited by Valois, II, p. 216. Cf. also his letter to Eugenius dated 28 May 1440 in Bekynton, *op. cit.* II, CCXXXII, pp. 91ff.

³ From the letter of thanks of Eugenius dated 25 January 1441, in Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1441, XIII.

⁴ Pastor, I, p. 333.

and Milan. Florence and Venice were obviously disconcerted, and Sforza, not inclined to surrender his possessions tamely, turned to the King of Aragon and the antipope.

Alfonso, unlike the Duke of Milan, had given wholehearted support to Felix from the start. He had sent Nicholas Tudeschi back to Basel, who, created Cardinal by Felix on 12 November 1440, even if he raised his voice once or twice in the sessions against the too great pretensions of that assembly, spoke even more powerfully against the claims of Eugenius in Frankfort (1442) and Nuremberg (1443). But the Baseler hesitated to accede to all of Alfonso's demands for fear of alienating Charles of France, who naturally supported the Frenchman René of Anjou in the quarrel about Naples. Aragon, however, did well enough without them. In spite of a treaty between Eugenius and Genoa against him, he brought his campaign to a successful issue by taking Naples on 2 June 1442, when René fled first to the papal court in Florence¹ and then returned to his own country. The situation of the Pope at that time looked very black, with Sforza threatening Rome and the papal territories from the north and Alfonso hostile to the south. Eugenius had been loyal throughout to his nominee René of Anjou, even though at any time in the course of the dispute over Naples he could have gained the adherence of the Prince of Aragon and weakened thereby the threat from Milan, and detached from Basel some of his most redoubtable opponents, if he had been willing to go back on his word. But he did not so act. Now, however, when Anjou's cause was hopelessly lost (there was not the slightest chance of his ever regaining Naples), such loyalty was both useless and dangerous. So he bowed to necessity, by a treaty of 14 June 1443 recognised Alfonso's claims, and received in return that prince's adherence. Felix, therefore, had now lost the support both of Milan and of Aragon.

While these events were proceeding, there had been celebrated in Florence the union of still another eastern body of Christians, the Copts of Egypt.² Shortly after the union of the Greeks Eugenius

¹ *Diarium Inghirami*, in *Frag.* p. 40.

² The Copts of Egypt had refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon on the grounds that its decision did not harmonise with the teaching of their great Doctor St Cyril of Alexandria and savoured of Nestorianism. They were, therefore, Monophysites, as

appointed Fra Alberto da Sarteano to act as papal Nuncio with the Copts and to be Commissary Apostolic *in partibus Indie, Ethiopie, Egipti et Jerusalem*.¹ To fulfil these offices he was furnished with three letters. One of these was addressed to *Venerabili Fratri Ioanni Patriarche Iacobinorum* announcing the union with the Greeks, in which too representatives of Trebizond, Wallachia, Georgia and Russia were included, while the Armenians were shortly expected, and expressing the Pope's conviction that the Patriarch too desired 'that the Catholic Church scattered over the world should be one, should feel and think the same and that there should be one fold under one shepherd'.²

The other two letters were for 'John the Emperor of the Ethiopians' and 'Thomas the Emperor of the Indians'. Little was known in Italy of either of these monarchs, except that access at least to Abyssinia was extremely difficult, if not impossible, because the Sultan of Egypt, especially at that time when Eugenius was committed to raising forces to help Constantinople, blocked all entry for fear of an *entente* between the Christians there and the Christians of the West. These two letters made no mention of union. They were the credentials of Fra Alberto and his companions to speak in the name of the Pope, leaving it to Alberto's discretion to act as he thought more prudent.

The Franciscans left Venice early in 1440, were in Crete in March, Rhodes in May, and Jerusalem probably early in June. There they had conversations with Nicodemus, the abbot of the Ethiopian monastery, who agreed to send a representative to Florence, and were, too, the Christians of Ethiopia among whom that heresy was spread at the end of the fifth century by the 'New Saints', who were probably Syrian Monophysites. The name 'Jacobite' comes from the fact that the hierarchy of the Monophysite Church of Syria was renewed by the Bishop James (Jacobus) in the middle of the sixth century.

Cf. Teodosio Somigli di S. Detole, O.F.M., *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano, ed. G. Golubovich, O.F.M., serie 3, tomo 1, parte 1, Quaracchi, 1928), pp. xiv-lxiii; E. Cerulli, *Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al concilio di Firenze nel 1441* (Reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei—Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie VI, vol. IX, fasc. 5-6, pp. 347-68); E. Cerulli, 'L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici', in *Africa italiana*, v (1933), pp. 57-80; G. Hofmann, 'Kopten und Aethiopier auf dem Konzil von Florenz', in *O.C.P.* VIII (1942), pp. 5-29; G. Hofmann, 'La Chiesa copta ed etiopica nel Concilio di Firenze', in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, II (1942), pp. 141-6, 228-35.

¹ E.P. doc. 207 (22 August 1439).

² Dated 26 July 1439, E.P. doc. 195.

nominated a monk by name Peter. Arrived in Cairo, Fra Alberto delivered a copy of the Bull of union with the Greeks to Philotheus, the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, who in a letter dated 1 September 1440 thanked the Pope, stating also that at about the same time he had received by the hand of Nathaniel, Metropolitan of Rhodes,¹ another copy complete with all signatures and seals, that after comparing the two 'we decided, together with our Egyptian prelates and our other clergy, to commemorate Your Beatitude before the other patriarchs in all the churches of Christ everywhere in the solemnities of the Mass, as is provided for in the sacred canons' and that he had written to Constantinople that 'any who did not accept what had been decreed and defined in the holy Synod should be held as heretical'.²

The Patriarch of the Copts, John, also lived in Cairo and Fra Alberto duly fulfilled his mission to him too. The results are recounted in the letter that the Patriarch addressed to the Pope on 12 September. The papal letter and the decree were translated with the help of Venetian merchants and read before John, 'the bishops, priests, deacons, magistrates and all the Christian people' to their joy, and Andrew, abbot of the monastery of St Antony, was appointed to convey to the Pope, with Fra Alberto, the mind of the Patriarch.³ Fra Alberto did not reach Ethiopia, presumably because the Sultan in Cairo would not give leave. Instead he set off for home, dividing his companions into three groups so as to attract as little attention from the Mohammedans as possible, with a rendezvous in Rhodes, whence they departed for Italy early in 1441 and arrived in Florence on 26 August.

The Abbot Andrew presented his credentials before Eugenius and the Council on 31 August, his speech in Arabic being translated through Italian into Latin. In that, hailing the Pope as 'God on earth, and his vicar on earth, and successor of Peter, and father, head and teacher of the universal Church', he expressed the hope that he who had drawn Greeks and Armenians into the union of the Catholic faith would grant the same blessing to the Copts.⁴ Two

¹ Nathaniel was commissioned by John VIII to deliver a copy of the Bull to Philotheus; Hofmann, *Orientalium doc. min.* docs. 33, 34.

² Text in Hofmann, *op. cit.* doc. 38.

³ *Ibid.* doc. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.* doc. 41.

days later Peter of Jerusalem appeared before the Council. His speech was as much a panegyric of the Abyssinian Church as of that of Rome, but it ended by affirming that the Emperor of the Ethiopians desired nothing so much as 'to be united with the Roman Church and to cast himself at your most holy feet'.¹ The letter he presented from his Abbot Nicodemus was not quite so emphatic on the Emperor's subservience. All the same it declared that he would joyfully hear of union and 'these my sons have come to you not to dispute on questions of faith, but to hear and accept whatever you expound to them', so as to bear that message back to the Emperor, for only they (and that with difficulty) could reach him because of the enmity of the infidel: foreigners would be courting certain death to make the attempt: but 'without our King we can do nothing'.²

The speech of Peter and the letter of Nicodemus explain why the Copts and the Abyssinians were received separately by the Council, because they were two distinct embassies, the one official and plenipotentiary in the name of the Patriarch John and his Church (he was also theoretically head of the Abyssinian Church³), the other representing only the Ethiopian monastery of Jerusalem which might serve as an intermediary between the Pope and the Negus, but which had no official status. Both parties, however, went off on a visit of a few days to Rome together, when the Pope arranged for them to see the Veil of Veronica preserved in St Peter's.⁴

¹ Hofmann, *op. cit.* doc. 42.

² *Ibid.* doc. 40; *Diarium Inghirami in Frag.* p. 39. Hefele-Leclercq (vii, p. 1086) is mistaken in asserting that Fra Alberto reached Abyssinia and that Peter was the envoy of the Negus.

³ Nicodemus would seem not to have acknowledged this, for in his letter to the Pope he wrote: 'Of our coming to Y.H. our Patriarch, viz. Jacobite, knows nothing, but my messengers have come without his knowledge', Hofmann, *Orientalium doc. min.* doc. 40.

⁴ Letter of Pope to Chapter of St Peter's, 4 October 1440, which curiously begins: 'Since we desire that our beloved sons Andrew, Abbot of St Antony's in Egypt, and Peter deacon, envoys of the great prince Constantine, Emperor of Ethiopia, or, as is said, of Prester John...' (*E.P. doc.* 252)—Andrew was not envoy of the Emperor. The Emperor's name was Zar'ä Ya'qob. The name Constantine was really a title to denote his equality in dignity with Constantine the Great. (Flavio Biondo, 'Quartaec Decadis' liber II in B. Nogara, 'Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio', in *S.T.* no. 48 (Roma, 1927), p. 21: the whole of his account pp. 20-7 should be read for its interesting detail). Biondo says that four Copt and four Ethiopian monks accompanied

After their return to Florence they held long meetings with Cardinals Cesarini, Le Jeune and Torquemada. The absence of sufficiently skilled interpreters made the interrogations difficult, but the results as given by Biondo would seem to show that the Coptic faith was completely orthodox, though there were certain practices (such as circumcising male children) that were not desirable, and great rigour in respect of marriage.¹ The visitors, however, were not only interrogated, they were also instructed, and the result of this double process was codified in the Bull *Cantate Domino*, promulgated in solemn session on 4 February 1442, and accepted by the Egyptians in the name of their Patriarch and of their Church.

The Bull concerns only the Copts of Egypt and mentions from the envoys only the name of Andrew, abbot of the monastery of St Antony—another proof that Peter and the Abyssinians formed a separate mission with no powers to act for the Christians of Ethiopia. The Bull (which is extremely long), after an introduction, states the belief of the holy Roman Church, first in the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity which is expounded in very great detail, then in the books of the Old and the New Testaments, which are named. The Manicheans and all the heretics of the Trinitarian and Christological controversies are then anathematised in turn. The Old Testament is declared to have yielded to the New, and so the practices of circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath (i.e. Saturday) are abrogated. Children in danger of death should be immediately

Fra Alberto to Italy: a chronicle quoted by E. Cerulli, *Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze nel 1441*, p. 3 (349) records: 'On 26 August, Sunday, there came to Florence about forty Indians of Greater India sent by the Prete Janni, among whom were three ambassadors of the most illustrious Prete Janni' and notes that they wore turbans; while the *Diario di Paulo di Benedetto de Cola dello Mastro* recounts that on 10 October 'uno abbate di S. Antonio di Egipto, gran signore dello prete Janni, con forza XII monaci' arrived in Rome and saw many relics (Jorga, II, p. 385).

¹ Biondo, *ibid.* pp. 24-6. It is probable that the difficulty of interpreting (and perhaps the oriental desire to please) resulted in a greater impression of orthodoxy than was in fact the case. It is said that the Negus Zare'a Ya'qob was a fanatical Monophysite (cf. T. Somigli, *op. cit.* pp. xxxiv-xxxix), though on the other hand by an embassy sent in 1443 to the Sultan of Cairo he made that potentate desist from persecuting Christians by threats of reprisals (L. Lemmens, O.F.M., *Die Franziskaner im Hl. Lande* (2nd ed. Münster, 1925), pp. 106-7). Cf. also K. Wendt, 'Zara Jacob Constantinus von Aethiopien', in *Le Muséon*, XLVI (1933), pp. 277-97: the author, however, is mistaken in asserting that the Negus combined with the Patriarch John in sending the embassy to Italy (p. 289).

baptised (the Copts delayed baptism till forty or fifty days after birth). Nothing now is 'unclean', so all forms of food are legal. Salvation is possible only for those who before death are joined to the Church. The Church accepts the first seven Councils, which are each mentioned with a few words on the chief heresies condemned in them, among which the views of Dioscorus of Alexandria come in for censure; besides those Councils, all others 'legitimately convened, celebrated and confirmed by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, especially this holy Council of Florence'. There follow the complete texts of the decrees of union with the Greeks and the Armenians, with a kind of postscript added to supplement what was said in the latter decree about the sacraments in regard to 'form' and 'matter' of the Eucharist and the legality of a fourth or even subsequent marriages, since the Copts permitted only up to a third marriage. Then, after a paragraph to note the complete acceptance by Andrew of the whole of the decree, there are the signatures of the Pope: *Ego Eugenius catholice ecclesie episcopus subscripsi*, of twenty cardinals, two Latin patriarchs, two French bishops who were envoys of Charles VII, three archbishops, twenty-five bishops and eleven abbots. The Arabic translation is preceded by the Latin text of the formal acceptance read out in the session in Arabic by Andrew, and is followed by his signature.¹ Not long after this event the eastern envoys, enriched with various presents, departed via Venice for the Holy Land, their journey paid for by the Pope.²

The monk Peter of Jerusalem did not sign the decree because, as his abbot had written, 'without our King we can do nothing'. Whether the Negus did in fact do anything is uncertain. Fra Alberto's companion on the voyage to Egypt, Fra Tommaso da Firenze, made three attempts to fulfil the mission that Sarteano had not been able to accomplish, essaying to enter Ethiopia not from Egypt but by an overland route from Constantinople. Each endeavour ended in capture from which he was ransomed, on the third occasion only in 1446 after at least a year's imprisonment. But what the foreigners could not do, there is some reason to think that the

¹ Latin text of the Bull in *E.P.* doc. 258. The original Bull is preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Cassetta Cesarini.

² Cf. *A.C.A.* docs. 134, 1 6-41, amounting to 1368 fl. 5 sol. 6 den.

Abyssinians of Jerusalem achieved. Leonardo Bruni wrote from Florence on 6 March 1442 (when, that is, the two eastern missions were still in the city of which he was Chancellor) to *Antonio de Gualcellis in Ethiopia commoranti*, recounting the events of the time and recommending the monks (who would be the bearers of this letter and of one from the Pope to the same Antonio) who *haveranno a riferire a cotesto eccellentissimo re e signore quanto hanno fatto e quanto bisogna fare per la fede et unione de' cristiani*. So the Pope intended to try to reach the Negus through the Jerusalem monastery. He would, too, seem to have had good hopes of succeeding and of his initiative producing results. For in the Bull of 24 February 1443 announcing the translation of the Council to Rome he speaks of his expecting the arrival of legates from the Negus with full powers to accept 'the doctrine of the Catholic faith'.¹ But such legates did not arrive. However, the Franciscan Custodian of the Holy Land, Fra Gandolfo da Sicilia, wrote to Eugenius on 1 February 1444 that ambassadors of the Negus had come to Jerusalem on 6 January 1444 and had informed him that 'when Thomas and George' had reached the Emperor with the Bull, all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities had been summoned to meet and had unanimously accepted it with great joy.² Nearly a hundred years later the Negus, David III, wrote to Pope Clement VII that in his archives there were a letter and a book sent by Pope Eugenius to the Emperor Jacob: 'the legates who brought these from the Pontiff to the Emperor were Theodore, Peter, Didymus and George, servants of Jesus Christ.'³

In the midst of all his anxieties about the attitude of the European princes and about his own security in Italy Eugenius did not forget his promises to help the Greeks and the project he had outlined in his letter to the Church of 7 October 1439 of raising both land and

¹ E.P. doc. 263.

² Perhaps as a consequence of that good news Eugenius appointed Fra Gandolfo Apostolic Commissary for India, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Jerusalem, to continue the good work of Fra Alberto da Sarteano: cf. Lemmens, *op. cit.* p. 107.

³ Cf. G. Hofmann, 'Kopten und Aethiopier, etc.', in O.C.P. VIII (1942), pp. 30-6; Wadding, *op. cit.* XI, pp. 251 ff. where the documents are given in full. It will be noted that there is a certain discrepancy in the names of the Ethiopian messengers, though the confusion of Theodore and Thomas (through a variety of translations) is intelligible: was Peter the deacon who visited Italy? 'Servants of Jesus Christ' means monks. The decree 'Pro Jacobitis' was drawn up in the form of a book.

sea forces for a grand crusade against the Turk.¹ The death of King Albert and the subsequent rivalry of Ladislas of Poland and the Queen Mother Elizabeth, protecting the rights of her younger son, for the throne of Hungary precluded for the moment (so he wrote to Garatoni in Constantinople on 25 August 1440) the formation of an army, but Venice, Genoa and Rhodes were ready to contribute to the fleet when there should be need.² In that same letter he had expressed the hope that by the next spring the dynastic quarrel would be settled. But in that he was too optimistic, for in 1441 both Ladislas of Poland and Frederick, the new King of the Romans, were soliciting his favour for their respective candidates.³ The question was still open in early 1442, for one of the purposes for which on 1 March 1442 he appointed Cardinal Cesarini his Legate *a latere* in those parts was to try to reconcile the conflicting claims. The other objects of his mission were to prevent the Emperor Frederick from yielding to the persuasions of his cousin the Patriarch of Aquileia (the nominee of Basel) to adhere to the cause of the antipope, and to foster the crusade against the infidel with the King of Poland, the Voivode of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, who had already successfully campaigned against the Turk, and George Brankovich, Prince of Serbia then in exile in Hungary.

By 10 March Cesarini was in Venice where he obtained a promise of help with the fleet (and later the despatch of 10,000 lb. of powder for the army, 8 August 1442). His reception in Austria was cold, but he easily won Ladislas to full support of the papal cause. He failed, however, in his mission of settling the question of the succession till the death of the Queen Mother (24 December 1442) removed one of the protagonists in the dispute. The road was then open for the crusade. On 1 January 1443 Eugenius did his best to provide it with material support by writing a letter imposing a Tenth on the universal Church.⁴ After commemorating the happy union of so many

¹ E.P. doc. 220.

² *Ibid.* doc. 243.

³ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1441, XIV, XV.

⁴ E.P. doc. 261. On 28 July 1442 he had granted an indulgence to those who visited the church of Our Lady of Eton on the feast of the Assumption and contributed to expenses—a quarter to go to the church, the rest to the war with the Turks—valid for the reign of Henry VI, its founder.

Christian peoples accomplished by the Council, the letter goes on to speak of the horrors of captivity endured by so many thousands of Christians under the Turk, of the almost miraculous check to the infidel arms in the previous September by the prowess of Hunyadi, and of his appointment of Cesarini and Garatoni to combine the Christian princes. Constantinople, Cyprus, Rhodes, the Peloponnese had all in close succession appealed for help. 'Almost the whole of the Christian East and a great part of the North either endure a servitude worse than that imposed by Pharaoh or fear shortly to suffer one, unless God shall aid.' In this situation there is urgent need of land and sea forces of no small magnitude. But after the expenses incurred in the work of the Council the Holy See is unequal to this new financial burden and therefore imposes a Tenth on the whole Church to be paid as quickly as possible. Further, all are invited to give even more, and His Holiness has set the example by assigning for the army and the fleet the fifth part of all his income from *servitia communia* and Annates, in addition to what he otherwise meant to expend on this work, and the Cardinals have spontaneously yielded a tenth of all the fruits of their benefices for the same end.

Cesarini already had the organisation of the land forces in hand, which meant in effect to keep the King of Poland-Hungary, his general Hunyadi and the Princes of Serbia, Wallachia and Albania united to follow up the victories of 1441 and 1442, when Hunyadi had proved that the Turk was not invincible. The preparation of the fleet began in 1443 when Eugenius on 8 May appointed Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro as his Legate with the command of the sea forces and with wide powers to promote the acceptance of the union of 1439 in Greece and the adjacent countries. Even though relations with Venice were strained because of the internal political situation, it was nevertheless in the Venetian dockyards that the ships were to be got ready. Eugenius had asked for ten hulls to be armed and the Signoria had acceded to the request, payment to be made from the proceeds of the Tenths collected in Venetian territory. Venice itself added to the fleet more than eight vessels,¹ and the Duke of Burgundy had four ships prepared in Venice, two in Villefranche and four in

¹ Letter of Signoria dated 28 August 1444, Jorga, III, p. 184.

Nice.¹ Alfonso of Aragon promised a contingent but it never arrived, the King later laying the blame for this unjustly on the Venetians.

There was great delay in the preparations, the Pope and the Signoria each accounting the other responsible. However, by mid-June 1444 all was ready. The Cardinal was in charge of the whole expedition, Aloisio Loredano was admiral of the Venetian contingent (chosen at the instance of the Cardinal²), Walerand de Waurin commanded the ships of Burgundy (the galleys from Villefranche under Geoffrey de Thoisy, after assisting in the defence of Rhodes, joined the rest too late to be of any useful service³), Antonio Condulmaro those of the Pope. Loredano was given strict injunctions by the Signoria that he was not to attack the fleet of the Soudanese nor to help the Knights of Rhodes if they were in conflict with it;⁴ he was to proceed to the Straits to aid the army of Hunyadi. A protest by the Cardinal had the result of allowing a little more latitude of action to the Venetian commander in the Danube area.⁵ The fleet reached Methone on 17 July, was revictualled in Crete and arrived in the Constantinople area in the first half of August,⁶ long, that is, before the land army set out on its disastrous campaign.

While the fleet was still being made ready, the land force moved against the Turk on 22 July 1443, and having beaten the enemy at Nish (3 November) entered Sofia; but after further successes it was forced by the rigours of winter and difficulties in food supplies to return to its base (February 1444). It was the first great campaign of Hungarian forces taking the initiative against the Turk in territories that the Sultan considered his own, and it was entirely successful.⁷ Murad II was so shaken that he made overtures for a truce. He had other good reasons besides. Skanderbeg was at the same time uniting the Albanian chieftains to fight for their independence; in the Morea

¹ C. Marinesco, *Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne, et la Croisade*, in *Actes du VI^e Congrès internat. d'études byzantines*, 1 (Paris, 1950), pp. 147-68, esp. pp. 156-8.

² Jorga, III, p. 152.

³ Marinesco, *op. cit.* p. 159.

⁴ Venice had a commercial treaty with the Sultan of the Soudan.

⁵ Jorga, III, pp. 173, 175.

⁶ Sphrantzes passed through Corinth on 30 August as ambassador to, among others, Cardinal Condulmaro and Loredano already in Constantinople: *Phr.* p. 195.

⁷ Confident that the next campaign would take the victorious Christian arms right into Greece, Eugenius made Cesarini Legate for Greece (without cancelling the powers of Cardinal Condulmaro) on 12 February 1444: *E.P. doc.* 274.

Constantine Palaeologus had rebuilt the Hexamilion and was making raids into territories to the north, tributary to the Turk;¹ in Caramania (Asia Minor) there was a serious renewal of revolt which needed immediate attention.

About, however, the course and the results of the negotiations for the truce there is a difference of opinion among historians. The more traditionally-held view is that Ladislas, with the approval of Hunyadi and Brankovich, but without the knowledge of Cesarini, signed a treaty on 15 July 1444 at Szegedin, according to which there would be a truce of ten years between Hungary and the Sultan; Wallachia would remain in Hungarian hands, Bulgaria in those of Murad and Serbia be restored to Brankovich. When Cesarini learnt of this abandonment of the crusade, using all his powers of persuasion and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he overcame the resolve of Ladislas, whom he absolved from the oath by which he had confirmed the treaty, and so prevailed on him that on 4 August 1444 the King proclaimed that he was proceeding with the crusade.²

That version of the events must assuredly be emended. The facts are as follows. Ladislas on 15 April 1444 certainly swore solemnly in the Hungarian Diet in Buda to continue the crusade, but seven days later he sent an envoy (a Serb) to accompany two others of Brankovich and one of Hunyadi to hear the proposals of Murad. On 12 June these concluded in Adrianople a truce with the Sultan for ten years on very advantageous terms for Hungary, which however needed an oath from Ladislas personally before it could be considered valid. The Christian envoys, therefore, in company with a Turkish embassy returned to Hungary. Meanwhile Murad had crossed over to Asia on 12 July, leaving behind him his son Mahomet to watch over his interests in Europe. As late as 24 July Ladislas wrote to the King of Bosnia that he was setting out to destroy the Turks. The envoys from Adrianople must have arrived soon after that, and were met in Szegedin by Ladislas in the very last days of July or the first of August. On 4 August Ladislas issued a manifesto, which he sent to various courts and to the papal fleet,

¹ D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, 1 (Paris, 1932), pp. 226ff.

² This is the view accepted by S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 465-6.

announcing the resumption of the crusade for 1 September, 'notwithstanding certain negotiations and conclusions for a truce made or to be made', and he and his barons, including Hunyadi, took an oath in confirmation. At this point historians differ again in their interpretations. Some think that in Szegedin Ladislas accepted on oath the offer of Murad, and then within less than a week went back on his oath. Others think that his manifesto of 4 August was in fact his answer to the Turkish embassy, a refusal to confirm the proposals agreed to provisionally in Adrianople by his envoy.¹

The Christian army crossed the Danube, not on 1 September as Ladislas had intended, but on the twenty-second of that month, with good prospects of success. It numbered some 16,000 men, later reinforced by 4000 Wallachians, was to be supported by the fleet, and faced reduced Turkish forces scattered as garrisons over a wide area. Advancing by Nicopolis, it reached the shores of the Black Sea near Varna in the beginning of November, intending to follow the coast to Constantinople. Here it learned that Murad, after having been prevented from crossing the Dardanelles, had managed to transport his troops over the Bosphorus, and his camp fires were soon visible a few miles away. The battle between the Christians and the Turkish army some 80,000 to 100,000 strong took place on 10 November. At first the fierce attacks of the crusaders promised success, but the rashness of Ladislas in seeking the strongest part of the enemy forces and thereby losing his life turned the scales, and the result was a serious defeat in which Cesarini and a large pro-

¹ The first of these opinions, which has behind it the testimony of many contemporaries that at some time Ladislas did swear to a treaty with Murad, interprets *tractatibus... factis* as referring to the acceptance of Murad's offer by Ladislas in Szegedin at the end of July: e.g. F. Pall, 'Ciriaco d'Ancona, etc.' and 'Autour de la Croisade de Varna, etc.' (in *Acad. Roum. section histor.* xx (1938), pp. 9-68; *ibid.* xxii (1941), pp. 144-58); J. Dabrowski, *L'année 1444* (Cracovie, 1952). The second understands these words as referring to the negotiations at Adrianople, and *fiendis* as referring to negotiations taking place between Brankovich and the Turks: e.g. O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna* (New York, 1943). There is good reason to believe that Brankovich did make a private treaty on 15 August by which his two blinded sons were sent back and various cities were restored to him (22 August, Halecki, *op. cit.* pp. 54 ff.). As a result he, who had furnished about one-third of the troops of the 1443 campaign, took no part whatsoever in that of 1444. So Murad had gained at least part of his purpose. F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (München, 1953), is content to describe both of these opinions without opting for either. Cf. also his article 'Von Amurath zu Amurath', in *Oriens*, III (1950), pp. 229-65.

portion of the Christian forces were killed and of the leaders only Hunyadi with a part of the Hungarian troops escaped.¹ Rumours were rife for a long time that both Ladislas and Cesarini were alive and in hiding,² and the Burgundian ships cruised up the coast of the Black Sea that winter to find them. But, of course, without success. They had another purpose also, to transport to Hunyadi a pretender to the sultanate and to support the limited operations of the Hungarians and Wallachian forces of 1445. Here again the Christian general was not very successful. But he did not abandon his great aim of driving the Turk from Europe, even though in October 1448 at Kossovo he suffered still another and serious defeat. In January 1446 the Christian fleet, papal, Venetian and Burgundian, returned to Venice,³ for meantime both Constantinople and Venice had made peace with the victorious Sultan.⁴ The defeat of Varna had large repercussions. It left Poland without a king for years owing to the stories of the survival of Ladislas. It spelt the beginning of the end of Constantinople and of the union of the Greeks, for there was no chance of a pope being able to raise such a large-scale crusade again for many years. Eugenius still encouraged opposition to the Turk when he could. He granted an indulgence to Hunyadi and his troops, 9 July 1445,⁵ and wrote to the Church seeking aid for Rhodes and Cyprus, 9 January 1445.⁶ But there was little else he could do.

When Cardinal Condulmaro returned from his unsuccessful expedition he found the papal court established in Rome. On 24 February 1443 by the Bull *Miserator et misericors Dominus* Eugenius, following a decision taken on 5 January in a general session of the

¹ Blame is freely laid on the fleet for the defeat. But, though small, its numbers would have been sufficient to prevent a crossing (1) if it had been better provisioned; (2) if the Genoese had not helped the crossing of the Turks with barges (as seems most likely); (3) if—and this is the most important reason—a violent wind had not immobilised it at the crucial time.

² The College of Cardinals did not officially acknowledge Cesarini's death till 26 July 1445 (Eubel, II, p. 28).

³ With the exception of two Burgundian ships which remained in Greek waters: A. Grunzweig, 'Philippe le Bon et Constantinople', in *Byz.* XXIV (1954), pp. 47–61, esp. p. 49.

⁴ For the text of this treaty, cf. F. Babinger and F. Dölger, 'Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)', in *O.C.P.* xv (1949), pp. 225–58.

⁵ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1445, XIII.

⁶ *Ibid.* XVIII.

three Estates, had announced the translation of the Council to the Lateran basilica in Rome, the city hallowed by the martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the centre of the Church, the city of the popes, easy of access from the sea, provided with all the necessities of life. There it would continue the work for the eradication of heresy, for reform and for peace and union, for which it had originally been convened. Its first session in the new site was fixed for the sixteenth day after the arrival there of the Pope.¹ The move had been accepted in a secret consistory of the cardinals as early as 3 September 1442. The authorities of Florence, however, and the partisans of Venice, seeing in it only another stage of Eugenius' hostility, had opposed it, going even so far as to threaten to restrain him by force.² Wiser counsels in the end prevailed. On 7 March the Pope, accompanied by fifteen cardinals, left for Siena. There he remained till 14 September, during which interval Cardinal Nicolò Albergati died on 9 May. Finally, ten years after his precipitous departure, Eugenius entered Rome on 28 September and, having passed the first night at S. Maria del Popolo, proceeded *processionaliter* to St Peter's the next day.³

What little information we have of the activities of the Council in Rome is drawn almost entirely from papal Bulls, for any official Acts that might have been written are lost. The Bull *Humani generis Redemptoris* inaugurated the first solemn session held on 14 October in the Lateran palace, where the Pope resided.⁴ Six days later the ambassadors of Alfonso of Aragon were received in public consistory. In a public session held on 10 January 1444 the Cardinal of St Mark's, Angellotto Fusco, in the absence of the Pope read out letters sent by Cardinal Cesarini reporting the successful campaign against the Turk of the previous autumn. In consequence a solemn procession of thanksgiving was ordered for the following Sunday, which duly took place, the cardinals, the Roman Curia and the clergy and populace of the city all assisting.⁵

¹ E.P. doc. 263.

² *Diarium A. de Santacrucis: Frag.* pp. 48-9.

³ So 'Dai diari di Stefano Caffari', ed. G. Coletti in *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*, VIII (1885), pp. 566-7. Eubel, II, p. 28 following a consistorial diary gives the date as 19 September.

⁴ E.P. doc. 270. Cf. G. Hofmann; 'Das Konzil von Florenz in Rom', in O.C.P. xv (1949), pp. 71-84.

⁵ 'Dai diari di Stefano Caffari', p. 568.

The next recorded event is the union of the Syrians of Mesopotamia with the Latin Church, celebrated in solemn session in the Lateran on 30 September 1444. Abdala, archbishop of Edessa, sent by the Patriarch Ignatius to represent the Syrian Church,¹ must have been in Rome already some time, because he had had long discussions with a committee of cardinals and theologians before union was agreed to. It was found that his faith was orthodox except in three points—the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the two natures in Christ and the two wills in Christ. On these he was instructed, in the end agreeing with the teaching of the Roman Church and accepting it in his own name and in that of his Patriarch and his Church. The Bull *Multa et admirabilia* records this historical setting and then, quoting the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, declares the true faith, which Abdala was to accept together with whatsoever else the Church had at different times declared, especially the decrees of the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jacobites. Copies of these, translated into Arabic, a language that Abdala was familiar with, had been presented to him. He had read them and had approved them.

Abdala's long and successful journey was probably the fruit of Franciscan missionary activity. Certainly on 15 December 1441 Eugenius had appointed Fra Antonio da Troia as his commissary 'to the provinces of Tartary, Assyria, Persia and Ethiopia, as well as to the nations of the Maronites, the Druses, the Nestorians and the Syrians, the Holy Land excepted'²—a wide enough field of activity for even the most apostolic of men. Another Franciscan, Fra Giovanni, was active in the interests of union in the Lebanon and Syria. The Maronites of these parts were already in union with the Holy See.³ When the invitation to take part in the Council in Ferrara arrived, the Maronite Patriarch John sent Fra Giovanni to Rome to assure the Holy Father of his acceptance in advance of

¹ Presumably Franciscan envoys of Eugenius had visited the Patriarch to present the Pope's invitation, as they had visited so many other oriental Churches. The details given here are taken from the Bull *Multa et admirabilia* (E.P. doc. 278) of 30 September 1444.

² E.P. doc. 255.

³ The name 'Maronite' is taken from the monk, St Maron, who lived towards the beginning of the fifth century: a monastery in Syria dedicated to him became a centre of opposition to the prevailing Monophysite heresy of those parts.

whatever should be defined, and at the same time to claim the privilege of the pallium and the confirmation of his election to the See of Antioch. Fra Giovanni returned in October 1439 with all that the Patriarch had requested and with the news of the union of the Greeks. The general jubilation was such that the Mameluke governor, suspecting that the Council of Florence was but the prelude to a new crusade to retake the Holy Land, instituted a persecution of the Christians, in which many Maronites were slain and much of their property destroyed.¹ The Patriarch John informed the Pope of these events by a letter carried by Fra Pietro da Ferrara and received a reply by the same messenger. Eugenius congratulated him and his Church on their loyalty to the Holy See and on their constancy in the faith witnessed to by their fortitude in persecution, and recommended to him Fra Pietro da Ferrara and Fra Antonio da Troia as trusted messengers of the Holy See.² The Patriarch John died in 1445. His successor was confirmed in his See by Eugenius and received the pallium from him.

But if the Maronite Church at large was both orthodox in faith and united with the Church of Rome, that was not true of a small body of Maronites in the island of Cyprus. This with a similar group of Chaldeans, both of them long-established communities of refugees from the persecutions in Asia and Egypt, were brought into union with Rome by Andrew Chrysoberges, archbishop of Rhodes. Andrew, after his activities in Ferrara and Florence, had returned to his See in September 1439. A complaint, however, of the Greeks of Cyprus that the Latins there were not implementing the union arrived at in Florence or at the least were not living up to its spirit since they would not associate with them in marriages, funerals and other solemn functions³ caused Eugenius to commission the Archbishop of Rhodes to go to Cyprus to put the union into practical effect. While there Andrew prevailed upon the two communities, of Chaldeans and Maronites, the former of which was infected with the heresy of Nestorius, the latter with the monothelite heresy of

¹ P. Dib, *L'Eglise maronite* (Paris, 1930), I, pp. 222, 232, 243.

² E.P. doc. 256, dated 16 December 1441.

³ Text in E.P. III, p. 40, n. 1, from a copy in the Vatican Archives, so that J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), p. 151, is unjustified in calling its authenticity in doubt.

Macarius,¹ to accept the Catholic faith and union with Rome. This event was first celebrated in a public profession of faith in the church of St Sophia in Nicosia. Then Timotheus, archbishop of Tarsus (Cilicia) and metropolitan of the Chaldeans, on behalf of his flock, and Isaac, bishop of Minia (al-Minyā in Egypt)² to represent Elias, the Maronite Bishop of Byblos and his faithful, journeyed to Rome. They repeated their profession of faith in a public session of the Lateran Council on 7 August 1445, the terms of which are contained in the Bull *Benedictus sit Deus*.³ Timotheus promised (in Chaldean, translated through Greek into Latin for the benefit of his hearers) perpetual obedience to the Holy See and professed his belief in the Procession of the Holy Spirit also through the Son, in the two natures, two wills, one hypostasis and two operations of Christ, and in the doctrine of seven sacraments. He promised further not to mix oil in the bread used in the Eucharist, to accept and condemn whatever the Roman Church accepts and condemns, and to insist on this faith with all those under him. Isaac made a similar profession. The Bull, gladly accepting the submission of these separated Christians, received them into the Church and imposed in their favour that in future no one should call them heretics, that their dignitaries should be preferred to their dissident counterparts, that they could celebrate in the churches of Catholics and vice versa, and that they could be buried and married in Latin churches but according to the Latin rite. Exemptions from taxation and other favours were granted to them by later popes, and the union persisted, though not without opposition and defections, till some little time after 1489 when it succumbed to the latinising policy of the Venetians who had come into possession of the island.

At some date after 7 August 1445, when the union of the Cypriots was celebrated, and before Eugenius' death on 23 February 1447,

¹ Monothelite Patriarch of Antioch of seventh century condemned in III Council of Constantinople.

² Isaac had been a member of the Coptic embassy to Florence in 1441: A. Mercati, 'Complementi a notizie sull'unione di orientali con Roma', in *O.C.P.* xv (1949), p. 293, n. 4.

³ *datum Romae apud S. Petrum*, 7 August 1445: *E.P.* doc. 283. P. Dib (*Dict. Théol. Cath.* x, 48-9) rejects the idea that the Maronites of Cyprus needed reconciliation with the Church as heretics, or the concession of the use of Latin altars which they had long enjoyed.

the Council of Ferrara-Florence-Lateran came to an end. Of any conciliar activity in the Lateran palace other than that here recounted there is no record.¹ Not even a Bull of dissolution or prorogation is extant. During that period, however, Eugenius had had relations with Stephen, king of Bosnia, which apparently resulted in his acceptance of the decrees of the Council and reconciliation with Rome. In a letter to the hierarchy and nobility of Hungary recommending the King of Bosnia 'become a Catholic Christian', the Pope mentions that he had maintained the Bishop of Hvar (*Farensis*) as legate at the Bosnian court for seven years.² A letter of Benedict Ovetarius, dated 1 October 1443 records the arrival in Rome of *dominus Ferrariensis* (should it be *Farensis*?) with a legate of the King of Bosnia, who in a public consistory, in the name of the King and his people, renounced the Manichaean heresy and accepted the faith of Rome.³ Eugenius thereafter several times recalled this union, e.g. in a letter to Prussia dated 17 April 1444,⁴ when he put the Franciscans in charge of the Inquisition of Eastern Europe,⁵ and when he legitimised the new King, Stephen Thomas, in a letter in which he also congratulated him on his loyalty to the Holy See.⁶ Some two years later Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V, repeated the felicitations.⁷

While Eugenius and his Curia were thus active in the cause of union, their rivals of Basel were suffering from stagnation. Felix V himself deserted them on 17 November 1442 to take up residence in Lausanne. On 16 May 1443 they held their forty-fifth and last solemn session, in which they decreed that after three years a new council should be convened in Lyons, but that meanwhile they themselves should continue in Basel. France, and particularly Germany,

¹ Perhaps there was little else to record: *Nam et Eugenius concilium Romae se indixisse agebat apud Lateranum, ubi tamen nihil conciliariter agebatur* (Aeneas Sylvius, 'De rebus Basileae gestis stante vel dissoluto concilio commentarius', in C. Fea, *Pius II, Pont. Max. a calumniis vindicatus*, etc. (Rome, 1823), p. 85).

