

»I Believe What the Great Church Believes« Latin Christians and their Confessions of Faith in 14th Century Byzantium

Modern scholarship on the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages and Early Modern times has moved away from ideas of unity and clear-cut boundaries to an emphasis on complexity, connectivity, diversity and cultural exchange in this geographical space¹. Moreover, recent studies have demonstrated that the identity of individuals living in multicultural and multi-religious environments in the High Middle Ages were complex and fluid. Especially with regard to religious beliefs, such cultural variability is reflected in an increased mobility between faiths and in the creation of interconfessional spaces in the Mediterranean².

The area of Constantinople and Pera was one such interconfessional space: through daily interaction in this and other areas, fluid religious identities emerged. By the end of the 14th century, many Byzantines felt at ease changing their confession. A prominent example is Demetrios Kydones who learned Latin from the Dominicans in Pera³ and translated, among other things, the *Summa summarum* of Thomas Aquinas into Greek. Like many other Greek scholars with an excellent knowledge of Latin and scholastic theology, Kydones converted to Catholicism⁴. Another group of Byzantine converts from this period consists of members of the patriarchal clergy and monks: when threatened with canonical penalties due to misconduct or heretical views, they simply changed sides, only to convert back some time later. The act of conversion enabled the patriarchal clerics to negotiate and get a better deal from the Patriarchate, their former employer; in some cases they even secured a higher position than before their confessional mobility⁵.

For the 14th century, a period of Western economic predominance, a significant number of Latin conversions to Orthodoxy is attested. The traces can be found in one of the

most important sources of the period, the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Consisting of two codices (Austrian National Library, Cod. hist. gr. 47 and 48) with around 800 documents, the Patriarchal Register provides historians with an invaluable body of evidence on the economic, social and political history of Late Medieval Europe⁶. Among other documents, it preserves several professions of faith related to Latin converts dated between 1360 and 1401. They constitute part of a series of professions of faith, which the Patriarchal chancellery started to register after the middle of the 14th century. Apart from providing information about the ritualisation and textualisation of conversions, these charters attest the cultural and social mobility of Western individuals in the Byzantine space, which was made possible by the act of conversion.

In the following, the structure and function of the *professiones fidei* as well as the personal stories behind the documents will be presented. It will be argued that the presence of these specific Western converts is not coincidental. On the contrary, many of them had proven ties to the Byzantine political and ecclesiastic authorities as well as to Byzantine aristocrats and merchants. At this time Byzantine emperors, such as John V Palaiologos (1369)⁷, and scholars opposed to Palamite theology were turning to the Latin Church and its teachings. This made it important for the Patriarchate to maintain its influence over Catholics, and to keep careful records on them.

The document: Profession of faith

D. M. Nicol argued that the integration of the Latins into Byzantine society presupposed the knowledge of Greek, in-

1 On the Mediterranean, the classic study is still Braudel, *La méditerranée*. – For new insights s. Abulafia, *The great sea*. – O’Connell/Dursteler, *The Mediterranean world*. – Horden/Purcell, *The corrupting sea 450-460 and 622-631 (for religion)*. – Horden/Kinoshita, *A Companion to Mediterranean History*.

2 On conversions in the Mediterranean world s. Dursteler, *Renegade Women 108-109*. – Epstein, *Purity Lost*. – Preiser-Kapeller, *Webs of conversion*.

3 Congourdeau, *Frère Simon 165-174*. – Congourdeau, *Note sur les dominicains 175-181*. – Balard, *La Romanie génoise*. – Balard, *L’organisation des colonies 261-276*. – Mitsiou, *Die Netzwerke 344-348*.

4 Delacroix-Besnier, *Conversions constantinopolitaines 715-761*. – Kolbaba, *Conversion 120-134*.

5 Demetrios Chloros, an anti-Palamite priest, converted to Catholicism sometime before 1369. He visited the Pope in Avignon as a Catholic priest. After his return to the Orthodox Church he became *kanstrisios* and *protonotarios* of the Great Church, s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte 253*. – Kraus, *Kleriker 278-279 and 449*.

6 For the edition of these documents s. PRK I, II and III. – Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata I-II*. The most profound analysis of the structure of the Register remains the monograph by Darrouzès, *Registre synodal*.

7 See now Pieralli, *Un imperator 97-134*. – For the journey of John V to the West s. Halecki, *Un empereur and especially 188-212 (the conversion of John V)*.

termarriage with Greeks and conversion to Orthodoxy⁸. For any conversion – which was often a precondition to the conclusion of a marriage – a profession of faith was necessary⁹.

A *professio fidei* is a private document related to the rite of baptism and the canonical regulations about converts. The Byzantine canon law prescribed a *λιβελλος* (*libellus*) for repentant heretics. With this *libellus*, they rejected all previous »heretic« beliefs; depending on the »gravity« of their heresy, they were then either baptised and anointed with the »holy chrism« (*myron*), or sometimes simply received the Holy Communion. Should a confirmation have already taken place, they were only submitted to a period of instruction to the Orthodox doctrine. Finally, a profession of faith and the reception of the Holy Communion followed¹⁰.

Regarding the Latins, the canon law did not clearly specify whether they had to be baptized according to the Orthodox rite¹¹. They were generally considered to be heretics; the major points of controversy were the *Filioque*, papal Primacy and the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Communion. The so-called »Lists of the Errors of the Latins« included further points such as the purgatory and the beardless priests¹². The negation of the heretical views, practices and customs of the Catholic Church constituted an essential part of the Late Byzantine *ὁμολογία* (»professions of faith«).

A typical *professio fidei* in the Patriarchal Register could include the following points:

1. Title (Ὁμολογία τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθόντος or Ὁμολογία τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθούσης)
2. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (381) without the *filioque*
3. Condemnation of the Latin addition to the Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son (*filioque*)
4. Profession and acceptance of the Orthodox doctrine about the procession of the Holy Spirit
5. Condemnation of the Latin practices and customs as inconsistent with the tradition and rules of the Apostles and the Church Fathers
6. Adherence to the doctrine and authority of the Church of Constantinople; some documents also add adherence »to the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople«

7. Emphasis on the fact that the conversion is due to firm conviction (*δλοψύχως*) or that the convert joins the Orthodox Church with purity and truth (*γνησίως [...] καὶ καθαρῶς*)
8. Reference to the Patriarch and the Synod as a body, in front of which the conversion is taking place
9. The document ends with the *corroboratio* and dating elements (month and indictio)¹³.

In practice, though, the professions of faith are flexible in matters of structure and form. Some do not include the Creed, while other consist only of an entry summarizing the act of conversion. The last option appears when the short notice follows a pre-existing confession. In such cases, the notary simply attached the notice to a previously fully registered text¹⁴.

The certification of these charters is also varied. Usually a signature – either in Latin or in Greek – was put at the end of the text¹⁵. Another option was the so-called *σιγνογραφία* at the beginning or at the end. This refers to an image of the cross, inscribed with the word *σίγνον* (*signum*) and the name of the person, i.e. *σίγνον Ὁργέντας* (Sign of Orgenta)¹⁶. In other documents, the person signed by simply setting a cross – with no further details – or his monogram¹⁷ or another graphic symbol (coat of arms or a banner)¹⁸. Only few *ὁμολογία* lack any kind of certification. The certification method depended on personal preferences, literacy, and the social and ethnic background of the converts. The patriarchal notaries allowed a certain freedom of choice in this respect. Nevertheless, for reasons of clarity they would usually add a Greek translation of signatures in Latin or Persian¹⁹. The existence of a Greek translation presupposes the presence of a translator or interpreter who explained to the patriarchal officials the meaning of a signature in Latin. The same person may have played also an important role in the procedure of conversion and the reading of the *professio fidei*. Although not testified in our documents, we can be sure that individuals with no or poor knowledge of Greek would have needed such services.

It remains uncertain whether these documents are the originals or copies. No general rule or practice demanded

8 Nicol, *Symbiosis and Integration* 113-135. – Nicol, *Mixed Marriages* 160-172. – Origone, *Marriage Connections* 226-241.

9 On the *professio fidei* as a private document s. Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ* 443, and Darrouzès, *Registre synodal* 155-162. – Silvano, *Professions of faith* 29-38. – For a thorough presentation of this type of document s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 234-239.

10 On the canonical regulations on this matter, s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 234.

11 For a detailed analysis s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 235-236. – Dragas, *The Manner of Reception* 235-237.

