»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 space. 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 Mediterranean.

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 Pera 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 Catholicism. 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 mobility.

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 Europe. 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 chancellerie 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 *profesiones 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), 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-
termarriage with Greeks and conversion to Orthodoxy. For any conversion – which was often a precondition to the conclusion of a marriage – a profession of faith was necessary.

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 λεβέλος (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 followed.10

Regarding the Latins, the canon law did not clearly specify whether they had to be baptized according to the Orthodox rite. 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 priests.12 The negation of the heretical views, practices and customs of the Catholic Church constituted an essential part of the Late Byzantine ομολογία («professions of faith»).

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

1. Title (Ὁμολογία τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθόντος οἰ Όμολογία 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 (ὁμολογία τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθούσης)
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 (ἀλλοψυχως) or that the convert joins the Orthodox Church with purity and truth (γυμνίως [...]) και καθαιρώς
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 indiction)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 text.14

The certification of these charters is also varied. Usually a signature – either in Latin or in Greek – was put at the end of the text. Another option was the so-called συγγραφία at the beginning or at the end. This refers to an image of the cross, inscribed with the word σιγνον (signum) and the name of the person, i.e. σιγνον ΌΡΕΝΤΑ (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 ομολογίαι 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 Persian.19 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

9 On the professio fidei as a private document s. Darrouzès, ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ 443, and Darrouzès, Registre synodal 155-162. – Silvano, Professions of faith 29-38. – Darr ouzès, Registres 234-239.
10 On the canonical regulations on this matter, s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 234.
13 See Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übberritte 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, Übberritte 257-258. – Signature in Greek by Philippus Lonelinos: Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata I no. 251 (1 July 1370), 506-507. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2585. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übberritte 254.
16 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 359 (December 1382), 48. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2747. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übberritte 257-258.
17 Antonios Tytzibas: 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, Übberritte 266-267.
18 Vogtherr, Urkundenlebene 47-49.
19 On the certification of the professions of faith s. Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übberritte 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» document. 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 faith. 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», in the Patriarchal Register (see list below) are only attested in this source. Consequently, it is difficult to decide 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 Register

- 21 Miklosich / Müller, Acta et diplomata I no. 251 (1 July 1370), 506-507. – Darrouzès, Regestes 2585. – Mitsiou / Preiser-Kapeller, Ubertritte 20.
- 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, Péa no. 10 (23 November 1319), 17-18: Antonius Auri (Doria) and Symon Auri 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.

From the 25 converts of Western origin in the Register (see the list above), 20 are men and 5 are women. The most prominent among them is the Genoese Hilario Doria (PLP 29091), a brother-in-law (γαμβρός) of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos. 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 translation. Historical sources bear testimony to Doria’s involvement in a mission to the Papacy on behalf of the emperor in 1399. Pope Boniface IX issued a bull for the collection of money destined to finance a project of military
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 Lomellini.

It is no coincidence that another member of the Lomel(l)ini family, Philippos Lomelinos (PLP 15035), appears as convert to Byzantium. The implementation of the papal bull was in the Patriarchal Register. His profession of faith is dated 1370. The text of the known form of professio dei in Greek. Philippos Lomelinos makes many spelling mistakes but he is fluent in writing Greek, whereas his signature follows. The triarchal chancery did not provide any Greek transliteration of the title of the document (= someone), following a common western practice. If true, then it would have been a unicum in the Patriarchal chancery, since no other cases of this type of loan are attested. Moreover, the title of the document (Η ὁμολογία τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθόντος Τίτου) ended originally after ἐλθόντος as it is clear from the point after this word; Titos was actually a later addition. 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 Ὑμνολογία τῆς ἀνδρὸς τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθοῦσας.

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).