² Dated 30 July 1446, Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1445, xxiv. For the *episcopo Fanensi* of Raynaldus read *episcopo Farensi*.

³ Martène-Durand, *Vet. script.* etc. 1 (Paris, 1724), 1591. Martène gives the year as 1442.

⁴ Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1444, 11.

⁵ 16 February 1445, *E.P.* doc. 280. The Franciscans were very active in those parts during all Eugenius' reign; cf. Wadding, *op. cit.* vol. xi *passim*.

⁶ 29 May 1445, *E.P.* doc. 281.

⁷ *Ibid.* doc. 289.

were still trying to find a solution of the ecclesiastical problem by means of a third council, in the meantime preserving their own neutrality. There was, however, a growing division on both political and ecclesiastical questions between Frederick, King of the Romans, and the German Electors. When, in May 1443, the Swiss revolted against the Hapsburgs and in August of the following year Frederick, hard-pressed to oppose them, appealed for help to the Electors at Nuremberg, his request was rejected. In the emergency he turned to France. The Dauphin with a large force of Armagnacs moved against the insurgents whom he defeated near Basel on 26 August 1444. Eugenius, seeing a possible solution of the conciliar question in the Dauphin and his army, made him Gonfaloniere of the Church (August 1444) with an annual pension of 15,000 fl., but though Louis approached Basel, he did nothing else to disturb its inhabitants.

In the ecclesiastical sphere Frederick became more and more favourable to Eugenius, while the Electors hardened in support of Basel. Finally in February 1446 the King declared resolutely for the Pope, receiving in return the promise of imperial coronation with 100,000 Rhenish florins for his expenses, and large concessions in the disposal of benefices. This step on the part of Frederick was the fruit of Cesarini's persuasions, ably continued by the diplomatic skill of Eugenius' envoy Juan de Carvajal, and supported by the voice of Aeneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini, who, after having been an ardent supporter and official of the Council of Basel, was at this time an influential member of Frederick's chancellery, reconciled with Eugenius early in 1445.

Meantime Eugenius' cause was gaining ground with Charles VII of France. The Pope had never acquiesced in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 and made many attempts to have it abrogated, offering in a kind of concordat large concessions with regard to benefices though rather less in respect of finance, but without success.¹ So it was not, in fact, till after Charles's death that his son Louis suppressed the Sanction on 27 November 1461. But the continued negotiations, if they did not result in agreement over the Sanction, fostered better

¹ N. Valois, *La sanction pragmatique*, etc. pp. cxxxv ff. Pietro del Monte played a large part for the Pope in these negotiations.

general relations between the two courts and it may have been owing to del Monte's persuasions that Charles came to abandon his old enthusiasm for a third council.

To the French court in the course of 1445 Felix V's son, Louis of Savoy, made overtures to end the schism, promising to win his father to follow Charles's counsels. A project for a meeting with Felix at Lyons or Geneva was frustrated by Aleman, who taking alarm at the turn of events, persuaded the antipope to return to Basel. Louis, checked for the moment, did not change his intentions, and in France hopes of Church unity rose high. In November 1446 Charles, assisted by his council and a number of eminent clerics, proposed to Robert Roger, archbishop of Aix and papal Nuncio at the French court on a mission from Eugenius, the outline of a scheme for ending the schism—recognition of Eugenius, an honourable retirement for Felix, compensation for the chief members of the assembly at Basel, cancellation of censures on both sides, a General Council when peace had been restored. Eugenius' successor brought the schism to a close on conditions almost identical with these.¹

¹ Cf. Valois, II, pp. 299ff. In June 1447, Charles VII, in accord with the four German Electors who had not submitted to Eugenius, with envoys of England en route to Rome to present their King's declaration of obedience to the new Pope, and envoys of René of Anjou, Savoy and Basel, elaborated a scheme for restoring peace to the Church. Neither Nicholas V nor Felix would agree. On 17 February 1448 Frederick concluded with Cardinal Juan de Carvajal a concordat for Germany ('The Concordat of Aschaffenburg'). Whereupon he had the safe-conducts for the assembly at Basel withdrawn. The Fathers joined Felix in Lausanne, all anxious for an honourable way to end the schism, since they had now support from none but Savoy and Switzerland. Nicholas V authorised Charles of France to arrange it. At Geneva (end of 1447) with the envoys of England and Sicily it was agreed that Felix should abdicate, but as papal Legate retain jurisdiction over Savoy and certain other dioceses; that other notable Basellers should be treated honourably, and that Nicholas V should summon a council after the Jubilee-year (1450). On 18 January 1449 Nicholas annulled all penalties decreed against Basel. On 4 April the French envoys agreed with Felix at Lausanne on the conditions of his abdication. On 7 April in the second session of Lausanne (i.e. of the translated Council of Basel) Felix signed the instrument of abdication. On 16 April in the third session the 'Council' withdrew all censures it had previously passed against the papal party. On 19 April (fourth session) it elected to the 'vacant papal throne' Thomas da Sarzana and asserted once again that a General Council holds its authority immediately from Christ, and that all the faithful, even the Pope, should obey it in *ea quae pertinent ad fidem, extirpationem schismatis et ad generalem reformationem Ecclesiae Dei in capite et membris*. In its fifth and last session, 25 April 1449, it accorded to Felix what Nicholas had granted him, and then decreed its own dissolution (Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1449, IV, v, vi). On 18 June Nicholas published a Bull

As his relations with France and King Frederick improved, Eugenius took a step that nearly wrecked his chances of regaining the adherence of Germany. At the end of 1445 he excommunicated and deposed the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, both of them Electors of Germany, for their support of Felix and his Council. The result was to rally the other Electors to their side. Refusing Frederick's invitation to a national council in Vienna, they met in Frankfort (March 1446) and drew up four Bulls which Eugenius was to accept before 1 September 1446, otherwise they would acknowledge the legitimacy of Basel. The four conditions were: (1) recognition of the decrees of Constance and Basel as regards the authority of General Councils; (2) the convocation of another council before 1 May 1447 in one of five German cities named; (3) the acceptance of the reforms of Basel in so far as these had been received in Germany; and (4) the annulment of the action against the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. Aeneas Sylvius, sent by Frederick with the Diet's envoys, tried to mitigate somewhat the asperity of the message. Eugenius replied that he would send his answer to their next Diet due on 1 September. There his representatives replied to the first three conditions, in each case by careful wording and added phrases attenuating the stark character of the Electors' ultimatum. On the fourth condition he offered no reply: he was already negotiating to fulfil it.

The ability of the Pope's friends at Frankfort to interpret his answer as an acceptance and the successful efforts of Frederick to introduce division among the Electors resulted in the official deferment of any acknowledgement of Basel and in the sending of more envoys to Eugenius, the bearers of a modified form of the four conditions, proposed now not as Bulls but as articles for acceptance. To gain a majority in the Sacred College, the Pope, set now on a policy of appeasement, created four new cardinals (December 1446), among them Thomas da Sarzana (within a few months to be elected Pope, under the name of Nicholas V) and Juan de Carvajal, who had been among his representatives in Frankfort. The articles were submitted to a commission of six cardinals with a president. The

to settle the peaceful possession of benefices acquired during the schism. On 7 January 1451 *Amadeus mortem obiit et unionem confirmavit... ecclesiae moriendo quam vivendo utilior* (Aeneas Sylvius, *De rebus Basileae*, etc. pp. 114, 115).

replies were promulgated in a letter and a series of Bulls, which though they softened the articles to orthodoxy, were nevertheless accepted by the German envoys owing to the persuasions of Aeneas Sylvius and the papal party among the Electors.

The first two conditions were treated of together in a letter addressed to the King of the Romans and the Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg,¹ all of them supporters of Eugenius (5 February 1447): the Pope would call another council, since that was their wish, even though he thought that the ecclesiastical situation could be met better by other means; 'The General Council of Constance, however, the decree *Frequens* and its other decrees, like other councils representing the Catholic Church militant, their power, authority, honour and eminence, We, like our predecessors, from whose footsteps we never mean to deviate, accept, embrace and respect.' (No word of 'pre-eminence' of Councils; no mention of Basel; as there had been in the article proposed.) The other conditions were dealt with in the Bulls, dated 5 February. Eugenius allowed the continuance of the reforms by then obtaining in Germany but claimed compensation for himself and declared that he would send a legate to stabilise final conditions. He yielded over the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, but only if they should swear obedience and recognise him as Pope.² Finally to restore peace in the German Church he legitimised all preferments, etc., conferred during the years of division.³

During these negotiations Eugenius had fallen seriously ill. Afraid that his action of conciliation might have gone too far (not all the cardinals were in agreement with it), he signed, also on 5 February, a document declaring that, in a certain sense forced by the needs of the Church to assent to what had been asked, yet because of his illness unable to give that serious examination to the questions that their gravity required, he protested that he in no way intended to derogate from the doctrine of the Fathers or the privileges and authority of the Holy See; anything of that nature should be held as not conceded.⁴ He was, in fact, so ill, that the German envoys made their oaths of allegiance to him in his bed. He died on 23 February 1447. At his own request his body was laid to rest in St Peter's near that of Pope

¹ E.P. doc. 288; Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1447, v.

³ *Ibid.* III dated 7 February 1447.

² Raynaldus, *ibid.* VI, VII.

⁴ *Ibid.* VII.

Eugenius III. It was transferred to the church of S. Salvatore in Lauro at the time of the construction of the new St Peter's.¹

The most important feature for European history of the reign of Eugenius was the check it gave to the Conciliar Movement which had reached its climax with regard to theory, determination and

¹ Eugenius himself wanted no ornate sepulchral monument. His nephew Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro was responsible for the one that was later erected.

The epitaph on his tomb in S. Salvatore in Lauro read as follows:

Urbs Venetum dedit ortum. Quid Roma? Urbis et orbis
Iura. Det optanti caelica regna Deus.
Memoriae
Eugenii IIII
Summi atque optimi Pontificis
Hic in pace gravis in bellis pro Christi
Ecclesia impiger
In iniuriis patiens Religiosorum amator ac in
Eruditos viros munificus
Concilii Basileensis insolentiam
Adversus Pontificiam Romanam Potestatem
Concilio Florentiae celebrato refrenavit ac fregit
In quo
Joannes Palaeologus Graeciae Imperator
Romanum caput agnoscens
Eius pedibus se multasque externas et remotas
Nationes humill. substravit.
Congregatio Canoniorum S. Gregorii in Alga Venet.
Fundatori religiosissimo pietatis causa P.C.

The inscription on his tomb in St Peter's was:

Eugenius iacet hic quartus, cor nobile cuius
Testantur vitae splendida facta suae.
Istius ante sacros se praebuit alter ab ortu
Alter ab occasu Caesar uterque pedes.
Alter ut accipiat fidei documenta Latinae,
Alter ut aurato cingat honore caput.
Quo duce et Armenii Graecorum exempla secuti.
Romanam agnorunt Aethiopesque fidem.
Inde Syri ac Arabes mundique e finibus Indi
Magna, sed haec animo cuncta minora suo.
Nam valida rursum Turcos iam classe petebat,
Dum petit, ast illum sustulit atra dies.
Qui semper vanos mundi contempsit honores,
Atque hac impressa condite, dixit, humo.
Sed non quem Rubro decoraverat ille Galero,
Non hoc Franciscus stirps sua clara tulit.
Susceptique memor meriti tam nobile, quod nunc,
Cernis, tam praestans surgere iussit opus.
(Quoted by T. Frommann, *Kritische Beiträge* etc., pp. 23-4.)

action in the Council of Basel. Eugenius' opposition involved him in persecution and execration, but even in the period of his lowest fortunes he never wavered on the principle that was at stake, that a pope is superior to a council.¹ Such constancy of purpose and endurance in adversity were the product of a mind that saw certain things clearly and followed them out with singleness of will, perhaps with the obstinacy that often goes with simplicity of character. Eugenius, at the beginning of his reign seriously ill and at the same time involved in the insurrection of the Colonna family, can be forgiven for having misappraised the Council of Basel in its earliest stages. It did, in fact, show all the signs of being another Pavia-Siena assembly, few in numbers, discordant in voice. He treated it as such, but was mistaken. When he was made to realise his error by the opposition that culminated in his near-surrender of 1433, he was thereafter conciliatory—over the Greeks, over Annates, over the Indulgence. His obstinacy showed itself rather in personal relationships. He was both unforgiving and over-trusting. Yet he did forgive Capranica and Aeneas Sylvius and many another. Two of his most important and successful generals, Baldassare da Offida and Vitelleschi, whose excesses damaged his reputation and distressed his friends, both met with violent deaths while still in his favour.²

Eugenius, having given his trust, did not easily withdraw it, just as, having given his word, he was faithful to it.³ He had pledged his support to René of Anjou: he remained loyal to him till his cause was utterly lost. He had promised help in money and arms to the Greeks: he did his utmost to fulfil his promise. The money was forthcoming, he himself contributing generously. His crusade, on a lesser scale than he had hoped because England and France could not be

¹ 'We should have given up the apostolic dignity and life too, rather than have been the willing cause and beginning that the pontifical dignity and the apostolic authority should be subordinated to a Council, contrary to all the enactments of the canons, a thing that has never been done before, nor by any of our predecessors.' Letter to the Doge of Venice, Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1433, XIX. Cf. his Bull *Decet Romani Pontificis* of 5 February 1447, *ibid.* *ad annum* 1447, VII.

² On Eugenius' possible complicity in the deeds of these men and in their deaths cf. Valois, II, pp. 90–3, 264–72; Pastor, I, pp. 298–302, appendices 20, 21 and (in German 3rd and 4th ed., 1901) 21A.

³ *Alti cordis fuit et amicitiae tenacissimus. Felix quem semel dilexit. Malum, nisi vidit, nunquam ille putavit* (Aeneas Sylvius, 'Oration before Frederick III', in Muratori, 1st ed., III, II, 881).

brought to peace, Germany was 'neutral' and rather anti-papal, Austria alienated by the question of the Hungarian succession and distracted by the war with the Swiss, unfortunately failed, but not through any fault of his.' Eugenius, however, did not give up. He was no mere dreamer. He was active and pursued his projects to the end. After the union with the Greeks, he sent off commissaries to all the other separated oriental Christians he could think of. When the position of the papacy seemed more assured by Frederick's allegiance, he attacked the electors of Cologne and Trier, and even in his act of reconciliation with them demanded their submission.

Eugenius has been severely blamed for his inactivity in reforming the Church. There is no doubt that there was need of reform, but there is doubt as to what degree of reform was possible at that time. Basel tried to reform the Pope and the Curia, but dared not touch the bishops.¹ The nations were more concerned at the disorders resulting from rivalries over episcopal Sees (in which, however, their monarchs were as much to blame as the Pope), over pluralities, and the flow of money to Rome, than the general state of religion at home.² An acute thinker and advocate of reform, Johann Nider, a strong promoter of the Observance among the Dominicans, after close study of the question, concluded that a general reform was at that time not to be hoped for, 'because first of all the good will of the subjects is lacking, then the adverse attitude of the prelates forms an obstacle, and lastly it is useful to the Lord's elect to be tried by persecution at the hands of the wicked'. The only practical way was that of the ants, to proceed little by little, in certain groups and Religious Orders.³ Eugenius did much to introduce reform along

¹ *In reformatione autem ecclesiae incipiendum esse a capite dicunt... Ceterum in communi de moribus, de pietate, de iustitia, de modestia cleri et populi nihil agebatur... Quicquid apostolicae sedi nocivum videbatur, facile impetratum fuit, adversus alios episcopos nihil intentari potuit... Pluralitas beneficiorum quia multos tangebatur nunquam potuit... Sola reformatio sancta videbatur, si sedes apostolica nuda relinqueretur* (Aeneas Sylvius, *De rebus Basileae gestis*, etc. pp. 61-2).

² Cf. the long letter of Pietro del Monte to Scarampo, dated *Ex Londinis idibus aprilis 1440*. *Quos vero contra nos cunctorum ferme odium provocat, omnia precio et pactione fieri istic (i.e. in Rome) clara voce affirmant damnantque illam primorum fructuum exactionem quam annata vel vacantia curiales vulgo solent nominare. Eam velut turpem, illicitam, et simoniacam student pro viribus reprobare...* (A. Zanelli, 'Pietro del Monte', in *Archivio storico lombardo*, etc. VIII (1907), pp. 102-3).

³ *Formicarius* (1437) quoted by Pastor, I, pp. 355-6.

those lines in the countries where his authority was recognised. Ambrogio Traversari begins his *Itinerarium* or the account of his visitation of the Camaldolese monasteries of Italy,¹ as *ex imperio et voluntate ipsius Pontificis*. Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a long list of houses of monks and nuns, mainly in the neighbourhood of Florence, belonging to various Orders, that were reformed by Eugenius. The Pope's aim was to replace the laxer communities by Observants, i.e. members of the movements aiming at a stricter monastic life already well established among the Franciscans and the Dominicans. A similar movement among the Benedictines owed, if not its beginning, at least its stability to Eugenius, for by Bulls of 1432 and 1435 he gave papal approval to a new type of Benedictine organisation centred on the abbey of S. Giustina of Padua. This reform, owing to the active support of the Pope, gradually won its way into nearly all the Benedictine abbeys of Italy, and its influence was felt in other Orders like the Camaldolese and the Olivetans, and in places as far apart as Spain, Portugal and Poland.² The pages of Wadding³ and the *Bullaria Franciscana*⁴ bear witness to the many missions imposed by the Pope on St John Capistrano, Alberto da Sarteano, Giacomo da Marcia and others for the reform of their own convents and of the local clergy in areas ranging from Jerusalem to Caffa. He imposed measures of reform, too, on the Roman clergy, even when he was in Florence, and took some steps to reorganise the Roman Curia.⁵

¹ A. Dini-Traversari, *Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi*. The *Hodoeporicon* is paginated separately at the end of the volume.

² The reform of organisation consisted largely in limiting the independence of abbeys and putting them under a central authority—to make it impossible for the abbeys to be given *in commendam*. The reform of S. Giustina was largely the work of Luigi Barbo, abbot 20 December 1408, a member of Eugenius' monastery of S. Giorgio d'Alga.

³ 'Certains de ses fils (i.e. of S. Giustina) reçurent d'Eugène IV des missions semblables à celle dont Barbo avait été honoré. Bornons-nous à nommer le bienheureux Gomez qui reforma plusieurs monastères cisterciens, silvestrins et autres, et qui fut nommé général des camuldules.' Cf. P. Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît*, III (Maredsous, 1948), pp. 159–68.

⁴ *Annales Minorum*, tom. XI.

⁵ E.g. U. Hüntemann, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, I (Quaracchi, 1929). Cf. J. Hofer, *Giovanni da Capestrano* (Italian translation by G. di Fabro, Aquila, 1955), pp. 179–292.

⁶ Cf. W. Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kurialen Behörden von Schisma bis zur Reformation*, II (Rome, 1914), pp. 14ff.—mainly the limiting of the number of secretaries and officials in various departments.

The loudest complaint against the Roman Curia was about its exactions of money. Eugenius needed money for all his great projects, of defending the Papal States, of union, of crusades, of bringing peace to the Church, all of which involved large expenditure for arms, for embassies, for subventions to the Orientals, and none of which enriched him personally. Basel felt a like need and exacted even more than Eugenius. Felix, in spite of his large personal fortune, demanded and received his Annates. But Eugenius had no love for money, perhaps no real appreciation of its value. He disposed of his patrimony of 20,000 ducats when he entered the monastery of S. Giorgio d'Alga in Venice, and throughout his life was generous in the extreme to all, no matter their rank, who appealed to him for help. Vespasiano da Bisticci recounts many instances of this. To succour the sick he took under his care the needy hospitals of France and in particular he re-established the hospital of S. Spirito in Rome, himself becoming a member of the confraternity to support it and so encouraging many of the cardinals to follow his example. He recited his breviary regularly with his chaplains and lived very abstemiously, never drinking wine, and content with one meal a day. While in Florence he appeared as little as possible in public (so says Vespasiano), but when he did, such was the majesty of his presence and the impression of sanctity that he gave, that all were awed to silence or moved to tears.

Eugenius was not a humanist, though not insensible to the new spirit of the age. He had humanists in his service, including the unworthy Poggio. His own library contained the, for those days, considerable number of 350 volumes, mostly theological. He embarked on little in the way of building, but he did much to restore some of the Roman churches that had fallen into ruin in the evil days of war. Artists of great name, like the seraphic Fra Angelico, worked for him, but the times were not propitious in Rome for large undertakings. The bronze doors of St Peter's, inspired by the great doors of the baptistery in Florence, but entrusted for execution to an artist of less than Ghiberti's stature,¹ Antonio Averulino (Filarete), still stand in the St Peter's of today to record the achievement of Eugenius' reign.

¹ Eugenius had Ghiberti make him a magnificent tiara, c. 1442.

Many were the criticisms, as well as the encomiums, of Eugenius after his death. Aeneas Sylvius, in his funeral oration before Frederick III, summed up his character in these words: *Alti cordis fuit. Sed nullum in eo magis vitium fuit, nisi quia sine mensura erat, et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit aggressus est.*¹ Eugenius was not as versatile as his panegyrist. The criticism would perhaps be more just, if for *voluit* there were substituted *debut* or at least *se debere credidit*.

¹ Muratori, 1st ed. III, II, 891.

THE RECEPTION OF THE
UNION IN THE EAST

THE one thing, one might almost say the only thing, generally believed about the union of Florence is that, after being accepted by the Greeks in Italy, it was almost immediately rejected by the same Greeks in Constantinople. The chronicler Ducas, pro-union in sentiment, portrays the prelates, when they were disembarking from the ships on the quays of the capital, as confessing with great bitterness of heart: 'We have sold our faith.'¹ It can be taken as certain that they said no such thing. But the story indicates that from the start they showed no great enthusiasm for the union and that the populace, to whom the words are supposed to have been addressed, was ill-disposed to it and suspected from the first that money had had something to do with it.

The events of the first three months after the return, at least those in which he was concerned, are narrated in some detail by Syropoulos.² The officials of the Great Church who had not been at the Council in Italy were inclined to boycott the 'unionists' and, since the Emperor because of his grief over his wife's death did nothing to implement the union, they took heart and began to show their opposition more openly by refusing to participate in ecclesiastical services with the 'unionists', even though the Pope was commemorated in none of them. An admonition from the Emperor had no effect. The 'unionists' were shunned. Towards the end of April steps were taken to elect a new Patriarch. Mark of Ephesus refused to allow his name to be put forward. Antony of Heraclea likewise declined and took the occasion of the synod of election to make a public repudiation of his former acceptance of the union in Florence, or

¹ Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), p. 216.

² Syr. XII, pp. 33of.

rather of his signature to the decree, for he declared that he had never really accepted the union. In the event three names were forwarded to the Emperor, those of Dorotheus, metropolitan of Trebizond, Metrophanes of Cyzicus and Gennadius, hegoumenos of the monastery of Vatopedion. John VIII rejected the third candidate straightaway. The other two were sounded on their attitude towards the union. Dorotheus declared himself against it; Cyzicus for it. Lots were drawn between them and Metrophanes's name came up (2 May). He was invested by the Emperor on 4 May, Garatoni accompanying him in the procession from the royal palace, a fact which immediately prejudiced him in the eyes of the people. From his solemn Liturgy of Pentecost (15 May) when the Pope was prayed for and his name included in the diptychs, Mark of Ephesus, Antony of Heraclea and Dorotheus of Trebizond absented themselves. Indeed that same day Ephesus, fearing that the creation of a new Patriarch would mark the beginning of strong measures to enforce the union, fled to his See of Ephesus, and Heraclea also left Constantinople secretly. The flight of these two, so says Syropoulus, made the Emperor pause, fearing that others too might do the same. Syropoulus himself with the Chartophylax, after various admonitions and threats from the Emperor for his refusal to co-operate with the new Patriarch, was finally allowed by Metrophanes to resign his office.¹

There is no doubt that from the very beginning the mass of the population of Constantinople—the 'man in the street', that is, and the innumerable ill-educated, and often vagrant, monks who were his spiritual guides—was hostile to the union of Florence. The attitude at this time of the more cultured classes that were grouped round the imperial court is more difficult to determine for lack of evidence. Later these will be found favourable to it, at least for political reasons. Rumours of all sorts must have been rife in Constantinople during the course of the Council. John Eugenicus, Mark's brother, who after an adventurous voyage had returned to the imperial city half a year or so before the rest, would have given a lurid account of the hardships of the Greeks in Italy. The six months that intervened between the conclusion of the union and the arrival home of the main party would have allowed the circulation of all

¹ He was, however, still called Great Ecclesiarches in 1452 (Schol., III, p. 193).

kinds of sinister stories. The inactivity of the Emperor after his return and his neglect to promulgate the decree of union immediately and solemnly gave rise to the belief that he himself was not convinced of its justice and of its utility for his people.¹ Mark of Ephesus wasted no time in initiating anti-unionist propaganda by word of mouth and in writing, and he found a ready audience in the monks. The result was that the supporters of the union became more and more isolated. The churches where they functioned were not frequented; even those who visited them from curiosity were shunned by their fellows. But there was still a fair proportion of the citizens who were not so fanatical. Garatoni, in a letter written on 10 June 1440, records that at the solemn Liturgy of Pentecost 'there assisted ten metropolitans from those who accept the union with a very great number of monks, of parochial clergy and of the whole people', and that later 'Latins go to the Masses and offices of the Greeks and Greeks to the Masses and offices of the Latins'.²

That letter of Garatoni was written to Methone to accompany the official notice of his election that Metrophanes II, at Garatoni's suggestion, despatched to the chief centres in his patriarchate.³ In it Metrophanes, after announcing his accession to the patriarchal throne and the consequent need to commemorate his name in the diptychs, proclaimed the union of the Churches achieved in Florence, justifying it on the grounds that the Latin Saints, accepted as such also by the Greeks, had always held what the Latin Church then believed. The name of the Pope should, therefore, be included in the diptychs, as was being done in Constantinople, and the fact of the union accepted: 'you should however know that we retain as before, without any change, all our ecclesiastical customs in the holy celebration of the sacred Body of Christ and in the other services and the recitation of the holy Creed.' Metrophanes' encyclical would have been

¹ Letter of Eugenius to Garatoni 25 August 1440 (*E.P. doc.* 243).

² G. Hofmann, 'Patriarchen von Konstantinopel: kleine Quellenbeiträge zur Unionsgeschichte', in *O.C.* xxxii (1933), p. 9.

³ For the text of Metrophanes' letter, cf. Hofmann, *Orient. doc. min. doc.* 36. For a similar letter to Crete dated 15 July 1440, cf. Lambros, *N.E.* i (1904), pp. 51-5, and A. N. Tomadakis, 'Μιχαήλ Καλοφρενῆς Κρής, Μητροφάνης β' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν', in *E.E.B.Σ.* xxi (1951), pp. 141-2.

welcomed at least in the areas under Venetian rule. An enthusiastic letter to the Patriarch from the Cretan Michael Kalophrenas witnesses to this and to the fact that Fantinus Vallaresso, who had been despatched by Eugenius to his archdiocese of Candia in September 1439 to promote the acceptance there of union, had already issued instructions about the commemoration of the Pope in the Liturgy.¹ But there were some of the Greek Church in Crete who tried to evade the mention of the Pope's name and Kalophrenas in his letter asks for guidance on this.²

Metrophanes announced his election also to the Pope and wrote at the same time to some of the cardinals, using the customary title of 'Oecumenical Patriarch' and calling both Pope and cardinals his 'fellow-ministers' and 'fellow-servants'.³ Eugenius, in a letter to Garatoni, expressed himself very indignantly about the pretentious title and the equality implied by 'fellow-ministers'. But he was ready to help the Patriarch financially, as Garatoni had requested, either by the conferring of benefices or by direct money grant, provided however that he contented himself with the title of Patriarch of Constantinople. He would assist, too, the officials of St Sophia on condition that they were regular in their ecclesiastical functions. In that same letter the Pope has much to say about the Emperor, deploring his slowness to take any steps to establish the union firmly and bidding his envoy augment or decrease the number of cross-bowmen according as John was more or less active in the affairs of the Church.⁴ There was every hope that the army and the fleet against the Turk would be ready by the beginning of the next year (1441) and two ships would from then on always be at Garatoni's disposal.

¹ There were no bishops of Greek rite in Crete under the Venetians. The Greeks were governed by a number of Protopapades, themselves subordinate to the Latin hierarchy: cf. G. Hofmann, 'Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit auf Kreta?', in *O.C.P.* x (1944), pp. 91-115.

² Hofmann, *Orient. doc. min. doc.* 37.

³ Metrophanes' letter is not extant. We have only Eugenius' reply to Garatoni, of 25 August 1440, from which we can in large measure reconstruct both the Patriarch's letter and Garatoni's report, also lost, to which this pontifical letter is the answer (*E.P. doc.* 243).

⁴ For some time there had been not more than 150 of these in Constantinople; *ibid.* Garatoni had gone to Constantinople furnished with money for their pay, Hofmann, *ibid.* and *A.C.A. doc.* 127.

But, if the Emperor still dallied, Garatoni was to find a good excuse to return to Rome, without at the same time prejudicing the question of union.¹

Eugenius was not the only one to find John's attitude provoking. The new Patriarch of Constantinople was equally incensed by it. The longer the ecclesiastical division was allowed to continue, the more difficult it would be to apply a remedy. Some time early in 1441 a group of those who had signed the decree of Florence issued a manifesto repudiating the union and refusing to commemorate the Pope in the Liturgy 'as long as the Latins retained what had originally caused the schism'.² In the Lent of the same year Metrophanes, determined to bring matters to a head, retired to a monastery and refused to perform the Lenten services in St Sophia. To avoid the scandal of Holy Week passing with no liturgy of the Passion and no Easter service, the Emperor promised that, if the Patriarch would return and fulfil his functions, he would set the Church in order immediately afterwards. But on the evening of Holy Saturday Paul Asan fled from the city with his daughter to Mesembria to the Despot Demetrius who wanted to marry her against the will of the Emperor, of all his other brothers and of his mother, and in the confusion that followed the ecclesiastical question was lost sight of again, because Demetrius' act implied also rebellion.³

Metrophanes himself, however, was not inactive. It would seem that he had adopted a policy of appointing and himself consecrating unionist bishops not only in his own metropolis but also outside of it. Such, at least, is the assertion in the proclamation of the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, who at the instigation of a certain Arsenius, metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia, are said to have met in Jerusalem in 1443 and condemned the

¹ Garatoni had accompanied the Greeks back to Constantinople. He was in Rome again at least by 4 February 1442, when he signed the decree of union of the Copts. He apparently stayed in Italy for some time. He was sent to Hungary in mid-February 1443, returned to Rome and went with the fleet of July 1444 to Methone (15 July 1444), to Crete (Jorga, III, pp. 180, 182) and was back in Rome in April 1445 (*ibid.* II, p. 24). He was sent to Hungary again in 1446 (*ibid.* II, p. 26) and died there in 1448, killed by the Turks, perhaps in the battle of Kossovo (17 October).

² Schol. III, p. 179, who was writing some ten years later, dates the manifesto as 'immediately after the Synod', i.e. of Florence.

³ Phr. p. 191; Syr. XII, II, pp. 347-8.

Council of Florence,¹ and at the same time to have addressed a stern letter of admonition to the Emperor.²

John VIII, however, still did nothing to settle the ecclesiastical question. It was in any case a delicate problem and it was rendered more complicated from the fact that Demetrius, who at this time was preparing to attack Constantinople with Turkish aid to make himself Emperor, was looked upon by the anti-unionists as the only ecclesiastically-sound member of the royal family and as the protector of orthodoxy.³ Demetrius was probably counting on their support to undermine the defence of the city, otherwise his project, as he must have known, was doomed from the start. The expected assault took place in the summer of 1442. It failed and Demetrius remained in the Emperor's hands, for a time in house-confinement.⁴ That, however, did not entirely settle the political situation. There remained the question of the succession to the throne, as John was childless. Theodore was the next eldest of the brothers, but John wanted the

¹ Dated April 1443, Hofmann, *Orient. doc. min. doc.* 45. Of this synod Archbishop Papadopoulos notes: 'As is well known, this synod did actually meet, but the documents about it that are preserved are not genuine' (Ch. Papadopoulos, 'Η κατάσταση τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' καὶ ΙΕ' αἰῶνα, in E.E.B.Σ. XIII (1937), p. 149, n. 2. If it did in fact meet, it is surprising that it had such little repercussion in anti-unionist circles, where its condemnation of Florence should have been hailed with joy and used as their most authentic weapon in their polemics. Instead one finds no certain reference to it at all. The most explicit would be in John Eugenicus' *Act of Thanksgiving for the Restoration of the Church* dating from after 1450 and probably much later: 'We are set in security... by the grace of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit and the prayer and blessing and pardon of the holy patriarchs of the East as from a common synod and canonical decision' (Lambros, I, p. 187), unless this refers to the Synod convened in Constantinople in 1285 against Beccus, to which the anti-unionists of Florence so often appealed. Scholarius was still in ignorance of it at the end of 1448; Schol. III, p. 90. The so-called *Letter of George Amiroutzes to Demetrius of Nauplion* contains the words: '...for which reasons the Patriarchs wisely and synodically annulled the signature of their own procurators...' (L. Mohler, 'Eine bisher verlorene Schrift von Georgios Amirutzes', in *Oriens Christianus*, neue Serie, IX (1920), p. 29), but I am convinced that this document is spurious. Cf. J. Gill, 'A Tractate about the Council of Florence attributed to George Amiroutzes', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, IX (1958) pp. 30-7.

² Dated December 1442: text in L. Allatius, *De Ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis perpetua consensione* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1648) 942-7.

³ John Eugenicus to Demetrius in Lambros, I, p. 180.

⁴ Phr. pp. 191-3. The most detailed account of these events is in Scholarius' letter to Demetrius, Schol. III, pp. 119-21; cf. I. K. Voyatzidis, 'Νέα πηγή βυζαντινῆς ιστορίας', in N.E. XVIII (1924), pp. 70-105, esp. 70-89.

more capable Constantine to hold the reins of government after his death. Both aspirants intrigued to be near Constantinople and it was not till October 1443 that it was agreed that Theodore should have the Black Sea possessions and Constantine be Despot in the relatively distant Morea.

Meanwhile the ecclesiastical situation grew more tense. The anti-unionists would not attend unionist churches; indeed they considered themselves as debarred from them and as exiles and persecuted, though there is no evidence at all that any forcible measures were taken in Constantinople to make them conform. In particular they lamented their exclusion from the Great Church. Their great champion, Mark of Ephesus, had returned to the capital city some time at the end of 1442 or in the course of 1443, after having been kept in confinement on the island of Lemnos by order of the Emperor, arrested as he was on his way to Mount Athos.¹ In the course of the four or five years of life left to him after the Council, his pen was ever active to defend orthodoxy as he saw it, and to attack the 'Latinisers' by argument, invective and ridicule. Probably to counteract Metrophanes' letters recommending the union, he wrote an 'Encyclical Letter to all Orthodox Christians on the Mainland and the Islands', with little solid argument but much specious reasoning and no little scorn and even ribaldry against the 'Greco-Latins'. His longer productions contain much, cleverly disguised, repetition, harping on the same quotations from the Fathers. His argumentation was not very deep, as Scholarius had no difficulty in showing with regard to his 'Syllogisms against the Latins about the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father only',² but that was probably part of his skill as a controversialist, for he was addressing, not the small cultured circle of Constantinople, but the mass of the parochial clergy, monks and people, unlearned in theology, on whom the intricacies of meta-

¹ It is not possible to be more precise about the date. Mark himself recounts the fact of his arrest (*Letter to Theophanes, Monk of Euboea*, Petit, *Docs.* p. 480). His brother John in the *Office for Mark Eugenikos* (Petit, 'Acolouthie de Marc Eugénicos, archevêque d'Ephèse', in *St. biz.* 11 (1927), pp. 195-235, esp. p. 216) records that Mark did much pastoral work before leaving his See and spent two years on Lemnos, being there also during a siege by the Turks, that occurred in summer 1442. He was released from arrest on 4 August or 22 October probably of 1442 (Petit, 'Note sur l'exile de Marc d'Ephèse à Lemnos', in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, xxiii (1923), pp. 414-15).

² Schol. III, pp. 476-538.

physics would have been lost, but who could be deeply moved by *argumenta ad hominem* like: 'Do you, therefore, brethren, flee communion with the incommunicable and the commemoration of the incommemorable. Behold I, Mark the sinner, tell you that whosoever commemorates the Pope as an orthodox prelate has taken upon himself the whole of Latinism, even to the shaving of the beard on his chin.'¹ But whatever the value of Mark's reasoning, the impression of enthusiastic zeal and sincerity that pervades his writings, of devotion to the traditional faith of his Church and of hatred and scorn towards those who, as he thought, were bent on contaminating it with the falsehoods and heresies of the West, must have greatly encouraged those who had already rejected the union and have won over to his side many who still hesitated, for he was harping on a theme already familiar to the Greeks who hardly needed the fiery words of such an advocate to believe the worst of the Latin Church. Both East and West recognised in him the greatest obstacle to union. He was the only one of the Greek prelates who had openly refused to sign the decree in Florence, the only one, therefore, whose conduct throughout was consistent, who was not open to reproach. And with all that, he was venerated for the sanctity of his life. No wonder, therefore, that his influence with his fellow-countrymen was so great.

The adherents of the union had no outstanding personality among them who could rival Mark's influence with the people. Bessarion had left Constantinople towards the end of 1440.² Isidore of Kiev was away in Russia. In any case they had a more difficult task, to persuade the Greeks to go back on their history, whereas Mark and his friends had only to keep alive all the old prejudices and to confirm an attitude already deeply ingrained. Apart from Scholarius' answer to the 'Syllogisms' of Mark (and this probably had little circulation as Scholarius at this time was holding himself aloof from controversy) there is, at least now, no trace of unionist polemics of the period to counteract those of their opponents, other than two productions of Gregory Mammas, answers to Mark Eugenicus' 'Confession of

¹ *Letter to Theophanes of Euboea*, Petit, *Docs.* p. 481. In this collection of Mgr Petit, pp. 342-522, are to be found most of Mark's writings against the Latins. For a full bibliography of works both edited and not edited, cf. K. G. Mamonis, 'Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός. Βίος καὶ ἔργον', in *Θεολογία*, xxv (1954), pp. 377-404, 521-75.

² He arrived in Florence on 10 December 1440; Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 27.

Faith' and 'Encyclical Letter'.¹ The tone of Gregory's writings is respectful and courteous to his adversary. His pages are learned and replete with quotations from the Fathers and the Councils. But they lack the controversialist's touch. They are too polite and answer jibes with serious arguments—or when Mark's insulting words make no pretence to a theological basis, with silence.² They may have influenced some thinking men, but they would have had little effect on the people at large, even if they ever reached them. They show, however, that the anti-unionists did not have things all their own way. Syropoulos, too, gives an indication in the same sense in so far as he notes that when the Emperor seemed on the point of doing something to set the Church in order 'threats and alarms were brandished against us, the opponents, by those who had embraced the union', which implies that the unionists were not so few in numbers as the anti-unionist writings, the impression created by the forceful style of Ephesus and the fact that so much more has been preserved of anti-unionist literature than unionist, would perhaps make us believe.