12 Congourdeau, *Vereinigung* 813-822. – Kattenbusch, *Confessionskunde* 321-329. – On the list of the points of controversy from the Latin perspective, s. Riebe, *Johannes XI. Bekkos* 55-56. – Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists* 34-69. – Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions* 117-143.

13 See Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 236-237.

14 This is the case of Titos, Piero da Verona and Ioannes Aminseles, s. Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 376 (March 1384), 84. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2766.

15 Signature in Latin by Stefano da Munte: Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 359 (December 1382), 48. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2747. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 257-258. – Signature in Greek by Philippos Lomelinos: Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* I no. 251 (1 July 1370), 506-507. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2585. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 254.

16 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 359 (December 1382), 48. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2747. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 257-258.

17 Antonios Tyatziba: Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 501/2 (February 1396), 266. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3019. – Manuel Herakleinos: Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 521 (December 1399), 296. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3083. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 266-267.

18 Vogtherr, *Urkundenlehre* 47-49.

19 On the certification of the professions of faith s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 242-244.

the separate creation of an original document that was then copied into the Register. Only in two instances did the authorities provide the converts with an »original« document²⁰. In all other cases, the registered confessions tend to function as the originals. A clarifying example is provided by Philippos Lomelinos: by writing his profession of faith by his own hand, he created the original of his declaration of faith²¹. For the Patriarchate, it was crucial to register the professions of faith as a guarantee and proof of the conversion.

The prosopography of conversion

It is not only the form and function of these documents that are complex, but also the stories of the persons involved. Apart from some prominent individuals among them, such as Ilario Doria, most Western »renegades«²² in the Patriarchal Register (see list below) are only attested in this source. Consequently, it is difficult to decode their exact background. However, the documentary evidence itself allows us to detect patterns in their actions and motivation. Studies of the phenomenon of »conversion« from other periods can also offer assistance. The most recent publication is the book of Eric R. Dursteler dealing with female converts in the 16th century. Based on a micro-historical analysis of renegades in fluent cultural borders, this publication provides a solid methodological basis. In the following, it will enable us to detect similarities and patterns in the actions of renegades in the interconfessional space of Eastern Mediterranean.

Western converts attested in the Patriarchal Register²³

- 4 December 1360: Fra Nikolaos
- 1 July 1370: Philippos Lomelinos
- June 1372: Georgios tu Vacha
- September 1381: Anonymous Latin Woman
- December 1382: Stephanos ta Munte
- December 1382: Orgenta, wife of Stephanos ta Munte
- September 1383: Zoe

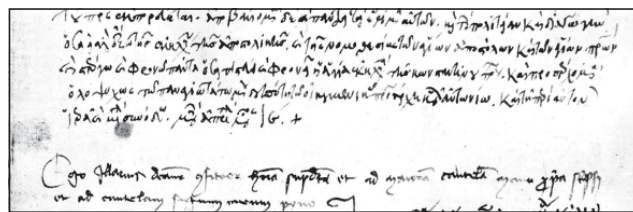


Fig. 1 Cod. Vind. hist. gr. 48, fol. 62^v: Signature of Hilario Doria under his profession of faith. – (Austrian National Library, Vienna).

- March 1384: Titos, Piero da Verona and *Ioannes Aminseles*
- January 1387: Nikolaos
- November 1387: Ioannes Baias
- 9 February 1389: *Georgios Moscholeon*
- April 1392: Ilario Doria
- June 1392: Ioannes Spetziaros
- January 1394: Ioannes Linardos
- February 1396: Antonios Lumbardos Tyatziba
- July 1396: Ioannes Logizos
- December 1399: *Manuel Herakleinos*
- February 1400: Ioannes, son of Konstantzos
- March 1400: Maria Serba, daughter of Barbaraskos
- December 1400: Nikolaos Kontares
- January 1401: Bartholomaios
- May 1401: Tzianes Gratzias
- May 1401: Maria, daughter of Tzane Katzamakos

From the 25 converts of Western origin in the Register (see the list above), 20 are men and 5 are women²⁴. The most prominent among them is the Genoese Hilario Doria (PLP 29091)²⁵, a brother-in-law (γαμβρός) of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos²⁶. His confession of faith (April 1392) preceded his marriage into the imperial family. Doria certified his document with a monogram and a *subscriptio* in Latin (fig. 1). Following a common procedure, a patriarchal notary added the Greek translation²⁷. Historical sources bear testimony to Doria's involvement in a mission to the Papacy on behalf of the emperor in 1399²⁸. Pope Boniface IX issued a bull for the collection of money destined to finance a project of military

20 1. Maria Serba: Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 546 (March 1400), 344. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3110. – 2. Nikolaos, Bishop of Chimara and Kozile: PRK III no. 252 and 253 (December 1360) (Koder/Hinterberger/Kresten 472-477). – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2439.

21 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* I no. 251 (1 July 1370), 506-507. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2585. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 254.

22 The term is being used here in the way Dursteler, *Renegade women*, ix applied it. In his understanding, »renegades« can also define individuals who »transgressed boundaries of any sort – political, religious, gender, social – and in any geographical, ideological, or theological direction«.

23 In italics are the persons listed with an uncertain western origin.

24 In this list are included only the converts who without a doubt or with great probability were Westerners.

25 In the 14th c., various members of the Doria family are attested in the sources, cf. Balard, *Péra* no. 10 (23 November 1319), 17-18: Antonius Aurie (Doria) and Symon Aurie no. 18 (16 June 1331), 21: Thomas de Auria; no. 27 (12 February

1332), 23: Nicolaus de Auria and Thomas de Auria; no. 28 (22 February 1332), 23: Thomas de Auria. – In the 13th c. a Gaspare Doria was active in Caffa, s. Balletto, *A Caffa* 22 and no. 1 (27 July 1298), 26: Gaspalis Auria.

26 Thierry Ganchou demonstrated recently that in this case γαμβρός means the brother-in-law and not the son-in-law as previous scholars believed, s. Ganchou, *Ilario Doria* 71-94. – For the older opinion, s. Barker, *Manuel II* 158-159, 474-475. – Origone, *Marriage Connections* 230. – Scorca, *Famiglie nobili* 87-90.

27 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II no. 430, 159. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2904. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* (Appendix) 272-273 (edition and translation of his profession): *Ego Illariu de Auria confiteor omnia supradicta, et ad maiorem cautelam manu propria scripsi, et ad cautelam signum meum pono.* † Τοῦτο λέγει βωμαικῶς: ἐγὼ Ἰλάριο Ντόρια ὁμολογῶ πάντα τὰ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένα καὶ διὰ πλείονα ἀσφάλειαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐτι δι' ἀσφάλειαν τὸ ἔμὸν σημεῖον τίθημι †.

28 Barker, *Manuel II* 158-159 and 474-475.

aid to Byzantium. The implementation of the papal bull was assigned to Hilario Doria, the Bishop of Chalcedon, and the Genoese Antonio Grillo and Niccolo Lomellini²⁹.

It is no coincidence that another member of the Lomel(l)ini family, Philippos Lomelinos (PLP 15035), appears as convert in the Patriarchal Register³⁰. His profession of faith is dated almost 20 years prior to that of Doria (1 July 1370). The text is exceptional because it is an autograph *professio fidei* in Greek. Philippos Lomelinos makes many spelling mistakes but he is fluent in writing Greek, whereas his signature follows the known form of *subscriptio* in Latin documents: *ἐγὼ ο φίλλειπος λομέλην*. Based on his language skills, he may have been a child of mixed marriage³¹.

The Lomellini were a prominent Genoese family, attested already in the 12th century. In 1390, a Georgius Lomelinus was a Genoese ship-owner and entrepreneur³². A Galeotus Lomellinus, son of a certain Basil, signed as a witness to the testament of Luchinus de Draperiis, who was married to a Palaiologina, daughter of Kaloiane Libadari³³. In 1399, the same Galeotus Lomellinus was, together with Nikolaos Notaras (PLP 20733), imperial ambassador to Italy³⁴. In the following decades, the Notaras and Lomellini families continued to act in the name of the emperor. Shortly before the Fall of Constantinople, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino gave a loan to the emperor. The contract was signed at the house of *mezas dux* and *mesazon* Loukas Notaras³⁵.

The cases of Doria and Lomellini confirm the argument of Klaus-Peter Matschke and Franz Tinnefeld, who long ago noticed that »already during the first Paleologoi a great number of Western (Genoese, Venetian, Pisan, Catalan etc.) captains, ship-owners and merchants – very often from influential families such as the Doria, Spinola and de Mari – were working for Byzantium. Many of them gained access to the high aristocracy through marriage with prominent Byzantine families such as the Palaiologoi, Asanes, Dukas, Rhaul and Philanthropenos« (my translation)³⁶.