Georgios tu Vacha, who became Orthodox in June 1372, was probably also Genoese. He signed his profession of faith as Ὑμνολογία τῆς ἀνδρὸς τῶν Λατίνων ἐλθοῦσας. However, the displaced translation of archo invites us to read it as Ὑμνολογία ἑαυτοῦ τῆς τοῦ Βαχῆς. The text of the known form of professio dei in Greek. Philippos Lomelinos makes many spelling mistakes but he is fluent in writing Greek, whereas his signature follows. Based on his language skills, he may have already in the 12th century. In 1390, a Georgius Lomelinus of Constantinople, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino gave a loan to the Greek embassy. Shortly before the Fall of Constantinople, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino gave a loan to the emperor. The contract was signed at the house of megas dux and mesazon Loukas Notaras. 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).
possess only their fief; however, the family line from the male side can be followed only up to 1326. 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. Nicolaus Manfredino de Verona was public notary and magister in Corone in the 1370s. In December 1381, the captain (officer of justice) Philippe de Véron, called Malerba, held the barony of Corfu. Finally, another prominent da Verona was the humanist Guarino da Verona.

Ioannes Aminseles (PLP 779) signed with his monogram (consisting of И and A) under the confessio fidei of Titos. Another hand added a signum, while a short notarial remark provides information about his conversion. 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 possible, a linkage to a Genoese family such as the Anselmi is equally possible. 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 Lascari and Palaiologan sources. In one of his letters, Theodore Il Laskaris mentions an Aminseles as belonging to the same group as Kephes, Tetrakontaapeshys and Katarodonas. The monk Mark Amielles was the spiritual father of Meletios the Confessor at Mount Galesion, while a (George?) Amiselles was the spiritual father of Meletios the Confessor of justice Philippe de Véron, dictus Cavesus. Nicolaus Manfredino de Verona was public notary and magister in Corone in the 1370s. In December 1381, the captain (officer of justice) Philippe de Véron, called Malerba, held the barony of Corfu. Finally, another prominent da Verona was the humanist Guarino da Verona.

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

See Laiou, Un notaire vénitien no. 32 (15 September 1350), 129. – S. also Loenertz, Les seigneurs tierciers de la péninsule (1993), 451.

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

PLP 4324.

Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 376 (March 1384), 84: οὗτος ἔστερξε τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμίκροισμον και παρέθελε τήν ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν κατελάνων προσηλθή ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [α-32] κατὰ μήνα νοεμβρίου τῆς Ιουλίας. 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 παροῦσαν ἡμίκροισμον. Biais may have come from an area under Catalan authority such as Athens or Neopatras. In November 1387, the Catalans were under attack by Nerio I Accaiuoli who succeeded in setting up a Florentine rule in Athens some months later. Biais 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 office.

The professio fidei of Biais connects to that of a Latin female convert, Zoe (PLP 6645) (fig. 2). Biais 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) 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 Biais and Zoe may have been a couple cannot stand on various grounds such as the different dates of the conversions (1383 and 1387), and the lack of any remark about a family relation of Biais 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

50 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 376 (March 1384), 84: οὗτος ἔστερξε τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμίκροισμον και παρέθελε τήν ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἐπέβαλε τὸ σέβας τῆς θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἑτέρους μηναῖς Ιούλιος, Αἰγίλης, καὶ Κηφῆς. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 318-321.

51 Lampros, Enthymeseon no. 57, 141.

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

53 Festa in his publication of Theod. II Lask., epist., index II, 404 considered it to possess only their

54 Dourou-Eliopoulou, Oi dytikoi 109. – Cabestany, Els consolat Catalans 167.

55 Lampros, Enthymeseon no. 57, 141.

56 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata I no. 222 (December 1365), 479. – Darrouzet, Regestes 2503.

57 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 334 (November 1387), 8. – Darrouzet, Regestes 2830.