As the situation of discord continued, the Patriarch Metrophanes remonstrated time and again with the Emperor; then, since his words produced no result, he had recourse to action by retiring once again to a monastery to force the monarch's hand. His manœuvre was successful. The Emperor summoned unionists and anti-unionists before him when, after admonitions and exhortations, it was decided to convene a synod of the local bishops. The order was promulgated but, before the fifteen days' notice was run, Metrophanes II died on 1 August 1443. With the patriarchal throne vacant there was

¹ *P.G.* 161, 13–204. Gregory probably wrote other tractates now lost, cf. *P.G.* 161, 105 D.

² In fact these writings imply in Gregory characteristics diametrically opposed to those consistently attributed to him by Syropoulos. The *Memoirs* of Syropoulos were written apparently at this time; at least the latest event referred to in them is the embassy of Condulmaro 1444–5. Yet the persistent antagonism shown in them to Gregory would make one think it had something to do with his being Patriarch, and the hostility to John VIII and the scathing character of some of the criticisms of him expressed there make one wonder if they could have been written, still less circulated, during John's lifetime. On the other hand, the tactful silence on Scholarius' activity in Florence indicates that he was already the anti-unionist champion. There is no reference whatsoever in the literature of the time to the *Memoirs*. As late as 1450 John Eugenikos could remind Syropoulos of his 'terrible fall in Italy' (Lambros, I, p. 191).

no one to stimulate the Emperor and, of course, no action was taken.¹

While the Greeks returned to Constantinople Isidore of Kiev, provided with a safe-conduct and a letter of recommendation to Vasili, prince of Moscow, set out on his long journey to Russia as Apostolic Legate 'in the Provinces of Lithuania, Livonia and Russia and in the states, dioceses, territories and places of Lechia (i.e. Poland) which are recognised as subject to you in your right as Metropolitan'.² On 4 September, accompanied by Avrami of Susdal, he had a farewell audience with the Pope and received his blessing for Russia.³ Two days later they all left Florence and reached Venice on 15 September. They were still there when Albert, King of the Romans, died on 27 October. The likelihood of unsettled conditions, while the succession to the throne was being decided, in the territories through which he had planned to pass delayed Isidore still further and he contemplated changing his route to travel via Constantinople, to whose Emperor Eugenius wrote a letter of recommendation for him.⁴ Meanwhile Thomas of Tver apparently lost patience and set out with Symeon the priest on 9 December, reaching home at about the Easter of 1440. Isidore left on 22 December, having in the meantime been created Cardinal, but bad weather seriously delayed his journey (he did not, after all, travel by Constantinople) so that it was not till 5 March that he reached Buda, to find that young King Ladislas of Poland had been invited to assume also the throne of Hungary, an event that must have heartened him for the political union would probably facilitate the ecclesiastical one.

The task laid on Isidore by Eugenius was a heavy one, to win acceptance for the union of Florence from all the Christians of oriental rite included in the metropoly of Kiev and All Russia, which took in not only the princedoms of Russia itself, but also Poland and Lithuania. It meant, in effect, gaining recognition for it also from the Latin authorities of these last two kingdoms. At this time Poland and Lithuania, nominally still united, had a mixed population as

¹ Syr. XII, 11, pp. 348-50.

² E.P. doc. 202.

³ *Reisebericht*, etc. ed. Stökl, p. 168.

⁴ Dated 28 November 1439, E.P. doc. 233.

regards religious rites. The former was predominantly Latin, the latter Ruthenian, but the rulers of both were Latins. In the ecclesiastical quarrel between Eugenius and Basel Poland had officially been neutral, with a strong leaning towards the Council, to which some bishops and in 1441 Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow and the leading political personality of the country, openly declared their allegiance. Lithuania, on the other hand, under Vitold (d. 17 October 1430) and Svidrigello (1430-2) had pursued a policy of ecclesiastical union with an ultimate political purpose. Sigismund, however, who held the reins of government from 1432 had been more inclined to the Polish policy, but he died on 20 March 1440 and, when Isidore reached Lithuania on his journey towards Moscow, he found the country in great unrest with Casimir, the thirteen-year-old ruler, still in the process of establishing himself.

From Buda Isidore issued an encyclical letter to all the territories in his metropolitanate, announcing the fact of the union and emphasising its consequences: the ancient unity of the Church is once more restored; there should no longer be thoughts of division; all have received the same baptism; the baptism of the Greeks is valid and held by the Roman Church as equal to its own; so Greeks should frequent Latin churches and participate in their sacraments and services, and Latins should do likewise in Greek churches, for whether the consecration in the Liturgy is with leavened or unleavened bread the Body of Christ is there present; such is the decision of the Council of Florence.¹ In Buda more members of his suite, with the Bishop Avrami, left him to go straight home (reaching Susdal on 29 September 1440), for Isidore himself had to follow a circuitous route to visit the various capitals.

He went first to Cracow (5 April 1440), where he found Ladislas on the eve of his departure for Hungary, and under such circumstances no arrangement of importance could be made. He celebrated, however, a solemn oriental Liturgy in the city's cathedral and his

¹ For a more complete account of these events, cf. A. Ziegler, *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz in der russischen Kirche* (Würzburg, 1938), pp. 85ff.; T. Frommann, *Kritische Beiträge*, etc. pp. 124ff.; P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1896), I, pp. 46ff.; A. Pichler, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart* (München, 1864), I, pp. 50ff.

message of union was, at the least, not rejected by the kingdom of Poland, for Ladislas recognised his rights as Metropolitan in the Province of Galizia, where Isidore went next, spending there a considerable time. He reached Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, in mid-August to find everything in a turmoil, and from there he proceeded to Kiev, which in this same year 1440, as a part of Casimir's policy of pacification by concessions, had been granted its own prince-ruler in the person of Alexander, a relative of Vasili of Moscow. Kiev was Isidore's primatial See. He remained there for several months, commemorating the Pope in the Liturgy and preaching union, and the fact that Alexander recognised his right to the temporalities of the See (5 February 1441) implies that he accepted union too. In Smolensk (February 1441) Isidore heard that Symeon, his late companion in Florence, was disseminating anti-unionist propaganda in Novgorod. He had him fetched and took him in chains to Moscow which he reached on 19 March 1441.

News of the union must have been received in Moscow long before Isidore's much delayed arrival. His encyclical letter proclaiming both it and his own mission to promote its acceptance would have preceded him, and, besides, Symeon's account of the events in Italy, if Isidore could learn of it in Smolensk, would assuredly have been known in Moscow, while Avrami, as hostile as Symeon to the idea of union, for both had fallen under the influence of Mark Eugenicus at the Council, would almost certainly have passed through Moscow on his way to Susdal. So probably the Great Prince Vasili had already determined on his attitude to the union before the papal Legate ever set foot in his territory. The events would seem to confirm this view.

According to Russian sources, Isidore began by shocking the people. He entered the city behind a Latin crucifix and three bishop's croziers. Arrived at the church of the Ascension in the Kremlin, he preached to the assembled bishops and people, celebrated the Liturgy with the commemoration of the Pope, and then had the decree of union read from the pulpit by the protodeacon in vestments. Eugenius' letter to Vasili was then delivered to the Prince. Four days later, by Vasili's orders, the papal Legate was arrested and confined in the monastery of Tchoudov, on a charge of heresy.

Interrogated several times by a board of judges that included Avrami of Susdal and Jonas of Rjasan, the unsuccessful candidate for the metropolity of Kiev when Isidore was promoted to that See, he refused to confess his guilt. The impossible situation of a Metropolitan being judged by a section of his synod was solved by Isidore's flight on 15 September 1441, a flight that was not impeded by Vasili who perhaps had instigated it. Isidore went with his Greek companion Gregory to Tver. There he was again made prisoner and was released only on 4 March 1442, perhaps owing to the mediation of Casimir of Lithuania to whom the Pope wrote in 1442 seeking his good offices for his Legate.¹

The reasons for Vasili's rejection of Isidore and his mission were probably purely political. It was part of his lifelong endeavour to achieve the hegemony of all the Russian States, and of his expansionist policy. Success in that would be possible only if Moscow was also the spiritual centre of all Ruthenians, and so the first essential was that the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia should be one of Vasili's own subjects and resident in his territory. Vitold and Svidrigello of Lithuania had both had the same idea and for a similar reason. Vasili believed that Constantinople had accepted union because it needed western help—Symeon and Avrami would have spread that report. He had no such motive. Acceptance of union meant a certain subservience to the Pope and alliance with Poland, Lithuania, the Teutonic Knights—all his enemies. The Greek union with the Latin Church was made out to be a fall from orthodoxy. His action with regard to Isidore who, though he was papal Legate, was primarily the Metropolitan consecrated by Constantinople for Russia was at once a repudiation of Rome and of Constantinople, a declaration of independence that left the Russian Church free to appoint its own head. That it did in 1448,² by electing Jonas, the unsuccessful candidate of some twelve years before, and consecrating him without reference to the Oecumenical Patriarch or the Byzantine Emperor. Vasili wrote an explanation and a defence of

¹ G. Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno' (*S.T.* no. 46, Roma, 1926), pp. 156–8.

² In the interval between Isidore's flight and 1448 Vasili had been attacked, imprisoned and blinded by a rival, events which precluded any following out of his ecclesiastical policy at that time.

his action to Constantinople in 1452-3: the fall of that city to the Turk in 1453 rendered any repercussions impossible.¹

When Isidore regained his liberty on 4 March 1442 further disappointments awaited him. He found that in his absence Bishop Matthias of Vilna (Lithuania), Archbishop Henning of Riga (in which was included White Russia), Bishop Zbigniew of Cracow and the Archbishop of Lemberg (Lwów, in Galizia, the most Ruthenian part of Poland) had all declared openly for Basel and Felix, and shortly afterwards Casimir (9 May 1442) did the same. There was, therefore, little prospect of achieving great results for the union in those two realms. Nevertheless Isidore remained in those parts for about a year. The Latin authorities might refuse to recognise his legatine dignity;² for the Ruthenians he was still the legitimate Metropolitan. The results of his labours (all details of his activities are lacking) can be seen in the fact that in 1443 Chelm and in 1445-6 Przemyśl had bishops who supported the union; in 1446-7 he and the Patriarch Gregory consecrated in Constantinople a bishop for Brest-Vladimir, and in 1451 Lemberg still had a Ruthenian bishop of his choice. On 22 March 1443 Ladislas promulgated from Buda an edict granting to the Ruthenians of Poland and Hungary equality of rights with the Latins, which was precisely the conclusion that Isidore had tried to impress on everyone as the fruit of the union of Florence and the one thing that the Orientals looked for as a proof of its sincerity. As Isidore was in Buda at that time,³ it is not unreasonable to conclude that he had some part in bringing the King to so wise a policy. Unfortunately Ladislas was killed shortly after at Varna (10 November 1444) and the decree was never really put into effect. Rather, a different attitude towards union prevailed in the united Poland and Lithuania of his successor Casimir, that of converting the Ruthenians to the Latin rite.

¹ This analysis of causes is taken from Ziegler, *op. cit.* pp. 108-13, who also, pp. 102-8, gives reasons for regarding the supposed letters of Vasili to Constantinople of 1441/3 as spurious.

² Bishop Matthias, writing about him to Basel, referred to him as *pretendens se cardinalem et legatum Gabrielis*, *M.C.* III, 979.

³ A memorandum of expenses of his return journey notes: '23 March, I arranged with Kolardo in Poud, Saturday, and . . . florins were given him per month' (*G. Mercati, op. cit.* p. 160).

Isidore's influence there ceased when Casimir in 1451 recognised Jonas as Metropolitan of Kiev with jurisdiction over his Ruthenian subjects.

Eugenius was already in Siena when Isidore reached Venice towards the beginning of June 1443. The red hat was conferred on the *Cardinalis Ruthenus* and the other ceremonies completed on his arrival in Siena on 11 July. The papal court at that time was busy with the preparations for the crusade against the Turk—Cesarini was in Hungary; ships were being got ready in Venice; there were frequent embassies from Constantinople. In February 1442 John Torcello had visited Venice and the papal court;¹ in August Fra Giacomo, O.F.M., was in Venice;² in 1442 Theodore Carystinus was in Burgundy and in May 1443 in Venice whence he proceeded to the Pope in Siena and from there went to Naples.³ Andronicus Iagaris in June of the same year and John Torcello in July were treating with the Pope about the fleet.⁴

Cardinal Isidore was soon involved in the diplomatic activity. Little more than a month had elapsed since his arrival in Siena when he was sent by the Pope on another journey *versus partes Graeciae et Russiae*.⁵ On 21 January 1444 the Signoria of Venice directed a captain of one of its ships to put him ashore with twenty-four of his suite at Clarentza in the Morea.⁶ The nature of the mission confided to him and the details of his activities remain a mystery. On 11 June 1445 the Pope wrote a letter of encouragement to him, thanking him for his frequent reports; before the end of the year he had, it would seem, paid a visit to the Roman Curia, for he is reported as leaving it on 22 December 1445;⁷ in May and October 1446 he seems to have

¹ Torcello was a Catalan and baillie in Constantinople for Alfonso for a time. Jorga, *Notes*, etc. in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VII (1899), p. 56.

² *Ibid.* p. 74.

³ C. Marinesco, 'Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins', p. 421, in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, x (1950), pp. 419-28.

⁴ *E.P.* docs. 266, 267. On 9 July 1443 Eugenius made Torcello a *miles apostolicus* as a reward to him and an honour to his master, *ibid.* doc. 268; and on the same day he was given 100 fl. for his expenses, *A.C.A.* doc. 143.

⁵ Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 28. He left Siena on 28 August. On 17 August the *Camera Apostolica* had been authorised to pay him 1000 fl. for expenses, *A.C.A.* docs. 144, 145.

⁶ Jorga, III, p. 147.

⁷ Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 28

been in Constantinople;¹ he was still away from the Curia on 23 December 1446² and took no part in the conclave that elected Nicholas V in March 1447. He returned to Rome on 12 February 1448,³ probably straight from Constantinople⁴ where some little time before, in conjunction with the Patriarch, he had consecrated Bishop Daniel,⁵ and apparently stayed there till he was again sent to Constantinople in 1452. It is not unlikely that he had meant to go to Russia again. The Patriarch Gregory, writing on 26 June 1446 or 1447 a reply to Prince Alexander of Kiev, mentions that Isidore would visit those parts, when he would answer the questions proposed in the Prince's letter at greater length.⁶ It is, however, almost certain that the visit never took place. And that is all that is known of Isidore's activities over all those years, except that, either in 1445 or after his return in 1448, he delivered a report to the Pope and the Curia on the progress of the union in Greece.

While Isidore was away *versus partes Graeciae et Russiae*, several events of importance took place. In late August 1444 the papal fleet, with the Legate Cardinal Condulmaro, arrived in Constantinopolitan waters. Syropoulus records that the prospect of its coming so heartened the unionists of the capital that they did not disguise their conviction that with its arrival the union was as good as established and the discomfiture of their opponents secured. However, the Cardinal, once arrived, was so insistent on the points of etiquette and procedure due to a papal legate, that his official visit to the Emperor was long delayed and, when it was made, he was coldly received. Because of this the hopes of the unionists were deceived and the fears of the anti-unionists allayed.⁷ Syropoulus says not a word about the campaign of Hunyadi and the battle of Varna. It is more likely that it was not so much the mere arrival of a papal legate as the presence of the fleet to fight the Turk that raised the hopes not only of the unionists but of all Constantinople, for after the successes of 1443-4 of the Hungarian Voivode, there was the bright prospect of a definite check to the Turkish power, and that

¹ Mercati, *op. cit.* p. 73.

² Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Letter of John Argyropoulus to Nicholas V*; S. Lambros, Ἀργυροπούλεια (Athens, 1910), p. 131.

⁵ Ziegler, *op. cit.* p. 115.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 116.

⁷ Syr. XII, II, p. 350.

owing to papal instigation. The higher the hope, the keener the disappointment when Varna (10 November 1444) left Constantinople more than ever exposed to attack. The long-promised papal help had come and had failed. The unionists who had counted on that to prove the good faith of the Latins and the benefit of the union for their country were reduced to silence: the anti-unionist could point the finger of scorn—as indeed he did—and say: That is what your western help is worth!

Syropoulos continues: 'And after that, having fallen to discussion, the supporters of union could not substantiate it as they hoped.' The papal Legate and the fleet did not leave Constantinople till late autumn 1445. At some time during the period August 1444 to November 1445 a series of fifteen debates was held in the Xylalas palace between unionists and anti-unionists, before the Emperor and his senate, the Despot Theodore, the papal Legate, the newly elected Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory and many partisans of both sides. It is unlikely that, in the short interval between the arrival of the fleet (especially as there was delay in establishing relations between Condulmaro and John VIII) and the beginning of naval activity to support the land forces (which had started their campaign on 22 September), there could have been either enough time or enough interest on either side to embark on prolonged theological discussions of that sort. So these disputations should perhaps be allotted to the year 1445,¹ after the death of Mark of Ephesus and the election of Gregory as Patriarch.²

¹ A. N. Diamantopoulos, 'Γεννάδιος ὁ Σχολάριος ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἁλώσιν χρόνων', in 'Ἑλληνικά', ix (1936), pp. 285–308, esp. pp. 295–6, places these debates in 1447, wrongly I think. The Legate certainly left Constantinople in autumn 1445. Lapacci was in Italy from the beginning of 1448 till late July 1449, when he returned to Constantinople and had further debates with Scholaris (cf. T. Käppeli, 'Bartolomeo Lapacci de' Rimberrini (1402–1466): vescovo, legato pontificio, scrittore', in *Arch. O.P.* ix (1939), pp. 86–127, esp. pp. 97–9).

² These two dates are much discussed. The day and the month of Mark's death, 23 June, are attested by his brother John (Petit, 'Acolouthie de Marc Eugénicos', etc. p. 217). Various years have been suggested, ranging from 1443 to 1449. The most commonly accepted opinion favours 1444, as proposed by Mgr Petit (*Docs.* pp. 325–30), and his article entitled 'Marc Eugénicos', in *D.T.C.* ix, 1968–86. G. Mercati, 'Appunti scolariani', pp. 134–43, in *Bessarione*, xxxvi (1920), pp. 109–43 and 'Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno', pp. 122–6 prefers 1445.

The date of the accession of Gregory is connected with the above question. Petit (*Docs.* pp. 322–5) argues for summer 1444, explaining away the statement of Sphrantzes

The exponent of the theology of the union was Bartolomeo Lapacci, O.P., bishop of Cortona, who as bishop of Argos from 1434-9 had learnt to speak Greek.¹ The protagonist for the anti-unionists was George Scholarius. Scholarius was one of the few really learned men of the Constantinople of that day, a pupil in his early years of Mark Eugenicus but self-taught as regards philosophy and theology,² an ardent disciple of Aristotle and an admirer of St Thomas Aquinas, many of whose works he had read and several of which he had translated into Greek.³ He was, nevertheless, in spite of all his many high qualities ambitious, vain and self-centred.⁴ He had gone to the Council in Italy at the behest of the Emperor⁵ who esteemed him highly, approving of the project but rather pessimistic about results.⁶ There he produced his exhortation and his two treatises in favour of union and gave a vote in which he clearly stated

who apparently records the year as 1445, by connecting the date of the election and the chronicler's account of the battle of Varna. Mercati in *Bessarione* accepts 1445, but in 'Scritti d'Isidoro' falls in with Petit's suggestion of 1444. Sphrantzes, however, certainly gives the year as 1445. On p. 195 (ed. Papadopoulos) he states that he arrived in Constantinople at the beginning of November 1444. There follow rather more than two pages on the campaign of Varna taken from Zoticus Paraspondylus. Then the chronicler continues (p. 198): 'On 17 July then of the same year there was a world-wide heat-wave worthy of mention. In which summer indeed also the confessor Kyr Gregory Melissenus became Patriarch, and on 15 August there was born to me a boy, Andronicus by name, who lived only eight days. And in the year 6954 (i.e. 1445), towards the end of December, when I went to the Peloponnesus...' (he specifies the year 6954 because for the Byzantines a new year had begun in September). No other Greek chronicler mentions any heat-wave of 1444 or 1445. The only Italian reference I have found speaks of scarcity of corn due to *li secchi tempi decorsi*: it is dated July 1445 (Muratori, xxxiii, 1, p. 110). So this point does not help much. However, Gregory's election and the birth of his son are clearly connected in Sphrantzes's mind as having occurred at about the same time: if the order of the events mentioned indicates a chronological sequence, as it probably does, Gregory's election took place between 17 July and 15 August. But the son could not have been born in 1444 because Sphrantzes was in and about Constantinople for more than nine months before the birth, having left Sparta in June 1444. Sphrantzes, then, both intended to state, and did state, that Gregory was elected in 1445, not in 1444.

¹ Cf. Käppeli, *op. cit.*

² Schol. iv, pp. 117, 446.

³ M. Jugie, 'La polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Pléthon', in *Byz.* x (1935), pp. 517-26; 'Georges Scholarios, professeur de philosophie', in *St. biz.* v (1939), pp. 482-94.

⁴ Diamantopoulos, *op. cit.* pp. 290-3.

⁵ He went probably not with the main party but a little afterwards, Schol. iv, pp. 442-3.

⁶ Schol. iv, p. 415.

both that he accepted the Council as oecumenical and that he regarded the Latin doctrine as theologically sound. Returned to Constantinople, he gave signs apparently of a return also to 'orthodoxy', but later some action of his, perhaps his refutation of Mark Eugenicus' 'Syllogisms', showed that he still retained his old views.¹ On the whole, however, during the first few years after the return he held himself aloof from the controversy that rent Constantinople, exercising his right, so he wrote to Eugenicus, to live as a private individual and to involve himself in quarrels with no one.² Mark Eugenicus on his death-bed appealed to Scholarius to take up the mantle he must needs let fall, of defender of 'orthodoxy' and unyielding opponent of the union. Scholarius, who had already been reconciled with his old master,³ gave his promise to the dying man,⁴ a promise which he never forgot and which he fulfilled till his death. As long as John VIII was alive, he continued in his office of General Secretary to the Emperor and General Judge of the Greeks, adding to these functions that of preaching to John and his court each Friday, though he was still a layman. His new attitude towards union after Mark's death was the cause of a certain coldness towards him for a time on the Emperor's part,⁵ but when John died (31 October 1448) he confessed with sad regret that with him 'all my fortunes died too'.⁶ After Constantine's accession he retired to a monastery and in 1450 became a monk with the name Gennadius, in desire retired from the affairs of the world but in practice the centre of the anti-unionist opposition to the new Emperor's unionist endeavours. He died, probably in 1472, having been the first Patriarch of captured Constantinople.

In the discussions in the Xylalas palace both sides claimed to have won the contest. Scholarius' arguments formed the basis for a long treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, divided into six main chapters, each with a variety of subdivisions. Even though he could not possibly have got through all that matter in only fifteen debates,⁷ still the chapter-headings will give an indication of the subjects

¹ Letter of Mark Eugenicus to Scholarius in Petit, *Docs.* pp. 460-1.

² Reply to Eugenicus, *ibid.* pp. 464-70; Schol. iv, pp. 445-9.

³ Schol. iv, pp. 116-18. ⁴ Petit, *Docs.* pp. 484-91. ⁵ Schol. iv, p. 464.

⁶ Schol. i, p. 289; cf. also *ibid.* iv, p. 471.

⁷ He says as much himself, Schol. ii, p. 270.

discussed—I, About the causes of the Schism and the Prohibition of the Council of Ephesus; II, About St Augustine; III, The Teaching of the Greek Fathers; IV, The Explanation of the Greek Texts put forward by the Latins; V, The Son is not the Cause of the Spirit and the Meaning of 'Dia'; VI, The Latin and the Greek Saints are to be harmonised by explaining the former in the sense of the latter.¹ This was probably Scholarius' first controversial work against the union, and as it was not for general circulation,² when shortly afterwards the Emperor of Trebizond asked for a copy, Scholarius preferred to rewrite it, abbreviating it, so he said, and polishing the style, and to send the revised version in response to the royal request,³ at the same time asking the King to keep it hidden away, so that his arsenal of arguments should not be disclosed to the Latins and the unionists among the Greeks, and lay the author open to attack.⁴ Scholarius was still being very circumspect. His fears, however, indicate that the unionist party in Constantinople was at that time both strong and militant. Its ranks had lately been strengthened by the return to Constantinople of John Argyropoulos from Padua, where he had received the degree of doctor. He was given charge by the Emperor of the 'mouseion'—school—in the Zeno palace and made Public Judge of Constantinople.

John of Trebizond was the recipient also of a treatise (very much briefer than that of Scholarius) on the Holy Spirit and the meaning of the decree of Florence from the pen of the Patriarch Gregory. Whether the king had requested this also cannot be said with certainty, though the tone of the short introduction and of the shorter conclusion rather implies it. In that case it would seem as if he was hesitating on what attitude to adopt towards the union which his representatives had accepted in his name. Another event connected with the discussions was that the anti-unionists drew up and signed a manifesto repudiating the recent Council, which they presented to the papal Legate as their answer to the insistence of Rome.⁵

So the papal Legate and the fleet departed in the autumn of 1445

¹ Schol. II, pp. 1-268.

² *Ibid.* p. 270.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 269-457.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 271, 272.

⁵ *Ibid.* III, pp. 180, 99. It may be the text of this manifesto that is given by Dositheus, Τόμος καταλλαγῆς (Jassy, 1692-4), pp. 422-31.

(Lapacci however stayed on for another year¹) and the cause of union was no further advanced. John VIII did nothing to settle the dispute and his inactivity encouraged the anti-unionists, who came to believe that at heart he had repented of his action in Florence and that the only thing that stopped him showing this openly was a false loyalty to his pledged word.² But this belief did not prevent them from manifesting an open opposition to him for his continued support of the unionist Patriarch whose name, with that of the Pope, was commemorated in the Liturgies performed in the royal palace.³ They refused to pray for him in the Liturgy and, for a time at least, the Queen Mother supported them in that refusal, though later she changed her attitude.⁴ With Gregory's accession to the patriarchal throne, hopes were for a short time entertained that he would bring peace to the Church, presumably by a quiet acquiescence in anti-unionism. It is on that ground that John Eugenicus condones the friendly attitude towards him that Luke Notaras and other *archontes* had been showing. But Gregory was as firm in his unionism as his predecessor, and John Eugenicus laments that the Latinism 'which was spent and eviscerated' and as good as dead had come to new life and was a greater danger than before and the cause of much annoyance and petty persecution of his friend Scholarius.⁵

The Emperor had plenty of other worries besides the ecclesiastical one. His brother Theodore was established in the Black Sea area and was no more to be relied on than Demetrius not to carry war against the capital.⁶ The defeat of Varna left Constantinople exposed and suspect to the victor of complicity in the unsuccessful campaign, so John had to take his precautions. He sent Pachomius, unionist bishop of Amasia, to Rome and Burgundy in 1445,⁷ and two years

¹ Käppeli, *op. cit.* p. 97.

² Schol. III, p. 99.

³ Hofmann, 'Patriarchen von Konstantinopel', in *O.C.* xxxii (1933), p. 9.

⁴ So says John Eugenicus, Lambros, I, pp. 59, 125.

⁵ Letters of John Eugenicus to Notaras (written some time between the accession of Gregory and John VIII's death) and to Scholarius, *ibid.* I, pp. 139, 159, 168, cf. also p. 127.

⁶ Laonicus Chalcocandylas, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, II (Budapest, 1923), p. III.

⁷ Safe-conduct from the Pope 10 June 1445, G. Hofmann, 'Papst Kalixt III. und die Frage der Kircheneinheit im Osten', in *S.T.* no. 123 (Città del Vaticano, 1946),

later when in the winter of 1446-7 Murad himself, to prevent any further support of the Byzantine capital by Greek forays from the Morea, had destroyed the Hexamilion that Constantine had rebuilt in 1443-4, had taken most of the more important cities of the Peloponnesus and had laid waste the countryside, he sent in May 1447 Manuel Palaeologus with John and Michael Torcello to the court of Naples to ask for aid.¹ Alfonso, always full of fair promises but never committing himself, agreed to pass on the request to the Pope. In March 1448 the Genoese, at Nicholas' behest, sent a large vessel 'worth any two others' to Constantinople,² though that may have been the fruit of the embassy of the hegoumenos Gregory who was in Rome on the Emperor's behalf in the winter of 1447-8 and who received from Nicholas a safe-conduct for Italy and elsewhere on 13 March 1448.³ In the same month Greek envoys in Venice patched up the quarrel between the two powers because of certain taxes imposed by the Emperor, the Emperor yielding on the disputed points.⁴ In this way John VIII was trying his best to find allies for the defence of his capital against the day when the expected attack would take place. He, however, did not live to see it. He died on 31 October 1448, predeceased by his brother Theodore by some three months, which left the way open for the accession of Constantine, as John had always wished. The dead Emperor was buried on 1 November in the monastery of the Pantocrator, without the usual ecclesiastical honours.⁵ It was the anti-unionists' last gesture to him,

p. 216, n. 15. Pachomius had signed the decree of Florence as a 'monk and hegoumenos of St Paul's'. His was one of the Sees complained about in the proclamation of the three Patriarchs, as having an intruder-bishop appointed by Metrophanes II. He was evicted by the Turkish authorities at the request of the Patriarch Gennadius after 1453, was made Bishop of the united Greeks of Caffa in 1469 and died on his way to his new See on 27 May 1470 (*ibid.* pp. 216-17).

¹ Marinesco, *Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins*, pp. 423-4.

² Jorga, *Notes*, etc. in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900-1), p. 44.

³ Jorga, II, p. 27; *E.P.* doc. 296.

⁴ Jorga, *Notes*, etc. in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900-1), p. 43.

⁵ Schol. III, p. 100. This is so surprising a statement that it may be better to give Scholarius' own words: 'This then he said to them, but having no will to take more effective steps to help the Church, he lost both his kingdom and his life in that simulation of Latinism and justly was deprived of the honours from the Church whose well-being he had neglected.' Can it mean merely that no monastery accepted him as a monk, to let him die in the monastic habit, as was the imperial (and indeed widespread) custom?

and seems to indicate that the Patriarch Gregory and his adherents must for the moment have lost all influence in the city.

John VIII's whole life was overshadowed by the threat from the Turk and the inescapable knowledge that the empire was crumbling. At the age of six he passed two years in Monembasia when Bajezid invested Constantinople. The siege of 1422 sent him off to Hungary in a vain attempt to obtain help. The city where he lived, indeed the palace in which the royal family could afford to keep up only a few apartments, witnessed to the unhappy contrast between the splendour of a bygone age and the decay of the present, and no amount of insistence on the protocol and court etiquette evolved in the more spacious times of his predecessors could disguise the precarious situation of his day and the empire's dependence both on the Turk and on the commercially dominating Italian mercantile States. It was a melancholy position, and it must have produced a strain of melancholy and a sense of frustration in John's nature. His ability, however, in handling his quarrelsome brothers and in managing the large gathering of Greeks in Italy—it was no small feat to have prevailed on them to leave their homes—argues to a fund of patience on his part and to a wise mingling of imperial authority and human consideration in his dealings with them. Whether or not he dominated the ecclesiastics too much in the Council and too little after it is a question that will be considered later. His general policy was modelled on that of his father—to preserve good relations with the Turk, to strengthen the Greek hold on the Morea, and to induce the West to come to his help. The Council in Italy was an effort to achieve this last, to attain to direct contact with the western princes who would be predisposed in his favour by the fact of union. It produced at any rate the crusade of 1444, but that, by the accident of the weather, ended at Varna. Disappointment, the intrigues of his brothers, and the bitter ecclesiastical division that followed the Council saddened his last years. It was not perhaps a pure coincidence that his death at the age of fifty-six occurred only two weeks after the second victory of the Turks (17 October 1448) over the indomitable Hunyadi.¹

¹ Cf. J. Gill, 'John VIII Palaeologus. A Character Study', in *'Silloge Bizantina'*, in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (Roma, 1957), pp. 152-70.

The ambitious and unstable Demetrius was in Constantinople when the death of John gave him another chance to seize the crown. He had supporters in the city, probably largely the anti-unionists¹ who regarded him as their chief patron in high places, but the opposition of the Queen Mother, of his brother Thomas and the imperial counsellors checked his plans.² Approval for Constantine's accession was sought and obtained from the Sultan and, to settle the question definitely before war could break out among the brothers, the unusual step was taken of sending a deputation of the counsellors to Mistra to have Constantine crowned there. That was done on 6 January 1449. There may, too, have been another reason for that surprising action, uncertainty as to whether the population of Constantinople, led by the anti-unionist clerics and monks, would have accepted him as Emperor, in spite of the will of the Queen Mother and the court circle, and have acquiesced in his coronation. Constantine, after his arrival in Constantinople on 12 March 1449, was never officially crowned Emperor, and at least the leaders of the opposition to the union of Florence refused to pray for him in the Liturgy and persisted in that attitude in spite of meetings convened by him to win them over, in this according also to him the treatment they had dealt out to his predecessor.³

The reason for the ecclesiastical opposition to Constantine was, of course, his attitude to the burning question of union. He had approved of his brother's action in going to Italy and after the return from the Council, when the Emperor was for one reason or another making no overt move to impose its decision in his realm, Constantine showed a greater readiness. On 22 April 1441 Pope Eugenius wrote to him that Garatoni and others had informed the Holy See

¹ This is the more likely as Demetrius was unpopular generally in Constantinople because of the deaths and damage resulting from his attack on the city in 1442, which was still remembered against him; cf. letter of Scholarius to Demetrius (1453), Schol. III, pp. 118-19.

² Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, pp. 204-5; L. Chalcocandylas, ed. Darkó, II, pp. 140-1. Scholarius, referring to this incident in a letter to Demetrius, is more than tactful: he says that the Prince resisted the temptation to seize the throne 'even if there was some need of advisers'; Schol. III, pp. 119-21.

³ John Eugenius to Constantine, Lambros, I, p. 122. Cf. I. K. Voyatzidis, 'Περὶ τῆς στέψεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου', in Λαογραφία, VII (1923), pp. 449-56.

of his zeal and of his solemn promise to do all he could to implement the Council's decision, encouraging him at the same time and promising to fulfil for him, should he ever become Emperor, all the pledges given to John.¹ Whether as Despot in the Morea Constantine did anything to promote union cannot be said for lack of evidence, but that very deficiency suggests that he did not do much, otherwise there would be reflections of it in the anti-unionist literature of the time, which there are not, though there was then in the Peloponnese the ready pen of John Eugenicus, Mark's brother.

Towards the end of the reign of John VIII it would seem that a kind of relative peace had descended on the ecclesiastical strife in Constantinople, with the anti-unionists in the ascendant, but still excluded from St Sophia which was, of course, in the hands of the unionist Patriarch.² With the Emperor's death the controversy broke out afresh with renewed bitterness.³ The anti-unionists, besides being the object of the hostility of the unionists, now came to be regarded as disloyal by the court and government circles. They had probably given signs of open support to Demetrius' pretensions to the throne.⁴ They certainly refused to acknowledge that Constantine was as yet legitimate Emperor.⁵ The two parties, unionist and anti-unionist, addressed their congratulations and exhortations to him, both on his arrival in Constantinople and a year later on the occasion of his

¹ *E.P.* doc. 249.

² John Eugenicus in Lambros, I, p. 126.

³ 'The Emperor, alas, passes from this life and things are filled with confusion, suspicion is rife and the arrows of my detractors are again discharged with greater daring. And the excuse was that I was persuading the clergy to be doubtful about your faith, and for that reason to withhold the honour which they had been wont to pay to those of the emperors who were faithful to their religion' (Scholarius to Constantine 1450; Schol. IV, pp. 464-5; cf. also *ibid.* p. 468 and the letter to Constantine of 12 March 1452; 'For after the death of the late Emperor everything was in utter confusion', Schol. III, p. 153).

⁴ Scholarius defends them against this suspicion, so suspicion there was, Schol. IV, p. 465.

⁵ Cf. the letter of John Eugenicus to Constantine, written probably after the death of the Queen Mother, 23 March 1450, in the name of a party, in which he purports to prove that Constantine was not Emperor because he did not fulfil any of the duties to religion that emperorship imposed; he goes on: 'Of which Church then is your royalty from God the protector and champion, and what now is the state of the Church of Christ, and where its children, and who and of what sort its seeming shepherd and head, and who the patriarch to crown you and when, and to anoint your royalty with sacred chrism and to receive your help and profession?' (Lambros, I, pp. 124-5).

mother's death (23 March 1450).¹ Scholarius, who after the two treatises on the Holy Spirit that issued from the discussions with Lapacci had through the rest of John's reign desisted from controversy (except for a 'Dialogue' on the same subject²), took up his pen again and began a long series of polemics, manifestos and letters that continued up to the eve of the capture of Constantinople in 1453.³

Constantine brought the leaders of the anti-unionists together to persuade them to moderate their opposition. He did not succeed. Next day they wrote to him a kind of official confirmation of their answer of the day before. It ends: 'Therefore for these and similar reasons we infer and consider that there appears to us to be no method of union so long as the Latins remain as they are.'⁴ At about the same time Bartolomeo Lapacci, since Garatoni's death bishop of Corone, was in Constantinople as papal Legate,⁵ and once more held public discussions with Scholarius, in the presence of the Emperor, the senate and the clergy, in which he later claimed that he had silenced his opponent,⁶ who for his part vindicated the victory for himself⁷ in the debates that he had himself suggested.⁸

What Constantine's real and intimate opinion was about the burning religious question of the day there is no knowing. There is, however, no doubt that he hoped through it to secure western aid for the defence of his country. Within a few weeks of his arrival in Constantinople an envoy of his to the city of Genoa gave such an account of his good dispositions in that regard that the Genoese authorities counselled the Pope to send without delay an ambassador

¹ E.g. George Argyropoulos wrote three such (Lambros, 'Ἀργυροπούλεια' (Athens, 1910), pp. 8 ff., 29 ff., 48 ff.); Michael Apostoles two (Lambros, IV, pp. 67-82, 83-87); John Eugenikos (*ibid.* I, pp. 123 ff., 135 ff., 151 ff.); John Dokeianos (*ibid.* I, pp. 221 ff., 232 ff., 241 ff., 246 ff.), besides the writings of Scholarius.

² Of date 1446/7, Schol. III, pp. 1-21.

³ Cf. the first half of Schol. III.

⁴ John Eugenikos to Constantine, Lambros, I, pp. 151-3. This was written probably in 1449-50, because John Eugenikos probably left Constantinople for the Morea early in 1450: cf. J. Voyatzidis, 'Οἱ πρίγκηπες Χεῖλᾶδες τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος', in N.E., XIX (1925), pp. 203-4. The letter of John Eugenikos to Constantine already several times quoted (Lambros, pp. 123 ff.) is of about the same date.

⁵ On 16 June 1449 he received a safe-conduct for his journey (Käppeli, *op. cit.* p. 99, n. 50).

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 99 and n. 52.