Georgios tu Vacha, who became Orthodox in June 1372, was probably also Genoese³⁷. He signed his profession of faith as †*Georgios tu Vacha archō*. Above the name *Georgios* a different hand added *ὁ ἄρχων*. However, the dislocated translation of *archō* invites us to read it as *ὁ ἄρχων Georgios tu Vacha*. Generally, *archōn* indicates a ruler or a lord, a governor, a nobleman or a court titleholder³⁸. Thus, Georgios tu Vacha was of prominent origin. The Greek form of the forename in his signature (Georgios: Γεώργιος) and the Greek article of genitive before the family name (tu Vacha: τοῦ Βαχᾶ) indicate that he was in contact with or lived in a Greek-speaking environment. His family name is not often attested in the medieval charters. One *Galvanus Vacha de Finario* is a witness in a contract of 1319, while in 1361 a Rafael Vacha, a citizen of Pera, is mentioned in Genoese documents from Crimea³⁹.

The confession of faith by a certain Titos (PLP 28203) dates to March 1384; yet it lacks any signature or other authentication⁴⁰. It has recently been suggested that Titos may stand for *titius* (= someone), following a common western practice⁴¹. If true, then it would have been a *unicum* in the Patriarchal chancellery, since no other cases of this type of loan are attested. Moreover, the title of the document (Ἡ ὁμολογία τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθόντος Τίτου) ended originally after *ἐλθόντος* as it is clear from the point after this word; *Titos* was actually a later addition⁴². This implies that the addition was at first unnecessary, since, even in its absence, the Greek sentence would have denoted an anonymous convert. A parallel case is that of an anonymous female convert, where the title simply gives »Ὁμολογία τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθούσης«⁴³.

The *professio fidei* of Titos found a second and third use in the Register. Piero da Verona put his *signum* and his name underneath the text of the confession⁴⁴. In this case, the patriarchal chancery did not provide any Greek transliteration of his name. A family da Verona was one of the »three Lords« of Negroponte. From 1385 to 1390, the Venetians brought the island under their control, while the former liegemen could

29 Barker, Manuel II 159.

30 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata I no. 251 (1 July 1370), 506-507. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2585. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 254.

31 Makris, Die Gasmulen 44-96, esp. 48-63. 80-82. – Jacoby, Les Vénitiens 221-223. – S. also Matschke, Die Schlacht bei Ankara 103-105. – Sansaridou-Hendrickx, The Gasmules 135-143.

32 Otten-Froux, Deux consuls Grecs 247-248 (Doc. 2). – S. also Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 199, n. 197.

33 See also Balard, Péra, no. 73 (15 November 1389), 34-35. – The Libadarii were a prominent Lascarid family, s. Puech, Aristocratie I, 133. – In the 14th c., they are scarcely attested in Greek sources. However, this western document provides sufficient proof of kinship ties of the Libadarii to the Palaiologoi and to prominent Genoese merchants such as Luchinus de Draperiis, s. Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 178.

34 Cf. Dölger/Wirth, Regesten 3275. – S. also Scorza, Famiglie nobili 139-140. – Matschke, Personengeschichte, Familiengeschichte, Sozialgeschichte 787-812. – Mergiali-Sahas, Byzantine Ambassador 591. 598 with ann. 89; 599 with ann. 98.

35 Olgiate, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino 167. – Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 185.

36 Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 196.

37 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata I no. 164 (wrong dating in June 1357), 365-366. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2650.

38 In Pseudo-Kodinos, court title holders are mentioned as *archontes*, s. Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, Pseudo-Kodinos 143 with ann. 368.

39 Balard, Péra no. 10 (23 November 1319), 9-78. – Pistarino, Notai genovesi no. 10 (15 February 1361), 17-18: *Raffaël Vacha, procurator et procuratorio nomine Anthonii de Gentilibus olim de Piperis burgensis et habitatoris Peyre*; no. 11 (15 February 1361), 18-19; no. 40 (1 April 1361), 65-67; no. 44 (18 April 1361), 67: *Raffaël Vacha quondam Vachete Vache de Ceva*.

40 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 376 (*professio fidei trium Latinorum*) (March 1384), 84. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2766. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 258-259.

41 Gastgeber, Confessiones fidei 167, with ann. 35.

42 This practice is also attested in the *professio fidei* of Ioannes Linardos, whose name was added later after his family name and a cross, Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 452, 200. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2942. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 264.

43 Not edited by Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata. – S. Darrouzès, Regestes 2722. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 257.

44 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 376 (March 1384), 84. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2766. – The graphic sign of da Verona bears resemblance to the notarial *signum* of Marcus Marcella, priest and notary of Coron and Modon, s. Documenta veneta no. 3, 39 (1371) with fig. 17 (Nanetti 428); no. 3, 50 (1371) with fig. 18 (429). – On the graphic signs in Italian documents s. Ciccarelli, Segni manuali. – Pedani Fabris, Veneta auctoritate notarius.

possess only their fief⁴⁵; however, the family line from the male side can be followed only up to 1326⁴⁶. Other members of the da Verona family appear in various charters and sources. A document dated to 1350 mentions a *Johannes de Verona, dictus Cavesus*⁴⁷. Nicolaus Manfredino de Verona was public notary and magister in Corone in the 1370s⁴⁸. In December 1381, the captain (officer of justice) Philippe de Vérone, called Malerba, held the barony of Corfu. Finally, another prominent da Verona was the humanist Guarino da Verona⁴⁹.

Ioannes Aminseles (PLP 779) signed with his monogram (consisting of Iw and A) under the *confessio fidei* of Titos. Another hand added a *signum*, while a short notarial remark provides information about his conversion⁵⁰. It is difficult to determine whether Aminseles was the second or third convert who signed the *professio fidei*. A close examination of the position of the signatures, though, indicates that Piero da Verona was the last to do so; his monogram and signature were set in a limited space left between a pre-existing text of the Creed and the short notice of Aminseles' conversion. The lack of space at this third phase could explain why the patriarchal notary did not add any translation of da Verona's name.

Aminseles belonged to a family attested in the sources since the 13th century. Although a Jewish or Arabic origin is possible⁵¹, a linkage to a Genoese family such as the Anselmi is equally possible⁵². Ioannes Aminseles is the only Catholic among the bearers of this specific family name, probably due to him belonging to another branch. Other testified members of the Aminseles family appear in Lascarid and Palaiologan sources. In one of his letters, Theodore II Laskaris mentions an Aminseles as belonging to the same group as Kephes, Tetrakontapechys and Katarodonas⁵³. The monk Mark Amiselles was the spiritual father of Meletios the Confessor at Mount Galesion⁵⁴, while a (George?) Aminseles was *dux* in Thrace around 1285-1289⁵⁵. In 1337/8, Nikephoros Aminseles (PLP 780) died as monk Niphon, according to one short notice⁵⁶. Finally, in 1365 a certain Aminseles Bantimoires (PLP

2140) acted as a delegate of the Patriarch to Serres⁵⁷. It is evident that this family was also well connected to the political and ecclesiastical authorities in Byzantium.

The Catalan Ioannes Baias (PLP 19611) converted in November 1387⁵⁸. The charter delivers the following precise information on his ethnic origin: † Ἰωάννης ὁ Μπαΐας ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Κατελάνων προσήλθε τῇ ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [± 32] κατὰ μῆνα νοέμβριον τῆς ἰα' ἰνδικτιώνος. The bottom of the folio was cut with a sharp instrument leading to the loss of around 32 letters in the last line. However, in accordance with similar passages, the missing part can be reconstructed as »καὶ ἔστερξε τὴν παρούσαν ὁμολογίαν«. Baias may have come from an area under Catalan authority such as Athens or Neopatras⁵⁹. In November 1387, the Catalans were under attack by Nerio I Accaijuoli who succeeded in setting up a Florentine rule in Athens some months later. Baias may have left the area under the pressure of an unstable future. It is also possible that he was a merchant and member of the Catalan colony in Constantinople. Interestingly, up to 1383, the consul was a Genoese, but after that date, a Catalan or Greek could hold this office⁶⁰.