58 Setton, Catalan domination 174-186. – Dourou-Eliopoulou, Oi Katalanoi 7-22.

59 Dourou-Eliopoulou, Oi kýklopoi 266-277. – Papadà-Lala, Society, Administration and Identities 114-144.

60 Dourou-Eliopoulou, Oi kýklopoi 267. – Cabestany, Forts Elis catalans 318-321. – Marcos, Els catalans 23-78.

61 Koder, Negroponte 41-42.

62 Gastgeber, Confessiones fidei 186.
The presence of the rose hints clearly at the family name of its owner. Spetziara derives from the word specier (spizier in the Venetian dialect) meaning a druggist or spice tradesman.

Underneath his professio fidei, Antonius Lumpardus Tyatziba, 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, Lumpardus 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 1331. Moreover, a certain Theodorus Lombarda lived in May 1361 in Chilia. 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 Ottomans.

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 pressure. In November 1400, Nikolaos Kontares 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 Kontares speaks for an Italian, or rather Venetian, origin. His signature is in flawless Greek († Nikolas Kontrases upégráma) but Kontares is being described as ὁ ἐξ ἔθνων. He may have been a spizier (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. Kontares did business with George Anconas and Demetrios Myropetes. Anconas reappears in another patriarchal charter as owner of houses in Constantinople. 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. – Darrouzés, Regestes 2814. – Mitiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Ubertritte 259-260.
64 Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, Pseudo-Kodinos 86, 7; 184, 14; 187 ann. 531. – Koder, Latinio 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. – Darrouzés, Regestes 2907. – Mitiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Ubertritte 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 Oikonomides, Hommes d’affaires 102 with ann. 197.
71 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 501/2 (February 1396), 266. – Darrouzés, Regestes 3019.
72 Balard, Péra no. 23 (18 November 1331), 22.
73 cf. Pitarino, Notari genovesi no. 93 (12 May 1361), 169-170.
75 moro (Almerus) Lombardi, condam Francisci, nobilis Venetus (1392-1398); no. 611 (26 November 1398), 171.
76 Dursteler, Renegade Women 113.
77 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 615 (December 1400), 449. – Dar-
78 rouzés, Regestes 3176. – Mitiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Ubertritte 268-269 with
ann. 148.
79 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 Latin.\(^\text{78}\)

Ioannes Linardos converted in January 1394, setting only a monogram underneath his conversion\(^\text{79}\). 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 Λινάρδος or Λινάρδος\(^\text{80}\). The most promising among them is Lukas Linardos (PLP 14955), who in 1394, together with the oikeios of the emperor Nikolaos Makrodoukas, had lent money to a certain Stylianos Chalkeopoulos\(^\text{81}\). Lukas Linardos may have had family ties to Ioannes Linardos. If true, then the Linardoi 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: Σήμενος Ιωάννου του 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 date\(^\text{82}\).