⁷ Schol. III, 156; cf. also p. 173.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 164.

to the Emperor to take advantage of them.¹ The consequence was that the court and the government circles were all in favour of implementing the decree of Florence, at the least for the benefits that they hoped would accrue. The writings of Scholarius and John Eugenicus time and again lament the blindness of those in power who put their trust for the safety of their city in human help instead of in God.² A small group of intransigent anti-unionists, and Scholarius in particular, came to be looked on as unpatriotic and for a time were generally unpopular because they were regarded as being the sole impediment to western help.³ The official world of Byzantium acted as if both faiths were equally right,⁴ frequenting the churches of either party indifferently.⁵

The most influential, as he was also the most outstanding, personage in Constantinople at that time was Luke Notaras, usually described by historians as an out and out opponent of union. Indeed, he is now best remembered for the phrase that Ducas put into his mouth: 'Better the Sultan's turban than the Pope's mitre.'⁶ His behaviour, however, was hardly consonant with so forthright an expression of principle. Right up to the capture of Constantinople he supported the imperial policy, which brought on him long treatises and letters full of adulation,⁷ instruction and exhortation from the pens of the anti-unionists to win him to their side.⁸ For his part he tried to persuade them to a more conciliatory attitude, but with Scholarius and John Eugenicus at least he failed.⁹ The only words

¹ Jorga, *Notes*, etc. in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII, p. 54.

² E.g. Schol. III, pp. 149, 159, 183; Lambros, I, pp. 125, 139.

³ Schol. III, pp. 148, 149, 136.

⁴ *Ibid.* III, p. 149; IV, p. 496.

⁵ Lambros, I, p. 127.

⁶ Ducas, p. 264. His actual words are: 'Better to see the turban of the Turk ruling in the midst of the city than the Latin mitre.'

⁷ E.g. Schol. IV, pp. 460ff. That may have been the style of the time. The many encomiums of emperors written by hopeful admirers, Scholarius' letter to Eugenius IV (Schol. IV, pp. 432-3) and Argyropoulos' letter to Nicholas V (Lambros, 'Αργυροπούλεια' (Athens, 1910), pp. 129-41) and the like, weary (and disgust) with their excessive praise.

⁸ E.g. Scholarius—Schol. III, pp. 136-51, IV, pp. 458-60, 460-2, 492-3, 494-500; John Eugenicus in Lambros, I, pp. 137-46, 170-3, 175-6. Argyropoulos, at Notaras's request, sent him a unionist treatise on the Holy Spirit (Lambros, 'Αργυροπούλεια' (Athens, 1910), pp. 107-28), which was answered by Theodore Agallianus (*ibid.* pp. 234-303).

⁹ Schol. IV, p. 496; Lambros, I, p. 176.

of his accurately recorded are transmitted by Scholarius in the letter he addressed on 15 November to the ecclesiastics: 'You are labouring in vain, Father, because it has turned out that the commemoration of the Pope is to be given and there is nothing to be done about it. Granted then that you can do nothing to stop it, if you choose to come, co-operate in our doing it.'¹ That advice expressed his policy of political expediency. It may not have reflected his inmost convictions, which would account for the fact that the anti-unionists had to woo his support and the unionists regarded him as an adversary.²

The tension in Constantinople at that time must have been very great, for it caused Scholarius to resign his public offices and to retire first to private life and then to a monastery (1450) where he became the monk Gennadius, and it led the Patriarch Gregory III to abandon his See and betake himself to Rome in August 1451.³ Outside of his own church, nowhere else was he commemorated in the Liturgy, not even within his own monastery.⁴ Yet at the same time he would seem to have been enjoying a more active support from Constantine than ever he did from John VIII.

¹ Schol. III, p. 170.

² Ducas, *ibid.*; Ubertino Pusculo, 'Constantinopolis', ed. A. E. Elissen in *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1857), lib. II, ll. 101-16.

³ Phrantzes, *op. cit.* (ed. Bonn), p. 217. Jorga, *Notes*, etc. in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII, p. 70, records a decision of the Signoria of Venice of 12 October 1450 as stating that Gregory was in the Venetian colony of Corone (Morea) at that date. Isidore, in his report to the Pope (of uncertain date) has the phrase 'while the Patriarch is still about in the Peloponnese'. These data can be reconciled only if it is allowed that Jorga's date is wrong by a year and that Isidore's report was made in late 1451, apropos perhaps of the legation of Bryennius. Gregory was in receipt of a monthly pension from the Pope from at least May 1452 (Jorga, II, p. 29).

It was for long commonly believed that a synod, at which also the three eastern patriarchs were present, met in Constantinople in 1450, deposed Gregory and elected a certain Athanasius, who shortly afterwards mysteriously disappeared from view. That opinion cannot now be held. Ch. Papaioannou, 'Τὰ πρακτικά τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης ὑστέρτης ἐν Ἀγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ συνόδου', in 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, XV (1896), showed conclusively that the supposed Acts of the synod are spurious. Mgr. L. Petit in his review of Papaioannou's articles expressed some reserve about accepting his full conclusions (*E.O.* IV (1900-1), pp. 127-8), but the reason for his doubt is unfounded (cf. M. Lascaris, 'Joachim, Métropolitte de Moldavie, etc.', in *Acad. Roum.* XIII (1927), p. 131, n. 2). Besides, there is absolutely no reference to such a synod in any Greek or Latin literature of the time, which there must have been if it had ever taken place.

⁴ Letter of Isidore of Kiev to Nicholas V, dated from *Candie die xv iulii LIII*, after his escape from Constantinople after its capture; Jorga, II, p. 533.

In point of fact, early in 1451 Constantine was contemplating having closer relations with Rome, by sending as ambassador to the Pope Andronicus Bryennius Leontaris. The impulse may have come from the death in February 1451 of the Sultan Murad and the accession of Mahomet, though whether from a mistaken optimism at having now to treat with a weaker character (Constantine, after his renewed treaty with him, dared to use threats against him¹), or from anticipation of the implacable enmity of the new Sultan, it would be hard to say. Not much is known about Bryennius' political mission, but its object can easily be surmised. He visited the governments of Venice (5 July), where he arranged permission for Constantine to recruit Cretan archers, and of Ferrara, was in Rome in August and September, and in Naples in November.² But he had an ecclesiastical mission too. He was the bearer of a letter from the Synaxis³ of the anti-unionists addressed to the Pope, a letter they had drawn up, somewhat against their wills perhaps, at a meeting summoned by the Emperor. In it they expressed once again their rejection of the union of Florence and the doctrine it implied and their refusal to commemorate the Pope. Instead they proposed for the settlement of the ecclesiastical differences the holding of a new council in Constantinople, in which the Latins would be represented by a small group of delegates⁴—the old Greek plea that only an Oecumenical Council (they had rejected the oecumenicity of Florence) could impose its decision on the East.⁵ Scholarius did not sign the letter with the rest. Though in theory he agreed with the fundamental idea, in practice he could foresee no prospect of success but only of even more strained relations. And he was right. Bryennius would have presented the manifesto at about the same time that news of Gregory's flight reached Rome.

¹ Ducas, pp. 234ff.

² Letter of Emperor recommending Bryennius to the Marquis of Este 10 April 1451; Jorga, iv, p. 46; Marinescu, *Notes sur quelques ambassades*, etc. p. 426.

³ So they called themselves. They could not use the name 'synod', as that implied union with the Patriarch. Constantine's dealings with this body as a kind of unofficial synod may have been the last straw that made Gregory III leave Constantinople.

⁴ Letter to Constantine dated 12 March; Schol. III, pp. 152-5. This composition was more than a letter: it was general propaganda that was circulated in the Morea and elsewhere; Schol. III, p. 176. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 173, 191-2.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 192.

Nicholas' answer to the Emperor, dated 27 September 1451,¹ makes no direct reference to the letter of the ecclesiastics; to that he probably sent no answer at all. The Pope acknowledges the Emperor's desire to carry the union through, but, while appreciating the difficulties in the way that the ambassador had explained, is firmly of the opinion that Constantine overestimates them. John VIII, had he been less prone to yield to worldly expediency, could have done it. The Creed states that the Church is one; for that it must have one head on earth acknowledged by all parts. The sad, indeed lamentable state of the Byzantine empire must be attributed to God's just retribution for the Greeks' dalliance about union.² Union of the Churches was achieved at Florence: the decree bearing the genuine signatures of the Greeks and the Latins is to be found in every kingdom of the Christian world. Therefore, in reply to the Emperor's request for aid, 'if with your nobles and the people of Constantinople you embrace the decree of union, you will have Us and our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, with the whole of the Western Church ever instant for your honour and State. But if you with your people refuse to accept the decree of union, you will force us to take such measures as are suited to your salvation and our honour.' The Patriarch of Constantinople should be recalled, reinstated and given his full rights and privileges, and the Pope's name should be restored to the diptychs. If there were any Greeks who failed to understand some parts of the decree, let them be sent to Rome where their doubts would be honourably set at rest.

This reply is firm almost to the point of being an ultimatum.³ The reason for that is to be sought in the history of the previous ten years and particularly in the events of the last few months. The dissension had been allowed to drag on and worsen in Constantinople (and the rest of the Greek world took its tone from there) mainly owing to the indecision of the late Emperor—or at least that was the Pope's conviction. A shock might bring the Greeks to their senses; at any rate it could not make things worse. The suggestion contained in the

¹ *E.P.* doc. 304 where both the Latin and the Greek texts, which differ slightly, are given—neither is certainly authentic—and where the question of the date is discussed.

² Scholarius was of precisely the same opinion, but, as it were, in reverse. He was convinced that the end of the world was at hand, and that he and his friends were the faithful remnant of Israel; *Schol.* III, p. 161; IV, pp. 480, 481.

letter of the ecclesiastics of a new council, with its bland ignoring of the oecumenical Council of Florence where the Greeks had signed and sealed the decree of union, had to be scotched—such an idea could not be allowed to gain ground—scotched immediately and firmly because the flight of the Patriarch showed that the situation needed firm measures and that no time was to be lost. On the other hand, Isidore's report after his sojourn in Greece gave grounds for thinking that the situation could be retrieved. He claimed that the Emperor and the Patriarch with the majority of the leading court and government officials and no little part of the people were either supporters of the union or not averse to it, and he added suggestions that are reflected in the papal letter. His plan in brief was this—the decree should be explained to the Greeks at large by special preachers basing their arguments mainly on Greek sources from the Councils and the Fathers—the Latin Fathers should be referred to only in general terms; the recalcitrant should be excommunicated; the core of the opposition should willy-nilly be brought to Rome for instruction, some five or six individuals in all, who had already either freely signed the decree in Florence or approved of the holding of the Council beforehand; a legate should be sent first to the Peloponnese 'while the Patriarch is still about in those parts' to win the support of the Despots by persuasion or, if necessary, by threats of ecclesiastical censures, and then to Constantinople where he should act similarly. This report of Isidore's is not dated, but it is not unlikely that it was presented in the summer of 1451 on the occasion of Bryennius' embassy when the Pope, in the process of formulating an answer to the envoy's message, would reasonably have sought Isidore's advice. At any rate its influence on the Pope's answer and on his subsequent action is unquestionable.¹

¹ Isidore's report is contained in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1858, fo. 44-51. I am beholden to the late Fr G. Hofmann for allowing me to use his photographs and his transcript of the MS. That the date I adopt for the report—summer 1451—is right is confirmed by a letter of John Eugenikos to Theodore (Agallianus), the whole tone of which suggests the situation after the return of Bryennius: 'Do you see what the miserable creatures want? They want and still seek as shepherd the apostate; they want the wolf, the destroyer, the vagabond in Methone or Achaia or in I don't know what gullies and holes seeking whom he may devour. How great is the danger! How much we must be ever on our guard that with his tail he may not sweep away the third part of the stars of the heavens, like the first apostate dragon, for he often, so they say, had boasted that

¹ In the Pope's reply no mention is made of sending a papal legate to Constantinople. But that must have been arranged then, for Gennadius, writing to Constantine on 12 March 1452, reports the rumours that were rife after Bryennius' return—that, instead of delegates for a Council, an ambassador would come, complete with a papal document anathematising Sabellianism¹ so as to disarm Greek criticism, who, if the union was not accepted, Gregory reinstated and the Pope commemorated, was to excommunicate the Greeks from Galata, but if the Greeks accepted all these conditions he was to announce a council in Italy to which they should send delegates.² There was obviously some foundation for this report, because some months later Isidore of Russia did go to Constantinople as papal Legate, in response, so Gennadius believed, to a suggestion that had emanated from the Greeks themselves.³

The anti-unionist leaders were alarmed. A fortunate circumstance, however, gave them a chance of counteracting any softening of the general attitude towards Rome that might have resulted from Bryennius' embassy, by staging a demonstration calculated to fire the popular imagination against the Pope and the Council of Florence. There came to Constantinople at the end of 1451—that is, just about the time of Bryennius' return—one Constantine Plattris (usually called Constantine the Englishman), an unofficial messenger from the Utraquist Hussites of Prague, seeking union. He made contact, naturally, with the anti-unionists. Entrusted to Gennadius for interrogation and instruction, shortly afterwards he decided to embrace the Greek faith. As he was a priest of the Latin Church—that the sect to which he belonged had been condemned at the Council of Constance was beside the point—his conversion was a grand opportunity for propaganda, not to be missed. The scene for his public

he possessed the majority, nay even almost the whole, of the senate as his friends and unionists and zealots and mates, half-beasts of mythical double nature... He has just now the lower classes of the race, the bulk of the populace, a silly people and in no way sensible, to put it plainly, readily, alas, accepting the betrayal (at any rate in part) of its own faith for human considerations... (Lambros, I, p. 196).

Isidore himself wrote a short explanation of the decree, to be found in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1898, fo. 203-13 *bis* (cf. Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro', etc. pp. 54, 41).

¹ One of the many heresies that the anti-unionists attributed to the Latins after Florence, according to which the three divine Persons are merely aspects of one.

² Schol. III, pp. 152-4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 164.

profession of faith and abjuration of Latin 'heresies' was laid in the church near St Sophia that the anti-unionists, still self-excluded from the Great Church, frequented. Before a thronged audience he made his statement in Latin which was translated into Greek by a certain Francullius—faith is essential, but not that of men who change the definitions of the Fathers; the Pope for his work at Florence is a Judas, a Saul, a wolf with voracious jaws; Gennadius had explained the truth about the *Filioque*-addition and the real doctrine of the Blessed Trinity to his complete satisfaction, and had persuaded him of the inadequacy of Latin baptism; and, of course, had found a kindred spirit on the question of Communion under both kinds.¹ The manœuvre achieved an immediate result. The audience cheered every jibe against the Pope, and later the report of what had happened was on every lip in the streets and the market-places.²

When Constantine returned to Prague he was given an official exposition of faith and a letter. The former was addressed not to him or the Bohemians, but for the information of all Christendom as from 'the holy orthodox Synaxis in Constantinople, administering the patriarchal See which represents our Church', especially 'to the noble, distant, western nations of the Latins'. It is a detailed document dealing at great length with the doctrine of the Trinity, the seven sacraments, the seven Councils—particularly the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus—which ends by inviting all to seek unity or enlightenment from the Church of Constantinople.³ The letter, dated 18 January 1452, directed to all the authorities of Prague from 'the most holy Church of Constantinople, mother and mistress of all right-believers', denounced the Pope and Florence and invited the recipients to union, after the conclusion of which the writers would provide the necessary clerics and bishops for their instruction and would be indulgent on the question of ecclesiastical rites. It is signed by Macarius of Nicomedia, Ignatius of Tornovo, Joseph of Philippopolis, Acacius (of Derko), bishops, with Silvester Syropoulos and Theodore Agallianus, deacons and officials of the Great Church,

¹ A long extract in Dosirheus, *Τόμος ἀγάπης* (Jassy, 1698), pp. 320–5; cf. M. Paulová, 'L'Empire byzantine et les Tchèques avant la chute de Constantinople', in *Byzantinoslavica*, xiv (1953), pp. 158–225.

² Ubertino Pusculo, *op. cit.* lib. II, ll. 198–558.

³ Dosirheus, *ibid.* pp. 325–32.

and finally by 'The universal teacher of the Church of the orthodox, the humble monk Gennadius'.¹

While Constantinople was thus divided internally, the Sultan Mahomet, perhaps to take advantage of the consequent weakness and to anticipate any eventual help from the West, hastened his preparations for an attack on the city. Early in 1452 he ordered the building of a strong fortress, Romili Hissar, on the European side of the narrowest part of the Bosphorus and just opposite his fort on the Asiatic side, so as to have complete control of the passage and be able to prevent the provisioning of Constantinople from the north. He himself arrived on the spot on 26 March to force the pace of the building. Constantine's remonstrances were answered by the pillage of the surrounding villages and the slaughter of the inhabitants. The fortress was finished in August and Mahomet on 1 September returned to Adrianople to make his final preparations. In October he sent a strong force into the Peloponnese so as to render any relieving action from there impossible. There was no doubt left about his intentions, to outdo his predecessors by capturing the city they had several times attacked in vain. Constantine set feverishly to work to prepare for the ordeal. He had the fortifications put into repair as much as possible, and sent ambassadors round the western courts for help, in particular seeking supplies of corn against the coming siege.²

The response to his appeal was lamentable. Italy was, as ever, divided by internal wars, which caused Alfonso of Aragon to withdraw from the Aegean, just when they were most needed, the fleet of ten ships he had maintained there, mostly at papal expense, though he allowed the Greeks to buy his corn, at a price. Genoa gave its citizens of Pera a free hand and put out sundry exhortations, but offered no tangible help. Frederick III, crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope on 19 March 1452, sent a bombastic ultimatum to Mahomet and nothing more. John Hunyadi, the hero of Varna

¹ L. Allatius, *De ecclesiae occid. et orient. perpetua consensione*, pp. 947-9. The 'Administrators of the Utraquist Consistory of Prague' sent a non-committal reply dated 29 September 1452; cf. Paulová, *op. cit.* p. 220.

² Michael Trapperius was in Naples in March 1453; Michael Radoslaos, Manuel Dishypatus and Manuel Angelus Palaeologus had to remain in the Neapolitan court because they were prevented from returning to Constantinople owing to the siege.

and Kossovo, had made a three years' truce with the Turks in November 1451. Philip the Good of Burgundy, that other genuine upholder of Christian resistance to Turkish expansion, was unfortunately at this time involved in suppressing a rebellion of the city of Ghent. Venice and the Pope set about arming a small fleet, which in fact was ready too late to be of use. The seven hundred men under Giustiniano Longo, the Genoese, were a personal contribution of a great soul to a nation in its agony. The only official contingent of Latin-financed troops that took part in the defence of Constantinople was the body of two hundred archers that Cardinal Isidore of Kiev took with him when he went there as papal Legate in the autumn of 1452.¹

Isidore left Rome for Constantinople on 20 May 1452² as papal Legate, presumably after the Byzantine Emperor had informed the Pope that he was prepared to fulfil the conditions indicated in the papal letter of the previous September. He went first to Naples³ and arrived at his final destination on 26 October.⁴ He was welcomed by the Emperor and the court and by a large section of the populace. The anti-unionists felt their position seriously threatened and Gennadius opened a campaign of propaganda which he conducted with the skill of a practised general. Most of what we know in detail of the ecclesiastical events that took place in Constantinople in the last months of 1452 comes from his biased pen.

Already before Isidore ever set foot in the city, Gennadius had harangued the population at great length, speaking from midday

¹ There is a very large literature on the relations of East and West on the eve of the fall of Constantinople. Cf. in particular R. Guiland, 'Αἱ πρὸς τὴν Δύσιν ἐκκλήσεις Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ' τοῦ Δραγάτζη πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', in E.E.B.S. xxii (1952), pp. 60-74, and his complementary article: 'Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452-1453)', in *Byzantinoslavica*, xiv (1953), pp. 226-44; and especially C. Marinescu, 'Le Pape Nicolas V (1447-1455) et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin', in *Actes du IV^e Congrès international des Etudes Byzantines*, 1 (*Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, ix, 1935), pp. 331-42, where he defends Nicholas from the accusations lavishly made against him later of indifference to the fate of Constantinople, and lays the chief blame on Alfonso of Aragon and Naples, always full of promises and never doing anything that he could not derive a personal advantage from.

² Eubel, *op. cit.* II, p. 30.

³ Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro', etc. p. 129, n. 3.

⁴ G. Hofmann, 'Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor von Kiew an Kardinal Bessarion', in O.C.P. xiv (1948), pp. 405-14, esp. p. 408.

till near evening, warning and advising and exhorting. The Cardinal, when he came, addressed himself, not to the anti-unionist leaders, but to the people and gained their support to such a degree that Gennadius' coterie lost heart. It was then that he made his first open move in his campaign.¹ On 1 November he retired to his cell—retired from all strife—but he affixed to its door an inflammatory challenge, which remained there for all to read till it was of no further use because the proclamation of union was by then accomplished. 'O miserable citizens, you have ruined everything; and now you abandon even your religion.' Such were its opening words and the rest was in like strain. He, Gennadius, was innocent; they were threatening to kill him; would that the Lord would enlighten them or else remove him from life; let them leave him in peace, for he would never join in such a union.² His manifesto had effect, for Ducas recounts that clerics, monks, nuns, layfolk ranged round the streets in the wildest disorder, shouting: 'We don't want Latin help or Latin union; let us be rid of the worship of the unleavened.'³

But his action did not stop the progress of events. The people (demos) had accepted union,⁴ presumably by some public decision. The *archontes* would have preferred a compromise—to commemorate the Pope in the Liturgy and not to promulgate the decree of union,⁵ but as events show, they yielded to Isidore's insistence. The next step was to try to gain the adherence of the clerics and particularly of the anti-unionist leaders who formed the Synaxis. They were summoned to a meeting with the Emperor in the Xylalas palace on 15 November. But Gennadius was beforehand with a letter of admonition.⁶ If the Cardinal were there or there were question of discussions, they should

¹ *Letter to Demetrius*, 25 December 1452; Schol. III, p. 177.

² Schol. III, pp. 165–6.

³ Ducas, *op. cit.* pp. 253–5.

⁴ Schol. III, p. 167.

⁵ Leonardus Chiensis, 'Historia Constantinopolitanae urbis a Mahumete II captae', P.G. 159, 929D–930B. Leonardo, Latin archbishop of Mitylene, had accompanied Isidore to Constantinople and was there throughout the siege. He also asserts that the reason for the hesitations of the *archontes* was not theological, but national pride; that Scholarius and Notaras from personal ambition wanted to present themselves later to the Pope as artificers of the union, and that, at his suggestion, Constantine made the gesture of appointing judges against Scholarius, Isidore the monk, Neophytus and their accomplices.

⁶ Schol. III, pp. 166–70.

neither hear nor answer without him. But if the meeting was only to gain their approval for what the demos had done, let them leave him in peace—all knew his opinions and he had lately sent ten chapters on the subject to the Emperor. Let it not be that their Church should become heretical by accepting the commemoration of the Pope, which meant the branding of their forefathers as heretical. There was talk of conditions attached to the union and of its being only provisional, but there was no place for those in the faith. The only help for the city was from on high. What the Great Duke (Notaras) and the Emperor intended was only evil. What should be done, but what they (i.e. the Synaxis) had rejected, was that he (Gennadius) before the senate, the Church and the people, with as many Venetians and Genoese as liked, should prove the inexpediency of what the Cardinal proposed. True expediency would be, after peace had returned with or without western help, for delegates from the Latins to come to Constantinople or for at least six delegates from Constantinople to go there, to establish true union in a synod. If that was what they wanted, he would go and persuade all of its utility. But if they (the ecclesiastics), their hopes set on western aid and Latinism, deceived the people with conditions and hopes of words and discussions, the fruit would be as he had often foretold. He would have no part in it, as he had written to Notaras who had replied: 'You are labouring in vain, Father, etc.' He had done what he could: for the future he would keep silent.¹

It would seem, however, that Gennadius was present both at that meeting of the Synaxis and at several others besides, and that his presence served to stiffen the resistance of its members to the Emperor's persuasions. For at some date, probably still in November, they delivered to Constantine their answer to his demand as to what objections they had against the decree of the Council of Florence, in writing and with their signatures attached, as he had asked. They professed that they had at heart a desire for the peace of the Church; their obstinacy was because they wanted a true peace. They offered

¹ Gennadius ends most of his polemics of this time with 'for the future I will be silent'. What his silence meant he disclosed to Demetrius: 'And the excuse for the letter, for it was a defence of the supposed silence, yet when was I ever silent in the preceding period?' (Schol. III, p. 178).

four objections to the decree, all concerned with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and then they proposed, as the sole way of reaching genuine peace, the summoning of a council in Constantinople, the only obstacle to which could be the lack of goodwill on the Latin side. A conciliatory spirit would be possible only after the establishment of peace. If the Patriarch (Gregory) would assure them that he held the same faith as they, then they would discuss with him conciliatory measures, in union with the Patriarchs of the East without whose approval nothing could be done. There are fifteen signatures to this document (Gennadius' is not one)—five of bishops,¹ with those of the Great Chartophylax Balsamon, of the Great Ecclesiarches Syropoulos and of the Archivist Theodore Agallianus: the rest of monks.²

But the constancy of the anti-unionist inner circle in rejecting western aid could not prevail with the population against the advocacy in its favour exercised by the threat of the fortress Romili Hissar. On 10 November two large merchant ships bringing provisions from Caffa barely escaped capture as they passed through the narrows, and on 26 November a ship was sunk there and its crew enslaved or massacred. The danger to the city was vividly brought home to the citizens. To check the general enthusiasm for union and help was like trying to put out a forest fire.³ But Gennadius tried. On 27 November he addressed a manifesto to the citizens, copies of which were broadcast 'in the palaces, in the markets, and in all the monasteries of the city'.⁴ It took the form of an *Apologia pro vita sua* against his detractors. He challenged anyone to find evil in his past life. His only 'crime' was to be faithful to the doctrines of the Church, to the Council that condemned Beccus, to the pledge he had made to the dying Mark of Ephesus and to the various manifestos put out by the anti-unionists. Even if they considered that to be profitable which he disapproved of, still faith was free and he would remain united with their holy Fathers, and if need be at the cost of his life, since they threatened him.⁵ 'If some at least for a time seemed to

¹ Nicomedia, Tornovo, Moldo-Wallachia, Perge, Derko.

² Schol. III, pp. 188-93. A copy of this came into the possession of Isidore, now Cod. Vat. Gr. 1879, fo. 207-210v.

³ The phrase is Gennadius', Schol. III, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 171-4.

stand out against the union, it was the work of that letter', so he wrote a month later to Demetrius in the Morea.¹

What Gennadius laboured so hard to prevent came to pass on 12 December 1452. In the Great Church of St Sophia there was celebrated a solemn Liturgy in the presence of the Emperor and the senate, priests and deacons, and the throng of the populace—the whole city of Constantinople, so wrote Isidore later—when the Pope and the Patriarch Gregory were commemorated in the diptychs and prayed for, and the decree of union of the Council of Florence proclaimed. To what degree this acceptance by the Constantinopolitans was genuine cannot be assessed. Ducas declares that for most it was feigned and Leonardo of Chios rather agrees with him, though of Constantine he remarks 'whose constancy to the Roman Church I perceived, had he not been overcome by faintheartedness': on the other hand Isidore² asserts that till the capture of the city it was generally and consistently observed. Whether, too, the union that was proclaimed was only provisional, that is, to be valid till peace was restored when it would have been submitted to a possible revision, is not certain. Ducas reports that it was so; Gennadius' mention of the possibility of it shows that there had been at least popular rumour about it. It is, however, quite certain that the Pope would have tolerated no such condition, and it is most unlikely that Cardinal Isidore, Greek though he was, would have admitted in this matter the 'economy' so dear to Greek hearts. Gennadius and eight other monks took no part in the ceremonies in St Sophia; Cardinal Isidore does not mention their names, but two of them would have been Theodore (Agallianus) and Neophytus (monk and confessor), singled out by Leonardo of Chios as the core of the anti-unionist opposition. Both of these names are among the signatures to the letter to Constantine, mentioned earlier. Of genuine unionists, Leonardo mentions in particular Theophilus Palaeologus and Theodore Carystinus, with John Argyropoulus.³

¹ *Ibid.* p. 178.

² Sphrantzes had proposed to Constantine to make Isidore Patriarch, a suggestion that the monarch prudently did not accept: Phrantzes (ed. Bonn), p. 325.

³ Letter of Isidore of Kiev to the Pope, dated *Candie die xv iulii LIII*, after his escape from the captured city, Jorga, II, p. 522; Ducas, *op. cit.* pp. 253–5; Leonardus Chiensis, *P.G.* 159, 925 BD, 929 D, 936 C, 930 B, 925 C, 934 D, 941 B.

After the promulgation of the union Gennadius remained in his cell, accessible to few. He could not remain there long. On 8 April 1453 Mahomet moved his troops forward and laid siege to the city. On 29 May Constantinople was captured. Constantine fell in battle. Isidore of Kiev fought throughout the siege, but managed to escape after the fall of the city. In the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, where six months before union of the Christian Churches had been proclaimed and where now the bodies of the massacred Christians lay about in heaps, the Conqueror offered his prayer of thanksgiving for his victory to Allah by Mahomet his Prophet. For thirteen years the anti-unionists had not set foot in it, self-excluded because association in worship with their fellow-Christians would have defiled them. For the future they could not set foot in it, excluded by the infidel because their presence would have defiled—the mosque. Gennadius, taken prisoner to Adrianople, was brought back to Constantinople, where not the Roman mitre but the Turkish turban now ruled most effectively, to be the first Patriarch invested by a Turkish sultan.

The union was at an end.

EPILOGUE

THE fall of Constantinople put a stern foreclosure on the rivalries of unionists and anti-unionists in favour of the latter. With the end of the union this book could aptly end too. But to finish thus abruptly would be unsatisfactory, for the history of the Council here narrated will have raised two questions in the mind of the reader on which he can with some justice demand to know the author's judgement, especially as there is a considerable divergence of opinion about them among historians. These two questions are: Why did the union with the Greeks fail? and, How much justice is there in the accusation made by the Greeks after the Council (and still repeated today) that the union was not made freely? To these can be added a summary assessment of the relative strengths of unionists and anti-unionists in the decade or so after the end of the Council within the territories subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. This last point can conveniently be dealt with first.

Isidore of Kiev, writing either in 1448 or 1451, gives the results of what was probably personal observation during the years 1444-8 when he was *in partibus Graeciae* as envoy of the Pope. In that report he distinguishes, with regard to the union, the 'healthy' and the 'sick', 'the majority of whom seek a cure and these rather the highest-placed and, as it were, the foundation, namely the Emperor and the Patriarch, to say nothing of the largest part of the nobles (*archontes*) and of the people'. A little later he continues:

For the Patriarch with the prelates, indeed also the Emperor, promises to restore not only the healthy but, with your co-operation, also the sick with regained health, unless there be some perhaps incurable and riddled with disease as many such of the aforesaid have become. Not but what large numbers of Greeks are not devoted to the union and harmony; and I can show to Your Holiness that they would be more than 20,000 souls; for example, the whole of the island of Rhodes and also Cyprus, and in Constantinople very many and in other very small islands numbers not easily countable; you would find too

entire cities in communion with us, Methone, Corone with their provinces, and in various other places many other people.¹

That Isidore's estimate as regards Constantinople was true for the period immediately preceding the fall of that city is borne out by the writings of both Gennadius and John Eugenicus. At that time of crisis not a few of those who hitherto had opposed the union, also among the ecclesiastics, were ready at least for compromise. But Isidore must have been recording his observations, not of the period of his last embassy, but of the one that terminated in February 1448, before, that is, the death of John VIII and the accession of Constantine. And there is no good reason to suppose that his account is very far from the truth, even though for this period the anti-unionist sources do not support him so obviously, for it was at that time that Scholarius and John Eugenicus began to besiege Notaras with their long disquisitions and to complain of his and of other leading personages' too friendly attitude to the Patriarch Gregory. It is, however, very difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions about numbers or proportions of unionists and anti-unionists. Isidore's is the only record from the unionist side. From the other, there has been published a large literature in the writings of Mark and John Eugenicus, of Scholarius and of others. These were not going to discourage their partisans by suggesting that they were in a minority. What information there is has to be found by reading between the lines. One thing, however, is clear, that at different times the proportions varied; with in general the upper classes throughout more inclined to accept the union and being solidly for it at least after Constantine's assumption of the reins of government, and the lower ranks of society on the whole against it, following rather the monks, nuns and the lower clergy who, under the influence of a fairly small group of determined leaders, as a class were opposed to it.

Most probably a great part of the population, perhaps the bulk of its decent citizens, had no very strong views either way, but, because of the division of opinion about the union among those to whom they looked for guidance in matters of faith and the consequent schism that reigned in the city, adopted a reserved and conservative

¹ Cod. Vat. Gr. 1858, fos. 45 v, 49 v; quoted also by Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro', etc. p. 37, n. 5.

attitude towards it. Sphrantzes, writing many years later, his opinions by then coloured by the tragic fate of his country which he attributed in large measure to the union as having been the occasion for the Turkish assault, describes what was his own way of thinking. 'For me the tradition of the faith I got from my fathers suffices, because I never heard from any of those on the other side that our position was bad, but rather good and ancient, and theirs again was not bad but good.' He goes on with an example, that if someone had urged him to go to St Sophia's by a newly discovered way which he said was good though others said it was not good, instead of by the accustomed main road that traversed the city, why should he not have courteously bidden his informant follow his own way if he wished, but that he for his part preferred to use the way that he had always used, that his fathers had used before him and that his informant admitted was a good one.¹

Constantinople is the only place under Greek rule mentioned by name in Isidore's report. He refers to Cyprus, where under the direction of the active Andrew Chrysoberges, who was transferred from the See of Rhodes to that of Nicosia on 19 April 1447 and on 30 July of the same year appointed Apostolic Legate *a latere* for Cyprus, Rhodes and the Aegean Sea—that is, the Cyclades Islands with Chios and Mitylene—but not for Crete, Euboea, Methone or Corone,² the union certainly flourished, as the events connected with the Maronites and Chaldeans of the island clearly show. In Rhodes, too, the stronghold of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, the union was also firmly established. When Nathaniel, the Greek Metropolitan who had been present in Florence, died, Nilus, his successor, elected by the Greek community, applied not to Constantinople but to Rome for confirmation of his election and was duly consecrated in August 1455 by Gregory the Greek Patriarch. The letter that Gregory wrote on the occasion, confirming Nilus' jurisdiction over the other Greek bishops of the island, incidentally notes that his co-consecrators were the bishops of Christianopolis and of Mesopotamia, and also that the Abbot of the monastery of St Helios was in Rome.³ The papal Bull addressed to Nilus also furnishes

¹ Phr. pp. 176-7.

² E.P. doc. 291.

³ The text is given by K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Πράξις τοῦ 'Ρόδου', in Πανδώρα, xviii (1868), pp. 452-4.

interesting details, that the Pope had reserved the nomination to the See to himself, and that there was also a Latin archbishop in Rhodes over the Latins.¹ Nilus had been elected because of the death of Nathaniel, which means that Pope Eugenius had not put into effect a project he had notified to Andrew Chrysoberges in a letter of 12 September 1439, namely to signalise the union of the two Churches, the Greek and the Latin, by transferring Nathaniel elsewhere and making Andrew Metropolitan of both Churches in Rhodes.²

Isidore's report mentions Corone and Methone, both Venetian colonies, but gives no details, being content to state that in their entirety and with their provinces they were unionist. Euboea, the Negroponte of the Venetians, would presumably also have been generally favourable to the union, and of Crete, though also under the Venetians, he says nothing. There, to promote the acceptance of the union, permission had been granted to a certain number of Greeks to 'celebrate the Liturgy according to both rites, to preach the word of God and to declare and explain whatever was useful for the instruction of the people, to hear the confessions of Latins and to administer to them the sacraments of the Church, and for other similar concessions'.³ Vallaresso, too, did his part, among other things by composing his explanation of the decree of union which included also the Greek text of the decree with the Greek signatures and the Patriarch's last *votum* as a kind of posthumous approval. Metrophanes sent his encyclical letter also to Crete. The Venetian authorities lent their support, as appears from a letter of sad reproof and exhortation that Scholarius wrote to a certain Paisius, a cleric, who, having been outstanding in the resistance to union, had after a short time in prison regained his liberty by agreeing to conform. His companions in confinement did the same.⁴

The union of the Churches, however, as decreed in Florence gave rise to a double danger. On the one hand, some Latins in Greek

¹ Text in Mercati, 'Scritti d'Isidoro,' etc. p. 137.

² E.P. doc. 212.

³ Cf. papal letter to Vallaresso dated 8 March 1440; E.P. doc. 237.

⁴ Schol. IV, pp. 450-2; cf. also *ibid.* pp. 501, 489-90. For a more general account, treating rather of the period after 1453, cf. G. Hofmann, 'Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit auf Kreta?', in O.C.P. x (1944), pp. 91-115; N. B. Tomadakis, 'Μιχαήλ Καλοφρενῆς Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν', in E.E.B.Σ. xxi (1951), pp. 110-44.

territories, on the grounds that the Churches were both of equal standing, passed over to the Greek rite. Nicholas V forbade this sternly.¹ On the other, since it had not been imposed on the Oriental Church to use unleavened bread in the Liturgy or to introduce the *Filioque*-clause into the Creed, some Greeks concluded that the Mass was not valid and the *Filioque*-doctrine not true. Callistus III in the Bull *Reddituri* (3 September 1457) insisted anew on the commemoration of the Pope's name in the Liturgy and, after having explained again the teaching of the Council about the Blessed Trinity, ordered that the Greeks too should recite the *Filioque* in the Creed.² Simon of Candia, O.P., was directed to see to the carrying out of this ordinance in Greece. To that end he paid a visit to his native island for which George Trapezuntius paved the way by a long letter of doctrinal explanation to the Cretans.³

About Greece proper the brothers Eugenicus furnish some details. Mark, writing from his seclusion in Lemnos, reports that there had been ordained by Dositheus of Monembasia a unionist metropolitan for Athens, who (so he says) was ordaining priests indiscriminately and concelebrating with Latins: he solemnly warns his correspondent, a priest of Euboea, not to have any dealings with him, nor to commemorate him.⁴ A few years later, in the period just after 1450, John Eugenicus exhorted Demetrius, Despot in the Morea, not to waver in his adherence to anti-unionism, for that pillar of orthodoxy was, it seems, showing signs of following the fashion of Constantinople and besides was then in close diplomatic contact with Italy, especially Naples. That letter furnishes a few details, precious because so rare, of the situation in the Morea. It gives the names of six unionist Sees within Demetrius' despotate, whose holders Demetrius is exhorted to expel—Lacedaemon, whose Bishop John had time and again excommunicated and forbidden his flock to acknowledge;

¹ Dated 6 September 1448 or 1449; *E.P.* doc. 297.

² A. G. Welykyj, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, 1 (Romae, 1953), doc. 77.

³ Georgius Trapezuntius, 'Ad Cretenses'; *P.G.* 161, 829–68. Simon of Candia had permission to celebrate the Latin rite in the Greek language, except for the Canon: cf. G. Hofmann, 'Papst Kalixt und die Frage der Kircheneinheit im Osten', in *S.T.* 123 (1946), p. 213.

⁴ Letter to Theophanes of Euboea, in Petit, *Docs.* p. 481.