The *professio fidei* of Baias connects to that of a Latin female convert, Zoe (PLP 6645) (fig. 2). Baias had actually set his *signum* (a cross) to the left of her monogram. Her family name remains unknown; we know only that she came from Euripos (at this time under Venetian control)⁶¹ and that she became Orthodox in September 1383. Zoe signed with a monogram underneath a previously written confession, while a short notice provides little information about her name and origin. Interestingly her monogram resembles the one of Aminseles in form and concept. The recent suggestion that Baias and Zoe may have been a couple cannot stand on various grounds⁶² such as the different dates of the conversions (1383 and 1387), and the lack of any remark about a family relation of Baias and Zoe in the notices of their confessional change. Another reason for their co-presence could be the geographical proximity of their place of origin. The patriarchal

45 Cf. Koder, *Negroponte 45-47*. 54-55. 67. 109. – Loenertz, *Les seigneurs tierciers de Négrepont* 143 (Reg. 1). 144 (Reg. 5) and *passim*, as well as 178 and 180. – S. also Loenertz, *Les Ghisi* 442-446. 448-452. 476.

46 Loenertz, *Les Ghisi* 451.

47 See Laiou, *Un notaire vénitien* no. 32 (15 September 1350), 129. – S. also Loenertz, *Hospitaliers* no 41, 351.

48 See for example *Documenta veneta* no. 3, 2 (Nanetti 133); no. 3, 3 (133-134); no. 3, 4 (134).

49 PLP 4324.

50 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata II* no. 376 (March 1384), 84: οὗτος ἔστερξε τὴν παρούσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ προσήλθε τῇ ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἀπεβάλετο τὸ σέβας καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν Λατίνων μὴνι μαρτίῳ ἰνδικτιώνος ζ'†. – Mitsiu/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 258-259. Gastgeber, *Confessiones fidei* 167.

51 Festa in his publication of Theod. II Lask, *epist.*, index II, 404 considered it to derive from *Emin Selim*. Unfortunately, there are no similar family names in Byzantium. – The closest parallel is attested by a 10th c. seal of a certain Petros Aminganos, basilikos protospatharios of unknown descent, s. Peus *Auktion* 376 (29.-30.10.2003) no. 1350. I would like to thank Prof. W. Seibt (Vienna) for this information.

52 Scorza, *Famiglie nobili* no. 27 (Anselmi).

53 Theod. II Lask., *epist.* 70 (Festa 97, l. 19): ὅπως τὸν τοῦ Τεσσαρακονταπήχως ἐπισκέψηται οἶκον ἐνταῦθα ὄντα· ἔχει γὰρ ἐτέρους τρεῖς Ἄμινσέλην καὶ Καταρόδωνα καὶ Κηφὴν ἀδελφοὺς. – Puech, *Aristocratie I*, 40.

54 Puech, *Aristocratie I*, 40. – Kolbaba, *Meletios Homologetes* 137-168.

55 Puech, *Aristocratie I*, 40.

56 Lampros, *Enthymeseon* no. 57, 141.

57 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata I* no. 222 (December 1365), 479. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2503.

58 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata II* no. 334 (November 1387), 8. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2830.

59 Setton, *Catalan domination 174-186*. – Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Oi Katalanoi* 7-22. – Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Oi dytikoi* 266-277. – Papadia-Lala, *Society, Administration and Identities* 114-144.

60 Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Oi dytikoi* 267. – Cabestanyi Fort, *Els consolat Catalans* 318-321. – Marcos, *Els catalans* 23-78.

61 Koder, *Negroponte* 41-42.

62 Gastgeber, *Confessiones fidei* 186.

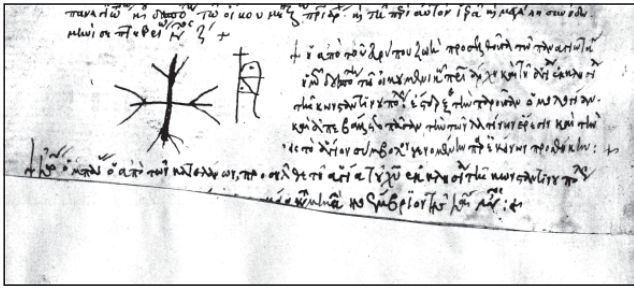


Fig. 2 Cod. Vind. hist. gr. 48, fol. 3r: Signa of Zoe and Ioannes Baias under their profession of faith. – (Austrian National Library, Vienna).

notary may have chosen to register the conversion of the Catalan Baias (from Athens or Neopatras?) next to that of Zoe from the neighbouring Euboea.

In January 1387, a certain Nikolaos (PLP 20395) condemned and rejected the customs of the Franks, not of the Latins⁶³. It is difficult to determine whether the reference to the Franks signifies anything particular. During the 14th century, »Frank« tends to equal the term Latin in the Byzantine sources. In Pseudo-Kodinos for instance »Franks« refer to all Westerners⁶⁴. Nikolaos was in all probability illiterate; for this reason, he drew by his own hand his usual sign, which resembles a banner with a cross in its upper part. The use of a banner is an indication of a military background. Moreover, Nikolaos made clear that he was a knight banneret and not a simple knight (*miles*). Being of higher rank allowed him to carry a flag on his spear. This is the banner he drafted underneath his confession⁶⁵.

Ioannes Spetziarēs (PLP 26537) probably came from Italy; his coat of arms at the end of his *professio fidei* (June 1392) is extremely interesting⁶⁶. In a previous publication, J. Preiser-Kapeller and I have argued that it resembles the coat of arms of the region of Molise (Province Campobasso and Isernia, called after the County Molise) in South Italy, which in the 14th century was part of the Kingdom of Naples⁶⁷. However, I would like to revise this idea after a closer heraldic examination. The scheme of this coat of arms is extremely rare⁶⁸. It can be described as a »pile bend sinister«, with a rose in the upper right corner. It is an otherwise unknown heraldic specimen.

The presence of the rose hints clearly at the family name of its owner⁶⁹. Spetziarēs derives from the word *specier* (*spizier* in the Venetian dialect) meaning a druggist or spice tradesman⁷⁰.

Underneath his *professio fidei*, Antonios Lumpardos Tyatziba⁷¹, in February 1396, made his sign by his own hand; it consists of a cross and the letter »T«. A search through published archival material for the family name Tyatziba brought no results. However, »Lumpardos« probably relates to his place of origin, Lombardy. In the 14th century, several people with the name Lombardus are attested. A certain Nikolaos Lombardus, captain of a galley, is mentioned in a document dated in 1331⁷². Moreover, a certain Theodorus Lambarda lived in May 1361 in Chilia⁷³. The same document also mentioned a *Constancio de Peyra* (*sartor* in Chilia) as a witness. Finally, in 1386 Hermolaus Lombardo, Lord of Chimara, sought refuge with the Venetians from the Ottomans⁷⁴.

The story of the next convert agrees with the general pattern of male conversion being either due to expectations of a greater social mobility or the result of social, political or economic pressure⁷⁵. In November 1400, Nikolaos Kontarēs faced severe problems with his creditors, his spiritual father George Anconas (PLP 267) and Demetrios Myropetes (PLP 19878); he took refuge in the Great Church and, with the aid of Patriarch Matthaios I, he came to terms with his creditors, thus avoiding the imprisonment. The connection between his financial problems and his conversion in December 1400 is not explicitly mentioned, but his profession is dated one month after the agreement with the creditors. That cannot be a mere coincidence. The family name Kontarēs speaks for an Italian, or rather Venetian, origin. His signature is in flawless Greek († Νικόλαος Κοντάρης ὑπέγραψα †) but Kontarēs is being described as ὁ ἐξ ἔθνῶν⁷⁶. He may have been a *gasmulos* (son of a mixed Greek and Latin union) living either in Constantinople or in Pera. It is also known that he had a wife, whose name and confession are not mentioned. Kontarēs did business with George Anconas and Demetrios Myropetes. Anconas reappears in another patriarchal charter as owner of houses in Constantinople⁷⁷. Myropetes is otherwise unknown. Nevertheless, the three persons seem to have usually conducted their business in Pera. At some point in the argument, the two creditors demanded at first to have

63 It was not edited by Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2814. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 259-260.
 64 Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, Pseudo-Kodinos 86, 7; 184, 14; 187 ann. 531. – Koder, Latinoi 38.
 65 I would like to thank Marios Bletas (Athens) for his valuable advice on the matter.
 66 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 432, 160. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2907. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 263.
 67 Santi-Mazzini, Araldica 178.
 68 I would like to thank the heraldry expert Marios Bletas (Athens) for his valuable advice on the matter.
 69 I would like to thank Angeliki Panopoulou (Athens) for drawing my attention to this possibility and M. Bletas for confirming this possibility. It is less probable that this is a guild crest similar to the ones that druggists in the Middle Ages used to hang in the entrances of their shops, s. Marangoni, Associazioni di Mestiere 161-171.

