

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Of Burning monks, unidentified churches and the last Cistercian foundation in the East: Our Lady of Camina in the Principality of Achaia

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Of Burning monks, unidentified churches and the last Cistercian foundation in the East: Our Lady of Camina in the Principality of Achaia

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The existence of the monastic church of Camina in Frankish Morea has long been noted by historians of Frankish Greece, but its history has never been thoroughly investigated and its location remains unknown. Moreover, some of the documents pertaining to this church have not been published while others have been published in faulty editions that have obscured their full significance. In the present study we edit (or re-edit) the surviving documents and attempt to reconstruct the church's history and identify its location. It is suggested that the original Benedictine inhabitants of Camina were the only known Latin religious to be burnt at the stake for heresy in Medieval Greece. It is also argued that Camina was the last Cistercian abbey to be founded in the Latin East. It is finally suggested that Camina may be identified as the existing monastery of Our Lady of Blachernae near Glarenza (Killini).

Keywords: Blachernae; Cistercians; Benedictines; Strophades; Frankish Greece; Villehardouin; heresy; Morea;

In the decades following the Fourth Crusade of 1204, western military, monastic and mendicant orders were established in the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Kingdom of Thessalonica, the Principality of Achaia, the Duchy of Athens, Venetian Crete and other former Byzantine lands. By 1261 many of these religious houses had disappeared as the Franks lost the bulk of their territories to the Greeks. Yet this was merely the beginning of the fascinating and enigmatic history of one Latin monastery, a failed Benedictine house some of whose monks were executed by fire, an aborted attempt to found the first convent of Poor Clares in Greece and, finally, the last Cistercian abbey established in the East.

The existence of the monastic church of Our Lady of Camina, in the Frankish Principality of Achaia, has been noted ever since the early days of scholarship on the crusader states of Greece.¹ Its turbulent history, however, has rarely merited more than a passing reference or a footnote in the studies of Frankish Greece. Kenneth Setton perhaps summarised the general indifference towards this church best, when he dismissed a reference to its history with the phrase 'such data need detain us no longer'.² This indifference can be

forgiven, in view of the paucity of surviving sources relating to the foundation and the dubious manner in which they have been published in the past. A closer examination of the original materials, however, proves extremely rewarding not only for what they reveal of the history of Our Lady of Camina, but mainly for the implications that these sources have for the establishment of the Latins and their religious institutions in the Principality of Achaia, the classic Frankish crusader state of Greece. The present study attempts to decipher the cryptic allusions to the church's history and proposes some possible identifications for its site. The surviving documents (five papal letters and two entries from fourteenth-century registers of tithes) are presented in an appendix. Three of the papal letters are presented here for the first time, but all seven documents have been re-transcribed from the manuscripts in situ. It is true that the surviving material raises more questions than it provides answers for, but these are interesting questions indeed, relating to the Latin monastic installation in Greece, the power of the secular authorities vis-à-vis the clergy and, most intriguingly, the traffic of heretical ideas between West and East and the existence of suppression mechanisms to deal with them.

The history of Our Lady of Camina

To begin with the basic outline of the history of Camina, Prince William II of Villehardouin (r. 1246-78) founded the church in the later thirteenth century in the diocese of Olena, in the north-western Peloponnese. By 1291 it was administered by the Benedictines of the insular monastery of Strophades, a foundation whose history under the Latins is even more obscure than that of Camina. Whether Camina was a full-fledged monastery at this stage is unclear, though Pope Nicholas IV refers to it as such in his 1291 letter. In 1300, William's daughter Isabel, the recently-widowed princess of Achaia, secured the permission of Pope Boniface VIII to annex the now vacant church of Camina and use its incomes to endow a nunnery of Poor Clares that she had founded in the same diocese of Olena. By 1306 Isabel's plans had fallen through: her scheme for a nunnery of St Clare had to be abandoned due to the threat posed by pirate incursions, and Clement V granted the church of Camina to the Cistercian monks of Daphni, near Athens. Camina still appears to be under the control of Daphni in a register of tithes collected retrospectively for the years 1321-24, while in the corresponding register for 1346-48 Camina is treated independently, with its own abbot; judging from the amounts paid to the papal collector in both cases, it seems to be prospering. It is finally mentioned in a papal letter of 1363, when Pope Urban V appointed the abbot of

Camina and two other clerics as judges-conservator for the archbishop of Patras, for five years.³

Before we proceed to a closer examination of Camina, it is necessary to consider its affiliation with the monastery of Strophades. St Mary of Strophades (still operating, currently dedicated to St Dionysius) is located on the small island complex of Strophades in the Ionian Sea, about 35 miles south of Zakynthos and 32 miles off the western coast of the Peloponnese. According to a tradition that has not been traced before the early eighteenth century, Strophades was founded in the early thirteenth century by the Nicaean Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (r. 1204-22) and his daughter Irene.⁴ More recently it has been suggested that the monastery may have been founded later in the thirteenth century, after the reconquest of Constantinople by the Nicaean Greeks in 1261 and in the aftermath of the schism that developed within the Greek Church over the legitimacy of Patriarch Arsenios Autorianos.⁵ According to this theory, the monastery of Strophades may have been founded by followers of Patriarch Arsenios, many of whom had fled to the Frankish Peloponnese in order to escape Michael VIII Palaiologos's persecution. Arsenios had initially clashed with Michael VIII over the latter's usurpation of the imperial throne and the blinding of the young heir of Theodore II Laskaris. The followers of Arsenios were therefore politically opposed to Michael VIII, for they supported the claims of the Laskarid dynasty, and this could explain the tradition linking Strophades to the Laskarids of Nicaea. Furthermore, they were vehemently against Michael VIII's unionist policy, which brought about the union of the two Churches at the Second Council of Lyons. It has been proposed, therefore, that the monastery was founded after 1274 as a refuge for anti-unionist Arseniates, supporting the Laskarids.⁶

Although this possibility cannot be discounted, it remains speculative, resting solely on the fact that Arseniate monks are known to have moved to the Peloponnese in the late thirteenth century. Moreover, if we are prepared to reject the late tradition attributing the foundation of Strophades to the Laskarids, then, in the absence of other concrete evidence, one might entertain the possibility that the monastery was originally founded not as a Greek house, but as a Latin one: the first direct references to the monastery in the historical record only appear in the papal letters from the 1290s published below, at which time it was inhabited by Benedictines.⁷

In these letters the monastery is referred to alternately as 'Latruffayre', 'Sancta Maria de Tropharia', 'Sancta Maria de Scrufaria' and 'Sancta Maria de Scrofaria', rendering in Latin the Greek vernacular name of the island complex – Strophadia (Στροφάδια). The first letter, sent by Nicholas IV and dated 12 May 1291 (appendix, doc. 1), is by far the most

interesting one for the history of Camina and we shall therefore examine it carefully below; for now, suffice it to note that it links (in fairly obscure terms) the monks of Strophades with Camina in the Peloponnese, and relates that these monks were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Olena. The second letter (appendix, doc. 2), sent by Boniface VIII on 29 December 1299, deals unequivocally with Strophades. The pope writes to a Vallombrosan monk of Santa Prassede in Rome, named Hugolino de Forolivio, ratifying his appointment as prior of the Benedictine monastery of Strophades. He explains that he heard that the position had lain vacant for more than four years following the death of the previous prior, so he appointed a committee of cardinals to decide on a new appointee. The committee selected Hugolino and, following his appointment, the new prior requested papal confirmation. Copies of the letter of confirmation (which also reproduces the cardinals' original letter of appointment) were also sent to the community of Strophades, the dean and a canon of the church of Patras, the count of Cephalonia – Richard Orsini, on whose lands the monastery was situated – and Isabel of Villehardouin, at that time ruling the neighbouring Principality of Achaia in her own right (since her husband, Florent of Hainaut, had died in 1297) as a vassal of Charles II of Anjou. All the addressees were instructed to support the new prior and defend his rights over the monastery and its possessions. That the pope wrote to Princess Isabel is probably due to the fact that Strophades owned property in her domains, namely Camina in the diocese of Olena.

Most intriguingly, the pope explains his involvement in the appointment of the prior by stating that the monastery was under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See – exempt, that is, from episcopal jurisdiction. Why a remote and by all accounts obscure Benedictine house should enjoy such a privilege is unclear. It is also difficult to explain why a Benedictine monastery such as this would warrant the appointment of an outsider as a prior, transferred from a different congregation of Benedictine monks, rather than a member of its own community.⁸ This is particularly perplexing given the nature of the Benedictine involvement in Greece. The Benedictines were the one Latin religious order whose installation in Byzantine lands predated the Latin conquest. Their monasteries in Greece proliferated after 1204 but, since the order lacked a centralised organisation, the foundation of monasteries in Greece depended on the piety and beneficence of the local Latin lords, rather than on any organised planning by the order itself. This in turn resulted, more often than not, in the donation of small priories and churches to Benedictine mother-houses in the West, which then administered the overseas foundations primarily as sources of income, rather than centres of monastic life. The Venetian monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, which owned significant property all over the Venetian dominions of Greece, often administered by lay

proctors, is a good example of this.⁹ The numerous appointments of such priors and proctors were the preserve of the mother-house and necessitated neither the involvement of the papacy nor the transfer of monks from unaffiliated monastic communities. These exceptional provisions may perhaps indicate that the monastery of Strophades had been involved in the turbulent events that troubled Camina earlier in the decade, to which we shall now turn our attention.

On 12 May 1291 Pope Nicholas IV addressed the bishop of Olena and asked him to investigate ‘the brothers of the monastery of Strophades (Latruffarye) which is called *de Chamina*’. The prince of Achaia had informed the pope that certain of these monks, letting their feet go astray, have come to such a barren place of dissolution – as is said – that, although they are said to wear the habit of religion after a fashion, living dissolutely, to the disgrace of the regular life and the contempt of the Highest Redeemer, in living they follow none of the approved orders and, what is worse, to the scandal of many, some of them, on account of the outrageous crimes they were said to have committed, suffered the public judgment of the flames.

The bishop, under whose jurisdiction the monks were, was instructed to investigate the monastery and to reform it, if these events were discovered to be true, either by introducing suitable monks from the same order or, if none could be found, by installing nuns of St Clare, Dominican nuns or other suitable religious.

Before trying to account for these events, it is worth noting the vagueness of the pope’s reference to the monastery or monasteries involved: he refers to ‘the brothers of the monastery of Latruffayre which is called *de Chamina*, in your diocese, subjected to you by diocesan law, which is said to have been founded by the predecessors of the prince’. He appears therefore to be confounding the two houses, Strophades and Camina. The later references in 1300 and 1306 (appendix, docs. 3 and 4) state explicitly that there existed two separate establishments and that Camina, founded by the princes of Achaia, was traditionally governed by monks of the Benedictine house of Strophades. It is also worth pointing out that, although Pope Nicholas mentions Strophades, he does not indicate that this monastery was under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See (as would be the case in 1299); instead he speaks about the jurisdiction of the bishop of Olena. Perhaps this is not simply the product of his confusion as to the number of monasteries, because Boniface’s letter of 1299 also states that the monastery of Strophades was within the diocese of Olena, though it was exempt from the bishop’s jurisdiction. Granted, in 1300 and 1306 it is described as being in

the diocese of Cephalonia. Regardless of the possibly shifting diocesan borders, however, it is plausible to hypothesise that the monastery of Strophades gained its exemption at some point after the 1291 letter, perhaps as a result of the events alluded to here.