Amycla, whose Bishop was just as bad, with all the Christians there both clerical and lay; Monembasia; Maina; Helos, whose bishop was shameless; and Karioupolis, whose bishop was (so it is said) perhaps still curable.¹ Just about the time when the same John Eugenicus wrote to Gennadius of 'innumerable hypocrites' accepting union,² the latter in 1451 assured the Grand Duke, Luke Notaras, that the anti-unionists were beyond all comparison superior in numbers to their opponents, not only in Constantinople, but in the Peloponnese, in Macedonia, in Mount Athos, in the islands, everywhere.³ If one considers that Crete, Euboea, Methone, Corone and other places were under Venetian rule where the union would have the best conditions for taking firm root, and weighs the information forthcoming, sparse though it is, about the territories under Greek rule, one may legitimately doubt whether his statement is altogether exact.

Of the later history of the union in kingdoms further afield, which had been represented at Florence and which were dependent on the Patriarch of Constantinople, a few words may be added. The Metropolitan Damianus, who had signed the decree of union for Moldo-Wallachia, died peacefully in his See and in November 1447 was replaced by appointment of the Emperor John VIII with the approval of the Patriarch by Joachim, bishop of Agathopolis (on the Black Sea). Presumably the See of Agathopolis, thus rendered vacant, would have been filled by another unionist. Joachim, however, was not destined to enjoy the peaceful possession of his new See for long. At an unknown date before 1455 he took refuge in Poland with some of his flock to escape from the hostility of the anti-unionists, and the anti-unionist Theoctistus was consecrated for his See by Nicodemus, Patriarch of Peć.⁴

Poland with Lithuania had not shown much sympathy for the union in the decade following the Council, even though Casimir's

¹ Letter to Demetrius; Lambros, I, pp. 176-82. Cf. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, II (Athens, 1953), pp. 271-86, who on the grounds of this letter suggests that Eugenicus was acting as administrator of the See of Lacedaemon.

² Lambros, I, p. 200.

³ Schol. III, p. 146.

⁴ Cf. A. Auner, 'La Moldavie au Concile de Florence', in *E.O.* VII (1904), pp. 321-8; VIII (1905), pp. 5-12, 72-7, 129-37; M. Lascaris, 'Joachim, Métropolitaine de Moldavie, etc.', in *Acad. Roum.* XIII (1927), pp. 129-59.

recognition in 1451 of Jonas as Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia had been a purely political step to propitiate Moscow. Even politically it was unsound and so, when Pope Callistus III embarked on a new policy for the union in the Russias, the King welcomed it. The new scheme, the inspiration for which must have come from the Metropolitan Isidore, was to divide that vast area into two metropolies, by appointing a metropolitan to Kiev with as his suffragans the nine Ruthenian Sees in Poland and Lithuania, and leaving to Isidore those under the domination of Moscow. As a preliminary, on 16 January 1458 Macarius, a Serb, was made Bishop of Halich, once a rival of Kiev, now for a long time vacant. Then on 3 September 1458 Pius II (Callistus had died on 6 August) appointed to Kiev Gregory, Isidore's old companion on his journeys to Moscow and his successor as hegoumenos of the monastery of St Demetrius in Constantinople. He was consecrated in Rome by the Patriarch Gregory on 15 October and left for his See on 17 January 1459. Of the nine suffragan bishops put under him only one refused obedience. But Gregory himself seemingly wavered towards the end of his life (d. 1472) and of his successors only two tried to re-establish Kiev's connections with Rome, though without success. Kiev, however, remained ecclesiastically separated from Moscow and within the orbit of western culture, which made possible the final union of the Ruthenians with the Holy See in 1595-6, when the principles enunciated in the Council of Florence had their first large application.¹

To the query as to the reasons why the union with Greece failed, it is easy to give a general answer, namely that first Mark Eugenicus and then George Scholarius, with a small group of supporters, conducted with impunity a steady campaign of propaganda against it in a sympathetic environment. Pope Eugenius had foreseen the danger that the intransigence of Eugenicus constituted and had tried to forestall it, but the Emperor was unwilling to take practical steps. With the death of Joseph II in Florence a strong force in favour of the union, that might have counteracted Mark's influence and that

¹ Cf. O. Halecki, 'The Ecclesiastical Separation of Kiev from Moscow in 1458', in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas*, 1 (1956), pp. 19-32; A. G. Welykyj, *op. cit.* docs. 78, 79, 82-6, 89, 91, 94.

certainly would have had a very great weight with the Greek populace who knew him and acknowledged him as their ecclesiastical head, was gone,¹ and his going left a vacuum. His successor was suspect even before he was enthroned. Eugenius, of course, ought not to have been allowed such liberty of action. Whatever may be thought nowadays of freedom of religion, then, both in the East and in the West, an Oecumenical Council was considered paramount, its decisions obligatory and those who refused to submit to its enactments heretics, the enemies both of God and of the State. On their own principles, the Emperor and the ecclesiastical authorities of Constantinople should have excommunicated the Metropolitan of Ephesus and effectively prevented him from spreading his subversive views. That was not done.

The anti-unionist propaganda was so effective because it was so harmonious with the Greek mentality. Historians write freely of a neglect of a psychological preparation of the Greeks for union. Anti-Latinism had for centuries been part of the Greek outlook. It had reached a climax after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, and had been rekindled by the Council of Lyons (1274) and brought to new heights by the hesychastic controversy of the fourteenth century, which was hardly dying down when the negotiations that led to the Council of Florence were begun. Yet on the eve of that Council the Greeks were more ready than ever before for the union of the Churches, witness the intimate letter of Scholarius to his disciple John² and his letter of homage to Pope Eugenius,³ witness the glowing accounts of Ragusa of the enthusiasm for it among the clergy, beginning with the Patriarch, and the people of Constantinople. That Ragusa represented Basel and a certain opposition to the papacy does not alter the basic fact. The Greeks realised fully that the Pope was head of the Latin Church and made his presence in any council they attended a condition of their co-operation. That the occasion and one of the chief reasons for their readiness to treat with the Latins was their need of military help does not preclude a genuine desire of Church-union for its own sake. That, too, they may have had rather naive ideas of winning the

¹ Syr. XII, II, p. 347.

² Schol. IV, esp. pp. 415-16.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 432-3.

Western Church to their point of view is also of lesser importance. They were ready to go to Italy to a council, a council that they were prepared to accept as oecumenical, to discuss; they could hardly have been expected to have abandoned their traditional position before ever they set out.

The meeting, however, dragged on far, far too long. The protracted interval before discussions really began, due to the Emperor's wish to allow the western princes to send representatives, with the growing physical discomfort and the ever-increasing nostalgia, led to strained relations and disillusionment and an upsurge of national pride. The more they were dependent, the more they would tend to assert their superiority where they could, and the less they would be ready to admit of any defect in their past. In the discussions, therefore, it became more and more a case of not yielding to the superior debating ability of the Latins, of doggedly reiterating their old formulas. Ephesus, in the conferences on Purgatory, was conciliatory in the beginning. As they went on he discovered more and more Latin errors and more and more strange Greek beliefs as he devised answers to his opponents' arguments—on a question on which the rest of the Greeks had no clear opinions, because it was a subject never thought out by their theologians. The Greek case for the addition to the Creed rested solely on the so-called prohibition of the Council of Ephesus, an argument that might convince the simple, but which failed in the eyes of such thinkers as Bessarion, Isidore and Scholarius to stand up to Latin criticism. On the most important question, the doctrinal truth of the *Filioque*, all the more learned of the Greek prelates, apart from Mark Eugenicus, admitted the orthodoxy of the Latin faith, and all the three lay-theologians, brought by the Emperor to Italy because of their pre-eminence as 'philosophers', agreed. The written statements, clear and decisive, of Scholarius and Amiroutzes have been preserved. Gemistus too, especially as he was one of the six chosen orators, must have made one, also in favour of the Latin doctrine, because the Emperor demanded it from everyone, even the *archontes*, and if Gemistus had been opposed Syropoulos would not have failed to note the fact, even though he passes over the favourable opinions of the other two in silence. Mark Eugenicus of the thinkers stood alone. His isolation made him more than ever intransigent and

filled him with the ardour of a crusader. In that spirit he went back to Constantinople. By the time the Greeks reached home after the Council, after an absence of more than two years, what popular zeal there had been for union, a zeal that had overlain rather than extinguished the old prejudices, had had time to die down. It depended on the returning prelates to rekindle it. But they, for the most part by now rendered hesitant by Mark's indomitable opposition (which, too, had kept them uneasy in mind even in Florence), could not show an enthusiasm they did not feel. Their indecision made the people suspect; the popular suspicion created a fertile field for Mark's dissemination of anti-unionism.

The Latins, however, might have neutralised the anti-unionist propaganda in two chief ways. If the help for Constantinople that had been one of the motives, and no small one, for the Greek readiness to consider the question of union at all had been forthcoming quickly and effectively, it would have gone a long way to recommending the unpalatable decision of the Council.¹ Unfortunately it was neither. For that Eugenius was not to blame. He tried his best, but the untimely death of Albert of Austria and the consequent strife over the succession delayed the project of a crusade for four years and rendered Frederick hostile to the very idea, because his nominee for the throne of Hungary was passed over. The wars and the nationalism of England and France; the ever-recurrent division in Italy and the selfishness of the Italian mercantile States; the nationalism of the German Electors and their inclination towards Basel—all these factors militated against him and were out of his control. And, of course, when the army and the fleet, assembled at his instigation, met the enemy, it was defeated. It is surprising how little reference there is to the crusade of 1443-4 in the Greek polemical

¹ 'So the most pernicious ideas got hold of us, such as—if this happens, we believe in this way; if that, we believe in the opposite way; and that with the ships and money expected from the Pope the harsh addition will be no disaster and we will proclaim him as teacher of the truth when we offer our worship to God; but if he clearly is wooing us with empty hopes or should not go on terrifying us with letters and envoys, we will come to another decision on the matter and run to the religion of our fathers from failure to get what is unavailable: or such as—while keeping our own possessions safe, and at a loss for a genuine alliance, having recourse to shadows, we will call in as allies the Venetians, the Genoese and the Pope, but not yet wish to turn to God, Who alone . . .'; Gennadius' letter to Notaras 1451, Schol. III, p. 149.

literature of the time. Probably the writers did not wish to keep drawing attention to the fact that the Pope had tried to implement the promises he had given. There is no reference at all (apart from in Syropoulus' *Memoirs* and there only to note that the Pope owed money for them) to the force of cross-bowmen and ships maintained by Eugenius at Constantinople during the Council and for some time after. The only indications that the Western Church had tried to help imperilled Constantinople found in these writings are sundry sneers at its complete ineffectiveness.

The other way in which the Pope might have given strong support to the union was by sending a generous number of preachers to explain and commend it. Surprisingly that does not seem to have been done. There were Dominicans and Franciscan missionaries already in Greece, Constantinople, the Venetian and Genoese colonies and the Greek cities round the Black Sea, and they probably did their best. But they had not had the special training in trinitarian theology that participation in the Council would have given them. For it is noteworthy that in the debates between Scholarius and Lapacci in Constantinople and in all the controversial writings on both sides it is not the question of the papal prerogatives that is the subject of discussion, but the doctrine of the *Filioque*—the teaching of the Greek Fathers, of the Councils, the meaning of *Dia* and *Ek*, exactly as it was thrashed out in Florence. Isidore of Kiev in his memorandum to Nicholas V advised the sending of preachers to explain the decree on the basis of Greek tradition. George of Trebizond essayed precisely that in his letter to the Cretans. That there was need of it is shown by Eugenius' letter exhorting patriarchs, archbishops, abbots and masters to preach the true doctrine about the Holy Spirit to the Greeks¹ and by Lapacci's letter of inquiry to Pope Nicholas, to which the reply is preserved where the Pope advises him of the answers he should give to solve difficulties of the Greeks about the trinitarian theology of the decree.² Wadding, summing up some of the causes of the failure of the union, writes: 'There was lacking, too, what was of the highest necessity, the briefing and sending of doctors and preachers, who ought to have been immediately directed to the Greeks in numbers, to explain to

¹ Dated 4 March 1444; *E.P.* doc. 275.

² *E.P.* doc. 289.

them in person what had been done in the Council, to solve the doubts that might arise, and to refute carefully and learnedly the objections raised against it by that most stubborn man, Mark of Ephesus.¹

Eugenius, however, did follow up a suggestion of Traversari's to reward the most outstanding of the Greeks.² He gave honours and pensions to a few of the imperial courtiers, a pension to Dorotheus of Mitylene, and the cardinalate and a pension to Bessarion and Isidore. That, however seemingly reasonable, was nevertheless probably a mistake, because it drew Bessarion back to Italy from Constantinople where his influence and learning might have been most valuable, and, what is of greater importance, it gave a handle to the anti-unionists to denounce the leading unionists as creatures of the Pope, who had promoted and accepted the union, not from conviction, but for what it would bring to them of reward. That theme, 'union for silver and honours',³ recurs time and again in anti-unionist literature, and it is directed not so much against the generality of the signatories to the decree as against the few who had been its chief advocates among the Greeks. Syropoulus does not suggest that money played any great part in the history of the Council (except in so far as the lack of it was used to force the Greeks to submission) and rebuts with vehemence the charge that individuals signed for a cash-payment. Admittedly his insistence on this point is not unconnected with himself. The accusation of venality arose some time after the Council was over. Ducas, who puts it into the mouths of the prelates as they stepped ashore from the ships, writing as he did long after the events, anticipates rumours that came later, when the anti-unionists could and did point to Bessarion and Isidore as patent examples. On the other hand, had Eugenius extended his favours more widely (he would never have won Ephesus, however; all are agreed that he was immovable), he might have drawn Scholarius to his side and so have enlisted for the defence of the union the prestige, learning and eloquence that in the event were used against it. For with Scholarius rancour undoubtedly played some part in his attitude of hostility. He was convinced that he was pre-eminent in learning

¹ *Annales Minorum* XI, p. 67.

² Trav. no. 26.

³ Cf. Schol. III, p. 146.

among the Greeks.¹ Bessarion's main fault in Italy had been to speak and act without his advice.² Yet Bessarion had received honours, whereas he, Scholarius, was left unrecognised.³ Mark Eugenius was psychologist enough to appeal to his old pupil's vanity and he won him over.⁴ Eugenius might perhaps have done the same.

There was also another action that Eugenius might have taken, that would certainly have impressed the Greeks. He might have acceded to their desire that, in places with a double jurisdiction where the Greek faithful predominated, the Latin prelate should be withdrawn and the Greek one left as spiritual head of both rites. It would have been dangerous, not only because there was no knowing whether the Greeks thus honoured would have been loyal to the spirit of the union, but also because the Greek prelates, on the whole less educated than their Latin counterparts, might have proved incapable of explaining the decree to cavillers. It would, too, have been impossible in some places, like the Venetian colony of Crete where there were only Latin bishops. But Eugenius seems to have entertained at least a modification of that proposal, to leave in sole possession that one of two bishops of the same place who survived the other.⁵ He had even determined, to judge from a reference in a letter of Pius II, to suppress the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople as soon as the then holder of that title should for any reason surrender it.⁶ And, in fact, to Giovanni de Cantareno no successor was appointed, though Isidore of Kiev on 24 January 1452 was granted the enjoyment of the temporalities of the See.⁷ But that seems to have been the only instance of the principle being put into practice. On the other hand, the Pope appears to have taken it for granted that, after

¹ He states this very frequently with no affectation of modesty, e.g. 'And now conscious of how much I surpass the rest'—letter to Mark Eugenius; Schol. iv, p. 446. For other references cf. A. N. Diamantopoulos, Γεννάδιος ὁ Σχολάριος, etc. pp. 290–3; M. Jugie, 'L'unionisme de Georges Scholarios', in *E.O.* xxxvi (1937), p. 85, n. 4.

² *Against the Discourse of Bessarion*, in Schol. iii, pp. 110–13.

³ *Ibid.* p. 115; cf. also *ibid.* iv, p. 468.

⁴ *Words of the Dying Mark Eugenius to Scholarius*, in Petit, *Docs.* pp. 486–9. The suggestion expressed here about Scholarius is borrowed from the article referred to above of the late Fr. Jugie, A.A., who was versed in the writings of Scholarius—Gennadius as no one else.

⁵ Syr. x, 14, pp. 302–3.

⁶ *E.P.* doc. 176bis.

⁷ Hofmann, *Papst Kalixt*, etc. p. 218, n. 19.

the union, he could exercise in the East all the rights he claimed in the West, in respect of the disposal of Sees and prelacies, a practice that would have received little favour from the Greeks.¹ On 13 August 1439 Eugenius, in the letter by which he gave to Nathaniel of Rhodes the See of Nisyri *in commendam*, stated that he had reserved to himself the disposal of all Sees that for the future would fall vacant,² a disposition that would seem to have been maintained, for Pius II refers to it in the Bull he issued to Nathaniel's successor.

More responsibility rests on the Emperor John VIII for the failure of the union than on the Pope. He was on the spot in Constantinople and he had a real authority in the Church there.³ In the course of the Council in Italy on several occasions he had reminded the clerics that he was 'Defender of the Church'.⁴ And the Church recognised his authority. It was precisely on the grounds that the Emperor 'is the foundation and support of the people, . . . is, too, the foundation of sound doctrine for the Church of Christ and is called and is the protector and defender of the Church and champion of sound and pure faith' that John Eugenicus justified his own and his friends' refusal to acknowledge Constantine Dragatses as Emperor.⁵ John VIII does not seem to have used his ecclesiastical authority to any extent to enforce the union.⁶

Certainly both Pope Eugenius IV and Pope Nicholas V considered that he had been very remiss in the matter. What is more, the anti-unionists also attributed to him the fact that they were able in large measure to undo the work of Florence.⁷ They were grateful to him for allowing them publicly, in the conferences with Lapacci in the Xylalas palace, to explain and justify their opposition.⁸ They claimed that by word of mouth he had shown sympathy with their views.⁹ They came to believe that, as he seemed to be more opposed than favourable to 'Latinism',¹⁰ he had really repented of his co-

¹ *E.P.* doc. 200.

² Cf. B. K. Stephanidis, "Ο ἀκράϊος σταθμὸς τῶν σχέσεων Ἑκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας τοῦ Βυζαντίου", in *E.E.B.Σ.* xxiii (1953), pp. 27-40.

³ *E.g.* *Syr.* vi, 5, pp. 221 f.; *A.G.* p. 433.

⁴ *Letter to Constantine*, Lambros, I, p. 124.

⁵ He had a copy of the decree delivered by Nathaniel of Rhodes to the Patriarch of Alexandria and presumably conveyed copies also to the other two eastern Patriarchs.

⁶ *Schol.* iv, p. 479.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, p. 99.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii, p. 99.

⁹ Cf. John Eugenicus in Lambros, I, pp. 142, 123; *Schol.* iv, p. 479.

operation in the establishing of the union,¹ and they began to have a certain sympathy for him, considering that he too had been forced into accepting the union² just as they held that they had. But they still would not pray for him in the Liturgy because externally he continued to support the decision of Florence.

Whether the conclusions that the anti-unionists drew as regards John's interior dispositions were correct or not cannot be said, but he must have given grounds for them. All the same he did not reject the agreement made in Italy either by appointing a non-unionist patriarch or by ceasing to have the Pope prayed for in the Liturgies in the royal palace. He may, as time went on, have wondered whether the union was good—religiously orthodox, especially as he must have been subjected to a very great deal of pressure and propaganda (Scholarius, his preacher in ordinary, would not have let his opportunities be wasted); politically prudent, for western help had not reduced the threat to his empire, which was now as never before divided against itself because of the ecclesiastical strife—and in a state of indecision have not known what to do for the best, and so have done nothing. In Florence he made an illuminating remark to the Pope when Eugenius was pressing him to bring the Greeks, divided in opinion, to a decision: 'I am not the master of the Greek synod, nor do I want to use my authority to force it to any statement.'³ That remark may be the clue to explain his conduct later in Constantinople. The Greeks more than ever were divided in opinion: John was defender of the faith, not its arbiter; and he took his position seriously and conscientiously. He would not, therefore, force them to 'any statement', though he himself remained true to what he had freely accepted.⁴

It was not long after the signing of the decree in Florence before the anti-unionists were convinced that their assent to it had been

¹ Schol. III, p. 99.

² *Ibid.* IV, p. 479; also John Eugenicus, Lambros, I, pp. 142, 123.

³ A.G. p. 421; cf. above, p. 253.

⁴ Ubertino Pusculo judged him more harshly:

'nam dum rex improbus omni
Fraude refert fidei mysteria dumque timeri
A Teucro simulans quaerit ridetque benignum
Pontificem, cruda rapitur sub Tartara morte' (*op. cit.* II, ll. 5-8).

extorted from them by unfair means. That is easily understood. They could not very well admit, even to themselves, still less to others who had not been in Italy, that they had freely accepted the union in Florence and then, within a period of months, rejected it in Constantinople. A process of self-deception to save one's self-respect is a regular psychological phenomenon and, where it is common to a group, the individual is confirmed in his persuasion by the apparent certainty round about him. Was that the case with the Greek prelates who took part in the Council of Florence? They themselves, of course, did not believe it. They attributed their weakness in Florence to the pressure exercised by the Pope in withholding their maintenance-grants and so reducing them to near-starvation, to his threat that they could not return home till they had consented to unite, to venality on the part of at least some. Syropoulus adds to these complaints the excuse that the Emperor throughout the whole Council had everything in his own hands and allowed no liberty of speech to those who were thwarting his schemes.

That accusation is a recurrent theme in the *Memoirs* of Syropoulus, and it is to be noted that he is the only writer to make it. It is true that Scholarius once says something similar. In his commentary on Bessarion's *Oratio dogmatica* he asserts that when Bessarion had on that occasion finished speaking the Emperor imposed silence and 'held any guilty of great boldness if they muttered anything concerning the union that he had not approved of beforehand, and allotted penalties if by chance anyone managed to disobey his orders',¹ even though it was on that same occasion that he himself delivered his exhortation—in favour of union, granted—to the Greek synod. Syropoulus' *Memoirs*, owing to Creighton's edition, has been and is the best known of all the anti-unionist polemics; it is highly valued by very many as history and has had a very great influence; so his accusations against John VIII must be taken into account.

That the Emperor did in fact manage the Greek community in Italy is obvious from a casual reading also of the *Greek Acts*. He considered that to be his right, and the Greek Church admitted that right. He arranged times and places with the Pope. He appointed delegates from the Greeks to treat with the Latins.

¹ Schol. III, p. 113.

Elections of committees as a rule needed his approval, though there is no mention of that by Syropoulus for the choice of delegates for the conferences on Purgatory¹ or of the six speakers for the public sessions.² He wanted to know all that was done, and was present at all meetings of the Greek ecclesiastics to discuss doctrine, yet here he showed his subservience to the Church for these were all held before the Patriarch, which usually meant that the Emperor had to go to the Patriarch's palace since Joseph was too ill to go to him. All this, however, is the organisational or, as it were, the material side of the Council. On the dogmatic side, there is no single instance, not even in the *Memoirs*, of John VIII imposing his will in matters of faith. That was the province of the Church.

He did try to get the Greek prelates to make up their own minds, but that does not necessarily imply that he forced them or that he did not permit freedom of speech. Had he been determined to bring about union by hook or by crook, as Syropoulus implies, he would not have allowed Mark of Ephesus, who from the very start of the Council was the greatest impediment to union, to be almost the only mouthpiece of the Greeks in the public sessions in Ferrara and the only one in those of Florence. This is a point that should not be overlooked, that the greatest, almost the sole obstacle, to the Emperor's so-called designs was Mark Eugenicus, and him the Emperor let go freely on till the eighth session in Florence. Mark was not present at Montenero's final exposition of doctrine in the last two sessions. He himself gave the reason as health, but we can allow that it was also to preclude further discussion and to bring the sessions to a close. Syropoulus makes much of private meetings among the Greeks after the Easter of 1439. He describes an occasional outburst of imperial irritation—very intelligible. He records royal injunctions to the prelates to be brief in their replies (though Syropoulus himself apparently never obeyed them), but he never instances examples of the Emperor stopping people expressing their views—Mark Eugenicus, even according to the *Memoirs*, spoke freely, even to calling the Latins heretical, and was consulted privately by the monarch—except when he recounts how he and the other Staurophoroi were excluded from giving an opinion even though the *archontes* were

¹ Syr. v, 3, p. 115.

² Syr. vi, 13, p. 161.

invited to give theirs. For that we have only Syropoulus' own account, nor no other anti-unionist writer ever alludes to it, and one wonders if it occurred just in the way that he narrates it.

That the Emperor, to put an end to their indecision, insisted on the prelates stating their opinions in writing needs no apology. Divided between the convincing arguments of Bessarion, Scholarius, Isidore and the rest, and their traditional sentiments in respect of the Latins confirmed by the solid stand of Eugenius, they never would have come to a decision unless recourse had been had to some such expedient. The history of the meetings and the stages that led to agreement on the primary question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit are recorded in detail both by the *Acta graeca* and the *Memoirs*; the preliminaries to the acceptance of the other controverted points are less well known. As regards the agreement on the Procession (and we may perhaps fairly conclude to a like procedure for the rest) the Emperor did no more than demand the opinion of each in writing. He left them free to accept or not to accept. A few did not accept. Most accepted. There is no record of any retaliation against those who did not accept. In this John VIII believed that he was loyally fulfilling the two aspects of his functions as defender of the Church, namely 'to preserve and defend the dogmas of the Church and to furnish liberty to those who wish to speak on their behalf so that they may bring forward without hindrance whatever sound doctrine they like to propound, and to restrain and rebuke those who assail them in a contentious and hostile spirit; the other, to hold together and preserve ours in concord, that all may agree in one decision and opinion'.¹ And who shall say that he was not justified in his belief?

The more usual explanation put forward by the anti-unionist writers to account for and excuse the Greek acceptance of the union in Italy is unjust papal pressure. Eugenius, by withholding the monthly pensions he had undertaken to pay, reduced them to a state of great want and physical misery. 'A long time passed after this and ours were bearing the delay hardly and lamenting their poverty and were being driven towards famine. Indeed this was a plot against them, to give no one anything of the agreed maintenance-grants so that,

¹ Syr. VIII, 5, pp. 221-2.

under the stress of this pressure, they might by degrees yield.’¹ Syropoulos, in his account, attributes each separate payment of the maintenance-money to some particular concession extorted from the Greeks. Scholarius, in his earlier anti-unionist writings, did not spare his own countrymen:

The Latins won by numbers, money and words... And that nothing truly human, nothing Christian, right from the beginning, was done by us, but that everything was open betrayal of the truth, contempt of God, luxury, trifles in what was not trifling, and quarrels and rivalries and jealousies and ignoble slanders of each other and shame and scornful laughter and confusion, as a result of which some shamefully became traitors, others, as it were over a cup of friendship, far too easily gave away the faith of our Church—all this I pass over... those of higher rank early betrayed everything and all the rest, some from simplicity, others from fear, followed.²

His favourite adjective to describe the union became ‘violated’—the signatories were violated,³ the union got by violation.⁴ Later he put all the blame on the Pope and the ‘traitors’ among the Greeks: ‘But had he foreknown that the synod would be of such a nature, one in which the Pope again would take his seat as teacher on the question to be discussed (as his decision immediately showed and the events attested), while the others sat not in the place of learners but rather lay writhing in that of slaves; that of our leaders, some had already surrendered themselves to the honours they looked for from that source (as became clear from the issue) and others were oppressed by want and unable to endure their separation from home, besides being confined in the centre of the mainland with the prospect of their return journey hopeless if they did not obey; that the Emperor was apprehensive about his throne, seeing that the brothers were actually camped round it; and that everyone had one only aim, release from suffering, even if it meant some desperate act of impiety against the faith—dishonourably, yet things had come to such a pass; that consequently the Pope would devise whatever faith he wanted and that they would sign, not expressing their views synodically and publicly but with those who were not yet traitors being won to

¹ Referring to the period after 2 June 1439, *Marci Ephesi relatio de rebus a se gestis*, in Petit, *Docs.* p. 447.

² *First Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 1445; Schol. II, pp. 258–9.

³ E.g. Schol. III, p. 14.

⁴ E.g. Schol. III, pp. 14, 17.

acquiescence by unspeakable tricks, nor on questions previously ventilated in public but rather with individuals privately laying down laws that were worse and more obscure than ever and that raised truceless war against the teachers' (—if Cabasilas had foreknown all this, he would have said: Stop at home).¹ Here we have the Greek case for the defence—the most outstanding of the prelates traitors from motives of personal advancement, the rest the victims of duress, the Emperor thinking of his kingdom, the decisions made in secret, the Pope exploiting the situation he had created.

All this farrago of accusations is Scholarius' afterthought, taken over from his associates after his conversion to anti-unionism. In Italy he did not believe it, otherwise he could not have produced his exhortation and the two treatises recommending union; nor for several years after, otherwise he would not have been an object of suspicion to the anti-unionists, as being still favourable to the decision of Florence. His slander of men like Bessarion, Isidore and Gregory is worthy of Syropoulus—no honest man could possibly approve of the union, but these men openly promoted it, so they were dishonest and traitors, and, as later they were honoured by the Pope, they must therefore have been working with that end in view from the beginning.

That the Pope deliberately and of set purpose kept the Greeks in Italy and in a state of near-famine is untrue. Admittedly Eugenius was almost from the start in arrears with his payments. He had calculated on the Council lasting a few months and it went on for nearly two years, and long before the end of that time he was himself in sore financial straits. What money he gave them (and in the end they got all that was due to them, though tardily), he had to borrow. The result was that the Greeks were in reduced circumstances, and some, especially among the servants, the monks and the lower-ranking officials, must have felt the pinch of want. To that was added their longing for their homes and families, a nostalgia that grew as the weary months dragged on, intensified, perhaps almost beyond endurance, as each rumour reached Italy of some imminent attack on Constantinople from the Turk. That they all, from the highest to the lowest, looked forward with a heartfelt yearning to the day of their return, and that they came to regard the Council as a

¹ *Second Dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 1451; Schol. III, pp. 44-5.

kind of imprisonment and the insistence of the Latins on achieving some result from the long labour as an unjust restraint of their liberty can be readily accepted, and also that this sense of confinement and frustration had its influence in making them grasp at the first solution that promised an honourable way out of the impasse, even though the two years of the Council of Florence was little in comparison with the four years of the Council of Constance and the eighteen of that of Basel. [But that Eugenius and the Latins deliberately created such a state of affairs so as to reduce the Greeks to submission cannot be upheld.] The Latins, it is true, demanded a clear and unequivocal formula of agreement, though the Greeks would have been content with the compromise of an ambiguous statement. Eugenius on a few occasions spoke sharp phrases of exhortation and reprimand, and once (and once only, as far as the records go) uttered words that could be construed into a threat, that their return depended on their agreement. 'Everywhere before my eyes I see division, and I marvel as to what use division will be to you. Still if that shall be, how are the western princes going to regard it? And what great grief We shall feel within Ourselves! You, rather, how will you go home? But once union is effected, both the western princes and all of us shall have very great joy and shall afford you generous help.'¹ The rest of this long speech, all of it given only in synopsis in the *Acta graeca*, is a history of the Council accentuating the fact that the Greeks had fulfilled none of the obligations they had undertaken. The words quoted come towards the end. The Pope is reminding them of one of the reasons for which they had left home, to secure aid for Constantinople. It is an *argumentum ad hominem* that would have had some force for the Greeks—help for Byzantium would have to come from the western princes; they would be more inclined to give it to fellow-Christians of a united Church, so their views had to be considered; even the return journey depended on ships that the Holy See would have to procure from one of them; union, however, would enlarge hearts and loosen purse-strings, would benefit both soul and body, and give joy in heaven and on earth.²

¹ 27 April 1439; A.G. pp. 423-4.

² On the other two points of Scholarius' indictment, the Emperor's preoccupation about his realm and the secrecy of the final negotiations, the previous pages of this book

But, no matter how highly one may assess the effect of the physical circumstances on the minds of the Greeks in Italy, it would be too scathing a condemnation of their moral and religious character to conclude that they signed away their faith just to escape. The outstanding doctrinal difference between East and West, the one that figures almost exclusively in the polemical literature of the decade that followed the Council, was the question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The various stages of the process that led to agreement on that point are described in our sources fortunately more fully than on any other. It all turned on the principle of the harmony of the Saints. Latin Saints and Greek Saints must teach the same doctrine; in fact they express it differently, but their expressions must have the same meaning; so 'through' and 'from' are two ways of saying the same thing and Latin doctrine and Greek doctrine are both orthodox; the Holy Spirit therefore proceeds from the Father through the Son and from the Son, as from one principle.¹ The learned among the Greek prelates, always excepting Mark of Ephesus, hailed that conclusion with unfeigned joy. The less educated among them accepted the argumentation, but probably retained a certain sentimental reserve about the conclusion. But they agreed freely and with intellectual conviction that the Latin doctrine was sound. Later, in Constantinople, their sentiments, under the accusations of disloyalty to the faith of their fathers, got the upper hand.

If one may believe Scholarius, that process did not take long—it had begun before the departure from Italy.¹ At some time he drew up a list of the Greek signatories to the decree in which he appended to all the names but seven the word 'Repented', and of those seven two (besides the Patriarch Joseph), he says, showed signs of repentance before death.² Though he is certainly wrong in some cases, still he is probably right in his main contention that the great majority of those who signed in Florence later regretted their action. The Greek Church, however, did not officially repudiate the Council of Florence till 1484, when in a Synod held in Constantinople it drew up give all the known facts, so the reader can judge for himself, bearing in mind, however, that Syropoulos' account was composed years after the Council and to provide a defence for himself and his associates, whereas the *Acta graeca* were written contemporaneously with the events.

¹ Schol. III, p. 145.

² Schol. III, pp. 194-5.

a formula for the reception of Latin converts. The candidates, before reciting the Creed without the *Filioque*-clause, had in a series of questions and answers first to denounce the *Filioque*-doctrine and the Addition, and the Council of Florence with all its teaching, and to reject the Latin Communion, then they should be anointed with chrism in the rite of Confirmation. It was not till 1736 that the Patriarch Cyril V rejected the western Baptism as invalid.¹

The Council of Florence, though it had its share in moulding events in the ecclesiastical unions of later centuries, did not achieve its great aim of uniting East and West. If anything it embittered the division and became for Oriental Christians, who remember only the stories of 'papal oppression', the model of how not to attempt to heal the breach. Its decisions, however, abide. Both East and West are of one mind in holding that union demands genuine doctrinal agreement with parity of rites. The decree of Florence declares what that means for the Latin Church. In respect of the West the influence of the Council of Florence was rather negative, negative but far-reaching. By its very existence it counterbalanced and finally outweighed the Council of Basel, and in so doing checked the development of the Conciliar Movement that threatened to change the very constitution of the Church. The great achievement of the Council for the West was that it secured the victory for the popes in the struggle of papacy versus council, and the survival of the traditional order of the Church.

¹ G. A. Rhallis and M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων κανόνων, etc. v (Athens, 1854), pp. 143-7, 614-16.

THE DECREE OF UNION

LAETENTUR CAELI, 6 JULY 1439

EUGENIUS episcopus, servus servorum dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Consentiente ad infrascripta carissimo filio nostro Iohanne Palaeologo romaeorum imperatore illustri, et locatentibus venerabilium fratrum nostrorum patriarcharum, et cacteris orientalem ecclesiam repraesentantibus.

‘Laetentur caeli et exultet terra.’ Sublatus est enim de medio paries, qui occidentalem orientalemque dividebat ecclesiam, et pax atque concordia rediit; illo ‘angulari lapide Christo, qui fecit utraque unum’, vinculo fortissimo caritatis et pacis utrunque iungente parietem, et perpetuae unitatis foedere copulante ac continente; postque longam moeroris nebulam et dissidii diuturni atram ingrathamque caliginem, serenum omnibus unionis optatae iubar illuxit.

‘Gaudeat et mater ecclesia’, quae filios suos hactenus invicem dissidentes iam videt in unitatem pacemque rediisse; et quae antea in eorum separatione amarissime flebat, ex ipsorum modo mira concordia cum ineffabili gaudio omnipotenti deo gratias referat.

Cuncti gratulentur fideles ubique per orbem, et qui christiano censentur nomine, matri catholicae ecclesiae collaentur.

Ecce enim occidentales orientalesque patres, post longissimum dissensionis atque discordiae tempus, se maris ac terrae periculis exponentes, omnibusque superatis laboribus, ad hoc sacrum ycumenicum concilium, desiderio sacratissimae unionis et antiquae caritatis reintegrandae gratia, laeti alacresque convenerunt. Et intentione sua nequaquam frustrati sunt. Post longam enim laboriosamque indaginem, tandem optatissimam sanctissimamque unionem consecuti sunt.

Quis igitur dignas omnipotentis dei beneficiis gratias referre sufficiat? Quis tantae divinae miserationis divitias non obstupescat? Cuius vel ferreum pectus tanta supernae pietatis magnitudo non

molliat? Sunt ista prorsus divina opera, non humanae fragilitatis inventa; atque ideo eximia cum veneratione suscipienda, et divinis laudibus proseguenda.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Christe, fons misericordiarum, qui tantum boni sponsae tuae catholicae ecclesiae contulisti, atque in generatione nostra tuae pietatis miracula demonstrasti, ut enarrent omnes mirabilia tua. Magnum siquidem divinumque munus nobis deus largitus est; oculisque vidimus, quod ante nos multi, cum valde cupierint, aspicere nequiverunt.

Convenientes enim latini ac graeci in hac sacrosancta synodo ycumenica magno studio invicem usi sunt, ut inter alia etiam articulus ille de divina spiritus sancti processione summa cum diligentia et assidua inquisitione discuteretur.

Prolatis vero testimoniis ex divinis scripturis plurimisque auctoritatibus sanctorum doctorum orientalium et occidentalium, aliquibus quidem ex patre et filio, quibusdam vero ex patre per filium procedere dicentibus spiritum sanctum, et ad eandem intelligentiam aspicientibus omnibus sub diversis vocabulis, graeci quidem asseruerunt quod id, quod dicunt spiritum sanctum ex patre procedere, non hac mente proferunt, ut excludant filium; sed quia eis videbatur, ut aiunt, latinos asserere spiritum sanctum ex patre et filio procedere tanquam ex duobus principiis et duabus spirationibus, ideo abstinerunt a dicendo quod spiritus sanctus ex patre procedat et filio. Latini vero affirmarunt non se hac mente dicere spiritum sanctum ex patre filioque procedere, ut excludant patrem quin sit fons ac principium totius deitatis, filii scilicet ac spiritus sancti, aut quod id, quod spiritus sanctus procedit ex filio, filius a patre non habeat; sive quod duo ponant esse principia seu duas spirationes, sed ut unum tantum asserant esse principium unicamque spirationem spiritus sancti, prout hactenus asseruerunt. Et cum ex his omnibus unus et idem eliciatur veritatis sensus, tandem in infrascriptam sanctam et deo amabilem eodem sensu eademque mente unionem unanimiter concordarunt et consenserunt.

In nomine igitur sanctae trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, hoc sacro universali approbante Florentino concilio, diffinimus ut haec fidei veritas ab omnibus christianis credatur et suscipiatur, sicque omnes profiteantur, quod spiritus sanctus ex patre et filio

aeternaliter est, et essentiam suam suumque esse subsistens habet ex patre simul et filio, et ex utroque aeternaliter tanquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione procedit.