70 Oikonomidēs, Hommes d'affaires 102 with ann. 197.
 71 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 501/2 (February 1396), 266. – Darrouzès, Regestes 3019.
 72 Balard, Péra no. 23 (18 November 1331), 22.
 73 cf. Pistarino, Notai genovesi no. 93 (12 May 1361), 169-170.
 74 cf. Acta Albaniae II no. 323 (Valentini 41-42). – Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae II no. 480 (ca. 1. April 1392) (de Thalloczy/Jirecek/de Sufflay 129): *Alomoro* (Almerus) *Lombardi*, *condam Francisci*, *nobilis Venetus* (1392-1398); no. 611 (26 November 1398), 171.
 75 Dursteler, Renegade Women 113.
 76 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 615 (December 1400), 449. – Darrouzès, Regestes 3176. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 268-269 with ann. 148.
 77 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 572 (1400), 388.

the problem solved in Galata, since the documents of their financial interaction were written in Latin⁷⁸.

Ioannes Linardos converted in January 1394, setting only a monogram underneath his conversion⁷⁹. The patriarchal scribe did not offer any additional information next to it, since the title of the document provided his full name. In western practice, monograms replaced the seals and were unique. This particular monogram does not contain the initials of the name and it is rather unusual. There are more than three persons with the family name Linardos in the PLP, although the name is pronounced either Λίναρδος or Λινάρδος⁸⁰. The most promising among them is Lukas Linardos (PLP 14955), who in 1394, together with the oikēios of the emperor Nikolaos Makrodoukas, had lent money to a certain Stylianos Chalkeopoulos⁸¹. Lukas Linardos may have had family ties to Ioannes Linardos. If true, then the Linardoī had connections to the imperial circle and even to the emperor himself.

In July 1396 Ioannes Logizos converted; following a usual practice, he set his *signum* below the text of the confession. A patriarchal notary filled in the balks of the cross with the information: Σίγνον Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λογίζου. The name is rarely attested in the sources of Late Byzantium, with the exception of a certain Logezos (PLP 93984), who borrowed 35 hyperpyra from an anonymous entrepreneur at an uncertain date⁸².

A certain Manuel Herakleinos (PLP 6714) converted in December 1399⁸³. He signed with a monogram of M and H at the beginning and at the end of the document. The form of the monogram speaks for an individual trained in Latin *ductus*. There are no further individuals with the family name Herakleinos in the PLP, while a search in the published documents did not provide any further clues.

More personal information is available for Ioannes, son of Konstantzos (PLP 14113)⁸⁴. He converted in February 1400 due to his marriage to the daughter of Sitaroudes (PLP 25410). He even promised not to return to the faith of the Latins; otherwise, he would have to dissolve the marriage and return his wife's dowry. This promise attests a well-known fear of the Church that some converts could easily turn back to their old faith. Ioannes Konstantzos signed in Greek (†Eyo

Ἰωάννης του Κωνσταντζου στεργον υπεγραψα†). The entire form of his signature denotes a western origin but especially the usage of the Italian *ç* instead of the Greek τζ⁸⁵. He knew Greek to a satisfactory standard and he could use some abbreviations; nonetheless, he makes spelling and aspiration mistakes. Documents dated in the middle of the 14th century attest the name Konstantzios. In July 27, 1350, *Constancius de Soldadia*, who lived in Constantinople, bought a Tatar female slave⁸⁶. In 1361, *Constancio de Peyra* (*sartor* in Chilia) was mentioned as a witness in Chilia⁸⁷. It is, however, possible to identify Ioannes Konstantzos with Konstantzios (PLP 14112), a translator for the Venetians in Constantinople in 1390⁸⁸. In that case, it is evident that he was a prominent member of the Venetian community who, on social and financial grounds, decided to move to a new religious space.

Another Venetian translator, Georgios Moscholeon (PLP 19361), converted on 9 February 1389⁸⁹. In June 1390, *Giorgio Moscoleo* was a witness to the treaty between John V Palaiologos and Venice (*Georgio Moscoleo turcimanis communis Venetarum in Constantinopoli*). Despite his conversion, in the treaty he represented the Venetian side⁹⁰. The PLP registers one further Moscholeon (PLP 19362), an *archon ton ekklesion* in Thessaloniki in the 13th century.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau has argued that the conversion on 4 December 1360⁹¹ of the Dominican Bishop of Chimara and Kozyle, Fra Nikolaos (PLP 20417), may have been out of conviction⁹². Jean Darrouzès⁹³ suspected that «La renonciation explicite de cet évêque latin à son titre épiscopal est peut-être en rapport avec la nomination d'un métropolitain de Naupacte»⁹⁴. The Byzantine bishoprics of Chimara and Kozyle, which belonged to the metropolis Naupaktos, were after 1280 or 1285 under Latin rule. The last Byzantine bishop of Chimara was mentioned in 1315⁹⁵ and of Kozyle in 1283⁹⁶. The *loca Cimere et Palormi* (Panormos) (in 1358 under the despotes Ioannes Komnenos Asan) were known for piratic activities⁹⁷. Since 1278 there existed in Durazzo a Dominican monastery that developed close ties to the Thopia⁹⁸. As a matter of fact, Domenico Thopia (PLP 7741), the Latin bishop of Durazzo in 1359, was a monk in this monastery.

78 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 614 (November 1400), 448.

79 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 452, 200. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2942. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 264.

80 PLP 14949-14953. 14955-14956.

81 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 617 (20 December 1400), 452-454. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3179.

82 Schreiner, *Texte* 8/3, 145.

83 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 521 (December 1399), 296. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3083. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 266-267.

84 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 545 (February 1400), 343. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3103. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 267-268.

85 I would like to thank N. G. Moschonas (Athens) for drawing my attention to this detail.

86 Laiou, *Un notaire vénitien* no. 12 (27 July 1350), 115-116.

87 Pistarino, *Notai genovesi* no. 93 (12 May 1361), 169-170.

88 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* III no. 33 (1390), 143. – Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* no. 3192.

89 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 401 (1389), 114. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2845.

90 *Diplomatarium* II no. 135 (June 1390) (Thomas 229). – Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* III no. 33 (1390), 144. – Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* 3192.

91 PRK III nos 252 and 253 (December 1360) (Koder/Hinterberger/Kresten 472-477). – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2439. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 267-268.

92 Congourdeau, *Die Glaubensunterweisung* 408.

93 Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2439 (Critique).

94 PRK III no. 254 (September 1362) (Koder/Hinterberger/Kresten 478-483). – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2446.

95 PRK I no. 2 (Hunger/Kresten 112-120). – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2030.

96 Georg. Pachym., *Hist.* VII 14 (Failler-Laurent 57, l. 4-5). – Mitsiou, *Preveza* 33-44. – Fedalto, *La chiesa latina* II, mentioned neither the Latin bishopric nor Fra Nikolaos.

97 *Acta Albaniae* I no. 173 (14 June 1358), 160-161; II no. 313 (July 1386), 24; no. 323 (12 March 1387), 41-42; no. 341 (30 August 1387), 55-56; no. 598 (5 October 1395), 294-295; III no. 651 (19 September 1396), 26-27; no. 1058 (23 October 1403), 412-414. – Soustal, *Nikopolis* 136-137.

98 *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae* I no. 473-474 (de Thalloczy/Jirecek/de Sufflay 142). 556-558 (163-165). 666 (202). 731 (218). 802 (239); II no. 139 (35). 142 (36). – Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen* 158 and ann. 18. – Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien* 136 and ann. 261.

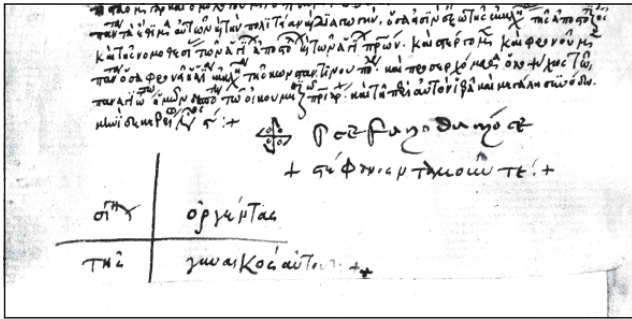


Fig. 3 Cod. Vind. hist. gr. 48, fol. 18r: Signa and signature of Stephanos ta Munte and his wife Orgenta under their profession of faith. – (Austrian National Library, Vienna).