The location of Camina is as yet unknown, apart from the fact that it was in the important diocese of Olena in the north-western Peloponnese, which also included the town of Andravida (Andreville), the administrative centre of the Principality of Achaia. The date of the church's foundation is also unknown, though Boniface's letter of 1300 states unequivocally that it was founded and endowed by Isabel's father, Prince William II of Villehardouin, who ruled in the Morea between 1246 and 1278. Karl Hopf, who first noted the existence of Camina, reasoned that it would have been founded in the years 1273-74, a rare period of peace for Prince William, although Hopf made no other pronouncements on the subject.¹⁰ There is evidence pointing to a slightly earlier date. Prince William, whose reign marked the apogee but also the beginning of the decline of the Frankish Principality of Achaia, was known as a generous patron of religious foundations. According to the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, in celebration of his victories over the Byzantine armies in the 1260s he founded the Franciscan convent of St Stephen, the Dominican convent of St Sophia and the Templar church of St James in his capital of Andravida and two more churches in the vicinity of his victory in the unidentified area of Sergiana.¹¹ The Greek version of the *Chronicle* also notes approvingly that the prince left pious bequests in his will both to Latin and to Greek monasteries.¹²

The nature of the monks' transgressions is also alluded to, perhaps intentionally, in the vaguest of terms in 1291. Two later references to these events are even more ambiguous: in his letter of 1300 to Isabel, Boniface VIII mentions that the princess had asked permission to take control of the church of Camina,

which your late father William, the prince of Achaia, founded and endowed with his own property, traditionally governed by monks of the monastery of St Mary of Strophades of the Order of St Benedict of the diocese of Cephalonia, as several of these monks are known to have been expelled from the church long ago by both their diocesan [bishop] and their metropolitan because of the abominable transgressions that they had committed, and indeed others had left the church by their own rashness, such that for a long time the church has been destitute of the protection of a governor...

It is worth noting here that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of this letter in the *Annales Minorum* and *Bullarium Franciscanum* have omitted altogether the phrase 'ob

excessus nefarios ab ipsis commissos' and therefore make no mention of the monks' transgressions. By 1306, when Clement V united Camina to the Cistercian monastery of Daphni, he was content to simply repeat that the church which was traditionally governed by the Benedictines of Strophades was then 'destitute of the protection of a governor'.

The vagueness of the references cannot, however, disguise the importance of the events. The execution at the stake of religious persons, as attested by the first letter, is to our knowledge a unique occurrence in the Frankish domains of Greece. The rite and order to which the offending monks had belonged is not specified in this document, but they are said to have been monks linked to Strophades, which we know from Boniface's letter of 1299 to have been a Benedictine house for at least four years. Two later (and vaguer) references to the same events in the letters edited below confirm the link and the affiliation of Strophades, from Boniface VIII in 1300 and Clement V in 1306. Since these are the only tantalising glimpses of the events of 1291 which have survived in our sources, it would seem that the monks were Benedictines.

One might wonder, however, given the ambiguity of the sources, whether the events referred to involved Latin monks at all, rather than Greek ones. After all, if Strophades itself may have been a Greek foundation that only recently became Latin, we might ask whether its dependency of Camina was (still) occupied by Greek monks, while notionally under the control of the Benedictines of Strophades, an arrangement that is attested elsewhere after 1204.¹³ If this was the case, then the events at Camina could perhaps be viewed as a repetition of what had taken place in the Frankish Kingdom of Cyprus in 1231, when twelve Greek monks from the monastery of Kantara were burned as heretics on the urging of a Dominican friar for declaring heretical the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.¹⁴ Such an interpretation, however, seems unlikely: the phrasing of both Nicholas IV's and Boniface VIII's letters suggests that we are dealing with Benedictine monks sent by Strophades to administer the house of Camina. We proceed, therefore, under the assumption that the offending monks were Latins.¹⁵

Heresy

The manner of the monks' execution would seem to suggest that the offenders were convicted of heresy.¹⁶ To be sure, we know that later on heresy did in fact become once again a major problem for the Church, and heretical Fraticelli fleeing persecution in the West found refuge in the Latin dominions of Greece. This 'migration' of heretics, however, is not attested until the fifteenth century.¹⁷ We also know that the Inquisition was active in

Greece, with sporadic appointments of inquisitors dating back to the early fourteenth century, though it appears that its efficacy was minimal.¹⁸

Still, we know of isolated incidents of western heresy (or at least religious dissent) already from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The most famous example, that of Angelo Clareno, occurred just three years after Nicholas IV first alluded to the Benedictines' crimes. Clareno, one of the leaders of the Franciscan Spirituals of Ancona, along with his companion Liberato and a number of their followers, migrated to Greece in 1294, following the abdication of Pope Celestine V and the accession of Boniface VIII, who was much less sympathetic to the Spirituals' interpretation of Franciscan poverty than his predecessor had been.¹⁹ For a few years the Spirituals found peace in Frankish Greece and, according to Clareno's own writings, enjoyed the esteem of the population and the authorities, until they were denounced to the pope as heretics by neighbouring Franciscans.²⁰ In 1299 Pope Boniface instructed the authorities to arrest them and the Spirituals had to flee again, this time to Greek-held Thessaly, before eventually returning to Italy c.1305 to face their accusers. A far less well-known case, but perhaps even more dramatic, unfolded in the Venetian colony of Crete in 1359-60, when the papal legate Peter Thomas discovered the existence of Fraticelli heretics among the Venetian nobility of Candia.²¹ His subsequent investigation eventually resulted in the condemnation and execution at the stake of one of the heretics. This, in fact, is the sole known occasion of a burning of a heretic in medieval Greece, and it took place around 70 years after the events with which we are concerned here.²² It is important to note here that, contrary to what seems to have been the case in Camina, in Crete the papal legate faced strong opposition from the lay authorities;²³ in the end, the only heretic that went to the pyre was a non-noble, even though there is evidence of relapse among the nobles as well.

If we assume that in the case of Camina we are dealing with an outbreak of heresy (or at least accusations of heresy), as it seems we must, we still have to account for the nature of the heresy in question. Though the evidence at present does not allow for a definite solution to this problem, some hypotheses may be advanced. The chronological proximity to Angelo Clareno's arrival in Greece may tempt us to link this incident with the Spirituals—those radical Franciscans who insisted on the strict interpretation of the rules on poverty, thus clashing with the papacy and the mainstream of their Order; one may indeed point out that, even though Clareno and his followers did not settle in Greece until 1294, he had already undertaken a trip to Cilician Armenia in 1290 when he was released from prison in Ancona, and thus could have passed through Greece and been in contact with religious

persons there between 1290 and 1291.²⁴ Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that in Camina we are not dealing with dissident Franciscans, but most likely with Benedictines. Even more importantly, it has to be noted that in the 1290s the Spirituals may have been seen as dissidents, but they were not yet classed as heretics. Thus, even though they were harassed by their own order and increasingly by the papacy, they would not merit execution at the stake for another 27 years.²⁵

Despite all this, the case of Angelo Clareno and his sojourn in Greece can still offer us a valuable clue as to the nature of the monks' transgressions. As mentioned above, in 1299 Boniface VIII instructed the authorities of Greece to arrest Clareno and his followers. Though the papal letter has disappeared, a surviving order issued by the Neapolitan chancery addressed to the Angevin captain of Morea appears to reproduce some of Boniface's phrasing. The officials are thus ordered to arrest the Spirituals 'who, despite coming to the Principality of Achaia, Morea or the lands of Romania under the habit of religion, or of the *biczoci*, nevertheless follow none of the approved religious orders'.²⁶ The phrasing is strikingly similar to the wording of Nicholas IV's letter, which states that although the Benedictines of Camina 'are said to wear the habit of religion after a fashion... in living they follow none of the approved orders'. What is more, in the case of Boniface and the Spirituals the accusation was more than simple rhetoric and was probably meant quite literally: soon after his accession Boniface had suppressed the Order of Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine V, which his predecessor had established in order to accommodate Angelo's Spirituals; he could therefore state confidently that the Spirituals followed none of the approved orders, for by Angelo's own admission, they served the Poor Hermits, an order that no longer existed.²⁷

That none of this is coincidental is shown by a third case, attested by no less an authority on heresy than Bernard Gui. Speaking about a different heretical movement in his *Practica inquisitionis*, the famous inquisitor explains that the Apostolic Brethren (or Apostolici) can be recognised by 'the habit which they wear, similar to a religious habit, even though they are of no religious order recognised by the Church'.²⁸ The Apostolici, a heretical movement that developed in the north of Italy, had preoccupations with religious poverty and apocalyptic ideas similar to those of the Spirituals, but unlike the Spirituals they were not part of a religious order. Moreover, in their second phase (beginning after 1300, when their original leader Gerard Segarelli was burnt) they became markedly more radical than the Spirituals, even resorting to armed and violent rebellion under their second leader Fra Dolcino.²⁹ They did, however, see themselves as a religious order and had adopted a white habit, in contravention of the Fourth Lateran Council's prohibition against the creation

of new religious orders. All this suggests that what seems at first glance like hopeless imprecision in Nicholas IV's letter was in fact a targeted, if circumlocutory, accusation: in the two other coeval cases of religious dissidents being accused of wearing religious habits yet not serving in approved religious orders, the accusation seems to have been both accurate and literal. Moreover, both of these other cases revolved around the ideal of strict apostolic poverty. Though we are still unable to define with more precision the heresy that was thought to have infected the brothers of Camina, it seems reasonable to assume that it involved apostasy from the Order of St Benedict and may have been related to the movement of extreme apostolic poverty.

The procedures followed in the condemnation of the monks are equally obscure, but it is worth noting that the events were communicated to the pope by Prince Florent of Hainaut (r. 1289-97), not by the local bishop, who would have been the competent authority to deal with heresy in the absence of the institutionalised Inquisition.³⁰ In fact, it would appear that the bishop of Olena was not involved in these events, for the letter instructs him to investigate the monastery (though by this time the executions had already taken place) and to reform it if necessary. The solution to this problem may perhaps be found in the later letter by Boniface VIII from 1300, which states that the monks had been expelled from their monastery by the actions of both their diocesan bishop and their archbishop. It may thus be supposed that the initial investigation and trial was undertaken by the archbishop of Patras. It is perhaps important that, since 1276, the archbishop of Patras, a man named Benedict, had also assumed the position of baron of Patras (by acquiring the barony's fiefs) and thus exercised secular as well as ecclesiastical authority, including the right to high and low justice.³¹ This could have allowed him to undertake the execution of criminals (including heretics) at his own initiative, without reference to the 'secular arm' – the secular authorities that were normally responsible for the execution of death sentences. The pope appears to have been notified of these events only after the execution, at which point he instructed the bishop of Olena to investigate and reform the monastery.

Whether or not the trials and executions were carried out by the archbishop of Patras, it was Prince Florent of Hainaut, the ruler of the principality, who informed the pope. Since Florent's letter has not survived, we cannot be certain whether the prince was himself involved in the proceedings, or even whether he agreed with the sentence. The little information we have about Archbishop Benedict, however, suggests that he was on good terms with the prince and that he remained faithful and deferential to Princess Isabel after Florent's death.³² This would imply that, even if Florent was not directly involved in the

execution of the monks, he was nevertheless not opposed to it. This in itself deserves particular attention, for it is at odds with the behaviour of the secular authorities in all other known cases of religious dissent and persecution in Latin Greece. If we believe Clarenó's account of his adventures in Greece, the lord of the territories in which he had settled, Thomas of Autremencourt, refused to persecute the Spirituals and only agreed to expel them from his lands under the threat of excommunication.³³ In the case of Fraticellism in Crete, the lay authorities were even more determined in their support of the heretics: according to the biography of Peter Thomas by Philip of Mézières, the duke of Crete was so hostile towards the papal legate that he feared for his life; in the end, the duke was only convinced to cooperate with Peter Thomas after the whole island had been placed under interdict.³⁴ Similarly, heresy grew so profusely in central Greece in the fifteenth century partly because of the indifference of the lay lords, some of whom seem to have been heretics themselves.³⁵

Unless Prince Florent's intervention was not accompanied by a complaint against the actions of Archbishop Benedict, therefore, one might wonder whether the monks' true crimes were of a more mundane nature and were perceived to undermine the authority of the prince. What is known of Florent's seven-year reign, however, does not allow for much speculation of this kind: the *Chronicle of the Morea* portrays him as a ruler who was wise and well liked (by the Greeks as well as the Latins) and his reign as one of peace and relative prosperity. It is true that for much of his reign he was engaged in a dispute with the duchess of Athens, who refused to pay him homage;³⁶ he also conducted a purge of corrupt officials upon arriving in the Morea and was particularly harsh towards the chamberlain, Roger of Benevento, whom he imprisoned and did not release until instructed to do so by his suzerain Charles II of Anjou.³⁷ But both these disputes appear to have been unremarkable matters of feudal administration, unlikely to escalate into capital punishments of clergy. In any event, the diplomatic materials which have kept us relatively well informed of these political events make no mention of the events at Camina.