Declarantes quod id, quod sancti doctores et patres dicunt, ex patre per filium procedere spiritum sanctum, ad hanc intelligentiam tendit, ut per hoc significetur filium quoque esse secundum græcos quidem causam, secundum latinos vero principium, subsistentiae spiritus sancti, sicut et patrem.

Et quoniam omnia, quae patris sunt, pater ipse unigenito filio suo gignendo dedit, praeter esse patrem; hoc ipsum, quod spiritus sanctus procedit ex filio, ipse filius a patre aeternaliter habet, a quo aeternaliter etiam genitus est.

Diffinimus insuper explicationem verborum illorum *filioque*, veritatis declarandae gratia, et imminente tunc necessitate, licite ac rationabiliter symbolo fuisse appositam.

Item, in azimo sive fermentato pane triticeo, corpus Christi veraciter confici, sacerdotesque in altero ipsum domini corpus conficere debere, unumquenque scilicet iuxta suae ecclesiae sive occidentalis sive orientalis consuetudinem.

Item, si vere poenitentes in dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis poenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas poenis purgatoriis post mortem purgari, et, ut a poenis huiusmodi releventur, prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes et elemosinas, et alia pietatis officia, quae a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus fieri consueverunt, secundum ecclesiae instituta.

Illorumque animas, qui post baptismum susceptum nullam omnino peccati maculam incurrerunt; illas etiam, quae post contractam peccati maculam, vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutae corporibus, prout superius dictum est, sunt purgatae, in caelum mox recipi, et intueri clare ipsum deum trinum et unum, sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate alium alio perfectius.

Illorum autem animas, qui in actuali mortali peccato vel solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas.

Item diffinimus sanctam apostolicam sedem et Romanum pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem

Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis apostolorum et verum Christi vicarium totiusque ecclesiae caput, et omnium christianorum patrem et doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem ecclesiam a domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse, quemadmodum etiam in gestis ycumenicorum conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur.

Renovantes insuper ordinem traditum in canonibus caeterorum venerabilium patriarcharum, ut patriarcha Constantinopolitanus secundus sit post sanctissimum Romanum pontificem, tertius vero Alexandrinus, quartus autem Antiochenus, et quintus Hierosolymitanus, salvis videlicet privilegiis omnibus et iuribus eorum.

Datum Florentiae in sessione publica synodali, solemniter in ecclesia maiore celebrata. Anno incarnationis dominicae millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo nono, pridie nonas iulii, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. SOURCES

- AGALLIANUS, THEODORUS, P.G. 158, 1011-52; S. Lambros, 'Ἀργυροπούλεια' (Athens, 1910), pp. 234-303.
- ALLATIUS, L., *De Ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis perpetua consensione* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1648).
- *De utriusque Ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis perpetua in dogmate de Purgatorio consensione* (Romae, 1655).
- *Graeciae orthodoxae*, 2 vols. (Romae, 1652, 1659).
- AMIROUTZES, GEORGIUS, 'Eine bisher verlorene Schrift von Georgios Amiroutzes über das Konzil von Florenz', ed. L. Mohler, in *Oriens Christianus*, neue Serie IX (1920), pp. 20-35.
- 'La lettre de Georges Amiroutzès au duc de Nauplie Demetrius sur le Concile de Florence', ed. M. Jugie in *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), pp. 77-93.
- 'La profession de foi de Georges Amiroutzès au Concile de Florence', ed. M. Jugie, in *Echos d'Orient*, XXXVI (1937), pp. 175-80.
- ANDREAS (CHRYSOBERGES) RHODIENSIS, O.P., 'Andreae Rhodiensis, O.P. inedita ad Bessarion epistula (de divina essentia et operatione)', ed. E. Candal, in *O.C.P.* IV (1938), pp. 329-71.
- 'Testimonium ineditum Andreae Archiepiscopi Rhodi de Marco Eugenio', ed. G. Hofmann, in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIII (1937), pp. 13-20.
- ARGYROPOULUS, IOANNES, P.G. 158, 991-1010; S. Lambros, 'Ἀργυροπούλεια' (Athens, 1910).
- AURISPA, GIOVANNI, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, ed. R. Sabbadini (Roma, 1931).
- BEKYNTON, THOMAS. *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams, 2 vols. (London, 1872).
- BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE, *Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892).
- BESSARION, P.G. 161, 137-746.
- BIONDO, FLAVIO, *Historiarum decades* (Venetiis, 1484).
- BONINSEGGNI, *Storia della città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460 scritta nelli stessi tempi che accadono da Domenico di Lionardo Boninsegni* (Firenze, 1637).
- CAFFARI, STEFANO, 'Dai diari di Stefano Caffari', ed. G. Coletti in *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*, VIII (1885), pp. 555-75.
- CECCONI, E., *Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze*, I (Firenze, 1869).

- CESARINI, GIULIANO (Cardinal), 'Denkschrift des Kardinals Cesarini über das Symbolum,' ed. G. Hofmann, in *Orientalia Christiana*, xxii (1931), pp. 3-63.
- CHALCOCANDYLAS, LAONICUS, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 3 vols. (Budapest, 1922-7); ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1843).
- Chronicle of Greco-Turkish History from 1373-1513 of Cod. Barb. Gr. 111*, edited as articles under various titles by G. Zoras in E.E.B.Σ. xxii (1952), pp. 233-89, xxiii (1953), pp. 415-44; in 'Επιστημονική ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, περ. δευτ. iv (1953-4), pp. 218-62; vi (1955-6), pp. 178-224; and lesser extracts in 'Ελληνική Δημιουργία, 1949, 1950, 1951.
- Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores*
Acta camerae apostolicae et civitatum Venetiarum, Ferrariae, Florentiae, Ianuae, de Concilio Florentino, ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1950).
Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis. Acta latina Concilii Florentini, ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1955).
Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes, 3 vols. ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1940-6).
Fantinus Vallaresso. Libellus de ordine generalium conciliorum et unione Florentina, ed. B. Schultze (Romae, 1944).
Fragmenta protocolli, diaria privata, sermones, ed. G. Hofmann (Romae, 1951).
Ioannes de Torquemada, O.P. Apparatus super decretum Florentinum unionis Graecorum, ed. E. Candal (Romae, 1942).
Ioannes de Torquemada, O.P. Oratio synodica de primatu, ed. E. Candal (Romae, 1954).
Orientalium documenta minora, ed. G. Hofmann, T. O'Shaughnessy and J. Simon (Romae, 1953).
Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini, ed. J. Gill (Romae, 1953).
- CORAZZA, 'Diario Fiorentino di Bartolomeo di Michele del Corazza, anni 1405-1438', ed. G. O. Corazzini, in *Archivio storico italiano*, xiv (1894), pp. 233-98.
- *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, tom. xix, *Historia florentina ab anno 1406-1438* (Milano, 1731).
- CRITOBOULUS, ERMODORUS MICHAEL, 'De rebus gestis Mechemetis II', in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, v (Paris, 1883), pp. 40-161.
- DEMETRAKOPOULUS, A. K., 'Ορθόδοξος Ἑλλάς (Leipzig, 1872).
- DOSITHEUS (Pat. of Jerusalem), Τόμος ἀγάπης (Jassy, 1698).
- Τόμος καταλλαγῆς (Jassy, 1692-4).
- Τόμος χαρᾶς (Rîmnic, 1705).
- DUCAS, *Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834).
- ELLIS, H., *Original Letters illustrative of English History* (3rd series, vol. i, 1846).
- EUBEL, C., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vols. i-ii (2nd ed. Monasterii, 1913-14).

- EUGENICUS, JOHN, Various writings ed. S. Lambros, Παλαιοιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, I (Athens, 1912).
- 'Acolouthie de Marc Eugénicos, archevêque d'Ephèse', ed. L. Petit, in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, II (1927), pp. 193-235.
- EUGENICUS, MARK, 'Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence. I: La question du Purgatoire à Ferrare. II: Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d'Ephèse', ed. L. Petit, in *Patrologia orientalis*, xv, pp. 1-168, xvii, pp. 309-524, and published separately. P.G. 160, 1079-1104, 1163-1200.
- FINKE, H., *Acta concilii Constanciensis*, 4 vols. (Münster, 1896-1928).
- GAMS, P. B., *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873).
- GEDEON, M., Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες (Constantinople, 1886).
- GEMISTUS, GEORGIUS (PLETHO), P.G. 160, 805-1020.
- GENNADIUS, see SCHOLARIUS.
- GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIVS, P.G. 161, 769-908.
- GREGORIUS III (Patriarch of Constantinople), P.G. 160, 13-218.
- HALLER, J. (and others), *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Dokumente*, 8 vols. (Basel, 1896-1936).
- HARDT, H. VON DER, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, 4 vols. (Helmstadt, 1669).
- Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1849).
- HOFMANN, G., 'Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor von Kiew an Kardinal Bessarion', in O.C.P. xiv (1948), pp. 405-14.
- 'Erstes Gutachten der Lateiner über das Fegfeuer', in *Orientalia Christiana*, xvi (1929), pp. 258-301.
- 'Zweites Gutachten der Lateiner über das Fegfeuer', in *Orientalia Christiana*, xvii (1930), pp. 185-244.
- JORGA, N., 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle', in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iv (1896), pp. 25-118, 226-320, 503-622; v (1897), pp. 108-212, 311-88; vi (1898), pp. 50-143, 370-434; vii (1899), pp. 38-107, 375-429; viii (1900), pp. 1-115, 267-310, and edited separately with some differences under the same title in 6 vols., of which the first three (Paris, 1899-1902) concern the period of the Council of Florence.
- LAMBROS, S., Παλαιοιολογικά καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, 4 vols. (Athens, 1912-30).
- 'Υπόμνημα περὶ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χωρῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν δέκατον πέμπτον αἰῶνα ('Terre hodierna Grecorum et dominia secularia et spiritualia ipsorum', written 30 July 1437), in N.E. vii (1910), pp. 360-71.
- LAURENT, V., 'La profession de foi de Manuel Tarchaniotès Boullotès au Concile de Florence (avec texte inédit)', in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, x (1952), pp. 60-9.
- LEGRAND, E., *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris, 1892).

- LEONARDUS CHIENSIS, 'Historia Constantinopolitanae urbis a Mahumete II captae', in *P.G.* 159, 923-44.
- LE QUIEN, M., *Oriens christianus*, II (Parisiis, 1740).
- MAKUSCEV, V., *Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium vicinorumque populorum e tabulariis et bibliothecis italicis*, tom. 1, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1874).
- MANSI, J. D., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vols. xxviii-xxxii (Paris-Leipzig, 1901-4).
- MARTÈNE, E. et DURAND, U., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum complectens regum ac principum aliorumque virorum illustrium epistolas et diplomata bene multa*, 5 vols. (Lutetiae, 1717).
- *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, 9 vols. (Parisiis, 1724-33).
- MEHUS, L., see TRAVERSARI.
- MIKLOSICH, F. and MÜLLER, J., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, vol. II, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani 1315-1402* (Vindobonae, 1862).
- MOHLER, L., 'Zwei unedierte griechische Briefe über das Unionskonzil von Ferrara-Florenz', in *Oriens Christianus*, neue Serie VI (1916), pp. 213-22.
- Monumenta Conciliorum generalium saec. XV* (Acad. scientiarum Viennae), 3 vols. and index (Vindobonae, 1857-86).
- MÜLLER, G., *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879).
- MURATORI, L. A., *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. III, pt. 2 (1st ed. Milano, 1731), *Vita Martini*, etc.
- *Raccolta degli storici italiani* (= 2nd ed. of *Rerum italicarum scriptores*).
- T. xv, pt. VI, *Chroniche senesi*, ed. A. Lisini e F. Iacometti (Bologna, various years).
- T. xvi, pt. I, *Sozomeni presbyteri chronicon universale*, ed. G. Zaccagnini (Città di Castello, 1908).
- T. xviii, pt. I, *Corpus chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Bologna, 1924).
- T. xxiv, pt. VII, *Diario ferrarese*, ed. G. Pardi (Bologna, 1928).
- T. xxvi, pt. I, *Matthaei Palmieri annales seu historia florentina*, ed. G. Scaramella (Città di Castello, 1903).
- T. xxxiii, pt. I, *Della historia di Bologna; Parte terza del R.P.M. Cherubino Ghirardacci*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Città di Castello, 1915).
- NOGARA, B., 'Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio', in *Studi e Testi* no. 48 (Roma, 1927).
- OUDOT, J., *Patriarchatus constantinopolitani acta selecta*, I (Città del Vaticano, 1941).
- PALACKY, F., *Documenta Mag. Ioannis Hus*, etc. (Prague, 1869).
- PAPARRIGOPOULOS, K., 'Πρᾶξις τοῦ Ῥόδου', in Πανδώρα, XVIII (1868), pp. 452-4.

- PATRICIUS, A., 'Summa Conciliorum Basileensis, Florentini', etc. (1480), in Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, IX (Paris, 1714), cc. 1081-1198; Mansi 31, 1813-1940.
- PHRANTZES, GEORGIOS, *Chronicon*, ed. I. B. Papadopoulos (Teubner ed.), 1 (Lipsiae, 1935).
- *Annales Georgii Phrantzae protovestiarii*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838).
- PLOUSIADENUS, IOANNES (Joseph of Methone), P.G. 159, 959-1394.
- PUSCULO, UBERTINO (BRIXIENSIS), 'Constantinopolis lib. IV', ed. A. Elissen, in *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, III (Leipzig, 1857).
- RAYNALDUS, O., *Annales ecclesiastici*, tom. VIII, IX (Lucca, 1752).
- 'Reisebericht eines unbekannten Russen (1437-1440)', ed. G. Stökl, in *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern Gesehen* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, II, Wien, 1954).
- RHALLIS, G. A. and POTLIS, M., Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων κανόνων, V (Athens, 1854).
- RODRIGO, 'Rodrigo, Dekan von Braga: Kaiser Johann VIII. Palaiologos. Zwei Briefe aus Konstantinopel, 13. Oktober und 18. November 1437, zur Vorgeschichte des Konzils von Florenz', ed. G. Hofmann, in O.C.P. IX (1943), pp. 171-87.
- SABBADINI, R., see AURISPA.
- SCHOLARIUS, G., *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, 8 vols., ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, M. Jugie (Paris, 1928-36), P.G. 160, 319-774, 1105-62; 161, 11-138.
- SMITH, L., see VERGERIO.
- STÖKL, G., see under title, 'Reisebericht' etc.
- SYROPOULUS, SILVESTER, *Memoirs*, ed. R. Creyghton under the title: *Vera historia unionis non verae* (Hagae-Comitis, 1660).
- THEINER, A. and MIKLOSICH, F., *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum graecae et romanae* (Vindobonae, 1872).
- TRAVERSARI, AMBROGIO, *Ambrosii Traversari... latinae epistolae*, etc. 2 vols. ed. L. Mehus (Firenze, 1759).
- VALLARESSO, F., see *Concilium Florentinum*.
- VERGERIO, P. P., *Epistolario de Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. L. Smith (Roma, 1934).
- VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, *Virorum illustrium CIII qui saeculo XV extiterunt vitae*, ed. A. Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum*, I (Romae, 1839).
- WADDING, L., *Annales Minorum*, x (3rd ed., Quaracchi, 1932).
- WAURIN, JEHAN DE, 'Recueil des croniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre', ed. W. Hardy and E. L. C. P. Hardy, in *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, V (London, 1891).
- WELYKYJ, A. G., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, I (Romae, 1953).

II. GENERAL WORKS

- AMMANN, A. M., *Storia della Chiesa Russa e dei paesi limitrofi* (Torino, 1948).
- BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire* (London, 1915).
- Cambridge History of Poland*, vol. 1, *From the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696)* (Cambridge, 1950).
- Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)*; vol. VII, *Decline of Empire and Papacy*; vol. VIII, *The Close of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1923, 1932, 1936).
- CREIGHTON, M., *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, vol. II, 1418-1464 (London, 1882).
- DE MURALT, E., *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, II (St Pétersbourg, 1871).
- DE REGNON, TR., *Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1892-98).
- Dictionnaire de la Théologie Catholique*, various articles.
- Dictionnaire de l'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, various articles.
- DIEHL, C., *Figures byzantines*, deuxième série (Paris, 1913).
- FINLAY, G., *A History of Greece* (new edit. H. F. Tozer), III (Oxford, 1877).
- FRIZZI, A., *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, III (2nd ed. Ferrara, 1850).
- HAMMER-PURGSTALL, J. VON, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, II (French transl. J.-J. Hellert), (Paris, 1835).
- HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, VII (Paris, 1916).
- JORGA, N., *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I (Gotha, 1908).
- *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, IV (Bucarest, 1937).
- JUGIE, M., *Le schisme byzantin* (Paris, 1941).
- *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1926-35).
- KELLNER, K. A. H., *L'anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi nel loro svolgimento storico* (2nd ed. Roma, 1914).
- LAMBROS, S., *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, VI (Athens, 1908).
- LEGRAND, E., *Bibliographie hellénique aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, I, III (Paris, 1885, 1903).
- LEMMENS, L., *Die Franziskaner im Hl. Lande*. 1, *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1335-1552)*, Franziskanische Studien, Beiheft 4 (2nd ed. Münster i.W., 1925).
- MORTIER, R. P., *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, IV (Paris, 1909).
- NILLES, N., *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis*, II (Innsbruck, 1897).
- OSTROGORSKY, G., *History of the Byzantine State* (English transl. J. Hussey, Oxford, 1956).

- PAPADOPOULOS, C. (Archbishop of Athens), 'Η Ὁρθόδοξος Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Γενικὴ ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπησις (Athens, 1954).
- PAPARRIGOPOULOS, K., 'Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους, v (Athens, 1932).
- PASSERINI, L., *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istruzione elementare gratuita della città di Firenze* (Firenze, 1853).
- PASTOR, L. VON, *History of the Popes*, ed. F. I. Antrobus, I (6th ed. London, 1938), II (5th ed. London, 1923).
- PERRENS, F. T., *Histoire de Florence depuis la domination des Médicis jusqu'à la chute de la République (1434-1531)*, I (Paris, 1888).
- PICHLER, A., *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (München, 1864-5).
- SCHMITZ, P., *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît*, III (Maredsous, 1948).
- SOMIGLI, TEODOSIO DI S. DETOLE, *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano, ed. G. Golubovich, serie 3, tomo 1, pt. 1 (Quaracchi, 1928).
- VASILIEV, A. A., *History of the Byzantine Empire* (2nd ed. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1952).

III. MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

- A.A.S., "Ἐνα ταξεῖδι στὴ Θράκη στὰ 1433", in *Θρακικά*, I (1928), pp. 116-23.
- ADY, C. M., *A History of Milan under the Sforza* (London, 1907).
- ALLATIUS, L., *In Roberti Creyghtoni apparatus*, etc. (Rome, 1665).
- ANDREEVA, M. A., 'Zur Reise Manuels II. Palaiologos nach Westeuropa', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxiv (1934), pp. 37-47, 351.
- ATIYA, A. S., *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938).
- AUNER, C., 'La Moldavie au Concile de Florence', in *Echos d'Orient*, VII (1904), pp. 321-8; VIII (1905), pp. 5-12, 72-7, 129-37.
- BABINGER, F., *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (München, 1953).
- 'Von Amurath zu Amurath', in *Oriens*, III (1950), pp. 229-65.
- BABINGER, F. and DÖLGER, F., 'Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)', in *O.C.P.* xv (1949), pp. 225-58.
- BALGY, A., *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter Armenos unionisque eorum cum Ecclesia Romana in Concilio Florentino* (Vienna, 1878).
- BARRACLOUGH, G., 'The Executors of Papal Provisions in the Canonical Theory of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Acta Congressus Juridici internationalis Romae*, 12-17 Nov. 1934, III (1936), pp. 109-53.
- BECKER, P., *Giuliano Cesarini* (Kallmünz, 1935).
- BLASTOS, KALLISTOS, Δοκίμιον ἱστορικὸν περὶ τοῦ σχίσματος τῆς δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς, etc. (Athens, 1896).

- BRĂȚIANU, G. I., 'La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et ottomane', in *Byzantion*, v (1929-30), pp. 83-107; vi (1931), pp. 641-56.
- BUGHETTI, B., *I Francescani nel Concilio di Firenze* (Firenze, 1938).
- CAMMELLI, G., *Giovanni Argiropulo* (Firenze, 1941).
- *Manuele Crisolora* (Firenze, 1941).
- CANDAL, E., 'Bessario Nicaenus in Concilio Florentino', in *O.C.P.* vi (1940), pp. 417-66.
- 'Processus discussionis de Novissimis in Concilio Florentino', in *O.C.P.* xix (1953), pp. 303-49. *And see* ANDREAS RHODIENSIS.
- CARRA DE VAUX, BARON, 'Les souvenirs du Concile de Florence', in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, ii (1897), pp. 69-93.
- CERULLI, E., 'Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze', in *Reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei—Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. vi, vol. ix, fasc. 5-6, pp. 347-68.
- 'L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici', in *Africa italiana*, v (1933), pp. 57-80.
- CHERNAVSKY, M., 'The Reception of the Council of Florence in Moscow', in *Church History*, xxiv (1955), pp. 347-59.
- CHIARONI, V., *Lo scisma greco e il Concilio di Firenze* (Firenze, 1938).
- CHIRÉTIEN, A., 'Le pape Eugène IV (1431-1447)', in *Revue internationale de théologie*, ix (1901), pp. 150-70, 352-67.
- CONCASTY, M.-L., 'Les "Informations" de Jacques Tedaldi', in *Byzantion*, xxiv (1954), pp. 95-110.
- CORNELIUS, F., *Creta sacra*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1755).
- DABROWSKI, J., *L'année 1444* (Cracovie, 1952).
- D'ALES, A., 'La question du Purgatoire au concile de Florence en 1438', in *Gregorianum*, liii (1922), pp. 9-50.
- DE GUIBERT, J., 'Le décret du Concile de Florence pour les Arméniens, sa valeur dogmatique', in *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, 6^e série, x (1919), pp. 81-95, 150-62, 195-215.
- DEMETRAKOPOULOS, A. K., *Ἱστορία τοῦ σχίσματος* (Leipzig, 1867).
- DE TÖTH, P., *Il beato Cardinale Nicolò Albergati e i suoi tempi 1375-1444*, 2 vols. (Viterbo, 1934).
- DE WITTE, CH.-M., 'Les Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise', in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, xlviii (1953), pp. 683-718; xlix (1954), pp. 438-461.
- DIAMANTOPOULOS, A. N., 'Ἀπόπειραι πρὸς ἑνωσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν 15^{ον} αἰῶνα' (Athens, 1924).
- 'Γεννάδιος ὁ Σχολάριος, ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἁλωσιν χρόνων', in *Ἑλληνικά*, ix (1936), pp. 284-308.
- Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός καὶ ἡ ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ σύνοδος (Athens, 1899).

- DIAMANTOPOULOS, A. N., Σίλβεστρος Συρόπουλος καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ συνόδου (Jerusalem, 1923).
- DIB, P., *L'Eglise maronite*, I (Paris, 1930).
- DINI-TRAVERSARI, A., *Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi* (no place or date).
- DÖLGER, F., 'Die Kronung Johannis VIII. zum Mitkaiser', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxvi (1936), pp. 318-19.
- 'Politische und geistige Strömungen im sterbenden Byzanz', in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, III (1954), pp. 3-18.
- DRÄSEKE, J., 'Zu Georgios Scholarios', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV (1895), pp. 561-80.
- 'Zum Kircheneinigungsveruch des Jahres 1439', *ibid.* V (1896), pp. 572-86.
- FROMMANN, T., *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kircheneinigung* (Halle a. S., 1872).
- GEANAKOPOLOS, D. J., 'The Council of Florence (1438-1439) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches', in *Church History*, xxiv (1955), pp. 324-46.
- GEGAJ, A., *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1937).
- GILL, J., 'A Tractate about the Council of Florence attributed to George Amiroutzes', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, ix (1958), pp. 30-7.
- 'John VIII Palaeologus. A Character Study', in *'Silloge Bizantina' in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati* (Roma, 1957), pp. 152-70.
- 'Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople', in *O.C.P.* xxi (1955), pp. 79-101.
- 'The "Acta" and the Memoirs of Syropoulus as History', in *O.C.P.* xiv (1948), pp. 303-55.
- 'The Cost of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* xxii (1956), pp. 299-318.
- 'The Printed Editions of the Practica of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* xiii (1947), pp. 486-94.
- 'The Sources of the "Acta" of the Council of Florence', in *O.C.P.* xiv (1948), pp. 43-79.
- GNILKA, J., *Ist I Kor. 3, 10-15 ein Schriftzeugnis für das Fegfeuer?* (Düsseldorf, 1955).
- GOTTLÖB, A., 'Aus den Rechnungsbüchern Eugens IV. zur Geschichte des Florentinums', in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, München, xiv (1893), pp. 39-66.
- *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck, 1889).
- GRIMM, C., 'De auctoritate decreti pro Armenis', in *Bogoslowska Smotra*, xxvii (1939), pp. 106-26.
- GRUMEL, V., 'L'année du monde dans l'ère byzantine', in *Echos d'Orient* xxxiv (1935), pp. 319-26.

- GRUMEL, V., 'Marc d'Ephèse. Vie—Ecrits—Doctrines', in *Estudis Franciscans*, xxxvi (1925), pp. 425-48.
- 'Saint Thomas et la doctrine des Grecs sur la procession du Saint-Esprit', in *Echos d'Orient*, xxv (1926), pp. 257-80.
- GUGLIEMOTTI, P. A., *Storia della marina pontificia nel medio evo dal 728 al 1499*, 2 vols. (Firenze, 1871).
- GUILLAND, R., 'Αἱ πρὸς τὴν Δύσιν ἐκκλήσεις Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ' τοῦ Δραγάτζη πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', in E.E.B.Σ. xxii (1952), pp. 60-74.
- 'Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452-1453)', in *Byzantinoslavica*, xiv (1953), pp. 226-44.
- HACKETT, J., *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901).
- HALECKI, O., 'La Pologne et l'empire byzantin', in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), pp. 41-67.
- *Le problème de l'union des Eglises*, Extrait de la Pologne au VI^e Congrès international des Sciences Historiques, Oslo, 1928 (Varsovia, 1930).
- 'Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident', in *Collectanea theologica* (Lwów), xviii (1937), pp. 477-532.
- *The Crusade of Varna* (New York, 1943).
- 'The Ecclesiastical Separation of Kiev from Moscow in 1458', in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas*, i, pp. 19-32.
- HALLER, J., *Piero da Monte* (Rome, 1941).
- HEYD, W., *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, 2 vols. transl. from German by F. Raynaud (Leipzig-Paris, 1885-6).
- HOFER, J., *Giovanni da Capestrano*, transl. from German by Giacomo di Fabro (Aquila, 1955).
- HOFMANN, G., 'Briefe eines päpstlichen Nuntius in London über das Konzil von Florenz', in O.C.P. v (1939), pp. 407-33.
- 'Das Konzil von Florenz in Rom', in O.C.P. xv (1949), pp. 71-84.
- 'De praeparatione definitionis Concilii Florentini de SS. Eucharistia', in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, xiv (1938), pp. 45-54.
- 'De praeparatione definitionis Concilii Florentini de symbolo', in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, xiv (1938), pp. 161-9.
- 'Die Einigung der armenischen Kirche mit der katholischen Kirche auf dem Konzil von Florenz', in O.C.P. v (1939), pp. 151-85.
- 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara', in O.C.P. iii (1937), pp. 110-40, 403-55.
- 'Die Konzilsarbeit in Florenz 26. Febr. 1439-26. Febr. 1443', in O.C.P. iv (1938), pp. 157-88, 372-422.
- 'Formulae praeviae ad definitionem Concilii Florentini de Novissimis', in *Gregorianum*, xviii (1937), pp. 337-60.

- HOFMANN, G., 'Formulae praeviae ad definitionem Concilii Florentini de Processione Spiritus Sancti', in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIII (1937), pp. 81-105, 237-60.
- 'Kopten und Aethiopier auf dem Konzil von Florenz', in *O.C.P.* VIII (1942), pp. 5-29.
- 'La Chiesa copta ed etiopica nel Concilio di Firenze', in *La Civiltà Cattolica* (1942), II, pp. 141-6, 228-35.
- 'Notae historicae de terminologia theologica Concilii Florentini', in *Gregorianum*, XX (1939), pp. 257-63.
- 'Papato, conciliarismo, patriarcato', in *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, II (1940), pp. 1-82.
- 'Patriarchen von Konstantinopel', in *Orientalia Christiana*, XXXII (1933), pp. 5-39.
- 'Quomodo formula definitionis Concilii Florentini de potestate plena Papae praeparata fuerit', in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIV (1938), pp. 138-48.
- 'Rodrigo, Dekan von Braga', see RODRIGO.
- 'Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit auf Kreta im XV. Jahrhundert?', in *O.C.P.* X (1944), pp. 91-115.
- HOFMANN, W. V., *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation*, vol. II (Rome, 1914).
- JACOB, E. F., *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (2nd edit. Manchester, 1953).
- *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1943-7).
- JANIN, R., *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950).
- *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, pt. 1, tom. III, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953).
- JENKINS, R. C., *The Last Crusader, or, The Life and Times of Cardinal Julian of the House of Cesarini* (London, 1861).
- JORGA, N., 'Les aventures "sarrazins" des Français de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle', in *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, ed. C. Marinescu, vol. I (Cluj, 1927), pp. 9-56.
- JUGIE, M., 'Georges Scholarios, professeur de philosophie', in *Atti del V Congresso internaz. di studi bizantini I; Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, V (1939), pp. 482-94.
- 'La forme de l'Eucharistie d'après Georges Scholarios', in *Echos d'Orient*, XXXIII (1934), pp. 289-97.
- 'La polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Pléthon', in *Byzantion*, X (1935), pp. 517-30.
- 'La question du Purgatoire au Concile de Ferrare-Florence', in *Echos d'Orient*, XX (1921), pp. 269-82.
- 'Le décret du concile d'Ephèse sur les formules de foi et la polémique anticatholique en Orient', in *Echos d'Orient*, XXX (1931), pp. 257-70.

- JUGIE, M., 'Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident', in *Echos d'Orient*, xv (1912), pp. 322-32.
- 'L'unionisme de Georges Scholarios', in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxvi (1937), pp. 65-86.
- KALLIGAS, P., *Μελέται βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας 1205-1453* (Athens, 1894).
- *Μελέται καὶ λόγοι. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ συνόδου, 1* (Athens, 1882), pp. 1-180.
- KALOYERAS, N., *Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός καὶ Βησσαρίων ὁ καρδινάλης* (Athens, 1893).
- KÄPPELI, T., 'Bartolomeo Lapacci de' Rimbentini (1402-1466), vescovo, legato pontificio, scrittore', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ix (1939), pp. 86-127.
- KERHALAS, NEKTARIOS, *Μελέτη ἱστορικὴ περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ σχίσματος*, II (Athens, 1912).
- LAMPSIDIS, O., 'Πῶς ἠλώθη ἡ Τραπεζοῦς', in 'Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου', xvii (1952), pp. 15-54.
- LASCARIS, M., 'Joachim, Métropole de Moldavie, et les relations de l'Eglise moldave avec le Patriarchat de Peč et l'archevêché d'Achris au XV^e siècle', in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section hist.* xiii (1927), pp. 129-60.
- LAURENT, M.-H., 'L'activité d'André Chrysobergès O.P. sous le pontificat de Martin V (1418-31)', in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxiv (1935), pp. 414-38.
- LAURENT, V., 'Les origines premières du patriarche de Constantinople Joseph II (†1439)', in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, xiii (1955), pp. 131-4.
- 'Le vrai surnom du patriarche de Constantinople Grégoire III (†1459)', in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, xiv (1956), pp. 201-5.
- Le cinq-centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople, L'Hellénisme Contemporain* (Athens, 1953).
- LOENERTZ, R.-J., 'Fr. Simon de Crète, inquisiteur en Grèce, et sa mission en Crète', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vi (1936), pp. 372-8.
- *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants* (Rome, 1937).
- 'Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des Eglises grecque et latine de 1415-1430', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ix (1939), pp. 5-61.
- 'Pour la biographie du Cardinal Bessarion', in *O.C.P.* x (1944), pp. 116-49.
- LOHN, L., 'Doctrina S. Basilii M. de processioibus divinarum Personarum', in *Gregorianum*, x (1929), pp. 329-64, 461-500.
- MAMONIS, K. G., 'Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός. Βίος καὶ ἔργον', in *Θεολογία*, xxv (1954), pp. 377-404, 521-75.
- MARINESCU, C., 'Contribution à l'histoire des relations économiques entre l'Empire byzantin, la Sicile et le royaume de Naples de 1419-1453', in

- Atti del V Congresso internaz. di studi bizantini* 1; *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, v (1939), pp. 209-19.
- MARINESCU, C., 'Le Pape Callixte III (1455-1458), Alphonse V d'Aragon, Roi de Naples, et l'offensive contre les Turcs', in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section hist.* XIX (1935), pp. 77-97.
- 'Le Pape Nicolas V (1447-1455) et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin', in *Actes du IV^e Congrès internat. des Etudes byzantines*, Sofia septembre 1434; *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, x (1935), pp. 331-42.
- 'Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins en Occident à la veille de la chute de Constantinople sous les Turcs', in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, x (1950), pp. 419-28.
- 'Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne, et la Croisade', in *Actes du VI^e Congrès internat. d'Etudes byzantines*, 1 (Paris 1950), pp. 147-68.
- MEERSSEMAN, G., *Giovanni di Montenero, O.P. difensore dei Mendicanti* (Roma, 1938).
- 'Les dominicains présents au Concile de Ferrare-Florence jusqu'au décret d'union pour les Grecs (6 juillet 1439)', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ix (1939), pp. 62-75.
- MENTZ, A., 'Zur byzantinischen Chronologie', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xvii (1908), pp. 471-8.
- MERCATI, A., 'Complementi a notizie sull'unione di orientali con Roma', in *O.C.P.* xv (1949), pp. 291-312.
- 'Due concistori ignorati relativi al Concilio di Firenze', in *L'Oriente cristiano e l'unità della Chiesa*, III (1938), pp. 33-8.
- 'Il decreto d'unione del 6 luglio 1439 nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano', in *O.C.P.* xi (1945), pp. 5-44.
- MERCATI, G., 'Appunti scolariani', in *Bessarione*, xxxvi (1920), pp. 109-43.
- 'Appunti scolariani', in *Opere Minori*, iv, *Studi e Testi*, no. 79 (Città del Vaticano, 1937), pp. 72-105.
- 'Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca, e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV', *Studi e Testi*, no. 56 (Città del Vaticano, 1931).
- 'Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno', *Studi e Testi*, no. 46 (Roma, 1926).
- 'Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti, 1', *Studi e Testi*, no. 90 (Città del Vaticano, 1939).
- MICHAUD, E., 'Etudes sur la latinisation de l'Orient', in *Revue internationale de Théologie*, III (1895), pp. 673-89; iv (1896), pp. 108-29.
- MIJATOVICH, C., *Constantine, the Last Emperor of the Greeks* (London, 1892).
- MILLER, W., *The Latins in the Levant. A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, (London, 1908).
- MOHLER, L., *Kardinal Bessarion*, 1 (Paderborn, 1923).

- MONNOYEUR, J.-B., 'Sermon du Chancelier Jean Gerson pour le retour des Grecs à l'unité', in *Irénikon*, vi (1929), pp. 721-66.
- MUGNIER, M., *L'expédition du Concile de Bâle à Constantinople pour l'union de l'Eglise grecque à l'Eglise latine (1437-1438)*, extrait du Bulletin du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris, 1892).
- MÜNTZ, E., *Les arts à la cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle, Pt. I Martin V—Pie II 1417-1464* (Paris, 1878).
- NEALE, J. M., see POPOFF, B.
- NORDEN, W., *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903).
- OBERTYŃSKI, S., 'Die Florentiner Union der polnischen Armenier und ihr Bischofskatalog', in *Orientalia Christiana*, xxxvi (1934), pp. 5-68.
- ORTIZ DE URBINA, I., 'Un codice fiorentino di raccolte patristiche', in *O.C.P.* iv (1938), pp. 423-45.
- PALL, F., 'Autour de la Croisade de Varna: La question de la paix de Szeged et de sa rupture (1444)', in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section hist.* xxii (1941), pp. 144-58.
- 'Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contra i Turchi', in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section hist.* xx (1938), pp. 9-68.
- 'Les relations entre la Hongrie et Scanderbeg', in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, x (1933), pp. 119-41.
- PALMIERI, A., 'Le divergenze dommatiche, disciplinari e liturgiche tra le due Chiese al Concilio Ecumenico di Firenze', in *Bessarione*, xxix (1913), pp. 145-53.
- 'Un'opera inedita di Fantino Vallaresso Archivescovo di Creta sul Concilio di Firenze', in *Bessarione*, xxix (1913), pp. 1-26, 284-94.
- PAPADOPOULOS, CH. (Archbp. of Athens), 'Ἡ κατὰστασις τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' καὶ ΙΕ' αἰῶνα', in *E.E.B.Σ.* xiii (1937), pp. 123-42.
- PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, A., 'Πατριαρχικοὶ κατάλογοι (1453-1636)', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, viii (1899), pp. 392-401.
- PAPADOPULOS, A. TH., *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen 1259-1453* (Dissertation, München, 1938).
- PAPAIOANNOU, CHR., 'Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης ὑστάτης ἐν Ἀγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ συνόδου (1450) καὶ ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀξία αὐτῶν', in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, xv (1895-6), pp. 237-8, 259-60, 266-7, 282-4, 299, 307, 365, 397-8; xvi (1896-7), pp. 40, 47, 116-17.
- PARKS, G. B., *The English Traveller to Italy*, vol. 1, *The Middle Ages (to 1525)* (Rome, 1954).
- PAULOVÁ, M., 'L'Empire byzantin et les Tchèques avant la chute de Constantinople', in *Byzantinoslavica*, xiv (1953), pp. 158-225.
- PEARS, E., *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (London, 1903).