The recent research of Christian Gastgeber has proved that Fra Nikolaos converted in the expectation of personal benefit rather than out of conviction. Gastgeber was able to trace Fra Nikolaos in later documents. This hitherto-unknown material demonstrates that Nikolaos remained in Constantinople – at least for the next two and a half years after his *professio fidei* – working as translator for the Patriarchate. His profession of faith already testified that he knew Greek. Fra Nikolaos played a significant role in the purchase of holy relics by Petrus de Pistagallis, physician of Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362) and later of King Hugo IV (Lusignan) of Cyprus (1324-1359)⁹⁹. In his new environment, he negotiated successfully with the Patriarchate and acted as a broker between parties with common interests.

For the next two converts, the information is scarce. In January 1401, a certain Bartholomaios converted to Orthodoxy but there is no signature or any other authentication below the text¹⁰⁰. The lack of any family name prohibits any conclusions about his place of origin or reasons for his decision to convert. In May 1401, Tzianes Gratzias set his sign (a cross) at the bottom of his *professio fidei*. However, the patriarchal scribe did not include any explanation of the signature¹⁰¹. Gratzias is a Venetian family name (de Graçia)¹⁰² and the forename Tzianes is also Italian.

A final important group are the female converts. There is a widely accepted idea that women are less inclined to convert because they are by nature more religious than men. However, recent studies have argued that women can embrace or defy conversion out of belief, self-interest or fear. An important role in their decision is usually played by the familial situation (a future marriage or an unhappy marriage, thoughts about their children etc.)¹⁰³.

Only five women are attested in the Patriarchal Register, and the motives for their conversion are not known. Their professions of faith do not demonstrate significant differences from those of men, other than a lower level of literacy. Zoe (PLP 6645) has already been presented. Another one is an anonymous Latin woman who converted in September 1381 (Ὁμολογία τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἑλθούσης). Unfortunately, no name or a signature has been registered¹⁰⁴. This may indicate that the document was planned to be used for a woman who, for reasons unknown, did not sign her *homologia*.

Maria Serba (PLP 25175), the daughter of Barbaraskos (PLP 2164) went over to Orthodoxy in March 1400¹⁰⁵. An interesting detail is that in the original *professio fidei* she had put her *signum* with the help of the *hypomnematographos* Akindynos Perdikes (PLP 22437). This is an indication of illiteracy, a phenomenon known also in the Byzantine notarial practice¹⁰⁶. Maria may have been of Venetian origin. A Venetian document dated 1345 mentions an *ambaxador Anzolo Serbi*¹⁰⁷. Moreover, the name Barbaraskos resembles Venetian family names such as Barbafelle¹⁰⁸, Barbadico¹⁰⁹, and Barbarano¹¹⁰.

Two female converts are identified as the »daughter of« followed by the name of the father. The first is Maria, daughter of Tzane Katzamukes (PLP 11488), who converted in May 1401. Maria set her sign on the upper part of the document, where the scribe of the document explained that: Σίγνον Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ Τζάνε Κατζαμούκου. Katzamukes or Katzamukos resembles Venetian family names such as Cazamundi, Cazatore and Cazatudi¹¹¹ found in documentary evidence from Venetian Crete.

One of the most fascinating cases is the parallel conversion of Orgenta (PLP 21087) and her husband Stephanos ta Munte (PLP 19468) in December 1382¹¹² (fig. 3). The latter signed by his own hand in Latin *Stefano da Monte*. Underneath the signature stands a Greek transcription of his name: + Στέφανος ταμουντε +. On the other side, a cross made by an experienced hand includes in its balks the information about Orgenta, the wife of Stefano da Monte (Σίγνον Ὁργέντας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ). Nevertheless, this cross cannot have been the *signum* of Orgenta. Much more probable is that a smaller cross at the end of the page – now cut – was her *signum*. When the lower part of the page was cut, the information on Orgenta was probably transferred to the current part of the page.

A search for the name in the edited sources brought only few results: in 1272, a *castellanus* of Durazzo, Almaricus

99 Gastgeber, *Reliquienhandel* 55-132.
 100 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 618 (January 1401), 454. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3180.
 101 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 642 (May 1401), 488. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3204.
 102 *Documenta veneta* no. 4. 27 (1378) (Nanetti 228): *Bonaventura de Graçia*.
 103 Dursteler, *Renegade Women* 112-115 (with all relevant bibliography).
 104 Not edited by Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata*. – S. Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2722. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 257.

105 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 546 (March 1400), 344. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 3110.
 106 Saradi-Mendelovici, *A contribution* 72-90.
 107 *Diplomatarium* I no. 155 (Thomas 297).
 108 Laiou, *Un notaire vénitien* 100 and index 147.
 109 *Catastici feudorum Crete* no. 950 (1273) (Gasparis 503).
 110 *Catastici feudorum Crete* no. 233 (1251) (Gasparis 142-143).
 111 *Catastici feudorum Crete* no. 880 (1234-1236) (Gasparis 473).
 112 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta et diplomata* II no. 359 (December 1382), 48. – Darrouzès, *Regestes* 2747. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte* 257-258.

de Monte Dragone is attested¹¹³. In 1277 a Henricus de Montibus was *vallettus regis Siciliae*¹¹⁴, whereas a Ludovicus de Montibus was *iusticiarius Ydronti*¹¹⁵. A century later, in 1399/1401, a Guillaume de Munte was commander of Flanders and member of the Hospital Order¹¹⁶.

It is difficult to elucidate the reasons behind the parallel conversion of this couple. Their decision indicates, however, that they changed the focus of their life and moved to an Orthodox environment either by choice or by necessity. In all probability, they converted for the sake of quicker social and economic integration within the Byzantine capital.

Conclusions

It is very fortunate that the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople preserved these testimonies of religious mobility in the 14th century. The story told speaks in favour of fluent borders that were easily crossed when the benefits of a conversion

were greater than those offered by previous observance. For its part, the Patriarchate had chosen to register the conversions to Orthodoxy as a reaction to the imperial efforts for a Union of the Churches¹¹⁷. On the other hand, the Western converts were not common people included in the codices by chance; on the contrary, they were persons connected to the emperor or the Patriarchate or to both of them, as the cases of Doria, Lomellinos and Fra Nikolaos demonstrate. Others were translators, soldiers and merchants. At the same time, their actions reflect well-known patterns of male and female conversions in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the Register, male conversions are also connected to expectations of a greater social mobility or as a reaction to social, political and economic pressure. For the female converts we can only suspect that their decision was based on belief, self-interest or fear. Certainly, their familial situation, i. e. a future marriage or an unhappy marriage, also played an important role. In any case, the conversions of the Latins should be seen as the result of a successful negotiation in a frame of exchange, profit and benefits.

Bibliography

Sources

Acta Albaniae: Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV, I-XXIII. Ed. J. Valentini (Palermo et al. 1967-1976).

Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae: Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia, collegerunt et digesserunt, I-II. Ed. L. de Thalloczy / C. Jirecek / E. de Sufflay (Wien 1913-1918).

Catastici feudorum Crete: Catastici feudorum Crete catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri, 1227-1418. Ed. Ch. Gasparis (Athens 2004).

Diplomatarium: Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive Acta et diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia I, a. 1300-1350; II, a. 1351-1454. Ed. G. M. Thomas (Venezia 1880/1887, reprint New York).

Documenta veneta: Documenta veneta Coroni et Methoni rogata: Euristicia e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum (secoli XIV e XV). Ed. A. Nanetti I (Athens 1999).

Georg. Pachym., Hist.: Georges Pachymères, Relations historiques III. Livres VII-IX. Ed. A. Failler. CFHB 24/3 (Paris 1999).

Lampros, Enthymeseon: Sp. Lampros, Ἐνθυμήσεων ἤτοι χρονικῶν σημειωμάτων συλλογὴ πρώτη. Neos Ellenomnemon 7, 1910, 113-314.

Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, Pseudo-Kodinos: Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: offices and ceremonies. Ed. R. Macrides / J. A. Munitiz / D. Angelov (Farnham 2013).

Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata: Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, I-III. Ed. F. Miklosich / J. Müller (Wien 1860-1865, reprint Athēnē 1996).

Pistarino, Notai genovesi: Notai genovesi in Oltremare atti rogati a Chilia da Antonio di Ponzò (1360-61). Ed. G. Pistarino. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 12 (Genova 1971).

PRK I: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1331. Ed. H. Hunger / O. Kresten. CFHB 19/1 (Wien 1981).