If the reign of Florent in Achaia was relatively peaceful, the reign of Charles II was anything but. Between 1282 and 1302 the house of Anjou was locked in war with the house of Barcelona, ever since Pedro III seized Sicily from Charles I, following the Sicilian Vespers. Charles II had already spent four years as a prisoner of the Aragonese as a result of this war. It may be worth noting that this struggle later exerted some influence on the apocalyptic thinking of one of the heretical groups that we encountered above. In his second manifesto in 1303 the militant second leader of the Apostolic Brethren, Fra Dolcino, set out his prophetic and apocalyptic vision of the end of the worldly and corrupt Church and the

establishment of an angelic pope.³⁸ The instrument of the corrupt Church's destruction and Dolcino's hero in this account was Pedro's son Frederick III of Sicily, who Dolcino predicted would become emperor and exterminate the entire Church hierarchy. Charles I and Charles II of Anjou are singled out as arch-villains in this manifesto and are identified as the right arm which shall wither and the right eye which shall darken of the evil shepherd in the prophecy of Zechariah (Zechariah 11:17).³⁹ It is tempting to link this heresy with the events at Camina, not least because Nicholas IV issued an encyclical to prelates condemning the Apostolici and instructing them to suppress them, enlisting the support of the secular arm if necessary, in the same year that he wrote to the bishop of Olena concerning Camina.⁴⁰ Such a link is unlikely, however: the sect certainly seems to have expanded beyond Italy by 1287, but these more radical ideas only seem to appear within the sect around 1300.⁴¹ Nevertheless, what this example illustrates is that, as is known, the ideals of apostolic poverty were frequently accompanied by eschatological ideas (partly under the influence of Joachim of Fiore) which could have subversive connotations and which would not have been taken kindly to by the secular authorities.⁴²

Whatever the exact nature of the Benedictines' offences, our documents indicate that Nicholas IV's injunction to repopulate the monastery with worthy persons of the same order apparently proved impossible to implement. His alternatives, Franciscan Poor Clares or Dominican nuns, were innovative solutions for Frankish Greece. The first known Dominican nunnery, St Catherine in Pera, was not founded until 1299, and the only others were two later establishments in Crete. Likewise, there were two fifteenth-century foundations of Poor Clares in Crete and one on Negroponte which is not mentioned until 1318.⁴³ The first attempt to establish a mendicant nunnery in all Frankish Greece, therefore, was in fact linked to Camina, in a way fulfilling Nicholas IV's orders: in November 1300, Boniface VIII, following a request by Princess Isabel of Villehardouin, granted Camina and its incomes to a new nunnery of Poor Clares founded by the princess in the diocese of Olena. By this time, Camina appears to have been abandoned, some of its monks having been expelled by their diocesan bishop and their archbishop and others leaving of their own will. Instead, Isabel was to instruct her nuns to select a suitable vicar for the church and to assign to him adequate revenues for his own maintenance and that of the church.

One phrase in Boniface's letter deserves particular attention: in outlining the condition of the church of Camina, he notes that 'the church has already remained for a long time destitute of the protection of a governor'. This would imply either that the ties between Camina and the monks of the monastery of Strophades who governed it had been severed, or

else that the monastery of Strophades had now also been abandoned. The fact that Strophades does not reappear in the historic record until the fifteenth century (by which time it was certainly inhabited by Greeks) may lead us to surmise that the Benedictine monks of Strophades could have been involved in the offences of their daughter-house at Camina and thus shared a similar fate.

Camina under the Cistercians

The annexation, meanwhile, of Camina by the nuns of St Clare was not destined to last. In 1306 Clement V wrote to the Cistercian monastery of Daphni, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishops of Athens and Thebes, informing them that the church of Camina would now pass into the possession of Daphni Abbey. This latest transferral was the result of the abandonment of Isabel's pioneering plans for a nunnery of Poor Clares. According to the papal letter, the nunnery which Isabel had founded proved unsustainable, as it was too far from 'inhabitable places' and near the sea, where it could fall victim to frequent pirate attacks. Under these circumstances, Isabel herself abandoned the project and asked the pope to unite the church of Camina to the Cistercian abbey.⁴⁴ The pope acceded to her request and instructed the abbot of Daphni to install a Cistercian community in Camina.

The Cistercian abbey at Daphni is regarded as one of the most successful of the Latin monastic communities of Greece and certainly the most important of the Cistercian foundations.⁴⁵ The ancient monastery, near Athens, was donated to the abbey of Bellevaux by the lord of Athens, Otto de la Roche, in 1207. It subsequently benefited from close ties with the ducal family of Athens,⁴⁶ and that is surely part of the reason why it outlived most (if not all) of the other Cistercian abbeys of Greece, which are said to have ceased functioning by 1276.⁴⁷

Under the guidance of the monks of Daphni, Camina seems to have achieved the stability and prosperity that had eluded it in the past decade and a half. We next hear of Camina in two sets of registers of tithes (appendix, docs. 5-6). The tithes in question are for the years 1321-24 in the first set and 1346-48 in the second set. The money for the first set of tithes was collected between late 1339 and early 1341, while the collection for the second set took place in the year 1350, thus taking us up to the middle of the fourteenth century. In the first instance, the papal collector receives from Peter, the abbot of Daphni and father-abbot of Camina, on behalf of 'the priory' of Camina, six hyperpers as partial payment for the tithe imposed by Pope John XXII for the years 1321-24. By 1350 the priory had been raised to abbatial status, for in the second instance the papal collector reports that he

received from Peter, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery *della Carmina*, a hundred hyperpers as payment for the tithe imposed by Clement VI in 1346-48. The collector also noted that the monastery was not under the authority of the bishop of Olena and thus paid separately.

Although these two documents have been available in print since 1970, their significance for the history of the Cistercian Order in Greece has not been appreciated hitherto.⁴⁸ The Cistercian experiment in Greece in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade is routinely dismissed as a failure, and the evidence offered for this is the fact that most Cistercian abbeys of Greece were abandoned in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁹ Even the oft-cited example of Daphni as the sole surviving abbey after *c.*1276 is considered to have declined in the aftermath of the Catalan conquest of Athens in 1311. These registers of tithes show that at least one Cistercian abbey not only was founded after the crucial decades of the 1260s-70s, but also prospered, if the sums that it paid the papal collector are anything to go by. Moreover, these documents attest to the existence of interterritorial ties between the mother- and daughter-house, at a period in which such ties would supposedly have been exceptionally hard to maintain, given the hostility between the Frankish Peloponnese and the Catalan conquerors of Athens. The Catalans' slaughter of the Frankish knighthood at Halmyros in 1311 and their continued aggression afterwards meant that throughout their 77-year history in the Duchy of Athens the duchy was a rogue state, never fully integrated into the fabric of Latin Greece.⁵⁰ Religious life in the Duchy of Athens also suffered as a result of the conquest and the subsequent excommunication of the Catalans.⁵¹ Whether or not we accept that Daphni declined under the Catalans, we cannot doubt that it becomes much less conspicuous in the surviving sources from this period;⁵² yet here we have evidence of the continued cooperation of the two 'Frankish' abbeys on either side of the frontier. A final reference to the 'monastery of Camina' in the registers of Urban V (appendix, doc. 7) proves that the last Cistercian house founded in the East continued to exist at least until 1363. In fact, this final letter addresses the abbot of Camina, confirming that a full community of Cistercians had been installed by 1350.

Identification

Having surveyed the information that these sources have preserved about the church's turbulent history, we should now attempt to identify its location. The vocable of Camina, the dedication to the Virgin, its location in the diocese of Olena and its foundation under Prince William II are the only definite pieces of information that our sources impart.

As a result, all attempts at identification have been both very tentative and very speculative. Our own proposals are equally cautious but have the merit of linking the foundation of Camina with a surviving religious house, known to have been occupied by Latin monks yet not convincingly attributed to any religious order.

Bon suggested that the location of Camina, as well as that of Isabel's nunnery, may be sought near the western coast of the Peloponnese, south of Amaliada. Here, a cluster of thirteenth-century churches have survived (Our Lady Frankavilla, St Nicholas of Frankopedema, Our Lady Skafidia) that not only exhibit western influences in their predominantly Byzantine architectural style, but whose names also allude to Frankish presence.⁵³ Obviously, one of the advantages of these suggestions is that locating Camina on the western coast would place it as close as possible to Strophades, the insular monastery that once governed it. It also allows for the existence of Isabel's nunnery nearby, if that can be identified as one of the remaining surviving churches. Yet these locations are only a fraction closer to Strophades than are the principality's capital of Andravidia and the main port at Glarenza (Killini), both only about five miles farther away. In any case, geographical proximity between Camina and the nunnery or between Camina and Strophades cannot guide us in identifying our church, since Camina was eventually attached to the abbey of Daphni: if we place Camina on the western coast, we are placing it as far away from Daphni as possible.

A further note must be made about the architectural style of Moreote churches. It used to be thought that the dominant style of a church, 'Byzantine' or 'Gothic', could serve as a reliable indicator of the rite to which a church belonged. More recent studies have called into question this rigid dichotomy of Peloponnesian churches and have shown that an architectural idiom emerged in Frankish Morea which adopted features of both the western and the Byzantine traditions in more subtle ways than had been realised in the past.⁵⁴ The implication is that a monument cannot safely be attributed to the Greek or the Latin rite based solely on its dominant architectural and decorative characteristics. Witness the church of St Mary at Merbaka, which one would describe as 'Byzantine', yet is now believed to have been built by the famous Dominican archbishop of Corinth William of Moerbeke, **albeit for his Greek flock.**⁵⁵ Nor, as we shall see, is it possible to attribute a church to the Latins simply because it incorporates elements of western architecture.

To return to the identification of our church, Mousouras, who has studied at depth the monastery of Strophades, seems to follow Bon's identification, but he furthermore supposes that the vocable 'Camina' refers to a Greek place-name. Moreover, he silently

assumes that the Greek version of the word was ‘Κάμαινα’.⁵⁶ Though the assumption that ‘Camina’ is a Greek toponym is eminently sensible, the place-name ‘Κάμαινα’ cannot be found in the Peloponnese. There exists, on the contrary, a toponym with the alternate spelling ‘Κάμενα’, but this is not located on the coast (where Bon suggested Camina might be found), but further inland, near ancient Olympia, in an area where there are no known remains of a medieval church. This of course is not conclusive: it is possible that a church existed near the village of Κάμενα, but has now disappeared. A further possibility is mentioned but then dismissed by both Mousouras and Koumanoudi: the monastic church of Our Lady at Glatsa (today Anelio), in the south-west corner of the modern prefecture of Heleia.⁵⁷ Quite why this possibility is dismissed is unclear. The church at Glatsa belongs to the same group of late-thirteenth century churches which exhibit western influences as the churches mentioned above. A modern tradition, moreover, claims that it was once the daughter-house of Strophades.⁵⁸ This suggests that it should be considered at least as likely a candidate as the cluster of churches around Amaliada.