A certain Manuel Herakleinos (PLP 6714) converted in December 1399\(^\text{83}\). 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)\(^\text{84}\). 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 († Ιωάννης τοῦ Κωνσταντζοῦ στερέων ὑπεγραφάς). The entire form of his signature denotes a western origin but especially the usage of the Italian ç instead of the Greek t.\(^\text{85}\). 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 Solidadia, who lived in Constantinople, bought a Tatar slave.\(^\text{86}\). In 1361, Constanzio de Peyer (surtor in Chilia) was mentioned as a witness in Chilia.\(^\text{87}\) It is, however, possible to identify Ioannes Konstantzos with Konstantzios (PLP 14112), a translator for the Venetians in Constantinople in 1390\(^\text{88}\). 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 1389\(^\text{89}\). In June 1390, Giorgio Moscoleo was a witness to the treaty between John V Palaiologos and Venice (Georgia Moscoleo turcimannis communis Venetarum in Constantiopolī). Despite his conversion, in the treaty he represented the Venetian side.\(^\text{90}\). The PLP registers one further Moscholeon (PLP 19362), an archon ton ekklesia in Thessaloniki in the 13th century.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau has argued that the conversion on 4 December 1360\(^\text{91}\) of the Dominican Bishop of Chimara and Kozyle, Fra Nikolaos (PLP 20417), may have been out of conviction. Jean Darrouzès\(^\text{92}\) suspected that »La renonciation explicite de cet évêque latin à son titre épiscopal est peut-être en rapport avec la nomination d’un métropolite de Naupacte.«\(^\text{93}\). The Byzantine bishoprics of Chimara and Kozile, which belonged to the metropolis Naupaktos, were after 1280 or 1285 under Latin rule. The last Byzantine bishop of Chimara was mentioned in 1315\(^\text{94}\) and of Kozile in 1283\(^\text{95}\). The loca Cimere et Palormi (Panormos) (in 1358 under the despotes Ioannes Komnenos Asan) were known for piratic activities.\(^\text{96}\) Since 1278 there existed in Durazzo a Dominican monastery that developed close ties to the Thopia.\(^\text{97}\) 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 B/3, 145.
83 Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 521 (December 1399), 296. – Darrouzès, Regestes 3083. – Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte 267-268.
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 Congourdeau, Die Glaubensunterweisung 408.
87 Darrouzès, Regestes 2439 (Critique).
89 MK I no. 2 (Hunger/Kresten 112-120). – Darrouzès, Regestes 2030.
90 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.
91 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.
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)\(^\text{99}\). 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 text\(^\text{100}\). 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 signature\(^\text{101}\). Gratzias is a Venetian family name (de Graça) 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, death of a spouse or defying 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, death of a spouse or fear). 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, death of a spouse or fear).

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 (Ὄμολογία τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Λατινῶν ἐλθούσης). Unfortunately, no name or a signature has been registered\(^\text{104}\). 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 1400\(^\text{105}\). An interesting detail is that in the original professio fidei she had put her signum with the help of the hypommnematographos Akindynos Perdikes (PLP 22437). This is an indication of illiteracy, a phenomenon known also in the Byzantine notarial practice\(^\text{106}\). Maria may have been of Venetian origin. A Venetian document dated 1345 mentions an ambaxador Anzolo Serbi\(^\text{107}\). Moreover, the name Barbaraskos resembles Venetian family names such as Barbafelle\(^\text{108}\), Barbadico\(^\text{109}\), and Barbarano\(^\text{110}\).

Two female converts are identified as the daughter of followed by the name of the father. The first is Maria, daughter of Tzane Katamukos (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 Καταμούκου. Katamukos or Katamukos resembles Venetian family names such as Casamundi, Cazatore and Cazaturi\(^\text{111}\) 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 1382\(^\text{112}\) (fig. 3). The latter signed by his own hand in Latin Stefano da Monte. Underneath the signature stands a Greek transcription of his name: Σίγνον τοῦ Σίγνου τοῦ. On the other side, a cross made by an experienced hand includes in its glyphs the information about Orgenta, the wife of Stefano da Monte (Σίγνον Ὀργέντας 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

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100. Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 618 (January 1401), 454. – Darrouzès, Regestes 3180.
102. Documenta veneta no. 4. 27 (1378) (Nametti 228): Bonaventura de Graça.
103. Dursteler, Renegade Women 112-115 (with all relevant bibliography).
105. Miklosich/Müller, Acta et diplomata II no. 546 (March 1400), 344. – Darrouzès, Regestes 3110.
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 attested\textsuperscript{113}. In 1277 a Henricus de Montibus was \emph{valletus regis Siciliae}\textsuperscript{114}, whereas a Ludovicus de Montibus was \emph{iusticiarius Ydronti}\textsuperscript{115}. A century later, in 1399/1401, a Guillaume de Munte was commander of Flanders and member of the Hospital Order\textsuperscript{116}. 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 Churches\textsuperscript{117}. 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.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{116} Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers 273, with ann. 1.

\textsuperscript{117} Gastgeber, Reliquienhandel 65-67.
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