II: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 2. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337-1350. Ed. H. Hunger / O. Kresten / E. Kislinger / C. Cupane. CFHB 19/2 (Wien 1995).

III: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 3. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350-1363. Ed. J. Koder / M. Hinterberger / O. Kresten. CFHB 19/3 (Wien 2001).

Schreiner, Texte: Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana. Ed. P. Schreiner (Città del Vaticano 1991).

Theod. II Lask., epist.: Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae CCXVII. Ed. N. Festa (Firenze 1898).

113 Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae, I no. 278 (1272) (de Thalloczy/Jirecek/de Sufflay 79-80).

114 Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae, I no. 367 (1277) (de Thalloczy/Jirecek/de Sufflay 106).

115 Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae, I no. 394 (1279) (de Thalloczy/Jirecek/de Sufflay 115).

116 Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers 273, with ann. 1.

117 Gastgeber, Reliquienhandel 65-67.

References

- Abulafia, The great sea: David Abulafia, The great sea: a human history of the Mediterranean (London et al. 2011).
- Altaner, Die Dominikanermissionen: B. Altaner, Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters. Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 3 (Habelschwerdt 1924).
- Balard, L'organisation des colonies: M. Balard, L'organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'empire byzantin (XII^e-XV^e). In: V. Kravari / J. Lefort / C. Morisson (eds), Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin I. Realites byzantines 3 (Paris 1991) 261-276.
- La Romanie génoise: M. Balard, La Romanie génoise (XII^e-début du XV^e siècle), I-II (Rome 1978).
- Péra: M. Balard, Péra au XIV^e siècle. Documents notariés des Archives de Gênes. In: M. Balard / A. Laiou / C. Otten-Froux (eds), Les Italiens à Byzance. Edition et présentation de Documents. Byzantina Sorbonensia 6 (Paris 1987) 9-78.
- Balletto, A Caffa: L. Balletto, A Caffa nel 1298-1299. In: G. Pistarino (ed.), I problemi del Mar Nero nel passato e nel presente: seminario internazionale di studi, atti, Genova, 16 giugno 1992. Collana di monografie / Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere 8 (Genova 1993) 21-32.
- Barker, Manuel II: J. W. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship (New Brunswick et al. 1969).
- Braudel, La méditerranée: F. Braudel, La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (Paris 1966-1967).
- Cabestanyi Fort, Els consolat Catalans: J.-F. Cabestanyi Fort, Els consolat Catalans d'Ultramar a l'Orient 81262-1549). In: M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (ed.), Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana, by Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Secció Històrico-Arqueològica. Jornades Científiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans 11 (Barcelona 2000) 318-321.
- Ciccarelli, Segni manuali: D. Ciccarelli, Segni manuali e decorazione nei documenti Siciliani (Palermo 2002).
- Congourdeau, Vereinigung: M.-H. Congourdeau, Das Problem der griechisch-lateinischen Vereinigung. In: M. M. du Jourdin / A. Vauchez / B. Schimmelpfennig (eds), Die Geschichte des Christentums. VI: Die Zeit der Zerreiβproben (1274-1449) (Freiburg 1991) 813-822.
- Die Glaubensunterweisung: M.-H. Congourdeau, Die Glaubensunterweisung in der byzantinischen Kirche. In: M. M. du Jourdin / A. Vauchez / B. Schimmelpfennig (eds), Die Geschichte des Christentums. VI: Die Zeit der Zerreiβproben (1274-1449) (Freiburg 1991) 393-411.
- Frère Simon: M.-H. Congourdeau, Frère Simon le Constantinopolitain, O. P. (1235?-1325?). REB 45, 1987, 165-174.
- Note sur les dominicains: M.-H. Congourdeau, Note sur les dominicains de Constantinople au début du 14^e siècle. REB 45, 1987, 175-181.
- Darrouzès, Registre synodal: J. Darrouzès, Le registre synodal du Patriarcat byzantin au XIV^e siècle. Étude paléographique et diplomatique. Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 12 (Paris 1971).
- Regestes: J. Darrouzès, Les registes des Actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. 5 / 6 / 7. Les registes de 1310 à 1376 / 1377 à 1410 / 1410 à 1453. Le patriarcat byzantin, série 1 (Paris 1977-1991).
- ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ: J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'église byzantine. Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 11 (Paris 1970).
- Delacroix-Besnier, Conversions constantinopolitaines: C. Delacroix-Besnier, Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIV^e siècle. Melanges de l'Ecole française de Rome 105/2, 1993, 715-761.
- Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers: J. Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes (1310-1421) (London 1974).
- Dölger/Wirth, Regesten: F. Dölger / P. Wirth, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches. 2./3./4./5. Teil. Regesten von 1025-1204/1204-1282/1282-1341/1341-1453 (München 1995, 1977, 1960, 1965).
- Dourou-Eliopoulou, Οι δυτικοί: M. Dourou-Eliopoulou, Οι δυτικοί στη βενετοκρατούμενη Ρωμανία (Κρήτη, Μεθώνη, Κορώνη) από το 1261 έως το 1386. Μια γενική επισκόπηση. Thesaurismata 27, 1997, 37-64 (reprint in: M. Dourou-Eliopoulou, Οι δυτικοί στη βενετοκρατούμενη Ρωμανία [13^{ος}-15^{ος} αιώνας]. Μια ερευνητική προσέγγιση [Athēnē 2013], no. XXIV, 265-305).
- Οι Καταλανοί: M. Dourou-Eliopoulou, Οι Καταλανοί του Δουκάτου των Αθηνών και οι σχέσεις τους με τους Φράγκους τον 14^ο αιώνα. In: M. Dourou-Eliopoulou / T. Tanoulas / N. D. Kontogiannis et al. (eds), Καταλανο-Αραγωνική κυριαρχία στον ελληνικό χώρο (Athēnē 2012) 7-22.
- Dragas, The Manner of Reception: G. D. Dragas, The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special References to the Decisions of the Synods of 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople) and 1667 (Moscow). The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 44, 1999, 235-271.
- Dursteler, Renegade Women: E. R. Dursteler, Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean (Baltimore 2011).
- Epstein, Purity Lost: S. A. Epstein, Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1400 (Baltimore 2007).
- Fedalto, La chiesa latina: G. Fedalto, La chiesa latina in Oriente II: Hierarchia Latina Orientis. Studi religiosi 3 (Verona 1976).
- Ganchou, Ilario Doria: T. Ganchou, Ilario Doria, le gambros génois de Manuel II Palaiologos: beau-frère ou gendre? REB 66, 2008, 71-94.
- Gastgeber, Confessiones fidei: Chr. Gastgeber, Confessiones fidei im Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel (14. Jahrhundert). In: M.-H. Blanchet / F. Gabriel (eds), L'Union à l'épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIII^e-XVIII^e s.) (Paris 2016) 145-190.
- Der Umgang: Chr. Gastgeber, Der Umgang des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel mit der lateinischen Kirche im 14. Jahrhundert. In: E. Juhász (ed.), Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West (Budapest 2013) 131-159.
- Reliquienhandel: Ch. Gastgeber, Reliquienhandel im Umfeld des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, 1363. Ein verschollen geglaubtes Originaldokument aus dem ehemaligen Archiv von St. Stephan. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geistes-, sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlicher Anzeiger 151/1, 2016, 55-132.
- Halecki, Un empereur: O. Halecki, Un empereur de Byzance à Rome (Varsavia 1930, reprint London 1972) 188-212.
- Horden/Kinoshita, A Companion to Mediterranean History: P. Horden / Sh. Kinoshita, A Companion to Mediterranean History (Chichester et al. 2014).