In any case, it is far from certain that the word ‘Camina’ was related to a Greek toponym, given how common the name is in Romance languages. Another possible identification, also partially based on toponymics, may be proposed. As has been mentioned, Hopf suggested that Our Lady of Camina was founded by William of Villehardouin around 1274, when peaceful conditions allowed for such activities as the foundation and endowment of churches. This, however, directly contradicts the evidence from the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which places William’s vigorous church-building activity within the context of his victories over the Greeks in the years 1263-64. The *Chronicle* states that, upon defeating the Greek armies of the sebastokrator Constantine Palaiologos and of Michael Kantakouzenos in 1263 and again in 1264, the prince founded three churches in Andravida, St Sophia of the Dominicans, St Stephen of the Franciscans and St James of the Templars, and two more churches on sites associated with his victories, St Nicholas at Mesiskli and St Mary at Sergiana.⁵⁹ Though the first three of these religious foundations have received adequate attention, situated as they were in the capital of the principality, the last two churches mentioned in the *Chronicle* have hitherto been ignored. Part of the reason for this is that the precise location of Sergiana and Mesiskli, the site of William’s victory, remains unknown. Nevertheless, it has been shown that these sites must have been less than a day’s march from Andravida, towards the south-east, on the south bank of the Peneios River near the site of ancient Elis.⁶⁰

It is surely not unreasonable to suggest that the church of St Mary at Sergiana mentioned in the Aragonese Chronicle was one and the same as the church of Our Lady of Camina, since both were founded by William of Villehardouin, both were dedicated to the Virgin, both appear to have been situated in the diocese of Olena and both are otherwise unknown and unidentified. Now, not far from the presumed site of the battle of Sergiana, there exists a Byzantine church (extensively rebuilt during the Ottoman period) dedicated to the Virgin. The name of this church would seem to support this proposed identification: it is known as St Mary Dafniotissa (Δαφνιώτισσα).⁶¹ As we have seen, Camina passed into the possession of Daphni and remained associated with the abbey for at least 35 years. It is possible, then, that the church and its surrounding area eventually took on the name of the famous Athenian mother-house. It has to be noted, however, that the church of Dafniotissa is much older, dating probably from the eighth century, and displays no evidence of Frankish occupancy.⁶² One might, perhaps, solve this problem by supposing that William II re-founded this church and donated it to the Benedictines; but, even thus, and despite the strength of the toponymic evidence, the archaeological evidence for such an identification would remain weak.

It is necessary, therefore, to consider a further location, which emerges as the likeliest site of the church/monastery of Camina: the famous monastery of Our Lady of Blachernae outside of Glarenza. Orlandos, who first studied this monument, noted the Gothic elements and also observed that the building had undergone two phases of construction. Because of the dominant Byzantine style, he concluded that the monastery was built originally as a Greek monastery in the late twelfth century, but was left unfinished because of the Frankish conquest; later, it was taken over by the Latins (as is proven by the presence of a Latin tomb), who completed the building and added the western architectural elements. He also concluded that the order that took over the monastery was that of the Franciscans.⁶³ More recently, most of these conclusions have had to be revised: firstly, though the Franciscans were indeed installed in Glarenza, their friary has now been found and was located within the town walls, as one would expect.⁶⁴ More pertinently, Orlandos's dating of the monument to the twelfth century has been challenged. It has been shown that Blachernae shares stylistic and morphological similarities with a group of Peloponnesian churches which can now be safely dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, suggesting that Blachernae was probably built in that period as well and possibly by the very same workshop.⁶⁵

Orlandos's dating was partly based on the assumption that all the western architectural elements were added during the second phase of building, when the monastery had passed into Latin hands. The most recent archaeological examination has revealed not only that both building phases should be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, but also that western forms were employed already in the first building phase.⁶⁶ In brief, Athanasoulis's detailed study concludes the following: the church's construction must have started sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century. Despite its western influences, its first occupants were Greek monks. This is shown primarily by the existence of a marble *templon*, which suggests the performance of the Greek liturgy. At some later stage, perhaps even before the completion of the building, the church passed into the possession of Latin religious, who undertook the second building phase and made wider use of western forms. The change of ownership is indicated by the fact that the Greek *templon* was pulled down during this period and also by the addition of decorations featuring the Lamb of God (which had been banned by the Orthodox tradition) as well as by the presence of a slab belonging to a Latin tomb.⁶⁷

In our opinion, all this makes Blachernae the best candidate for the church/monastery of Camina. Its date of construction coincides with the reign of Prince William II and it was dedicated to the Virgin. The same can, of course, be said about the churches mentioned above and a number of other churches of the same period, but contrary to those cases, here we have good evidence that the church was occupied by Latin religious. The Latin tomb-slab, dating from 1358, advocates strongly in favour of our identification, given that Camina was still Cistercian at least until 1363.⁶⁸ Furthermore, since the dismissal of the identification of Blachernae as a Franciscan house, no other convincing connection to a Latin religious order has been made. The location, less than two miles outside of Glarenza, the informal second capital of the principality, could also indicate that this was a princely foundation. The fact that Blachernae began life as a Greek house should not trouble us. We know that Camina was built and endowed by William II, but that does not preclude the possibility that he initially planned to build a Greek church. Nor do our sources state that Camina had been a Latin church from the date of its foundation, which we suppose to have been connected to William's victories over the Greeks in the years 1263-64. Why the church changed hands, however, is still a mystery.

It remains for us to consider the nunnery of St Clare that Isabel attempted to found. Unfortunately, no convincing suggestions can be made at this point. It may in fact be noted that, since Isabel's foundation was abandoned before its construction was even completed, it

is entirely possible that no physical remains have survived. As we have seen, Bon suggested that this nunnery too may perhaps be associated with one of the surviving churches in the western Peloponnese, in the vicinity of Amaliada. Though this suggestion cannot be discounted, it is difficult to imagine that anyone would attempt to found a nunnery of Poor Clares so far away from the major settlements of Frankish Morea. Isabel's correspondence does indeed state that the nunnery was located near the sea and too far from inhabited areas and that this was actually one of the reasons for its abandonment. It would make more sense, however, to suppose that the nunnery was built a short distance outside the walls of one of the major towns, in a location similar to Blachernae's, rather than in the wilderness. The fact that Isabel's foundation is expressly stated to have been designed for Latin nuns rules out the possibility that Blachernae was Isabel's nunnery, since Blachernae was begun as a Greek house.

Conclusion

Unanswered questions notwithstanding, the implications of the documents published below extend beyond the narrow case of the church of Camina. First, they allow us to revise the history of the Cistercian installation in medieval Greece. The abbey of Daphni can no longer be considered the sole surviving Cistercian monastery in the Latin lordships post-1276. Despite the paucity of references in the extant sources, our documents show that Camina survived as a Cistercian foundation for at least 57 years, as long as (and almost certainly longer than) the much better known Cistercian houses of Constantinople in the period of the Latin Empire. Moreover, its apparent prosperity, seemingly at odds with its inconspicuousness in the surviving (and published) sources, should serve to remind us that much of the material concerning the ecclesiastical history of Frankish Peloponnese has been lost, and therefore our assessments of the success or failure of the monastic orders in medieval Greece have to be very circumspect: the Cistercians' own aspirations in the lands of the Latin Empire are not known and it may be mistaken to ascribe to them ambitions of missionising to the Orthodox or of extending Frankish influence;⁶⁹ as a contemplative order whose monastic ideal prescribed withdrawal from the world, it is entirely possible that their spiritual goals were successfully achieved without leaving a prominent mark on the historical record. Isabel's donation of Camina to Daphni shows, at the very least, that the Frankish high aristocracy still valued the contribution of the Cistercians to the spiritual life of the Latin lordships and that ties of patronage were still maintained, even if they are exceedingly hard to trace. The successive claims of different religious houses and orders

(Benedictines, Poor Clares, Cistercians) over the obscure church of Camina along with the substantial amount paid to the papal collector in 1350 might, furthermore, indicate that despite the church's turbulent history, Camina enjoyed stable and perhaps significant incomes. The *Chronicle of the Morea*'s lavish praise of William of Villehardouin's generosity as a religious patron may have been well deserved. A similar point may be made with regards to the ties between mother- and daughter-house: the c.1340 register of tithes, where the father-abbot of Daphni pays the tithes for his daughter-house, suggests that such ties were indeed maintained, but this remains the only known example of them. This is another reminder of how much of the day-to-day administration and activity of these religious houses remains unknown, resulting in an image of decline and irrelevance that may not in fact be accurate.

The case of Blachernae, moreover, and its transferral from the Greeks to the Latins, presents us with another unusual occurrence, regardless of whether one accepts the identification proposed here. The replacement of Greek monks by Latin ones was fairly common in the early stages of the Latin settlement in Greece; as we have seen, there were even examples of Greek monks being placed under the supervision of Latin religious communities. Such changes in congregations, however, became increasingly rare over the years and seem to have ceased altogether by 1250.⁷⁰ Here, however, we encounter two religious foundations (Strophades and Blachernae) which are supposed to have been transferred from the Greeks to the Latins late in the thirteenth century. Though we have proposed that Strophades may have been founded originally as a Latin monastery, there can be little doubt that Blachernae was indeed transferred from the Greek to the Latin rite, at a time when comparable instances are almost impossible to find.

Finally, if we accept that the original Benedictine residents of Camina were found guilty of religious crimes, then the documents published here also have implications with regards to the existence of religious dissidence in the Latin territories of Greece. That Greece served as a safe haven for the persecuted religious deviants of the West cannot be doubted. The case of Angelo Clareno in the late thirteenth century and of the Fraticelli throughout the fifteenth century bear ample testimony to this. As David Burr remarks, even before Angelo's flight to the East, Celestine V had made an abortive attempt to escape to Greece, following his abdication.⁷¹ The events at Camina predate all of this, and thus emerge as the first known instance of Latin religious dissent in medieval Greece. Far from simply confirming what is already known about the existence of religious dissent in Greece, however, the case of Camina presents us with an interesting deviation from the pattern of

religious tolerance shown by the secular authorities towards all these later groups of dissidents. Here, it was the prince of Achaia who informed the pope, and it seems that the authorities had acted without reference to the papal see, for Nicholas IV was only told of the case after some of the brothers of Camina had been consigned to the pyre. If Florent of Hainaut was indeed involved in the proceedings, what we have here is a unique example of the secular authorities of Frankish Greece actively engaging in the persecution of religious deviance, rather than trying to protect the persecuted groups. If on the other hand the proceedings were undertaken by the archbishop of Patras on his own (in his capacity as baron of Patras), then we have an equally unique case of the religious authorities circumventing the State's prerogative of administering capital punishment. Either way, this is certainly the only known example of Latin ecclesiastics perishing at the stake in medieval Greece.

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¹ Karl Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1867–68), 1:293.

² Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976–84), 1:149–50.

³ Given the fact that most of our sources for the history of Camina derive from papal registers, it is worth noting that, despite their obvious value, the published editions of the registers have to be approached with some caution: not all of the original letters were copied into the registers; not all of the original registers survive; not all of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century letters in the surviving registers have been published; and many of those that have been published **only appear in summary** form, with important details omitted. We should therefore be aware that the published registers do not represent the full corpus of each pope's correspondence.

⁴ Dionysius I. Mousouras, *Αἱ Μοναὶ Στροφάδων καὶ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Κρημνῶν Ζακύνθου* (Athens: Ἱερά Μονή Στροφάδων καὶ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου, 2003), 24–38; and idem, 'Ἡ Μονή Στροφάδων (1200–1500): Ἐνα παράδειγμα αμυντικού μοναχισμού', in *Ο Μοναχισμός στην Πελοπόννησο, 4ος-15ος αι.*, ed. Voula Konti (Athens: Ἐθνικό Ἰδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν, 2004), 215–41, at 216. This tradition is based on the commemoration of the Laskarids as founders in the, now lost, diptychs of the monastery.