- PELLEGRINI, A., 'La raccolta degli atti del Concilio di Firenze di Angelo Maria Bandini', in *Bessarione*, XXIX (1913), pp. 72-103.
- PERRELLA, G. M., 'Il decreto di Eugenio IV pro Armenis relativo al Sacramento dell'Ordine', in *Divus Thomas*, XXXIX (1936), pp. 448-83; LX (1937), p. 177.
- PETIT, L., 'Note sur l'exil de Marc d'Ephèse à Lemnos', in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, XXIII (1923), pp. 414-15.
- PETRIDES, S., 'Documents sur la rupture de l'union de Florence', in *Echos d'Orient*, XIV (1911), pp. 204-7.
- 'La mort de Marc d'Ephèse', in *Echos d'Orient*, XIII (1910), pp. 19-21.
- 'Les œuvres de Jean Eugénicos', in *Echos d'Orient*, XIII (1910), pp. 111-14, 276-81.
- PHANOURAKIS, TH., 'Περὶ τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίας συνόδου', in *Σωτήρ*, II (1884).
- PITZIPIOS, J. G., *L'Eglise orientale* (Rome, 1855).
- POPOFF, B., *The History of the Council of Florence*, transl. from the Russian (of Prof. Gorski of Moscow?) by B. Popoff, ed. by J. M. Neale (London, 1861).
- PRESTIGE, G. L., *God in Patristic Thought* (2nd ed. London, 1952).
- RACKL, M., 'Die griechischen Augustinusübersetzungen', in *Studi e Testi*, no. 37, pp. 1-33.
- RENIERIS, M., 'Ἱστορικαὶ μελέται. 'Ο ἑλλην Πάπας 'Αλέξανδρος Ε'' (Athens, 1881).
- RUNCIMAN, S., *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-4).
- *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955).
- SALAVILLE, S., 'Unthomiste à Byzance au XV^e siècle: Gennade Scholarios', in *Echos d'Orient*, XXIII (1924), pp. 129-36.
- SCALABRINI, G. A., *Memorie istoriche delle chiese di Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1773).
- SCHLUMBERGER, G., *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927).
- *Le siège, la prise et le sac de Constantinople en 1453* (Paris, 1926).
- SCHNEIDER, A. M., 'Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert', in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* (1949), pp. 233-44.
- ŠEVČENKO, I., 'Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence', in *Church History*, XXIV (1955), pp. 291-323.
- STEPHANIDIS, B. K., 'Ο ἀκραῖος σταθμὸς τῶν σχέσεων Ἐκκλησίας καὶ πολιτείας τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τὰ ἄμεσα ἀποτελέσματα αὐτοῦ (1416-1439)', in *E.E.B.Σ.* XXIII (1953), pp. 27-40.
- TAOUSSI, P. A., *Le V^e Centenaire du Concile Oecuménique de Florence et l'unité dans l'Eglise du Christ* (Istanbul, 1938).
- TOMADAKIS, N. B., 'Ἀμιρούτζεια', in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, LVII (1953), pp. 60-8.

- TOMADAKIS, N. B., 'Ετούρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης;', in E.E.B.S. xviii (1948), pp. 99-143.
- 'Γεώργιος ὁ Σχολάριος καὶ αἱ πολιτικαὶ τοῦ ἀντιλήψεως', in Ἐκκλησία (1954).
- 'Γεωργίου φιλοσόφου τοῦ Ἀμιρούτζη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον ἀπορήσαντα', in E.E.B.S. xxii (1952), pp. 114-34.
- 'Μιχαὴλ Καλοφρενᾶς Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν', in E.E.B.S. xxi (1951), pp. 110-44.
- VALOIS, N., *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII* (Paris, 1906).
- *Le Pape et le Concile (1418-1450)*, 2 vols. (Paris 1909).
- VAN MARLE, R., *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. x (The Hague, 1928).
- VAN MILLINGEN, A., *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899).
- VANUTELLI, P. V., *Il Concilio di Firenze* (Roma, 1899).
- VAST, H., *Le Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472)* (Paris, 1878).
- VILLER, M., 'La question de l'union des Eglises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274-1438)', in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, xvii (1921) and xviii (1922) and issued separately (Louvain, 1922).
- VISCONTI, A., *La storia dell'Università di Ferrara (1391-1950)* (Bologna, 1950).
- VON GOETHE, W., *Studien und Forschungen über das Leben und die Zeit des Cardinals Bessarion 1395-1472*, vol. 1, *Die Zeit des Konzils von Florenz* (no place or date).
- VON OTTENTHAL, E., *Die Bullenregister Martin V. und Eugen IV.* (Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, Innsbruck, 1885).
- VOYATZIDIS, J., 'Νέα πηγὴ βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας', in N.E. xviii (1924), pp. 70-105.
- 'Οἱ πρίγκηπες Χειλᾶδες τῆς Λακεδαίμονος', in N.E. xix (1925), pp. 192-209.
- 'Περὶ τῆς στέψεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου', in Λαογραφία ii (1923), pp. 449-56.
- WARSCHAUER, A., *Über die Quellen zur Geschichte des Florentiner Concils* (Paderborn, 1891).
- ZAKYTHINOS, D. A., *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1, *Histoire politique* (Paris, 1932); vol. 11, *Vie et institutions* (Athens, 1953).
- ZANELLI, A., 'Pietro del Monte', in *Archivio storico lombardo*, serie 4^a, vii (1907), pp. 317-78; viii (1907), pp. 46-115.
- ZELLFELDER, A., *England und das Basler Konzil*, Historische Studien, Hft. 113 (Berlin, 1913).

ZHISHMAN, J., *Die Unionsverhandlung zwischen der orientalischen und römischen Kirche seit dem Anfange des XV. Jahrhunderts bis zum Concil von Ferrara* (Wien, 1858).

ZIEGLER, A., *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz in der russischen Kirche* (Würzburg, 1939).

— 'Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine', in *Irénikon*, XIII (1936), pp. 393-410.

INDEX

- Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, 216
- Acts, Greek*
 contents, ix-x
 protocol-part ends, 211
 reliability as history, ix-xiv *pass.*, 150
- Acts, Latin*
 contents, x
 reliability as history, xiv
 unique source, 211, 271
- Addition to the Creed, the
 prohibition of Council of Ephesus, 149
 in Ferrara—chosen for discussion, 129;
 arguments of Greeks, 147-8, 149-50,
 153-5, 161-3; arguments of Latins,
 151-3, 155-7, 158-61; judgements
 on arguments, 166-9
 still unsettled, 190
 in Florence, 209, 267, 272, 275;
cedula, 285
- Adrianople, 11, 331, 332
- Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini
 envoy of Frederick III, 50 n. 4, 339,
 341, 342, 344, 345 n. 1, 348
 as Pius II, 395, 401, 402
- Agallianus, Theodore, 375 n. 8, 379 n. 1,
 381, 386, 387
- Agatho, St, pope, 148, 154, 159, 161,
 162, 279
- Albergati, Nicolò, cardinal
 envoy of Basel to Eugenius, 56
 envoy of Eugenius—to Basel, 68; to
 meet Greeks, 101-3, 104 n. 2; to
 Diet of Nuremberg, 137-8
 in Ferrara, 95, 140
 arrives in Florence, 182
 receives Emperor in Bologna, 302
 theologian for Armenians, 307
 death, 324
- Albert, duke of Austria, king of Hun-
 gary (1438), king of the Romans
 (1438)
 elected German king, 136, 177
 relations with Basel, 138, 139; with
 Eugenius, 139
 receives copy of decree of union, 298
 fights Turk, 317
 death, 317, 328
- Alberto da Sarreano, O.F.M., 310, 318,
 322-4, 326, 327 n. 2, 346
- Aleman, Louis d', archbishop of Arles
 influence at Basel, 67, 70, 71, 74, 310, 311
 relations with Felix V, 315, 340
 excommunicated, 317
 envoy to Eugenius, 68
 in Mainz, 319
- Alexander, prince of Kiev, 360, 364
- Alexandre, abbot of Vézelay, 134
- Alexandria, 31, 76, 279
See also Philotheus, Patriarchs
- Alfonso V of Aragon, I of Naples
 represented at Constance, 22
 hostile to Eugenius and supports Basel,
 69, 92, 131, 139-40
 hesitates to depose Pope, 138, 311
 supports Felix V, 321
 attacks and takes Naples, 317, 321
 reconciled with Eugenius, 321
 sends envoys to Pope, 264, 334
 visited by Bryennius, 377, by Isidore,
 383, by various Greeks, 363, 370,
 382 n. 2
 in diplomatic relation with Deme-
 trius, 393
 - promises help for Greeks, 35, 330, 370
 gives no help to Constantinople when
 it is attacked, 382
- Aloysius de Perano, O.F.M., bishop of
 Forlì, 96, 130
- Amadeus, duke of Savoy, 80, 81 n. 1, 82,
 298
See also Felix V, antipope
- Amarol, Louis de, bishop of Viseu, 80
- Ambrose, St, 153, 216, 230, 275
- Amiroutzes, George, 'philosopher', 114,
 229, 268
 supports Bessarion, 129, 249
 approves *Filioque*, 231, 261, 397
 supposed letter, 354 n. 1

- Andreae, John, bishop of Zengg, 136, 317
- Andrew, abbot of St Antony's, Egypt, 323, 325, 326
- Andrew da Santa Croce, 145, 147, 165, 254 n. 1, 268, 274 n. 3, 311 n. 4
- Andrew of Rhodes, *see* Chrysoberges, Andrew
- Annates, 61, 63, 68, 73, 136, 316, 347
- Antiminsion, 302
- Antioch, 5, 7, 31, 76, 279
See also Dorotheus, patriarch of Antioch, Patriarchs
- Anti-unionists of Constantinople
boycott unionists, 349, 351, 355
manifestos against union, 353, 368
relations with Constantine, 374, 380, 383-7, 402
activities under Constantine, 373-82, 383-7
unpatriotic, 375
suggest General Council, 377
not penalised, 406
- Antonio da Massa, O.F.M., 32, 33-6, 37
- Antonio da Troia, O.F.M., 335, 336
- Antonio di S. Vito
envoy to Basel, 66-7
- Antony, metropolitan of Heraclea, 89 n. 2, 103
procurator of Alexandria, 76, 111 n. 2, 250 n. 3
obtains leave to depart from Ferrara, 127
goes to Florence, 174, 182
demurs to written judgements, 248
delegate to Latins, 245, 283
not present at last sessions, 213
opposed to *Filioque*, 234, 257, 260, 262, 278
signs decree, 292, 295
withdraws signature, 349-50
leaves Florence, 300; and Constantinople, 350
unlearned, 228, 238
- Aquileia, (Baseler) Patriarch of, 137, 139, 328
- Arabs, 6-7
- Argyropoulus, John, 368, 375 nn. 7 and 8, 387
- Aristotle, 153, 227
- Armenians, 53, 54 n. 2, 58, 110, 298, 301, 305-10
- Athanasius, St, 123, 153, 203, 205, 207, 218-19
- Athos, Mount, 76-7, 89 n. 2, 295
- Augustine, St, 19, 121, 122-3, 153, 211, 216, 230, 275
- Aurispia, Giovanni, 19, 112 n. 2, 187
- Avignon, 16, 69, 70-2, 75, 81, 82, 91, 94
- Avrami, bishop of Susdal, 89 n. 2, 125 n. 2, 141, 291 n. 2, 358, 359, 360, 361
- Bachenstein, John, 60-1, 66, 67
- Bajezid, I, sultan, 11, 18, 19, 371
- Balsamon, Michael, great chartophylax, 262
one of six Greek orators, 130
on committee about Purgatory, 114;
about the *cedula*, 250
asks to go home, 171, 252
delegate to Pope, 128, 296
signs the decree, 291, 295
resigns, 350
- Baptism, 262, 307, 308, 309
- Basel, 47, 311, 339
- Basel, Oecumenical Council of (1431)
announced at Siena, 38
opens, 46-7
dissolution threatened by Pope, 47; resisted, 48-50, effected conditionally, 91, definitively, 94-5
deals with Greeks, 47, 54-6, 58-60
rupture with Eugenius, 15, 68, 73-4
split on question of new site, 69-73
dissolution urged by princes, 136, 137-8, 319, 340, but resisted, 138, 311
sanior pars recognised by Eugenius, 77-8; by Greek envoys, 79
sends ships to Constantinople, 80-3
decrees against Eugenius *Monitorium*, 91, 93-4, suspension, 96, condemnation as heretic, 264, deposition, 311
elects antipope, 315-16
represented at Bourges, 134-6, 318-19, at German Diets, 136-9
method of voting, 50 n. 4, 67, 70
active as papal Curia, 62, 74
grants indulgence, 61, 67, 68, 73, 76

Basel (*cont.*)

- forbids Annates to Eugenius, 61, 68, 73, 136, takes them itself, 50 n. 4, 63, concedes them to Felix V, 316
- expenses, 62, 75, 82
- numbers present, 46, 49, 50 n. 4, 67, 68, 70 n. 5, 73, 311, 315
- creates legate *a latere*, 62, 137, 139
- reforms, 61, 63, 135, 139, 341
- ends, 338-40
- Basil, St
 - quoted about the Addition, 153
 - quoted about the Procession—from *Adversus Eunomium*, 195-200 *pass.*, 199 n. 1, 202, 204-6 *pass.*, 211; from his 'Letter to his brother', 201; from the 'Homily on the Holy Spirit', 204-6 *pass.*, 208, 224; from the 'Book about the Holy Spirit', 209; from the *Contra Sabellianos*, *Arium et Anomoeos*, 221-2; in general, 212, 218
 - codices of the *Adversus Eunomium*, 164, 199, 200, 203, 204, 212, 223-4
 - Liturgy of, 275, 280, 281
- Beaupère, Jean, canon of Besançon, 47, 54
- Beccus, John, patriarch of Constantinople, 10, 249, 354 n. 1, 386
- Benedict XIII, antipope, 17, 19, 31, 38
- Benedictus sit Deus*, Bull, 7 August 1445, 337
- Berardi, Giovanni, archbishop of Taranto, 49, 62, 72, 73, 96, 101, 317
- Bessarion, metropolitan of Nicaea, 20, 89 n. 2, 114, 229, 238, 278, 287
 - opening discourse, 143-4
 - oratio dogmatica*, 240-1, 227, 251 n. 4
 - statement on Eucharist, 292-3
 - speaker of Greeks, 114, 115, 118, 121-2, 130, 143-4, 153-5, 229
 - member of committee, 114, 245, 283
 - delegate to Pope, 266, 267, 271-2, 296
 - in favour of discussing dogma, 129, 172
 - convinced by Latin arguments, 168-9, 224-5, 397
 - advocates union, 234-5, 235, 238, 240-1, 255-6, 283
 - Greek *cedula* on the Procession, 248-50

- puts forward Greek Saints, 255-6, 257
- shows harmony of all Saints, 231, 240
- proclaims Latin orthodoxy, 251
- approves *Filioque*, 260
- difficulties about primacy and Eucharist, 277, 279
- revised Greek of decree, 287
- recites decree in Greek, 294
- his codices in Ferrara, 164
- granted pension, 299
- created cardinal, 318
- returns to Italy, 356
- Biondo, Flavio, 324 n. 3, 325
- Bladynterus, John, 22, 29, 32
- Bohemians, 16, 46-9 *pass.*, 64, 91, 380-2
- Bologna, 31, 77, 92, 93, 95, 117, 181, 302
- Books, *see* Codices
- Bosnia, 331, 338
- Boucicaut, 11, 18
- Boullotes, Manuel
 - envoy to Pope and Basel, 67 n. 3, 72, 73, 75, 78-9
 - votum* on union, 257 n. 4, 261
 - at signing of decree, 292
- Bourges, meeting of French clergy of 1438, 134-5; of 1440, 318-19
- Brankovich, George, 328, 331, 332 n. 1
- Brunelleschi, Filippo, 186, 189 n. 1
- Bruni, Leonardo (Aretino), 183, 187, 204, 327
- Bryennius, Andronicus Leontaris, 376 n. 3, 377, 380
- Buda, 71, 359, 362
- Bulgaria, 2-3, 5, 9, 11
- Bulls, papal
 - Benedictus sit Deus*, 7 August 1445, 337
 - Cantate Domino*, 4 February 1442, 325-6, 335
 - Decet oecumenici concilii*, 10 January 1438, 178, 183
 - Doctoris gentium*, 18 September 1437, 91
 - Dudum sacrum*, 1 August 1433, 50
 - Dudum sacrum*, 15 December 1433, 50
 - Etsi non dubitemus*, 21 April 1441, 313 n. 2
 - Exposcit debitum*, 15 February 1438, 97-8, 131, 313
 - Exultate Deo*, 22 November 1439, 307-8, 326, 335

Bulls, papal (*cont.*)

- Humani generis Redemptoris*, 14 October 1443, 334
Laetentur caeli, 6 July 1439, 294-6
See also Decree of union
Magnas omnipotenti Deo, 9 April 1438, 111, 288
Miserator et misericors Dominus, 24 February 1443, 327, 333-4
Moses vir Dei, 4 September 1439, 306 n. 3, 312-13, 314, 315
Multa et admirabilia, 30 September 1444, 335
Pridem ex justis, 30 December 1437, 94-5
Quoniam alto, 12 November 1431, 47, 48, 51 n. 4
Quoniam alto, 18 December 1431, 48
Reddituri, 3 September 1457, 393
Salvatoris et Dei nostri, 30 May 1438, 78
 Byzantine Empire, 87, 371

- Cabasilas, Nilus, 12, 230, 257
 Caerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, 5, 6
 Caffa, 305-10 *pass.*
 Cairo, 310, 323, 325 n. 1
 Calecas, Manuel, O.P., 20, 164
 Callistus III, pope, 393, 395
 Callistus, metropolitan of Dristra, 89 n. 2, 229, 257, 260, 295
 Camblak, Gregory, archbishop of Kiev, 25-6
Camera Apostolica, *see* Eugenius IV, pope, finance
Cantate Domino, Bull, 4 February 1442, 325-6, 335
 Canterbury, Convocation of, 50, 133
 Cappadox, George, protekdikus, 250, 252, 291, 303-4
 Capranica, Domenico (Firmanus), cardinal, 104 n. 2, 105, 107, 114, 129, 244, 277, 317, 344
 Carthage, Council of, 200
 Carvajal, Juan de, cardinal, 339, 340 n. 1, 341
 Carystinus, Theodore, 363, 387
 Casimir, king of Poland (1447-92) and great prince of Lithuania (1440-92), 359, 360, 362, 363, 394-5

- Castile, 96, 112 n. 2, 136, 320
 Catalan Grand Company, 10, 13
Cedula, Greek, on Procession, 250-1; Greeks refuse to clarify, 252-3, 253, 254
Cedulae, Latin
 on Purgatory, 120-1, 285
 on Procession, 246-7, 247-8; accepted by Greeks, 265-6
 on primacy, 273-4
 on Eucharist, 274-5
 Greeks refuse to receive, 267, 276
 method of Latins, 232-3, 271
 approved by Latin synod, 285-6, 290
 where preserved, 233
 incorporated in the decree of union, 248 n. 3, 296
 negotiations recounted by Cesarini, 285-6
 Celestine, St, pope, 159, 161
 Cervantes, Juan, cardinal, 56, 68, 70, 91
 Cesarini, Giuliano, cardinal
 at Basel—papal legate, 46; empowered to dissolve council, 47, 48, 51; negotiates with Greeks, 55; opposes Eugenius, 48, 50, 66; less hostile to Eugenius, 67, 73; sides with *sanior pars*, 70; breaks with Basel, 91, 94, 140
 arrives in Venice, 103
 in Ferrara—enters, 106; entertains Greeks, 114; speaker in conferences, 114-16; and on Purgatory, 118, 120-1, 125; addresses Greeks, 129; chosen orator for Latins, 130; conciliatory, 147; incident of Latin codex, 148-9, 232 n. 2, 256; speaks on Addition, 157, 158-61
 in Florence—arrives, 182; speaker in preliminary session, 190; visits and addresses Greeks, 244, 252-3, 277-8, 283, 289; interrupts Montenero, 274; placates Emperor, 276; addresses Latin synod, 265, 277-8, 285-6; reads decree in Latin, 294; treats with Armenians, 307; debates on conciliar theory, 313; treats with Copts, 325
 Legate to Hungary, 328-33, 334, 363
 death, 333-4

- Chalcedon, Oecumenical Council of (451)
 so-called 28th canon, 1-2
 quoted about Addition, 148, 149, 159-61 *pass.*
 quoted about Procession, 220
 mentioned in 'Decree for the Armenians', 307
- Chaldeans of Cyprus
 union with Rome, 336-7
- Charisius, 159, 161, 162, 222
- Charlemagne, 4
- Charles VII, king of France
 supports Basel, 48, and Avignon, 71, 80
 receives papal envoy, 69, 72, 112
 convenes French clergy, 125, 134-6, 318-19
 attitude between Pope and Council, 133-6, 142, 314-15
 arranges end of Basel, 339-40
- Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, 50 n. 1, 90 n. 3, 133 n. 3, 299
- Chios, 82, 308
- Chrysoberges, Andrew, O.P., archbishop of Rhodes
 a Greek, 20, 41, 165, 169
 at Constance, 23, 27
 envoy to Constantinople, 40-1
 at Basel, 43, 49, 52
 in Ferrara, 114, 124, 129, 130, 148 n. 9, 145-55 *pass.*, 169
 in Florence, 287, 392
 in Cyprus, 336-7, 391
- Chrysoberges, Theodore, O.P., bishop of Olene, 20, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35
- Chrysococcus, Manuel, great sakellarius, 239, 251, 295
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, 18, 20, 20-1, 28, 187
- Citatorium, 91, 94, 312
- Cleidas, Demetrius Angelus, 44, 51-2
- Codices
 from Athos, 76
 of St Basil, 163, 164, 199, 200, 203, 204, 212, 223-4
 of St Epiphanius, 196
 of Eugenius, 347
 collections of humanists, 187
 sought everywhere, 163, 164, 176 n. 4, 199
- rare, 163
 Latin codex of seventh Council, 148, 232 n. 2, 256
 production for inspection, 150, 209, 222
 lending, 150-1
 falsified?, 199-200, 201, 224, 226, 231, 235, 255-6
- Cologne, 31, 341, 345
- Colonna, Prosper de, cardinal, 104 n. 2, 105-6, 140
- Conciliar Movement, 15, 16-17, 45, 343, 411
- Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores*, viii
- Concordat of Aschaffenburg, 340 n. 1
- Condulmaro, Antonio, 78, 82, 330
- Condulmaro, Francesco, cardinal
 prisoner, 56
 in Ferrara, 104 n. 2, 107
 in Florence, 182, 244, 277
 legate to Constantinople, 329-33, 364-8
 raised monument to Eugenius, 343 n. 1
- Condulmaro, Gabriele, cardinal, *see* Eugenius IV, pope
- Condulmaro, Mark, archbishop of Tarentaise, 77, 79, 80, 82
- Conferences between Latins and Greeks
 May-June 1438, 114-16
 June-July 1438, 117-25
 February 1439, 189-90
 April 1439, 244-6, 249, 285
 6 and 7 June 1439, 265
 25 June 1439, 283-4
 28 June 1439, 287-8
 2 July 1439, 290
 in Constantinople, 365, 366-7, 374
- Confirmation, sacrament of, 307
- Constance, Oecumenical Council of (1414)
 Decree *Frequens*, 17 n. 1, 38
 decree on superiority of council over pope, 17, 313
 interpretation of Eugenius, 312, 313;
 of John of Torquemada, 314 (*see* 'Council superior to pope')
 relations with Greeks, 20-3, 25-8, 30
 Eugenius' cautious recognition, 342
- Constantine the Great, emperor, 1, 280

- Constantine (Dragatzes) Palaeologus, emperor, 304, 331, 355, 372-88 *pass.*, 402
- Constantine VI, Armenian patriarch, 58, 306, 309 n. 1, 310
- Constantine Platis, 380-2
- Constantine the Englishman, 380-2
- Constantinople
ecclesiastical status, 1-2, 279
danger to, 6, 8-9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 33, 116, 239-40, 329
description of, 85-7
Latins in, 19
political factions, 14-15, 354, 372, 373
population, 87
unionists—numbers, 389-91
- Constantinople, Oecumenical Councils of
first (381), 1, 148, 151, 162, 209. *See also* Creed, Constantinopolitan
second (553), 122, 148
third (680), 148, 149, 161, 163, 307
fourth (869), 3, 151
- Copts, 310, 318, 321-6
- Corfu, 90, 303
- Corone, 376 n. 3, 392, 394
- Correr, Antonio, cardinal, 307
- Council
of Carthage XVI (418), 200
in Constantinople (867), 2
in Constantinople (879), 3, 151
'Robber' (449), 161
of Toledo (400), 216-17
in *Trullo* (691), 2
of Pisa (1409), 17
- Council, Oecumenical
only way to heal schism, 14-15, 19, 28, 36, 60, 377, 379, 380, 385
new one proposed, 136, 137-8, 311, 319, 339, 340
its superiority to a pope—enunciated at Constance, 17; repeated at Siena, 38; adopted at Basel, 49, 61, 62, 74, 310, 340 n. 1; approved at Bourges, 135 and at German Diets, 139, 341; debated at Florence, 313-14
See also under names of Oecumenical Councils
- Council of union
fixed for Constantinople, 15, 23, 28-32, 34-6, 52-3, 57-60, 65 n. 3
Greeks accept Italy, 39-40, 52, insist on Italy, 66, 68, 72, 76, 81; and on presence of Pope, 56, 65 n. 3, 66, 69, 81, 84, 88, 102
site determined by Martin V, 43-4, by decree *Sicut pia mater*, 55-6, 60, 67, 79, 84
site proposed for Avignon, 69, 70-2, 75, 81, 82, for Basel, 64, 68, 70, 73, 75, 81, for Ferrara, 92-3, for Florence, 68, 70, 72, 77, 92, 126, 171, 176-7, for Savoy, 55, 70, 81
determination of site deferred, 78, 79
- Creed
Apostles', 152, 155, 161
Athanasian, 307
Constantinopolitan—read, 148, 149, 150; development of Nicene, 151, 152, 155, 160; equivalent to Nicene, 150, 151; added to Apostles', 161
Nicene—read, 147, 148, 149, 150; clarified, 151, 160; development of Apostles', 152, 155; added to Apostles', 161; forbidden to change, 149, 150, 154-5, 162-3; complete in faith, not in explanation, 152-3
Nicene-Constantinopolitan—with *Filioque*, 34, 307, 393
composed by only 2 Councils, 149-50, 154, 162
- Crete, 268, 322, 330, 352
unionist, 392-3, 394
only Latin bishops, 352 n. 1, 401
- Crossbowmen, 43, 55, 79, 108 n. 2, 175, 240, 263, 352, 377
- Crusades, 7-9, 12, 13, 327-33, 363, 364-5, 398-9
- Cyprus
in danger, 8, 41-2, 329, 333
union, 336-7, 389, 391
- Cyril, of Alexandria, St
quoted about the Addition, 147, 158-9, 161, 162
quoted about the Procession, 200, 208, 210, 219-21, 222
quoted in Greek meetings, 249-50, 256, 257

- Damasus, St, pope, 215-16, 230
 Damianus, metropolitan of Moldo-Wallachia, 89 n. 2, 250, 257, 295, 394
Decet oecumenici concilii, Bull, 10 January 1439, 178, 183
 Decree of union with Greeks (*Laetentur caeli*)
 Latin text, 412-15
 made up of *cedulae*, 233, 248 n. 3, 274 n. 2
 content, 294, 296
 approved by Latin synod, 290
 signed, 291-3, 295, 296 n. 1, without bribery, 290-1
 writing of, 287-90
 promulgation, 284, 286, 287, 293-4
 copied, 297-8
 proclaimed from Buda, 259, in Moscow, 360, in Constantinople, 387
 included in later unions, 307, 326, 335
 difficulties raised by Döllinger, 298 n. 1
Decretum pro Armenis (*Exultate Deo*), 22 November 1439, 307-8, 326, 335
Decretum pro Jacobitis (*Cantate Domino*), 4 February 1442, 325-6
 Demetrius Palaeologus, despot
 in Ferrara, 108, 109, 142, 178
 in Florence, 182, 252, 263, 273, 276, 287, 301
 in Venice, 100, 178
 death of wife, 304
 and union, 262, 263, 354, 372, 393
 rebellious, 353, 354, 372, 373
Description, The
 historical value of, ix-xiv *pass.*, 113, 233-4, 242 n. 1, 246-7, 258, 268, 271
 Didymus, 218
 Diets
 of Buda, April 1444, 331
 of Frankfurt, March 1438, 136, March 1446, 341, September 1446, 341
 of Mainz, March 1439, 138-9, March 1441, 319
 of Nuremberg, July 1438, 125, 126, 137, October 1438, 137, 1444, 339
 Digne, Pierre de Versailles, bishop of
 envoy of *sanior pars*, 77-81 *pass.*
 report, 90-1, 98, 103 n. 1
 envoy, 134, 319 n. 3
 Dionysius, metropolitan of Sardis, 76, 89 n. 2, 111 n. 2, 112, 229
 Dioscorus, archbishop of Alexandria, 161, 326
 Dishypatus, George, 57, 58, 59, 60, 293-4
 Dishypatus, John
 envoy at Basel (1434-5), 54-6; 59-60, 65 n. 3, 67 n. 3; (1436), 71-5 *pass.*, 77
 in Bologna, 78-9, 92
 in Italy for the Council, 90, 98, 102, 177
 Dishypatus, Manuel
 envoy to Pope and Basel (1435-7), 57-60 *pass.*, 65 n. 3, 72, 73
 in Italy for the Council, 82 n. 3, 102, 115, 116
 Divorce, 297
Doctoris gentium, Bull, 18 September 1437, 91
 Dominicans, 19, 20, 140, 307, 346, 399
 Dorotheus, patriarch of Antioch, 31, 295, 353-4
 Dorotheus, metropolitan of Mitylene, 89 n. 2
 reader of Bulls, 111, 178
 in Ferrara, 114, 172
 opposes Eugenicus, 235
 incites to union, 235, 237, 255, 256, 283
 proclaims harmony of Saints, 231
 approves *Filioque*, 260, 295
 visits Pope, 237, 266, 267, 271-2, 284
 gives money to indigent, 290
 receives pension, 299-300
 action in Euboea, 303
 owned codices, 164, 203
 perhaps author of *Description*, x
 Dorotheus, metropolitan of Trebizond, 89 n. 2, 182, 262, 300, 350
 delegate to Latins, 245, 266, 267
 approves *Filioque*, 260, 295
 Dorotheus, monk of Mt Athos, 77, 295
 Dositheus, metropolitan of Drama, 89 n. 2, 257, 260, 295, 300
 Dositheus, metropolitan of Monembasia, 89 n. 2, 103, 112, 182, 300
 on committees, 114, 245
 attitude to union, 234, 260, 262, 295, 393, 394

- Ducas, Michael, 349, 375, 387, 400
Dudum sacrum, Bull, 1 August 1433, 50;
 15 December 1433, 50
- Election of new patriarch, 287, 297, 349-50
- Electors of Germany, 91, 125, 136-8, 139, 319, 339, 341-2, 345
- Embassies, Greek
 to Constance, 20-2, 27-8
 to Martin V, 29, 32, 39-40, 42-4, 51
 to Eugenius, 47, 51-2, 57-8, 72, 75, 77-9
 to Basel, 54-6, 58-60, 71, 72, 74
- Embassies, Latin
 to Constantinople—under Martin V, 33-6, 37, 40-1, under Eugenius, 52, 57, 79-83, 329-33, 351, 352, 363-4, 364-8, under Nicholas V, 383-8
 from Basel, 54-5, 60, 63-6, 74-7, 79-83
- England
 and Manuel II, 11, 18
 attitude to Eugenius, 69 n. 1, 131-3
 celebrates, 299, 308
 has two cardinals, 318
 supposed embassy at Bologna, 300-1
 rejects antipope, 319-20, 340 n. 1
- Ephesus
See Addition, The, to the Creed, Eugenius, Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus
- Ephesus, Oecumenical Council of (431)
 text of prohibition, 149
 quoted about Addition, 147-56 *pass.*, 158-62 *pass.*
 quoted about Procession, 209-10, 222
- Epiclesis
 text, 266
 question raised by Eugenius, 272, 278
 in 1200 books, 277
 directed to Mystical Body, 280
 germinates dominical words, 281, 292
See also Eucharist
- Epiphanius, St, 153, 195-7 *pass.*, 218, 224, 256, 257
- Ethiopia, 22, 318, 322-7
- Eton, 328 n. 4
- Etsi non dubitemus*, Bull, 21 April 1441, 313 n. 2
- Euboea (Negroponte), 80, 303, 304, 392, 393
- Eucharist
 a difference between the Churches, 116, 265
 discussed with Pope, 266, 267, 272
cedula, 274
 exposition by Torquemada, 274-5, 280-1
 'form' to be let drop, 272, 273
 'form' is dominical words, 275, 278, 280, 281
 'form', only in oral statement, 273, 278, 284, 286, 292-3
 agreement, 266, 272, 281, 284, 286
See also Epiclesis
- Eudaimonoioannes, Nicholas, 20-4, 29, 30-1, 32, 34, 35
- Eugenius, John, nomophylax in Ferrara, 114, 127, 130 n. 1, 350
 active anti-unionist, 20, 373, 375, 379 n. 1, 393-4, 402
- Eugenius, Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus
 consecrated bishop, 77, 229
 procurator of patriarch, 76, 111 n. 2, 127
 in Ferrara—guest of Cesarini, 114;
 writes to Pope, 114; spokesman in conferences, 114, 115-16, 118, 119-20, 123-5; has leave to depart, 127;
 declares council oecumenical, 128;
 chooses Addition for discussion, 129; orator in sessions, 130, 145-63 *pass.*, 170; remains unconvinced, 166; agrees to discuss dogma in Florence, 173, 174, 182
 in Florence—orator in sessions, 194, 195-207 *pass.*, 207-11, 229; member of committees, 245, 249; delegate to Latins, 128, 236, 237, 245; not present at last two sessions, 213, 244; not at session on Eucharist, 273 n. 1; remains unconvinced, 226, 278; engaged in dispute, 234-5, 238, 248-9, 255; declares Greek codices of Latins falsified, 199, 200, 226; declares texts of Latin Fathers falsified, 231, 235, and Latins heretics, 234, 405; but admits harmony of Saints, 231; disapproves of Greek

Eugenicus (*cont.*)

cedula, 250 n. 3, 251, and of *Filioque*, 245, 260, 261, 262, in written *vo.um*, 261, 262; writes dissertation on Eucharist, 272; did not sign decree, 292, 356; unpenalised, 287, 297, 301, 396, 406; unyielding, 20, 166, 226, 257, 278, 292, 356, 397, 398, 406

in Constantinople—anti-unionist propagandist, 351, 355–6, 357, 395–6

refuses patriarchate, 349

flees, 350

in confinement, 355

death, 365 n. 2

in general—learned, 77, 223–4, 229, 410; proof of Greek freedom of speech, 405

Eugenius IV, pope

biography—monk in Venice, 347; elected Pope, 46; has stroke, 47 n. 2; flees to Florence, 56; goes to Bologna, 73, 77, to Ferrara, 96, to Florence, 180–1, 183; anniversary of election, 197, of coronation, 205; goes to Siena and Rome, 333; dies, 342; character, 343–8

relations with Basel—measures against, 69, 91, 94, 95, 96–8, 312–13, 317; accepts *Sicut pia mater*, 57, 60, 67, 77–9; recognises *sanior pars*, 77–8; conciliatory towards Council, 50, 56–7, 58, 60, 67, 68, 79 n. 6, 83, 344

relations with Greeks, 11, 15; sends to Constantinople Garatoni, 52, 57, 63, 65, 318, Francesco Condulmaro, 329–30, 364, 368, Isidore, 363–4; receives envoys, 51–2, 57–8, 72, 75, 78–9; sends ships to Constantinople, 77 ff.; sends to welcome Greeks in Venice, 101–3; receives them in Ferrara, 104–6; inaugurates combined Council, 109–11; urges action, 106, 113, 129; insists on public disputations, 191; receives Emperor, 129, 178, 245, 252, 253, 264, 282, 283; receives some Greek delegates, 129, 236–7, 265, 266, 267, 271–2, 283, 284; addresses Greek synod, 254, 258, 273, 275–6, 280;

prepares ships for Greek return, 276; insists on full primacy, 282; promulgates decree of union, 293–4; conciliatory to Greeks, 147, 288, 289 n. 1, 290; rewards some Greeks, 299–300, 400; sends no preachers, 399; forces union?, 407–9; refuses aid for Constantinople?, 116–17, 240; promises aid, 173, 263; gives aid, 79, 108 n. 2, 174–5, 352 n. 4, 383

relations with the princes—with Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples, 92, 131, 139, 311, 317, 321, 334; with Charles VII of France, 69–70, 71, 72, 112, 125, 133–4, 135, 142, 314–15, 318–19, 339–40; with the Electors of Germany, 91, 94, 125, 136–8, 139, 319, 339, 341–2, 345; with Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, 53, 92, 117, 131, 139–40, 176, 311, 320; with Florence, 56, 92, 173–9 *pass.*, 183, 299, 319, 321, 334; with Frederick III of Austria, 318, 319, 328, 339, 341, 345; with Genoa, 305, 309; with Henry VI of England, 69 n. 1, 131–3, 142, 299, 308, 314, 319–20; with Hungary, 317, 328; with Lithuania, 358–60 *pass.*, 362; with Philip of Burgundy, 32, 46, 47, 48, 131, 157–8, 314, 319; with Poland, 317, 328, 333, 358–9, 362; with René of Anjou, 69, 92, 131, 139, 319, 321, 344; with Sigismund, Roman Emperor, 50, 52, 53, 71, 91, 92, 105; with Stephen, king of Bosnia, 338; with Turks, 299, 317, 327–33; with Venice, 102, 117, 126, 142, 181, 276, 319, 321, 329–30, 334

finance—financial ability, 347; expenses of maintenance grants, 116, 119, 152, 170, 178–9, 253, 300; other expenditure on Greeks, 51 n. 4, 79 n. 4, 101, 108–9, 174–5, 290, 299–300, 318, 352 n. 4, 383, on others, 53, 112, 140–1, 339; deprived of income, 61, 62, 73–4, 175; borrows money, 175, 264 n. 1, 299; acquires it, 92, 93, 176; sequestrates

- Eugenius IV (*cont.*)
 Indulgence-money, 94, 108, 175;
 imposes Tenth, 175, 328; publishes
 Indulgence, 174, 333; financial diffi-
 culties, 113, 173, 174-6, 240
 reforms, 345-6
 effects union of Armenians, 53, 58,
 298, 305-10, of Copts, 310, 318,
 321-6, of Maronites and Chaldeans
 of Cyprus, 335-7, of Syrians, 335
 Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, 161, 162
 Eutyches, 161, 162
 Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, 163
Exposit debitum, Bull, 15 February 1438,
 97-8, 131, 313
Exultate Deo, Bull, 22 November 1439,
 307-8, 326, 335
- Felix V, antipope
 elected, 315-16
 condemned by Eugenius, 317
 relations with princes, 319-21
 receives Annates, 316, 347
 creates cardinals, 316, 321
 abdicates, 340
See also Amadeus
- Ferrara, 29, 84, 97, 101
 chosen for Council, 92-3
 arrival of Pope, 96, 97 n. 1, of Em-
 peror, 104, of Patriarch, 105
 seat of Council, 95, 102, 103, 111, 113,
 127, 165, 190, 201, 211, 312
 financial arrangements, 107-8
 in danger, 176
 receives *decretum pro Armenis*, 308
 tomb of Dionysius of Sardis, 112 n. 3
- Ferrara, Council of, *see* Florence,
 Oecumenical Council of
- Filelfo, Francesco, 19, 187
- Filioque*, 3, 6, 10, 13
 origin, 153, 216-17
 not to be discussed, 115, 151-2
 not to be inserted into Greek Creed,
 259, 260
 to be recited by Cretans, 393
See also Addition; Procession
- Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan
 supports Basel, 48, 53
 hostile to Eugenius, 92, 102, 131, 138,
 139-40
 makes war on Eugenius, 56, 67, 117,
 175, 176, 180
 restrains Basel, 137, 311
 supports Felix, then Eugenius, 320
- Finance, *see* Eugenius IV, pope, finance;
 Basel, Oecumenical Council of,
 expenses
- Firmanus (Domenico Capranica), car-
 dinal, 104 n. 2, 105, 107, 114, 129,
 244, 277, 317, 344
- Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople,
 161, 162
- Florence
 friendly to Martin V, 29, 31, to
 Eugenius, 56, 77, 319, 327, to
 Venice, 317
 lends money to Eugenius, 174, 175,
 176-8, 264, 299
 less friendly to Eugenius, 334
 hostile to Milan, 176, 317
 probable site of Council, 68, 70, 72,
 77, 92
 relations with Traversari, 126, 148,
 164
 transfer of Council from Ferrara, 171,
 173-4, 312
 undertakes to pay Greeks directly, 174,
 177, 300
 and pays them, 178-9, 253, 300
 arrival of Council, 180-4
 condition of city, 184-9, 347
 festivities, 197, 205, 282-3, 293-4
 repository of original decrees, 296 n. 1
 rewarded by Greeks, 301
 Greeks leave, 300, 301
 there come Armenians, 301, 305, 306,
 Copts, 323
- Florence, Oecumenical Council of
 (1438-?), 11, 14, 336, 404
 importance, vii-viii, 411
 recognised as oecumenical, 111, 127,
 128, 259
 ends, 337-8
 in Ferrara (1438)—transference of
 Council of Basel decreed, 91-2, 94-
 5; city of Ferrara chosen, 92-3;
 opening sessions, 95-8, 313, 317;
 inaugural session with Greeks, 107,
 109-11; delays, 106, 111 ff.; pre-
 liminary conferences, 115-16; dis-