- Horden/Purcell, *The corrupting sea*: P. Horden / N. Purcell, *The corrupting sea: a study of Mediterranean history* (Oxford et al. 2000).
- Jacoby, *Les Vénitiens*: D. Jacoby, *Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'empire byzantin: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Romanie du XIII^e au milieu du XV^e siècle*. TM 8, 1981, 217-235.
- Kattenbusch, *Confessionskunde*: F. Kattenbusch, *Lehrbuch der Vergleichenden Confessionskunde, Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher: Vergleichende Confessionskunde, I* (Freiburg 1892) 321-329.
- Koder, *Latinoi*: J. Koder, *Latinoi- The image of the other according to the Greek sources*. In: Ch. A. Maltezu / P. Schreiner (eds), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)* (Venezia 2002) 25-39.
- Negroponte: J. Koder, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböa während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1* (Wien 1973).
- Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions*: T. M. Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious »Errors«: Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350*. In: A. E. Laiou / R. P. Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, D.C. 2001) 117-143.
- Conversion: T. Kolbaba, *Conversion from Greek Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in the fourteenth Century*. BMGS 19, 1995, 120-134.
- Meletios Homologetes: T. Kolbaba, *Meletios Homologetes On the Customs of the Italians*. REB 55/1, 1997, 137-168.
- The Byzantine Lists: T. M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists. Errors of the Latins* (Urbana et al. 2000).
- Kraus, *Kleriker*: Ch. Kraus, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz. Anagnosten, Hypodiakone, Diakone und Priester 1261-1453*. Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 9 (Wiesbaden 2007).
- Laiou, *Un notaire vénitien*: A. Laiou, *Un notaire vénitien a Constantinople: Antonio Bresciano et le commerce international en 1350*. In: M. Ballard / A. Laiou / C. Otten-Froux (eds), *Les Italiens à Byzance. Edition et présentation de Documents*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 6 (Paris 1987) 79-151.
- Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*: R.-J. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce 1376-1383, Regestes et Documents*. OCP 22, 1956, 319-360.
- Les Ghisi: R.-J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi. Dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel 1207-1390* (Firenze 1975).
- Les seigneurs tiers de Négrepont: R.-J. Loenertz, *Les seigneurs tiers de Négrepont de 1205 à 1280*. In: R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca II. Storia e Letteratura* 145 (Roma 1978).
- Makris, *Die Gasmulen*: G. Makris, *Die Gasmulen*. Thesaurismata 22, 1992, 44-96.
- Marangoni, *Associazioni di Mestiere*: G. Marangoni, *Associazioni di Mestiere nella Repubblica Veneta (vittuaria-farmacia-medicina)* (Venezia 1974).
- Marcos, *Els catalans*: E. Marcos, *Els catalans il'Imperi bizantini*. In: M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (ed.), *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, by Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Secció Històrico-Arqueològica. *Jornades Científiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 11 (Barcelona 2000) 23-78.
- Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara*: K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz. Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte zwischen 1402 und 1422. Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte* 29 (Weimar 1981).
- Personengeschichte, Familiengeschichte, Sozialgeschichte: K.-P. Matschke, *Personengeschichte, Familiengeschichte, Sozialgeschichte: die Notaras im späten Byzanz*. In: L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: studi in onore di Geo. Collana di fonti e studi / Università degli Studi di Genova, Sede di Acqui Terme* 1 (Genova 1997) 787-812.
- Mergiali-Sahas, *Byzantine Ambassador*: S. Mergiali-Sahas, *Byzantine Ambassador to the West and his office during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: A profile*. BZ 94/2, 2001, 588-604.
- Mitsiou, *Aspects*: E. Mitsiou, *Aspekte der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des späten Byzanz in den Akten des Patriarchatsregisters*. *Historicum* 96, 2008, 32-42.
- Die Netzwerke: E. Mitsiou, *Die Netzwerke einer kulturellen Begegnung: byzantinische und lateinische Klöster in Konstantinopel im 13. und 14. Jh.* In: L. Lieb / K. Oschema / J. Heil (eds), *Abrahams Erbe: Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte* (Berlin et al. 2015) 359-374.
- Preveza: E. Mitsiou, *Η περιοχή της Πρέβεζας από την οπτική γωνία του Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 13^{ος} έως 15^{ος} αιώνας*. In: M. Vrelli-Zachou / Ch. Stavrakos / N. Karabelas / M. Stork (eds), *Preveza B. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for the History and Culture of Preveza (16-20 September 2009)*, I (Preveza 2010) 33-44.
- Theodora Palaiologina: E. Mitsiou, *Regaining the true faith: the confession of faith of Theodora Palaiologina*. In: M.-H. Blanchet / F. Gabriel (eds), *L'Union à l'épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIII^e-XVIII^e s.)* (Paris 2016) 77-96.
- Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte*: E. Mitsiou / J. Preiser-Kapeller, *Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel*. In: Ch. Gastgeber / O. Kresten (eds), *Sylloge palaeographico-diplomatica. Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 19 (Wien 2010) 233-288.
- Nicol, *Mixed Marriages*: D. M. Nicol, *Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*. In: D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium: its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World. Collected Studies. Variorum Reprints* (London 1972) no. IV, 160-172.
- Symbiosis and Integration: D. M. Nicol, *Symbiosis and Integration. Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries*. BF 7, 1979, 113-135.
- O'Connell/Dursteler, *The Mediterranean world*: M. O'Connell / E. R. Dursteler, *The Mediterranean world: from the fall of Rome to the rise of Napoleon* (Baltimore 2016).
- Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*: N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Montréal et al. 1979).
- Olgiati, *Angelo Giovanni Lomellino*: G. Olgiati, *Angelo Giovanni Lomellino. Attività politica e mercantile dell'ultimo podesta di Pera*. In: *Storia dei Genovesi* 9 (Genova 1989) 136-196.
- Origone, *Marriage Connections*: S. Origone, *Marriage Connections between Byzantium and the West in the Age of the Palaiologoi*. In: B. Arbel (ed.), *Intercultural contacts in the medieval Mediterranean* (London et al. 1996) 226-241.

- Otten-Froux, Deux consuls Grecs: C. Otten-Froux, Deux consuls Grecs à Gênes à la fin du 14^e siècle. *REB* 50, 1992, 241-248.
- Papadia-Lala, Society, Administration and Identities: A. Papadia-Lala, Society, Administration and Identities in Latin Greece. In: N. I. Tsougarakis / P. Lock (eds), *A Companion to Latin Greece* (Leiden et al. 2015) 114-144.
- Pedani Fabris, Veneta auctoritate notarius: M. P. Pedani Fabris, »Veneta auctoritate notarius«. *Storia del notariato veneziano (1514-1797)* (Milan 1996).
- Pieralli, Un imperator: L. Pieralli, Un imperator di Bisanzio a Roma: la professione di fede di Giovanni V Paleologo. In: M.-H. Blanchet / F. Gabriel (eds), *L'Union à l'épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIII^e-XVIII^e s.)* (Paris 2016) 97-134.
- Preiser-Kapeller, Webs of conversion: J. Preiser-Kapeller, Webs of conversion. An analysis of social networks of converts across Islamic-Christian borders in Anatolia, South-eastern Europe and the Black Sea from the 13th to the 15th cent (working paper). www.academia.edu/1243539/Webs_of_conversion._An_analysis_of_social_networks_of_converters_across_Islamic-Christian_borders_in_Anatolia_South-eastern_Europe_and_the_Black_Sea_from_the_13th_to_the_15th_cent (29.3.2018).
- Puech, Aristocratie: V. T. Puech, L'aristocratie et le pouvoir à Byzance au XIII^e siècle (1204-1310), I-II. [unpubl. Diss. Univ. Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines 2000].
- Riebe, Johannes XI. Bekkos: A. Riebe, Rom in Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel. Patriarch Johannes XI. Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon (1274). *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 8 (Wiesbaden 2005).
- Sansaridou-Hendrickx, The Gasmules: Th. Sansaridou-Hendrickx, The Gasmules in the 13th and the 14th centuries: Social outcasts or advocates of cultural integration? *Acta patristica et Byzantina* 8/1, 1997, 135-143.
- Santi-Mazzini, Araldica: G. Santi-Mazzini, Araldica. Storia, linguaggio, simboli e significati dei blasoni e delle armi (Milano 2004).
- Saradi-Mendelovici, A contribution: H. Saradi-Mendelovici, A contribution to the study of the Byzantine notarial formulas. The infirmitas sexus of women and the Sc. Velleianum. *BZ* 83/1, 1990, 72-90.
- Schmitt, Das venezianische Albanien: O. J. Schmitt, Das venezianische Albanien (1392-1479). *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 110 (München 2001).
- Scorza, Famiglie nobili: A. M. G. Scorza, Le famiglie nobili Genovesi (Genova 1924).
- Setton, Catalan domination: K. M. Setton, Catalan domination of Athens, 1311-1388 (London 1975).
- Silvano, Professions of faith: L. Silvano, Professions of faith in Byzantium in the 13th-14th centuries. Some preliminary considerations. In: M.-H. Blanchet / F. Gabriel (eds), *L'Union à l'épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIII^e-XVIII^e s.)* (Paris 2016) 29-38.
- Soustal, Nikopolis: P. Soustal, Nikopolis und Kephallenia. *TIB* 3 (Wien 1981).
- Vogtherr, Urkundenlehre: Thomas Vogtherr, Urkundenlehre (Hannover 2008).