⁵ Marina Koumanoudi, *Οἱ Βενεδικτῖνοι στην Ἑλληνολατινική Ανατολή: ἡ περίπτωση τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου Μείζονος Βενετίας (11ος-15ος αι.)* (Athens and Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2011), 38–40. On the Arseniate schism more generally, see Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou, 'Το σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1265-1310): συμβολή στην μελέτη τῆς πορείας καὶ τῆς φύσης τοῦ κινήματος', *Βυζαντικά* 18 (1998): 177–235; Paris Gounaridis, *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261-1310): Ἰδεολογικὲς διαμάχες τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν πρώτων Παλαιολόγων* (Athens: Δόμος, 1999), especially at 73.

⁶ Koumanoudi, *Οἱ Βενεδικτῖνοι*, 39–40.

⁷ In a recent paper entitled ‘Miracolo di San Marco’, delivered at the Tenth International Panionian Conference, Mariana Kolyva also presented evidence suggesting that Strophades was originally a Latin house, albeit founded at a much earlier date. Her research on the matter will be published.

⁸ The Vallombrosans followed the Rule of St Benedict, which they had adapted to reflect a much stricter and more ascetic ideal, although they did not form a separate order in the strict sense, but were part of the Benedictine Order. The congregation took its name from the monastery of Vallombrosa, in the vicinity of Florence. See R. Nicola Vasaturo, *Vallombrosa: L'abbazia e la congregazione. Note storiche* (Vallombrosa: Edizioni Vallombrosa, 1994).

⁹ Koumanoudi, *Οι Βενεδικτῖνοι*, esp. 273–76. See also Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece, 1204-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 78–102.

¹⁰ Hopf, *Geschichte*, 1:293. Hopf drew his information from the Wadding edition of one of the papal letters published below (appendix, doc. 3).

¹¹ *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio (Geneva: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1885), 77. This information is suspect, however, given that St James is actually the descendant of the hospital of St James, run by a master and brothers, already attested in Andravida in Innocent III’s reign, possessing extensive properties described in a letter of Honorius III dated 27 May 1218: *Bullarium Hellenicum. Pope Honorius III's Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216-1227)*, ed. William Duba and Chris Schabel (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming), no. 65. For a thorough analysis of the Chronicle and the problems associated with it, see Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For the opposing view on the Chronicle’s lost prototype, see David Jacoby, ‘Quelques considérations sur les versions de la Chronique de Morée’, *Journal des savants* 3 (1968): 133–89, reprinted in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie latine* (London: Variorum, 1975), VII.

¹² *The Chronicle of Morea, Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως: A History in Political Verse Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. John Schmitt (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), 504–5–05, vv. 7778–84: Τὰ μοναστήρια τῶν Φραγκῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων, / τὰ ἐποιεον κι ἀνάστησεν διὰ τὰ παρακαλοῦσιν / τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τὴν χριστιανωσύνην / τὰ ψυχικά, τὰ ἔχουσιν μετὰ προβελεντζίου του, / ὅπου ἐποιεον τοῦ καθενός, τινὰς μὴ τὰ ἐμποδίση, / μηδὲ ἐνοχλήση τίποτε ἀπὸ ὅσα τοὺς ἐδῶκεν.

¹³ The most famous example was the monastery of Theotokos Evergetis in Constantinople, which was donated to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino under the stipulation that the monastery’s Greek community could remain in residence. See Raymond Janin, ‘Les Sanctuaires de byzance sous la domination latine (1204-1261)’, *Revue des études byzantines* 2 (1944): 134–84, at 177–78; Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders*, 85–86; and several examples in Ludivine Voisin, ‘Comme un loup poursuivant un mouton...’: *les monasteries grecs sous domination latine (XIIIe – XVIe siècle)*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université de Rouen, 2011), 1:533–586.

¹⁴ For an analysis of these events and the relevant historiographical tradition see Christopher Schabel, ‘Martyrs and Heretics, Intolerance of Intolerance: the execution of thirteen monks in Cyprus in 1231’, in idem, *Greeks, Latins and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), III, 1–33.

¹⁵ As a side-note, one might add that, even if we accepted that the monks in question were Greek, this would not render the whole affair more readily explicable. It has been shown that the Cypriot incident of 1231, far from

being characteristic of Greco-Latin relations, was in fact an aberration and represents the low point in otherwise much more civilised interactions. See Schabel, 'Martyrs and Heretics', 32–33.

¹⁶ As members of a religious order, the Benedictines of Camina would have enjoyed the benefit of the clergy, i.e., exemption from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. Accusations against them would be tried instead in the episcopal court. Members of the clergy who were found guilty of particularly heinous crimes could be defrocked and handed over to the secular authorities for punishment as laymen. Heresy was not, of course, the only heinous crime that could warrant such punishment; poisoning or blasphemy could also merit the same treatment, but it is difficult to see how a community of monks could be found guilty of such crimes. Apostasy and rebellion, on the other hand, could be plausible alternatives and, as we shall see below, could indeed be connected with certain heretical ideas. Simple accusations of murder do not seem to have been sufficient to trigger such proceedings: there exist examples of religious persons accused of murder in the registers of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII, who are not tried by the local authorities (secular or ecclesiastic), but are instead cited to appear at the papal court. See for example *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886), 2:774, no. 5749, 810–11, no. 6038; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas, and Robert Fawtier, 4 vols. (Paris: Boccard, 1884–1939), 1:col. 711–12, no. 1881.

¹⁷ The migration of heretics from Italy to Greece is attested in the biography of Giovanni Capistrano and mentioned in much of the secondary literature on the Fraticelli. See AASS Oct. X, 448.

¹⁸ For the earliest appointments of inquisitors, see David Jacoby, 'Venice, the Inquisition and the Jewish Communities of Crete in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970): 127–44, reprinted in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle* (London: Variorum, 1979), IX; Raymond J. Loenertz, 'Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri O. P. du couvent de Pera, inquisiteur en orient', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948): 265–80; see also Raymond J. Loenertz, 'Fr. Simon de Crète, inquisiteur en Grèce et sa mission en Crète', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 6 (1936): 372–78, the last two reprinted in idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca. Series Altera* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978, 19–38 and 131–38 respectively). The ineffectiveness of the Inquisition in Greece is proven by the seemingly unchecked spread of heresy in the fifteenth century.

¹⁹ For a detailed account of these events, see in particular Lydia von Auw, *Angelo Clareno et les Spirituels italiens* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979), 53–69; see also David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), 69–70, 91–93, 95–96, 279–303; and Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932), 49–80.

²⁰ See Angelo Clareno, *Liber chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum*, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Perugia: 1999), 578–81; see also his 'Epistola excusatoria', published in *Angeli Clarenii Opera. I Epistole*, ed. Lydia von Auw (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1980), 236–53, at 239–40.

²¹ Antonio Fabris, 'Il legato Pierre Thomas inquisitore a Candia: storia di un rogo (1359-60)', *Le Venezie Francescane*, nuova serie 6 (1989): 345–63; see also Philip de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. Joachim Smet (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), 87–89.

²² As we have seen, there had already been burnings in Cyprus in 1231, but this was more a breakdown in relations between overzealous Greek and Latin religious: the Greek monks were executed for the heresy of charging the Latins with heresy.

²³ Fabris, 'Il legato', 346–47.

²⁴ Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 45. One may also note that, by coincidence, the monastery of Strophades was within the domains of Richard Orsini, a member of the family of the cardinal and pope-maker Napoleone Orsini, who later in 1294 became the patron and protector of Angelo's Spirituals in the papal curia. For the relationship between Angelo and Napoleone Orsini, see Emily E. Graham, 'Reconsidering Reputation through Patronage: Cardinal Napoleone Orsini and Angelo Clareno at the Avignonese Papal Court', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013): 357–75.

²⁵ Four Franciscan friars were burnt by John XXII in 1318 for refusing to abide by his pronouncements on apostolic poverty. See John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 310–11.

²⁶ 'ut contra quosdam accedentes sub religionis seu biczocorum habitu ad principatum Achaye, Moree terras seu Romanie, qui tamen nullam de religionibus approbatis observant'. The full letter is published in *Actes relatifs a la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300*, ed. Charles Perrat and Jean Longnon (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967), 197–98, no. 230.

²⁷ As late as 1317, in his 'Epistola excusatoria' Angelo continued to defend himself against accusations of apostasy from the Franciscan Order by insisting that he and his followers were members of the Order of Poor Hermits, as approved by Pope Celestine: 'hence to this day we do not recognise or feel ourselves to be apostates of any order, but instead we believe that we would be truly apostates before God and fugitives from the heremitic life, if we had abandoned of our own will the lifestyle to which we were called by the inspiration of God and with the permission of the pope...'. See *Angeli Clareni Opera*, ed. von Auw, 236–53, especially 244.

²⁸ Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1886), 345: 'tam ex habitu quem portant similem habitui religioso, cum tamen non sint de aliqua religione per Ecclesiam approbata...'.

²⁹ On the heresy of the Apostolic Brethren, see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 219–23; Michael Frassetto, *Heretic Lives: Medieval Heresy from Bogomil to Wyclif and Hus* (London: Profile Books, 2007), 121–34; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 242–48.

³⁰ As mentioned above, the first evidence for the existence of an inquisitor in Greece comes from the second decade of the fourteenth century. See Jacoby, 'Venice, the Inquisition and the Jewish Communities', 129. Very little is known about the bishop of Olena at the time: he had previously served as bishop of Lacedaemon (Sparta); he was transferred to the diocese of Olena on 30 September 1285 and he was dead before 23 December 1297. See Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa Latina in Oriente*, 3 vols. (Verona: Mazziana, 1973–76), 2:183.

³¹ On Archbishop Benedict, who ruled the church of Patras between 1273 and 1295 see Fedalto, *La chiesa Latina*, 1:283–84 and 2:190–91; and Antoine Bon, *La Morée Franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1969), 1:106–07 and 146. From the beginning, the archbishop of Patras was a powerful baron: Chris Schabel, 'Antelm the Nasty, First Latin

Archbishop of Patras (1205-ca. 1241)', in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 93–137. Benedict's acquisition of the barony of Patras turned him into one of the leading lords of the Peloponnese and he apparently served as the spokesman of the barons on matters of feudal interest, on a couple of occasions. See *Livre de la conquête de la Princesse de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, ed. Jean Longon (Paris: Librairie Renouard), 214–15, §§540–41, 238 §594 and 337 §852; *Libro de los Fechos*, 88 §398; and *The Chronicle of Morea*, 510–15, vv. 7866–7932.

³² Earlier, when Charles II of Anjou had sent a representative to receive the homage of the barons of Achaia, Benedict had led the dissenting barons who refused to do homage to the king via a representative, on the grounds that the law of the land required them to do homage to their sovereign in person. When, however, Florent was made prince, it was Benedict who read out the orders of his appointment to the barons and there was no trouble securing the homage. Later still, when Isabel remarried and asked for homage to be paid to her new husband, Benedict (again representing the barons) declared that they were happy to pay homage to Philip of Savoy because all that they desired was to have a natural sovereign, clearly indicating that they preferred to have a ruler within the principality than be governed from Naples via representatives. See *Livre de la conquête*, 238 §594 and 337 §852.

³³ Angelo Clareno, *Liber chronicarum*, 584.

³⁴ See Philip de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. Joachim Smet (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), 87–89; and Fabris, 'Il legato', 346–47.

³⁵ Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders*, 159–62; and John N. Stephens, 'Heresy in Medieval and Renaissance Florence', *Past and Present* 54 (1972): 25–60, at 52.

³⁶ See for example the documents in *Documents*, ed. Perrat and Longnon, 36 no. 16, 40–43 nos 22–23, 47 no. 31, 61–62 no. 55 and 69 no. 66.

³⁷ Hopf, *Geschichte*, 1:333.

³⁸ Bernard Gui, *Practica*, 334–36.

³⁹ Bernard Gui, *Practica*, 335.

⁴⁰ Langlois, *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, 1: 625–26 no. 4253.