Florence (*cont.*)

cussions on Purgatory, 117-25;
choice of subject of dogmatic sessions, 129; dogmatic sessions, 143-63; assessment of results, 165-9; translation projected, 126, 128; proposed for Florence, 171, 173; effected, 138, 177-9, 180-4; acknowledged as oecumenical, 111, 127, 128; question of voting, 97, 128, 129; numbers present, 95, 97, 141, 179 n. 1; place of meeting, 115, 130; frequency of sessions, 129-30, 165; duration of sessions, 165; expense, 113, 173-6, 178-9

in Florence (1439)—choice of Florence, 68, 70, 72, 77, 92, 126, 171, 176-7; Greeks accept translation, 173-4, 177; Latins accept, 178; session of translation, 178; members arrive in Florence, 180-4; inaugural meeting, 189-90; eight dogmatic sessions, 194-222; assessment of results, 223-6; negotiations between Greeks and of Greeks with Latins on Procession, 234-66; on other differences, 271-93; decree of union drawn up, 287-90, signed, 291-3, 295, 296 n. 1, 298, promulgated, 293-4; condemns Basel, 312-13, 317; debates conciliar question, 313-14; unites Armenians, 305-8; Copts and Ethiopians, 321-7; is translated to Rome, 333-4; oecumenical, 259; frequency of sessions, 190; duration of sessions, 199; arrangements not carried out, 244, 254

in Rome (1443)—opens in Lateran, 333; unites Syrians, 335, Maronites and Chaldeans of Cyprus, 335-7; ends, 337-8

Fonseca, Pietro, cardinal, 31, 32, 34

Forlì, 29, 117, 181

Foscari, Francesco, doge of Venice, 98-102 *pass.*, 302

France

visited by Manuel II, 11, 18
embassy at Basel hostile to Eugenius, 70-1

See also Charles VII

Franciscans

at Ferrara, 139-40

missionary activity, 305-7 *pass.*, 335-6, 338, 399

Observants, 346

Frederick III, archduke of Austria, king (1440) and emperor (1452) of the Romans

received copy of decree of union, 298

hostile to crusade, 328

relations with Basel, 319, with Eugenius, 339, 340 n. 1, 341-2, with German Electors, 339, 341-2

crowned Roman Emperor, 382

gives no help to Constantinople, 382

Frequens, Decree, 17 n. 1, 38

Fréron, Simon

envoy to Pope, 56-7

envoy to Constantinople, 60, 63-6

died, 75

Fusco, Angelotto, cardinal, 97, 104 n. 2, 197, 334

Gallipoli, 11, 51

Garatoni, Cristoforo

papal envoy—to Constantinople, 52, 57-8, 63, 65, 77, 79, 80, 82 n. 1, 303 n. 1, 318, 328, 350-2 *pass.*, 372, to Basel, 58-9, to Hungary, 329

in Italy, relations with Greeks, 101, 103, 106, 169, 266, 287, 290, 291-2

became Bishop of Corone, 77

bought codices, 163

spoke Greek, 169

last activities and death, 353 n. 1

Gemistus, George (Pletho)

in Ferrara, 114, 129, 130, 229

in Florence, 188, 249, 250, 268, 301, 397

Gennadius, metropolitan of Ganos, 89 n. 2, 260, 295

Gennadius, cf. George Scholarius

Genoa, 13, 19, 37, 264, 305-10 *pass.*, 382

George Gemistus Pletho, *see* Gemistus, George

George Scholarius, 'philosopher', 76, 188 n. 3

in Ferrara, 129, 166-8

the unionist, 65 n. 3, 225-6, 241-4, 258 n. 3, 258-9, 355, 356

- George Scholarius (*cont.*)
 composed *cedula*, 250
 writings, 166-8, 225-6, 227, 241-4,
 258-9, 355, 356, 367-8, 374
 chides Greeks for ignorance, 228
 shows harmony of Saints, 231, 242-4,
 258 n. 3
 in Florence, 242, 268, 301
 the anti-unionist, 14, 366, 367-8, 374,
 376, 380, 383-7
 first patriarch under Sultans, 388
 character, 366-7, 400-1
- Georgia
 envoys to Council, 89 n. 2, 110, 227,
 263
- Germany
 need of reform, 48, 49
 'German nation' in Basel, 69, 70, 316
 the Electors afraid of schism, 17, 68,
 91
 Diets to decide between Pope and
 Basel, 125, 136-8, 139, 319
 division between Frederick and
 Electors, 339, 341-2
 reconciliation with Eugenius, 341-2,
 345
- Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 186, 347
- Giacomo dei Primadizi, O.F.M., 305,
 306
- Goudeles, Nicholas, 75 n. 1, 137
- Greek Acts*
 contents, ix-x
 protocol-part ends, 211
 reliability as history, ix-xiv *pass.*, 150
- Greeks
 journey to Ferrara, 88-91, 98-103,
 104-6, 174
 names and numbers, 89 n. 2, 103,
 179 n. 1
 maintenance, 108-9, 116, 119, 152,
 177, 178-9, 253, 300
 maintenance in arrears, 170, 174, 252,
 290
 go to Florence, 173-4, 181-4
 divided over Purgatory, 120, 277
 accept amended Latin *cedula* on Pur-
 gatory, 285
 accept genuineness of quotations from
 Latin Fathers, 255-6, 257
 accept Latin *cedula* on Procession, 265
 request explanation of primacy and
 Eucharist, 272, get it, 273-5, 278-
 81, discuss it, 277-8, 281-2
 accept primacy, 284, 289
 make statement on Eucharist, 292-3
 sign the decree of union, 291-2, 295
 under duress?, 406-10
 dislike public discussion, 169, 170,
 236, 237, 244
 private meetings, 172-3, 212, 234-
 66 *pass.*, 272-89 *pass.*
 divided among themselves, 120, 234-5,
 238, 248-50, 255, 257, 277
 prelates ignorant, 228-9, 238, 243, 253
 blamed by Cesarini, 244, 252, by
 Eugenius, 129, 254
 in distress, 127-8, 170-3, 231, 238-9,
 252, 282, 397, 406, 408-9
 want to go home, 169, 171, 239, 252,
 276
 depart, 300-4
 reception of the union, 230-1, 349-88
pass.
See also Conferences; Constance, Oecu-
 menical Council of, relations with
 Greeks; Basel, Oecumenical Coun-
 cil of, deals with Greeks, sends ships
 to Constantinople; Embassies; Eu-
 genius IV, pope, relations with
 Greeks, finance
- Gregory, the Great, St, 121, 122, 153, 230
- Gregory, of Nazianzus, St, 123, 152,
 209, 216, 221, 241
- Gregory, of Nyssa, St, 121, 122, 153
- Gregory X, pope, 146
- Gregory Melissenus (Mammas), em-
 peror's confessor, protosyncellus,
 patriarch of Constantinople, 89 n. 2
 procurator, 76, 111 n. 2, 229
 Patriarch, 365, 390
 consecrates bishops, 364, 391, 395
 writings, 356-7
 flees to Rome, 376, 377, 379
 to be reinstated, 378, 380, 387
 unionist, 248, 260, 262, 369
 (according to Syropoulos) unpleasant,
 237, 238-9, 257, 262, 287, 302
 character, 357 n. 2
- Gregory IX, Armenian patriarch, 309
 n. 1, 310

- Gregory, monk, metropolitan of Kiev,
125 n. 2, 361, 395
- Gregory Palamas, 11, 14, 152
- Guarino Veronese, 19, 93, 187
- Hadrian, pope, 279
- Hegoumenoi, 262, 292
- Henry VI, king of England, 69 n. 1,
131-3, 299, 308 n. 3, 314, 319-20,
328 n. 4
- Hesychasm, 205-6, 225, 267, 285 n. 3,
396
- Hexamilion, 23, 331, 370
- Hilary, St, 216, 230
- Hofmann, Georg, viii, xv-xvi, 379
- Holes, Andrew, 133 n. 1, 142
- Holy Week, Latin ceremonies, 236
- Hormisdas, St, 216
- Humani generis Redemptoris*, Bull, 14
October 1443, 334
- Humanism, 19, 187-8, 347
- Humbert, cardinal, 5-6
- Hungary, 39, 42, 328, 329, 331-3, 353
n. 1
- Hunt, Walter (*Walter de Anglia*), 141
- Hunyadi, John, 328-33, 333, 364, 382
- Hussites, 16, 46-9 *pass.*, 64, 91, 380-2
Hypomnematographos, 250
- Iagaris, Andronicus, 75 n. 1, 130, 363
- Iagaris, Mark, 42, 44, 115, 117
- Iconoclastic controversy, the, 2, 3, 4, 14
- Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, 2-3
- Ignatius, metropolitan of Tornovo, 89
n. 2, 257, 263, 295, 381, 386 n. 1
- Ignorance of Greek prelates, 228-9, 238,
243, 253
- Imola, 117, 181
- Indulgences, 23, 42, 61, 67, 68, 76, 175,
333
- Innocent III, pope, 286
- Instrumentum acceptationis*, 139
- Isaias, metropolitan of Stauropolis, 89
n. 2, 229, 262, 292
- Isidore, metropolitan of Kiev and All
Russia
envoy at Basel, 54-6, 59-60, 65 n. 3,
87
procurator, 76, 111 n. 2
consecrated metropolitan, 77
- arrives in Ferrara, 125, 141
chosen orator, 130, 229
favours discussion of dogma, 172
arrives in Florence, 182
visits Eugenius, 128, 236, 263, 266,
267, 271-2, 284, 296
speaks in sessions, 222, 254, 281, 292
writings, 153 n. 8, 157 n. 1, 227, 245
in committees, 245, 248-50, 283
advocate of union, 234, 238, 255, 257,
260, 283, and unity, 278, 287, 291
n. 2
urged harmony of Saints, 234, 255
approved Latin doctrine, 260, 295
ambitions?, 287
created cardinal, 318
Apostolic Legate to Russia, 300, 356,
358-61, 362-3
issues encyclical from Buda, 359
envoy to *partes Graeciae et Russiae*, 363-
4, 389, 390
report, 364, 379, 389-90, 391-2
Legate to Constantinople, 380, 383-7
pass.
fought and wounded in siege, 388
divides his metropolitanate, 395
- Jagello, king of Poland and great
prince of Lithuania, 29 n. 4
- Jerome, St, 216, 230
- Jerusalem, 7, 13, 31, 279, 322, 327
See also Joachim, Patriarchs
- Joachim, patriarch of Jerusalem, 31,
112, 295, 353-4
- Joasaph, metropolitan of Amasia, 89 n. 2,
257, 295
- John the Baptist, St
feast of, in Florence, 282-3
- John Capistrano, St, 306, 346
- John Chrysostom, St, 121, 123, 275, 278
- John Damascene, St, 121, 249, 275, 280
- John, the Evangelist, St, 195, 204, 207,
214, 216
- John VIII, pope, 3
- John XXIII, antipope, 19, 21, 312,
314
- John, patriarch of Constantinople, 148,
216
- John, patriarch of Copts, 323, 324
- John, patriarch of Maronites, 335-6

- John V Palaeologus, emperor of Constantinople, 10-11, 14
- John VIII Palaeologus, emperor of Constantinople
 marries Sophia Monteferrata, 24, 32
 relations with Murad II, 33, 82 n. 3,
 with Martin V, 34-6, 39-41, 42-4,
 with Sigismund, 38-9, with Basel,
 54-6, 59-60, 66, 75-6, 80-2, 104,
 with Eugenius, 51-3, 57-8, 79-83
 goes to Ferrara, 83, 87-90, 98-104
pass.
 responsible for delays, 106, 111-12, 113
 hopes of western aid, 88, 106, 111-12,
 263-4, 369-70
 goes to Florence, 172-4, 177 n. 4, 178,
 181, 182, 183-4
 relations with Greek clerics—'manages' them, 115, 116, 118, 120, 127-9,
 404-5; persuades them, 172-4, 189,
 235, 237; chides them, 172-4, 189,
 228, 238, 286; addresses them, 172,
 174, 212, 237, 255, 259; defends them,
 157, 205, 206, 208, 244, 252-3;
 demands individual votes, 248, 250,
 256, 258-60, 406; deprives staurophoroi
 of vote, 256-7, 405; makes them sign
 decree, 291; protects Mark Eugenicus,
 287, 301
 attends meetings in Patriarch's palace,
 147, 190, 253, 405
 defender of Church, 237-8, 259, 287,
 373 n. 5, 402, 406
 visits the Pope, 129, 178, 245, 252,
 253, 264, 282, 283
 speaker in session in Florence, 190
 proposes conference of ten aside, 244
 difficulties on primacy and Eucharist,
 273, 277, 279, on wording of decree,
 288-90
 judgement on Procession, 259-60, 262,
 293, 294, 295
 impatient to depart, 276
 wants Greek Liturgy, 296
 visits Prato, 301
 returns to Constantinople, 301-4
 inactive in promoting union, 349, 369,
 402-3
 opposed by anti-unionists, 369, 370,
 403
- death of wife, 304
 death, 370
 character, 371
 ill, 169, 194, 246, 247 n. 2, 252
 insistence on etiquette, 142, 157-8, 301
 hunting, 127
 grants privileges to Florence, 185, 301,
 and Bologna, 302
 brought codices, 163
- John, emperor of Ethiopia, 322, 324, 327
- John, emperor of Trebizond, 110, 298, 368
- John of Antioch, 159, 200, 210, 220
- John of Montenero, O.P., provincial of Lombardy
 in Ferrara, 130, 140, 146
 speaker on the Procession, 165, 194,
 195-207, 211-12, 213-22, 223, 241,
 on the primacy, 273-4, 278-9
 asserts only one cause of Spirit, 212,
 230
 delegate, 283, 307
- John of Ragusa, O.P.
 at Basel, 46
 reliability as witness, 59 n. 1, 87
 envoy at Constantinople, 60, 63-6,
 74-7, 79-83, 163, 268-9
- John of Segovia, O.P., 139, 309 n. 1, 315, 319
- John of Torquemada, O.P., 140, 268, 283
 speaker on Purgatory, 114, 118, 119,
 122-3, on Eucharist, 274-5, 280-1,
 293, *de primatu*, 313-14
 in Spain, 112 n. 2
 in Germany, 130 n. 2
 with Copts, 325
- Jonas, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, 361, 395
- Joseph II, patriarch of Constantinople, 25
 relations with Martin V, 27, 35, 40,
 with Basel, 54, 64-6 *pass.*, 75, 81-2,
 82 n. 3
 goes to Ferrara, 66, 83, 90-1, 98-102
 reception by Pope, 104-6
 in Ferrara, 107, 108, 110-11, 116, 129,
 142, 147
 goes to Florence, 174, 179, 181-3

- Joseph II (*cont.*)
 relations with Eugenius, 52-3, 57, 58,
 59, 80-2, 116, 234; insists on pre-
 sence of Pope, 65 n. 3, 66, 81 n. 1,
 84, 102
 relations with his clerics, 129, 171-2,
 228, 234-5, 253, 257, 262, 270
 relations with the Emperor, 76, 129,
 142, 158, 172-4, 181, 235, 239, 253,
 255, 262
 force for union, 74, 144, 269, 270, 395
 votes on doctrine, 248, 250, 257, 260,
 261, 262, 268
 ready to proclaim union, 264-5
 ill, 109, 158, 169, 171, 172, 174, 178,
 189, 190, 194, 236, 248, 253, 254,
 260
 anointed, 236
 death and last *votum*, 267-8
 burial, 269
 election of successor, 287, 297, 349-50
 commemoration of death, 269, 277,
 284, 302
 and money, 103, 108, 109, 116, 119,
 152, 178-9, 253, 269
 character, 74, 103, 228, 268-9, 270-1
 Jogie, Martin, A.A., 401 n. 4
 Jurisdiction, Double
 Latin and Greek, 9, 297, 391-2, 401
 Latin and Armenian, 308
 Justin, emperor, 216
 Justinian, emperor, 279
- Kemp, John, archbishop of York, 318,
 319, 320 n. 1
 Kiev, 360, 395
 Kossovo, 333, 353, 371, 383
- Ladislav II, king of Poland (1386-
 1434), 26, 27
 Ladislav III, king of Poland (1434-
 1444)
 attitude to union, 359-60, 362
 becomes King of Hungary, 328
 crusader, 328, 329, 331-3
 death, 332, 333, 362
Laetentur caeli, Bull, 6 July 1439, *see*
 Decree of union
 Lapacci de' Rimbentini, Bartolomeo,
 O.P., 366, 374
- Lateran, fourth Oecumenical Council of
 (1215), 9
Latin Acts
 contents, x
 reliability as history, xiv
 unique source, 211, 271
 Latin Fathers
 falsified, 224, 231, 235
 Latin Synod
 approves *cedulae* and decree, 285-6,
 287, 290
 method of voting, 97
 Latins
 impatient, 113
 called heretics, 234, 405
 insist on clarity, 246, 251, 252-3, 254,
 265-6
 Lausanne, Louis de la Palu, bishop of,
 80-2
 Lebanon, 335-6
 'Legate a latere', Baseler, 137, 139, 319
 Legates a latere, papal
 to Constantinople, 23, 30-2, 34, 79,
 329, 330 n. 7, 383
 to Russia, 358-63
 Leghorn, 56, 185
 Le Jeune, Jean, bishop of Terouanne,
 283, 325
 Lemberg, 308-9, 362
 Leo, the Great, St, pope, 2, 159, 215,
 217, 230, 279, 307
 Leo IX, St, pope, 5-6
 Leonardo of Chios, 384 n. 5, 387
 Leontius of Caesarea, 208
 Liberius, pope, 160
 Liège, 32
 Lithuania, 25, 26, 47
 attitude to union, 358-9, 362-3, 394-5
 Liturgy
 celebrated, 106, 302, 359-60
 projected after union, 296
 permission to celebrate in both rites, 392
 rites equal, 359
 see also Epiclesis; Eucharist; Unleaven-
 ed bread
 Loredano, Aloisio, 330
 Lübeck, John Schele, bishop of, 68, 71,
 125 n. 2
 Lugo, 93 n. 2, 181
 Lupari, Baldassarre, 79, 101

- Lwów, 308-9, 362
 Lyons, second Oecumenical Council of (1274), 10, 14, 15, 34, 120, 249 n. 3
- Maccabees, 121
 Macrodocas, Great Logariastes of Trebizond, 141, 263
Magnas omnipotenti Deo
 Bull, 9 April 1438, 111, 288
 Mahomet I, sultan, 11, 33
 Mahomet II, sultan, 331
 becomes Sultan, 377
 builds fortress Romili Hissar, 382, 386
 captures Constantinople, 388
- Maintenance grants to Greeks
 paid, 108-9, 116, 119, 152, 177, 178-9, 253, 300
 for concession extorted, 116, 119
 in arrears, 109, 170, 174, 238-9, 252, 290, 300
 withheld to enforce union, 45, 406-9
- Mainz, 31, 138-9, 319
 Malatesta, Cleopa, 24
 Manuel II, emperor of Constantinople, 11-12, 18-23 *pass.*, 27-33 *pass.*, 37, 185
 Mark of Ephesus, *see* Eugenius, Mark
 Maronites, 335-7
 Marriage
 between Latins and Greeks, 19, 23-5, 27
 divorce, 297
 of Demetrius Palaeologus, 353
- Martin, V, pope, 17, 22-45 *pass.*, 47, 52, 189
 Martins, Antonio, bishop of Oporto, 73, 77-9 *pass.*, 111, 178
 Matthew, the Evangelist, St, 121, 122, 221, 259
 Matthew, metropolitan of Melenicus, 89 n. 2, 257, 260, 295
 Maximus, St, 212-13, 231, 235, 238, 245
 Medici, Cosimo de', 175, 185, 187-9 *pass.*, 299, 300
 Medici, Giovanni de', 185
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 175, 177-9 *pass.*, 299, 300
Memoirs of Silvester Syropoulus
 contents, xi, xiv-xv, 118, 145 n. 3, 158 n. 1, 194 n. 2, 271
 date, xi
 influence, 404-6 *pass.*
 historical value—in general, xi-xiv, 45, 233-4; in particular: statements wrong, 102 n. 3, 112 n. 1, 115 n. 2, 126, 150, 170-2, 176, 286, 287, 292-3, 294 n. 1; statements doubtful, 23 n. 4, 30, 65 n. 1, 112 n. 3, 130, 147 n. 1, 153 n. 8, 173 nn. 1 and 2, 177 n. 4, 232 n. 2, 238 n. 1, 239 n. 1, 249 n. 1, 251 n. 3, 258, 300-1, 303 n. 1, 357 n. 2, 405-6; statements more exact, 158 n. 1, 179 n. 1, 246, 263 n. 2
- Menger, Heinrich, 60, 63-6, 74
 Menonos, envoy of Theodore Palaologus, 141, 263
 Metaphysics, 191-4, 196, 197-8, 229
 Methodius, metropolitan of Lacedaemon, 89 n. 2, 287
 ardent unionist, 235, 248, 255, 260, 393
 Methone, 29, 41, 89, 164, 303, 330, 392, 394
 Metrophanes II, patriarch of Constantinople, 89 n. 2
 in Florence, 182, 245, 260, 262, 300
 in Constantinople, 350-3 *pass.*, 355, 357
 Metrophanes, metropolitan of Cyzicus, *see* Metrophanes II
 Meynage, Matthieu, 60-1, 66, 67
 Michael VIII, Palaeologus, emperor of Constantinople, 9-10, 11, 120
 Milan, Duke of, *see* Filippo Maria Visconti
Miserator et misericors Dominus, Bull, 24 February 1443, 333-4
 Modena, 181, 263
 Moldo-Wallachia, 110, 257, 298, 394
 Monitorium of 31 July 1437, 91, 94, 312; of 23 March 1440, 317
 Monteferrata, Sophia, 24
 Morea, *see* Peloponnesus
 Moscow, Principality of, 125 n. 2, 360-1, 395
 Moses, monk of Mt Athos, 77, 114, 295
Moses vir Dei, Bull, 4 September 1439, 306 n. 3, 312-13, 314, 315
Multa et admirabilia, Bull, 30 September 1444, 335

- Murad I, sultan, 11
 Murad II, sultan, 11, 33, 82 n. 3, 87,
 331-3, 370, 372, 377
- Narses, monk, 306, 308, 309 n. 1
 Nathaniel, metropolitan of Rhodes, 89
 n. 2, 260, 295, 300, 323, 391-2, 402
 Neagoe, envoy of Moldo-Wallachia, 141,
 263
 Negroponte (Euboea), 80, 303, 304, 392,
 393
 Nestorius, 149, 158, 159, 161, 209,
 210
 Nicaea, kingdom of, 9
 Nicaea, Oecumenical Councils of
 first (325), 1, 147-8, 208, 249-50;
 supposed canons of, 200, 201; sup-
 posed prohibition of, 160, 162, 168;
see also Creed, Nicene
 second (787)—quoted about Addition,
 148; Latin codex of, 148-9, 232 n. 2,
 256
 Nicholas I, St, pope, 2
 Nicholas V, pope, 187, 283, 341
 humanist, 187
 relations with Basel, 340, with Bosnia,
 338, with the Greeks, 377-80, 383,
 393, 402
 Nicholas of Cusa, 73, 77, 78, 137, 148,
 163
 Nicodemus, abbot of Ethiopian monas-
 tery, 322, 324
 Nicolò d'Este, marquise of Ferrara
 relations with Eugenius, 93, 96, 176,
 180, 181, with Greeks, 101-2,
 104-6, 127
 Normans, 6, 13
 Notaras, Luke, 151 n. 1, 369, 375-6,
 384 n. 5, 385, 390, 394
 Notaries, ix, 110, 115, 143, 150, 155 n. 1,
 223, 254
- Obizzi, Giovanni, 132, 133 n. 1
 'Observants', 345-6
 O'Heyne, Henry, bishop of Clonfert,
 132, 133
 Orders, Sacrament of, 307
 Origen, 121, 122
 Orsini, Giordano, cardinal, 57, 67, 96,
 97, 104 n. 2, 107, 140
- Pachomius, monk, 260, 295, 369
 Palamas, Gregory, 11, 14, 152
 Palamism, 205-6, 225, 267, 285 n. 3, 396
 Palu, Louis de la, bishop of Lausanne,
 80-2
 Patriarchs, Eastern
 procurators, 76, 111 n. 2, 112, 262,
 295
 order of, 284
 condemn the union, 353-4
 Paul, St, 121, 123, 206, 207, 213
 Pavia-Siena, Oecumenical Council of
 (1423), 38-9
 Payne, Peter, 68 n. 2
 Peloponnesus, 24, 37, 42, 89, 185, 363,
 372, 387
 and Turks, 23, 41, 329, 331, 371
 and union, 303, 373, 391, 393-4
 Pentarchy, 5, 12, 279
 Pera, 86, 306, 309, 310
 Peretola, 301
 Perquerii, Peter, O.F.M., 130
 Peter, St, 123, 259, 274, 279, 280, 314
 Peter, Erhiopian monk, 323-7 *pass.*
 Petit, Louis, A.A., archbishop of
 Corinth, 124, 365 n. 2, 376 n. 3
 Philanthropinus, George, 143, 248, 249,
 269, 291, 293
 Philanthropinus, Manuel, 29
 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, 32
 relations with Basel, 46-8 *pass.*
 relations with Eugenius, 151, 157-8,
 314, 319
 ships for crusade, 329-33 *pass.*, 383
 Philotheus, patriarch of Alexandria, 31,
 295, 323, 353-4
 Photius, patriarch of Constantinople,
 2-3, 151, 153
 Phrantzes, *see* Sphrantzes
 Piccinino, Nicolò, 117, 127, 140, 173,
 176, 181, 320-1
 Pietro del Monte (Piero da Monte), 164,
 299, 339, n. 1, 340, 345 n. 2
 Pisa, 19, 56, 185
 council of, 17
 Pistoia, 181, 301
 Pius II, pope
 envoy of Frederick III, 339, 341, 342,
 344, 345 n. 1, 348
 as Pope, 395, 401, 402

- Plague
in Ferrara, 113, 125, 126-7, 127
n. 3
reason for transfer of Council, 176,
178
in Basel, 311
- Platris, Constantine, 380-2
- Plousiadenus, John (Joseph, metro-
politan of Methone), ix, 240,
242 n. 1
- Poland, 16
attitude to union, 26, 47, 358-9, 362-3,
394-5
in crusade, 329, 331-3
Armenians of, 308, 309 n. 1
- Practica*, The, viii-xiv *pass.*
- Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 125,
134-5, 339
- Prato, shrine of Our Lady's Girdle,
301
- Prete Janni, 322, 324, 327
- Pridem ex justis*, Bull, 30 December 1437,
94-5
- Primacy of Holy See, 155, 156, 263
difficulty between Churches, 116,
265
discussed with Eugenius, 266, 272
discussed in session, 272, 273-4, 278-9
cedula, 274, 286
conceded by Greeks, 281-2, 284
- Procession of Holy Spirit
difficulty between Churches, 116
not chosen for Ferrara, 129
accepted for Florence, 172-3
public sessions, 194-223
criticism of Greek arguments, 223-6
Montenero asserts only one cause, 212,
230
agreement possible on patristic lines,
230-2
events leading to agreement, 234-66
cedulae, 247-8, 250, 265
final Greek *cedula* amended, 265-6
Greeks accept freely, 410
- Procurators of patriarchs, 76, 111 n. 2,
112, 262, 295, 298
- Prohibition to add to Creed enacted by
Nicaea, 160, 162
see also Addition to the Creed
- Ps.-Denis, 207, 221, 275, 280
- Purgatory
difficulty between Churches, 116, 265
no difficulty between Churches, 266,
267, 272
discussed in Ferrara, 116, 117-25
discussed with Eugenius, 266, 267, 272
Greeks suggest omitting, 272, 273
Greeks not clear on own doctrine, 120,
272
cedula, 120-1
cedula, amended and accepted, 285
- Quoniam alto*
Bull, 12 November 1431, 47, 51 n. 4
Bull, 18 December 1431, 48, 49
- Reddituri*, Bull, 3 September 1457, 393
'Reduction' of the Greeks, 18, 27-8, 30,
31, 34, 53
- Reform, ecclesiastical
need of, 15, 16-17
practicable?, 345
under Martin V, 45
achieved by Basel, 61, 63, 135, 139,
341, by Eugenius, 345-6
- René of Anjou, 69, 92, 131, 139, 319,
321, 344
- Rhodes, 41, 322, 329, 330, 333, 389, 391
'Robber' Council, 161
- Rome, 1-4 *pass.*, 324, 334
see also Florence, Oecumenical Council
of, in Rome
- Russia, 360-2, 395
- Russians, 89 n. 2, 125, 141, 181 n. 4,
291 n. 2, 358, 360-2, 364, 395
- Ruthenians, 47, 359, 362, 363, 395
- Sagundino, Nicholas, 115, 143, 144, 150,
165, 292, 300, 304
- Saints agree in doctrine, 230-2, 237, 255,
259, 261, 351, 410
- Salvatoris et Dei nostri*, Bull, 30 May 1438,
78
- S. Maria Novella, church of, 92, 183,
186, 189, 269, 284, 307, 312, 317
- Schele, John, bishop of Lübeck, 68, 71,
125 n. 2
- Schism
of East and West, 2-3, 5-6, 11-12,
14-15, 37, 114, 290, 294, 412

- Schism (*cont.*)
 of West, 15, 16-17, 68, 134, 310-11, 315-16
- Scholarius, *see* George Scholarius
- Scotland, 320
- Scoto, Daniele, 117
- Serchis, Armenian delegate, 306, 308, 309 n. 1
- Sessions
 number and duration—in Ferrara, 115, 129-30, 165, in Florence, 190, 199
 arrangements not observed, 146, 157-8, 165, 244, 254
- Sforza, Francesco, 56, 320-1
- Sicut pia mater*
 drafted by Martin V, 43-4, 55
 passed by Basel, 56, 60
 question of the preamble, 64
 broken by Basel, 71-2
 accepted by Greeks, 66, and insisted on, 72, 76, 81
 accepted by Eugenius, 57, 60, 67, 78, 79; fulfilled by him, 84, 174
- Siena, 38, 334, 363
See also Pavia-Siena, Oecumenical Council of
- Sigismund, king of Hungary, king (1411), emperor (1433), of the Romans, 16
 summoned the Council of Constance, 20
 relations with the Greeks, 20, 29, 38-9, 55, 56, 82 n. 3; with Basel, 48-50 *pass.*, 68-9, 70, 91; with Eugenius, 49, 52, 53, 71, 78
 death, 90, 94
- Sigismund, great prince of Lithuania (1432-1440), 359
- Signatories
 of decree for Greeks, 292-3, 295, 296 n. 1, 297-8, 410
 of decree for Armenians, 308
 of decree for Copts, 326, 353 n. 1
- Skanderbeg, 330
- Slaves, Christian, 41, 42, 87-8, 90
- Sophronius, metropolitan of Anchialus, 89 n. 2, 114, 250, 260, 262, 295
- Sphrantzes (Phrantzes), 11, 24 n. 3, 42, 43 n. 1, 80, 87, 330 n. 6, 365 n. 2, 387 n. 2, 391
- Statement, *see* *Cedulae*
- Staurophoroi, 89 n. 2, 107, 107 n. 1, 109, 142, 147, 239, 260
 silenced, 256-7, 262, 405
 present at statement on Eucharist, 292
 sign decree, 295
- Stephen, the Younger, St, 153
- Svidrigello, great prince of Lithuania (1430-2), 359
- Syllogisms, 151, 153-4, 155, 156, 162, 227
- Symeon Metaphrastes, 153
- Symeon, priest, 125 n. 2, 147 n. 1, 358, 360, 361
- 'Synaxis', 377, 381, 384
- Synod of Constantinople, 1450, false, 376 n. 3
- Syria, 335-6
- Syrians of Mesopotamia, 335
- Syropoulos, Silvester, Great Ecclesiarches
 author of *Memoirs*, xi, xiii
 goes first to Venice, 90, 98
 on committee about Purgatory, 114
 relations with Emperor, 119, 171, 172, 404
 relations with Latins, 116, 119, 128, 130, 176, 296
 laments, 109, 116, 252
 in argument, 249
 calls some prelates ignorant, 228-9
 ignorant of Patriarch's dying *votum*, 268
 accepts harmony of the Saints, 232
 against union, 173 n. 1, 250, 256
 deprived of vote in private meetings, 256-7
 forced to sign decree, 291
 witnesses Latin signatures and statement on the Eucharist, 292-3
 resigns, 350
 signs letter to Bohemians, 381
See also *Memoirs*
- Szegedin, 331, 332
- Taranto, Giovanni Berardi, archbishop of, 49, 62, 72, 73, 96, 101, 317
- Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, 148, 159, 161, 162, 235, 245
- Tenths
 imposed by Martin V, 32, by Basel, 69, 71, 72, 135, by Eugenius, 175, 328-9

- Terminology of the Trinity, 191-4
 Teutonic Knights, 16, 31
 Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, 159
 Theodore Palaeologus, despot
 relations with Martin V, 24, 32, 37
 represented at the Council, 141, 263
 in Constantinople, 354-5, 365, 369
 dies, 370
 Theodore, the Studite, 14
 Theodoretus, 121, 210
Theotokos, 150, 154
 Thomas Aquinas, St, 19, 225
 Thomas Palaeologus, 43
 Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan (Scotland), 315
 Thomas, Armenian delegate, 306, 308,
 309 n. 1
 Thomas da Sarzana (Parentucelli), 187,
 283, 341
 See also Nicholas V, pope
 Thomas de Courcelles (archdeacon of
 Metz), 134, 315
 Thomas of Tver, 125 n. 2, 141, 358
 Toledo, councils of, 216-17
 Tommaso da Firenze, O.F.M., 326
 Torcello, John, 363, 370
 Torquemada, *see* John of Torquemada
 Traversari, Ambrogio, general of the
 Camaldolese
 envoy at Basel, 66-7
 meets Greeks at Venice, 102 n. 2
 affection for Greeks, 103, 268, 290
 correspondence with Eugenius, 67,
 103, 176, 264; with Cardinal
 Cesarini, 148-9, 176, 251; with
 Cardinal Orsini, 67; with the
 'brothers Medici, 125, 126, 189
 on committee about Purgatory, 114-15
 in Florence (1438), 148
 interest in books, 163, 164
 spoke Greek, 141, 169
 did not learn Greek from Chrysoloras,
 187
 interpreted and translated, 118, 165,
 195, 204, 218
 wrote Greek of the decree, 287
 urges discussion of dogma, 169
 no hand in translation of Council, 176
 gives papal money to indigent, 290
 reformer of the Camaldolese, 346
 Trebizond, 10, 53, 75 n. 1, 257
 Trier, 31, 341, 345
 Trinity, Blessed
 metaphysical terminology, 191-4
 metaphysical explanations, 196, 197-8
 patristic approach of Greeks, 227-8
 See also Procession of the Holy Spirit
 Trullo
 Council in, 2
 Tudeschi, Nicolò, archbishop of Palermo,
 136, 137, 321
 Turks
 danger to Constantinople, 6, 8-9, 10,
 11, 13, 18, 33, 116, 239-40, 329,
 354, 355 n. 1, 370, 371
 devastations, 41-2, 87-8, 382, 388
 Greek dependence on Turk, 76, 82 n. 3,
 87, 371, 372
 Christian measures against, 37, 299,
 317, 327-33, 371, 383
 indulgences against the Turk, 23, 42,
 333
 Tver, 125 n. 2, 361
 Union of Greeks
 forced?, 230-2, 403-10
 not bought, 290-1, 400
 accepted in Venetian colonies, 303 n. 1
 promulgated in Poland, Lithuania,
 Russian principalities, 358-63; in
 Moscow, 360; in Constantinople,
 387
 numbers of unionists, 357, 364, 373,
 379, 386, 389-95
 why it failed, 395-403
 See also Decree of union with Greeks
 Unleavened bread, 5, 6, 10, 114, 116,
 266, 272, 275
 Utraquists of Prague, 380-2
 See also Bohemians
 Utrecht, 62
 Vallarosso, Fantinus, archbishop of Crete
 envoy to France, 69, 72, 112, 134
 sent to Greeks, 101, 266, 287
 active in Crete, 352, 392
 reports Patriarch's last *votum*, 268
 Valois, Noel, 135
 Varna, battle of, vii, 332-3, 362, 364,
 365, 369, 371, 382

INDEX

- Vasili, great prince of Moscow, 360-1
Vassian, archimandrite, 125 n. 2, 141
Venice
 and Constantinople, 8-9, 13, 19
 to provide ships, 37, 116-17, 276-7,
 302, 329-33 *pass.*
 reception of Greeks, 98-101, 103, 129;
 and their departure, 302-3
 bank for aid, 264
 lent Eugenius money, 175, 264, n. 1, 299
 other relations with Eugenius, 50, 102,
 142, 181, 319, 321, 334
 advises against transferring Council,
 126-7
 hostile to Milan, 176, 321
Versailles, Pierre de, bishop of Digne
 envoy of *senior pars*, 77-81 *pass.*
 report, 90-1, 98, 103 n. 1
 envoy, 134, 319 n. 3
Vespasiano da Bisticci, 187, 346, 347
Vigilius, pope, 148, 163
Viscu, Louis de Amarol, bishop of
 Viscu, 80
Vitelleschi, Giovanni, cardinal, 56, 103,
 106, 344
Vitold, great prince of Lithuania (1398-
 1430), 26, 27, 29 n. 4, 359
Voting, in Greek meetings, 174, 248,
 250, 256-63 *pass.*
Waurin, Walerand de, 330
Xanthopoulos, Theodore, great skevo-
 phylax, 130, 251, 295
Zengg, John Andreae, bishop of, 136,
 317
Zeno, Michele, 79, 101
Zenobius, St, 252
Zosimus, St, pope, 200, 201