⁴¹ There is evidence that some Apostolici had made it to Würzburg in 1287; see Charles Henry Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper and brothers, 1901), 3:105–06.

⁴² For the use and misuse of the Joachite apocalyptic tradition for political purposes, see in particular Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 74–75 and 306–92, and eadem, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: SPCK, 1976), 59–82. See also Robert E. Lerner, 'Frederick II, Alive, Aloft and Allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite Eschatology', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 359–84; idem, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore', *Speculum* 60 (1985): 553–70, esp. 568–70; Randolph E. Daniel, 'Heresy and Abbot Joachim of Fiore', in idem, *Abbot Joachim and Joachimitism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), VIII, 1–19; Gian Luca Potestà, 'Apocalittica e politica in Gioacchino da Fiore', in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 231–48; Alexander Patshovsky, 'The Holy Emperor Henry "the First" as one of the Dragon's Heads of Apocalypse: on

the image of the Roman Empire under German Rule in the Tradition of Joachim of Fiore', *Viator* 29 (1998): 291–322.

⁴³ Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders*, 210–11 and 162–67 respectively.

⁴⁴ Though the previous papal letter seems to imply that the nunnery of St Clare had already been built by 1300, this letter makes it clear that the nunnery was never actually completed. It is therefore possible that Isabel had originally exaggerated her progress with the nunnery, in her attempt to convince the pope to grant her Camina. The phrasing of Clement's letter (which probably reproduces Isabel's expressions) is also awkward and does not clarify whether the nunnery was already operational or not.

⁴⁵ For the history of Daphni under the Latins, see indicatively Gabriel Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni* (Paris: Leroux, 1889), 25–42; and Beata Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 56–62; see also the main general study of the Cistercians in Greece: Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204–1276', *Traditio* 14 (1958): 63–120.

⁴⁶ Guy I and Guy II de La Roche as well as Gauthier of Brienne were buried in Daphni. Gauthier also bequeathed 100 hyperpers' worth of land to the abbey. See Millet, *Le Monastère*, pp. 38–40.

⁴⁷ The Cistercians continued to own the monastery of Gergeri and the church of Santa Maria Varangorum (also known as Santa Maria di Spagna) on the island of Crete until well into the early modern period; however, it appears that these religious foundations were not directly operated by the Cistercians, but rather leased out and used as sources of income by the monks of the Venetian abbey of St Thomas of Torcelo. See Angeliki Panopoulou, 'Το Μοναστήρι των Κιστερκιανών στη Γέργερη (13ος–14ος αι.)', in *Πρακτικά του Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου Ρούβας... Ιστορία, Πολιτισμός*, ed. Kostas Tsiknakis (Gergeri: Municipality of Rouva, 2009), 149–60; Ermanno Orlando, *Ad Profectum Patrie: la proprietà ecclesiastica veneziana in Romània dopo la IV crociata* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005), 76–77, 87–88, 101–02, 149–50; see also Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti dell' isola di Creta*, 4 vols (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, letter ed arti, 1905–32), 2:158.

⁴⁸ Giorgio Fedalto, 'Rationes Decimarum Romanie. Sec. XIV,' *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970): 157–98, at 178 and 190–91.

⁴⁹ See esp. Brenda Bolton, 'A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania', *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976): 169–81.

⁵⁰ The best history of the Catalan Duchy of Athens is still Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (London: Variorum, 1975). See also, more recently, Ausebi Ayensa i Prat, ed., *Η καταλανο-αραγωνική κυριαρχία στον ελληνικό χώρο* (Athens: Cervantes Institute, 2012).

⁵¹ Setton, *Catalan Domination*, 91–98.

⁵² Even this statement, however, needs to be qualified: most of our information on the religious foundations of Latin Greece derives from the papal registers. Only a fraction of the material in the papal registers of the fourteenth century has been published and much of it only in summary. It is conceivable, therefore, that Daphni features more prominently in papal correspondence of the fourteenth century than is recognised.

⁵³ Bon, *La Morée Franque*, 2:359–60. See also Demetrios Athanasoulis, 'Μεσαιωνικά εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία Ηλείας. Προκαταρκτική παρουσίαση νέων στοιχείων από την τοπογραφική και αρχαιολογική έρευνα', in *Ο Μοναχισμός στην Πελοπόννησο, 4ος–15ος αι.*, ed. Konti, 243–89, at 251–53 and 258–59.

⁵⁴ Demetrios Athanasoulis, 'The Triangle of Power: Building Projects in the Metropolitan Area of the of the Crusader Principality of the Morea', in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2013), 111–52, at 151.

⁵⁵ Guy Sanders, 'Three Peloponnesian Churches and their Importance for the Chronology of Late 13th and Early 14th Century Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. Vincent Déroche and Jean-Michel Spieser (Paris: Boccard, 1989), 189–99; Athanasoulis, 'The Triangle of Power', 151.

⁵⁶ Mousouras, *Αἱ Μοναὶ Στροφάδων*, 4. Koumanoudi also follows this suggestion in *Οἱ Βενεδικτίνοι*, 42. See also Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders*, 87.

⁵⁷ Mousouras, *Αἱ Μοναὶ Στροφάδων*, 4. and Koumanoudi, *Οἱ Βενεδικτίνοι*, 42

⁵⁸ Charalambos Bouras, 'Ἡ φραγκοβυζαντινὴ ἐκκλησία τῆς Θεοτόκου στο Ἀνήλιο (τ. Γκλάτσα) τῆς Ἠλείας', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 12 (1984): 239–64; Athanasoulis, 'Μεσαιωνικά ἐκκλησιαστικά μνημεῖα Ἠλείας', 264–65.

⁵⁹ *Libro de los Fechos*, 77, although see above, note 10, on St James.

⁶⁰ This has been concluded through an examination of the Greek armies' movements, as described in the *Chronicle of the Morea*. See Bon, *La Morée Franque*, 2:356–57; Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 222–23 fn. 24; and *Chronicle*, ed. Schmitt, 330–41, vv. 5020–5210; Jean Longon, *Livre de la conquête de la Princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)* (Paris: Librairie Renouard), 131, §339; *Libro de los Fechos*, 76–77. The Chronicle also explains that there is a church dedicated to St Nicholas in the area of Mesiskli where the Greeks camped. If the Aragonese version is accurate, the church of St Nicholas would not have existed yet at the time of the battle, though it would obviously have existed at the time of the Chronicle's composition. The French and Aragonese versions both note that the Greek camp was located on the plain of Palaiopolis, near the site, that is, of ancient Elis. Adolf Boetticher, *Olympia: das fest und seine stätte* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1886), 39–40, also attempted to locate these place-names on the map by looking at the armies' movements, but mistakenly concluded that the area referred to was near the site of ancient Olympia on the Alpheios River. This error has been perpetuated in several tourist guides of the area.

⁶¹ See Athanasoulis, 'Μεσαιωνικά ἐκκλησιαστικά μνημεῖα Ἠλείας', 255–56; see also Demetrios Athanasoulis, 'Μοναστηριακά πατητήρια στην Ἠλεία', in *Οἶνον ἱστορῶν: ἀμπελοοινοϊκὴ ἱστορία τῆς ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου*, ed. G.A. Pikoulas (Athens, 2001), 69–78, at 77. The village in which it is located was officially called Mouzika until the 1930s, when it was renamed Dafniotissa, after the church.

⁶² Demetrios Athanasoulis, 'Ἡ ναοδομία στην Ἐπισκοπὴ Ὠλένης κατὰ τὴν μέση και ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο', (PhD diss., Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, 2006), 77–89.

⁶³ Anastasios K. Orlandos, 'Αἱ Βλαχέρναι τῆς Ἠλείας', *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (1923): 5-35.

⁶⁴ Demetrios Athanasoulis, *Γλαρέντζα –Clarence* (Athens, 2005), 32–41; idem, 'The Triangle of Power', 122–25.

⁶⁵ The churches in question are the Panaghia Katholike of Gastouni, St Mary at Glatsa/Anelio and St Mary of Merbaka. See Demetrios Athanasoulis, 'Ἀναχρονολόγηση τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας Καθολικῆς στὴ Γαστούνη', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 24 (2003): 63–78; Athanasoulis, 'The Triangle of Power', 145–50; Athanasoulis, 'Μεσαιωνικά ἐκκλησιαστικά μνημεῖα Ἠλείας', 248; Heather Grossman, 'Syncretism Made Concrete: The Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture in Post-Fourth-Crusade Greece', in *Archaeology in Architecture: Papers in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. Deborah Deliyannis and Judson Emeric (Mainz: Ph.

von Zabern, 2005), 65–73; Sanders, ‘Three Peloponnesian Churches’. The re-dating of Panaghia Katholike and St Mary at Merbaka to the late thirteenth century rests largely on the incorporation of ‘Grid Iron’ Proto-Maiolica pottery into their walls, a type of pottery which was not exported to the East before the 1260s. These two churches have been associated with the remaining churches of this group (including Blachernae) mainly on the evidence of their sculptural decoration and especially a type of fluted croquet capital. While much of the Gothic elements in these Greek churches could be considered superficial decoration, this was not the case everywhere. For example, in Cyprus the main Greek church of the Frankish period, the fourteenth-century cathedral of St George of the Greeks in Famagusta, boasts of ribbed vaulting, window tracery and even flying buttresses. See Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, ‘La cathédral Saint-Georges des Grecs’, in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, ed. J.-B. de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, XXXIV) (Paris: Boccard, 2006), 286-96.

⁶⁶ Athanasoulis, ‘Η ναοδομία στην Επισκοπή Ωλένης’, 144–84. See also, idem, ‘The Triangle of Power’, 146–51.

⁶⁷ Athanasoulis, ‘Η ναοδομία στην Επισκοπή Ωλένης’, 181–84.

⁶⁸ The slab itself is interesting. Its inscription, not all of which is legible, is followed by a coat of arms depicting a lion rampant. Bon suggested that it belonged to a member of the Lusignan family. Recently, Louvi-Kizi affirmed that the name must read Lusignan and linked it to the presence of Isabel Lusignan in the Peloponnese. On the inscription see Orlandos, ‘Αι Βλαχέρναι της Ήλειας’, 12; Antoine Bon, ‘Pierres inscrites ou armoriées de la franque Morée’, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 4 (1964–65): 89–102, at 97–99; idem, *La Morée Franque*, 2:572; Aspasia Louvi-Kizi, ‘Οι κτήτορες της Περιβλέπτου του Μυστρά’, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 24 (2003): 101–118, at 108.

⁶⁹ See the different views expressed in Brenda Bolton, ‘A Mission to the Orthodox?’, Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders*, 74–78, and Chris Schabel, ‘The Myth of the White Monks’ *Mission to the Orthodox: The Cistercians and the Greeks*, forthcoming.

⁷⁰ Voisin, ‘Comme un loup poursuivant un mouton...’, 1:533-586.

⁷¹ Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 189.

Appendix: Texts Relating to Camina

1

Orvieto

12 May 1291

Following a report from Prince Florent of Achaia [1289-1297], Pope Nicholas IV writes to the bishop of Olena concerning the crimes of monks of the monastery of *Latruffayre*, called *de Chamina*, founded by the princes of Achaia, subject to the bishop. The pope orders the bishop to investigate and, if the report is true, to reform the monastery with members of the same order, Poor Clares, Dominican nuns, or others.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 46, f. 42r, no. 213 (R).

Summaries: August Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1874-1875), no. 23665; *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 4 vols. (BEFAR) (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886-1893), no. 5113.

Previous Edition: *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum pontificum constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens*, vol. IV, ed. Joannes Hyacinthus Sbaralea (Rome 1768), p. 249b, no. 466 (B).

. . episcopo Olenensi.

Ad audientiam nostram, dilecto filio nobili viro Florentio principe Achaye significante, pervenit quod fratres monasterii de Latruffayre, quod dicitur ‘de Chamina’, tue diocesis, lege tibi diocesano subiecti, quodque principes Achaye predecessores ipsius principis fundavisse et bonis eorum propriis dotavisse dicuntur, dantes in commotionibus pedes suos, ad illud dissolutionis – ut dicitur – invium pervenerunt quod, licet habitum religionis portare quodammodo videantur, dissolute tamen viventes in regularis institutionis obprobrium et contemptum Altissimi Redemptoris, nullum vivendo servant de ordinibus approbatis et – quod peius est – in scandalum plurimorum nonnulli ex eis, propter enormia scelera quae commisisse dicebantur ibidem, iudicium incendii publicum pertulerunt.

Unde, cum in omnium salute delectemur et in gehennali singulorum dampnatione paterno ex intimis turbemur affectu, ac in eorundem fratrum lapsu eo vehementius affligamur quo religiosorum ferentes habitum profane vivere perhibentur, fraternitati tue

per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus, de premissis diligenter inquirens, si rem inveneris ita esse, monasterium ipsum in religiosorum subsidio primitus institutum de ydoneis personis eiusdem ordinis, si poterunt in eisdem partibus reperiri, vel de dominabus ordinis Sancte Clare, vel regulam Beati Augustini secundum statuta fratrum ordinis Predicatorum tenentibus, aut personis aliis, iuxta ipsius monasterii statum congruum auctoritate nostra studeas reformare.

Datum apud Urbemveterem, IIII Idus Maii, anno quarto.

2

Rome, the Lateran

29 December 1299

Pope Boniface VIII confirms the appointment of Hugolino de Forolivio, former monk of Vallombrosan Santa Prassede, as prior of Benedictine St Mary of *Tropharia* in the diocese of Olena, which had lacked a prior for more than four years following the death of William. Three cardinals made the appointment in a document dated Rome, 20 December 1299, included herein.

The pope also writes to the monks of St Mary of *Tropharia*, the archbishop, dean, and Canon Nicholas Milioris of Anagni of Patras, Count Richard [Orsini] of Cephalonia and Zakynthos, and Princess Isabel of Achaia.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 49, f. 239r–v, no. 453 (R).

Summaries: *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas, and Robert Fawtier, 4 vols. (BEFAR) (Paris: Boccard, 1884-1939), no. 3330.

Edition: Previously unpublished.

Dilecto filio Hugolino, priori monasterii Sancte Marie de Tropharia per priorem soliti gubernari, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Olenensis diocesis.

Cum a nobis petitur quod iustum est et honestum *etc. usque* effectum.

Sane, ad nostram pridem deducto notitiam quod monasterium Sancte Marie de Tropharia, situm in insula maris iuxta principatum Achaye, per priorem solitum

gubernari, ad Romanam Ecclesiam nullo medio pertinens, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Olenensis diocesis, per mortem quondam Guillelmi ipsius monasterii prioris vacabat et iam per quatuor annos et amplius viduitatis incomoda deplorarat, nos, attendentes provisionem ipsius monasterii hac vice ad Sedem Apostolicam devolutam esse, ne monasterium ipsum longioris vacationis dispendiis expositum remaneret, de venerabilis fratris M. Portuensis et Sancte Rufine episcopi et dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Iohannis tituli Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri ac Roberti tituli Sancte Potentiane presbyterorum cardinalium circumspectione confisi, eis mandavimus et commisimus oraculo vive vocis ut eidem monasterio auctoritate nostra preficerent personam ydoneam in priorem. Ipsi vero, iuxta mandatum et commissionem huiusmodi de persona sufficienti sollicitate cogitantes, ac ad te, tunc monachum monasterii Sancte Praxedis de Urbe, Ordinis Vallis Umbrose, mentis aciem dirigentes, auctoritate nostra eis in hac parte commissa te ipsi monasterio Sancte Marie et Tropharia in priorem prefecerunt et de te providerunt eidem, plenam tibi curam et administrationem eiusdem in spiritualibus et temporalibus committentes, prout in patentibus litteris inde confectis eorundem episcopi et presbyterorum cardinalium sigillis munitis – quarum tenor annotatur inferius – plenius continetur.

Nos itaque, tuis supplicationibus inclinati, quod super hoc ab eisdem episcopo et presbyteris cardinalibus factum est ratum et gratum habentes, id auctoritate apostolica confirmamus *etc. usque* communimus. Tenor vero predictarum litterarum talis est:

Miseratione divina frater Matheus Portuensis et Sancte Rufine episcopus et Iohannes tituli Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri ac frater Robertus tituli Sancte Potentiane presbyteri cardinales, religioso viro fratri Ugolino de Forolivio, priori monasterii Sancte Marie et Tropharia per priorem soliti gubernari, ad Romanam Ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Olenensis diocesis, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Illis quorum aliquarum ecclesiarum seu monasteriorum vacantium provisio facienda committitur onus non parve sollicitudinis imminet ut in ipsa provisione et ecclesiarum et monasteriorum ipsorum comoda diligenter inspiciant et prudenter desideria committentis attendant.

Sane, pridem ad sanctissimi patris domini nostri domini Bonifatii divina providentia pape VIII deducto notitiam quod monasterium Sancte Marie de Tropharia, situm in insula maris iuxta principatum Achaye, per priorem solitum gubernari, ad Romanam Ecclesiam nullo medio pertinens, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Olenensis diocesis, per mortem quondam fratris Guillelmi, ipsius monasterii prioris, vacabat et iam per quatuor annos et amplius viduitatis incomoda deplorarat, idem dominus noster, attendens hac vice provisionem eiusdem monasterii ad Sedem Apostolicam devolutam, ac considerans ne ipsum monasterium longioris vacationis dispendiis expositum remaneret, nobis commisit et mandavit oraculo vive vocis ut eidem monasterio auctoritate sua [R 239v] preficeremus personam ydoneam in priorem.

Nos itaque, commissionem et mandatum huiusmodi humiliter et devote suscepta utiliter exequi cupientes, ac de persona ydonea ad regimen dicti monasterii sollicite meditantes, ad te, tunc monachum Sancte Praxedis de Urbe, Ordinis Vallis Umbrose, qui de honestate morum, vite munditia, spiritualium et temporalium providentia, fidedignorum testimonio commendaris, mentis nostre vertimus aciem, et te, quem ad hoc reputamus ydoneum, diligenti per nos deliberatione prehabita, auctoritate apostolica nobis in hac parte commissa eidem monasterio Sancte Marie de Tropharia in priorem preficimus et pastorem, et de te providemus eidem, plenam tibi curam et administrationem eiusdem in spiritualibus et temporalibus committentes, firma concepta fidutia quod idem monasterium sub tuo regimine per tue diligentie studium in spiritualibus et temporalibus, actore Domino, suscipiet incrementa.

Iugum itaque Domini reverentia prompta suscipias et eius oneri sub humilitatis spiritu colla submittas, prefati monasterii curam gerens, ita quod per tue circumspectionis industriam monasterium ipsum votivis proficere comodis et optatis consurgere valeat incrementis.

Nos autem in huius rei testimonium presentes litteras fieri fecimus et nostrorum sigillorum munimine roborari.

Datum Rome, die XX^a Decembris, sub anno Domini M^oCC^oLXXXIX, pontificatus sanctissimi patris domini Bonifatii divina providentia pape VIII anno quinto.

Nulli ergo *etc.*, nostre confirmationis *etc.*

Datum Laterani, IIII Kalendas Ianuarii, anno quinto.

In eundem modum dilectis filiis conventui monasterii Sancte Maria de Tropharia per priorem *etc.* Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Olenensis diocesis.

Ad nostra pridem deducto notitiam *etc. ut supra in proxima verbis competenter mutatis usque* sigillis munitis plenius continetur.

Quocirca universitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus eidem priori tanquam patri et pastori animarum vestrarum obedientiam et reverentiam debitam exhibere curetis, eius sulubribus monitis et mandatis efficaciter intendentes, ita quod ipse in vobis devotionis filios ac vos consequenter in eo patrem gaudeatis invenisse benignum. Alioquin sententiam quam ipse propter hoc rite tulerit in rebelles *etc.*

Datum *ut supra.*

In eundem modum venerabili fratri . . archiepiscopo et dilectis filiis . . decano ac Nicolao Milioris de Anagnia canonico Patracensibus.

Ad nostram *etc. usque* continetur.

Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos, vel duo aut unus vestrum, per vos vel per alium seu alios, prefatum Hugolinum priorem ipsius monasterii vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem eiusdem monasterii ac iurium et pertinentiarum suorum <possessionem> inducatis et defendatis inductum, amoto ab eis quolibet detentore, facientes sibi a monachis et conventu ipsius monasterii aliisque eiusdem monasterii subditis obediri humiliter et intendi, eique de prioratus dicti monasterii ac eius membrorum seu pertinentiarum proventibus, redditibus, et iuribus universis integre responderi. Contradictores *etc.* Non obstante si aliquibus a Sede Apostolica sit indultum quod interdicti aut excommunicari nequeant vel suspendi.

Datum *ut supra.*

In eundem modum dilecto filio Riccardo, comiti Cephalonie et Jacinti.

Ad nostram *etc. usque* continetur.

Cum igitur, ut idem prior in commissa dicti monasterii cura facilius proficere valeat, tuus favor esse noscatur plurimum oportunus, nos te requirimus et hortamur attente quatenus, eundem priorem et commissum sibi monasterium habens pro nostra et Apostolice Sedis reverentia commendata, in ampliandis et conservandis iuribus monasterii predicti, cum ab eo fueris requisitus, sic eum tui favoris presidio prosequaris quod ipse per tue auxilium gratie in commisso sibi monasterii sepe dicti regimine se valeat utilius exercere, tuque divinam misericordiam et dicte sedis benivolentiam possis exinde uberius promereri.

Datum *ut supra*.

In eundem modum dilecte in Christo filie Isabelle, principisse Achaye, *mutatis mutandis*.

3

Rome, the Lateran

1 November 1300

Pope Boniface VIII relates that, since the monks of Benedictine St Mary *de Scrufaria* of the diocese of Cephalonia who governed the church of Blessed Mary *de Camina* of the diocese of Olena, founded by Prince William of Achaia [II, 1245-1278], were expelled from the church long ago by their diocesan and their metropolitan because of their crimes, he agrees to Princess Isabel's request to assign the church to the monastery she has built in the diocese of Olena, in which she wishes to install Poor Clares, but which she has not been able to endow properly because of the expenses of defending her land against schismatic Greeks.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 49, ff. 350v–351r, no. 338 (R).

Summaries: Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 24988; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard, Faucon, Thomas, and Fawtier, no. 3783.

Previous Editions: Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Lyons: Claude Landry, 1628), vol. 2, pp. 243–44; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. IV, ed. Sbaralea, pp. 512a–13a, no. 193 (B, from Wadding).

Nobili mulieri Ysabelle,^{a)} principisse Achaye vidue.^{b)}

Affluentis devotionis affectum et zelum reverentie specialis, quibus anteactis temporibus clara progenitorum tuorum imitando vestigia erga Romanam Ecclesiam claruisse dinosceris et studiis clarere sollicitis non desistis, benigne considerationis indagine perscrutantes, dignum et rationi consonum arbitramur ut, personam tuam uberibus prosequendo favoribus, petitionibus tuis benivolum impendamus auditum et eas – quantum cum Deo possumus – ad exauditionis gratiam admittamus.

Oblata siquidem nobis tua petitio continebat quod tu, pridem salubri ducta consilio et ad felicitatis eterne dulcedinem ferventer aspirans, quoddam monasterium in diocesi Olenensi ad honorem divini numinis et^{c)} pro tue ac^{d)} progenitorum ipsorum^{e)} animarum salute construi seu edificari fecisti opere plurimum sumptuoso, in quo decentem monialium numerum Ordinis Sancte Clare affectas institui, ut in eo divinis insistatur^{f)} obsequiis et exerceantur^{g)} sollicite opera pietatis. Sed propter gravia sumptuum onera, que pro defensione continua terre tue, quam detestanda Grecorum scismaticorum nequitia in partibus illis degentium ausibus violentis impetere ac multipliciter molestare non cessat, oportet – ut asseris – te subire, sufficientes proventus et redditus nequis, prout geris in votis, eidem monasterio assignare. Quare supplici postulabas instantia ut, specialem tibi gratiam facientes, ecclesiam Beate Marie de Camina, memorate diocesis, quam quondam Guillelmus princeps Achaye, pater^{h)} tuus, de bonis propriis fundavit pariter et dotavit, consuetam per monachos monasterii Sancte Marie de Scrufaria, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Cephaliniensisⁱ⁾ diocesis, gubernari, cum nonnulli ex eisdem monachis ob excessus nefarios ab ipsis commissos^{j)} tam per diocesanum quam metropolitanum loci de dicta ecclesia iam diu expulsi fuisse noscantur, nonnulli vero ex eis propria temeritate discesserint ab eadem, sicque iam longi temporis spatio ecclesia ipsa remanserit gubernatoris presidio destituta, prefato monasterio per te – sicut premittitur – iam constructo de gratia speciali concedere dignaremur.

Nos itaque, pium et in oculis divine maiestatis acceptum non immerito reputantes ut in hac parte iamdicti monasterii comodis et eiusdem ecclesie statui providere utiliter studeamus, tuis supplicationibus inclinati, prefatam ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Camina, cum omnibus bonis, iuribus, et pertinentiis suis ubilibet constitutis, predicto monasterio per te constructo – prout superius est expressum – apostolica auctoritate concedimus et

donamus de gratia speciali, ab eo perpetuis futuris temporibus possidendam, tibi nichilominus [R 351r] apprehendendi et nanciscendi, per te vel alium seu alios, corporalem ecclesie bonorum et iurium ac pertinentiarum predictorum possessionem nomine monasterii supradicti, assensu diocesani loci minime requisito, facultatem plenam et liberam tribuentes. Volumus autem quod moniales predictae in eadem ecclesia faciant per idoneum vicarium continue deserviri, reservata sibi congrua ipsius ecclesie fructuum, reddituum, et proventuum portione, de qua sustentari comode valeat et eiusdem ecclesie onera supportare, iure diocesani predicti in omnibus semper salvo. Nos enim nichilominus irritum decernimus et inane si secus a quoquam scienter vel ignoranter in hac parte contigerit attemptari.

Nulli ergo *etc.* nostre concessionis, donationis, voluntatis, et constitutionis^{k)} *etc.*

Datum Laterani, Kalendis Novembris, anno sexto.

a) ysabelle] isabellae B b) vidue *manus*² R c) et] ac B d) et] ac B e) ipsorum] tuorum ipsorumque B f) insistatur] insistant B g) exercentur] exercent B h) pater] patruus B i) cephaliniensis] cephalunensis B j) ob excessus nefarios ab ipsis commissos *om.* B k) donationis voluntatis et constitutionis *om.* B

4

Lyon

17 January 1306¹⁾

Pope Clement V informs the abbot and monks of Cistercian Daphni of the diocese of Athens that, on the request of [Cardinal-]Bishop L[eonardo] of Albano and Princess Isabel of Achaia, he is uniting to their monastery the church of St Mary *de Camina* of the diocese of Olena, customarily governed by monks of Benedictine St Mary *de Scrofaria* of the diocese of Cephalonia. According to the princess, the church, built by her ancestors, was without a governor and Boniface VIII granted that she could attach it to a monastery she was building for Poor Clares in the diocese of Olena, but which she ceased constructing because the place's isolation and proximity to the sea made it open to piracy.

The pope wishes the abbot to install a monastery in the church, obedient to the abbots of Daphni.

The pope writes a similar letter to the patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishops of Athens and Thebes, ordering them to enforce the decision.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instrumentum Miscellaneum 6706, fasc. 5, f. 14r, no. 1043.²⁾

Summaries: *Regestrum Clementis papae V*, 9 vols. (Paris 1885-1892), no. 1510; *Bullarium franciscanum...*

Tomus quintus, Benedicti XI, Clementis V, Joannis XXII monumenta, ed. C. Eubel (Rome 1898),

Clement V, no. 50 (p. 25a) (from *Regestrum Clementis papae V*).

Edition: Previously unpublished.

Dilecto filio abbati et conventui monasterii de Dalfino, Cisterciensis Ordinis, Atheniensis diocesis, salutem *etc.*

Presignis ordinis vestri religio, fecunditate relecta virtutum, et meritorum conspicua sanctitate, necnon devotionis sinceritas quam reverenter et sedule ad Romanam Ecclesiam exhibuistis hactenus promerentur ut, vos apostolici favoris plenitudine prosequentes, vobis reddamur ad gratiam liberales.

Exhibita siquidem nobis dilecte in Christo filie nobilis mulieris Ysabelle, principisse Achaye, petitio continebat quod olim felicitis recordationis dominus Bonifacius papa VIII, predecessor noster, eidem principisse concessisse dicitur ut ecclesiam Beate Marie de Camina, Olenensis diocesis, consuetam olim per monachos monasterii beate Marie de Scrofaria, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Cephaliensis diocesis, gubernari, gubernatoris presidio destitutam, quam progenitores eiusdem fundaverant et de bonis etiam, sicut asseritur, dotaverant eorundem, apprehendere posset ipsamque cuidam monasterio applicare, quod ad opus sororum Ordinis Sancte Clare, quas in eo, postquam constructum existeret, affectabat institui, inceperat construi facere in dicta diocesi Olenensi. Sed quia locus ubi affectabat dictum monasterium situari nimis est mari propinquus et sepius invadi potest incursibus piratarum et alias a locis habitabilibus nimium est remotus, dicta principissa ab huiusmodi hedificatione ipsius monasterii sue propter hoc retraxit propositionem voluntatis, nobis humiliter supplicans ut dictam ecclesiam unire et incorporare vestro monasterio, ad quod gerit specialis devotionis affectum, auctoritate apostolica de speciali gratia dignaremur.

Nos itaque, tam vestris quam eiusdem ecclesie perfectibus intendentes, et sperantes quod diu ipsius cultus qui iam floruit in eadem vestre vigilantie studio reflorabit, tam venerabilis fratris nostri L, episcopi Albanensis, quam eiusdem principisse in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, ecclesiam ipsam cum omnibus bonis, iuribus, et pertinentiis suis ubilibet constitutis vestro monasterio auctoritate apostolica cōmimus ac etiam ordini vestro incorporamus, sub cura tua, fili abbas, et successorum tuorum qui pro tempore fuerint perpetuis futuris temporibus gubernandam. Ita quod monasterium per competentem personarum numerum ipsius Cisterciensis Ordinis sub tua, fili abbas, et successorum tuorum obedientia permansurum faciatis in dicta ecclesia deserviri.

Nulli ergo *etc.* Siquis autem *etc.*

Datum Lugdini, XVI Kalendas Februarii.

Venerabilibus fratribus . . . patriarche Constantinopolitano et . . . Atheniensi ac . . . Thebano archiepiscopis, salutem *etc.*

Presignis religio dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus monasterii de Dalfino, Cisterciensis Ordinis, Atheniensis diocesis, fecunditate relecta virtutum *etc. ut supra usque*

Quocirca fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum, per vos vel per alium seu alios, prefatos abbatem et conventum vel procuratorem suum eorum nomine in corporalem possessionem ecclesie, iurium, et pertinentiarum predictarum inducatis auctoritate nostra et defendatis inductos *etc. ut in forma.*

Datum *ut supra.*

1) No year is given, but the surrounding documents are dated *anno primo*.

2) The text is on a folio that was originally part of a volume of the papal registers that was heavily water damaged and it is now contained in a box of files of loose leaves. According to the *Registrum Clementis papae V* and Eubel, in the late nineteenth century this letter was on f. 90r of Reg. Vat. 52. The present Reg. Vat. 52, f. 90r, contains letters nos. 460-463, not close to the no. 1043 of the present letter, but the volume ends on f. 180 with letter no. 962 from January 1306. Perhaps, then, this letter was originally on f. 190r, not 90r. This folio has holes and is very faded, so the transcription was made using a UV lamp.

between late 1339 and early 1341

Record of the collection for the first year and part of the second of the triennial tithe imposed by Pope John XXII for the years 1321-1324. Abbot Peter of Daphni of the Cistercian Order of the diocese of Athens paid six hyperpers for the priory of Our Lady of Camina of the diocese of Olena, connected to Daphni.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Collectoriae* 129, f. 71r (copy 173r).

Previous Edition: Giorgio Fedalto, 'Rationes decimarum Romanie sec. XIV', *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970), pp. 157–98, at p. 178.

Valet flor. III, lib. X sol. bag. Olonensis. Romanie decima.

Dominus Petrus, abbas monasterii de Dalphino, Ordinis Cisterciensis, Athenarum diocesis, pro solutione primi anni decime triennalis impositae per felicis recordationis dominum Iohannem papam XXII et pro parte solutionis secundi anni dicte decime, videlicet pro prioratu Sancte Marie de Camina, Olonensis diocesis, eidem monasterio annexo, per manum domini Nicolai, abbatis monasterii Sancti Thome de Torcello, pro VI hyperperis in principatu Achaye currentibus valoris XX soldorum bagatinorum pro quolibet, assignavit

VI lib. bag.

ca. 15 October 1350

Record of the collection for the biennial tithe imposed by Pope Clement VI for the years 1346-1348. Abbot Peter of the monastery of Our Lady of 'la Carmina' of the Cistercian Order – which is not linked to the bishopric of Olena, although it is located in the diocese – paid 100 hyperpers, out of a total of ca. 750 for the diocese of Olena.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Collectoriae* 130, f. 56v.

Previous Edition: Fedalto, 'Rationes decimarum Romanie sec. XIV', pp. 190–91.

Episcopatus Olonensis.

Die quintodecimo Octubris recepi a domino episcopo Olonensi per manum Ambrosini de Mediolano pro solutione completa decime biennalis mense sui episcopatus yperperos trecentos vigintiseptem.

Item recepi die predicta a predicto pro membris ecclesiarum predictarum episcopatus pro parte solutionis dicte decime yperperos ducentos vigintiocto et soldos septem.

Ista duo monasteria infrascripta non habent comunionem cum episcopatu, licet sint in diocese et consueverunt separatim solvere:

Item recepi a monasterio monialium Sancte Marie de Viridario de Clarenzia pro solutione decime biennalis pro parte dicti monasterii contingentis yperperos nonaginta.

Item recepi a monasterio della Carmina Ordinis Cisterciensis, per manum fratris Petri, abbatis monasterii predicti, yperperos centum.

Qui sunt in summa septingentis quadragintaseptem yperperi et soldi septem, et valent florenos ducentos vigintiocto auri et soldos viginti octo

flor. CCXXVIII, sol. XXVIII

7

Avignon

29 August 1363

Pope Urban V writes to the abbot of Camina of the diocese of Olena, the dean of Olena, and the archdeacon of Modon, appointing them judges-conservator for the archbishop of Patras for 5 years.

Register: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Av. 154, f. 440v.

Summary: *Urbain V (1362-1370). Lettres Communes*, ed. Pierre Gasnault, Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, Michel Hayez, and Anne-Marie Hayez, 12 vols. (Paris 1954-1989), no. 4571.

Edition: Previously unpublished.

Dilectis filiis . . abbati monasterii de Camina, Olonensis diocesis, et . . decano Olonensis
ac . . archidiacono Mothonensis ecclesiarum, salutem *etc.*

Ad hoc nos etc. usque

Sane, venerabilis fratris nostri . . archiepiscopi Patracensis conquestione
percepimus *etc. usque* presentibus post quinquennium minime valituris.

Datum Avinione, IIII Kalendas Septembris, anno primo.