

FROM “HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS” TO ACKNOWLEDGED CATHOLICS: CATHOLIC VIEW OF GREEKS AND ARMENIANS IN GENOESE CAFFA

Timur Guselnikov

Abstract: *The article aims to examine the Catholic perspective on two major Eastern Christian communities of Genoese Caffa, Greeks and Armenians. The study involves an image of Non-Catholics provided by popes, missionaries and Genoese officials as well as their legal status and everyday practice.*

During the 13th and 14th centuries, Eastern Christians were considered as a threat for Catholic preachers, unless they converted to the union with Rome. Genoese government, however, tolerated mixed marriages due to the lack of population and even encouraged them in the 15th century.

After the Council of Ferrara-Florence, Armenian and Greek bishops gained the right of court over their flock, which would be challenged by Latin bishops and Genoese authorities. The Genoese preferred not to intervene in the two communities, not to visit Armenian and Greek churches officially, and the expression of “heretics and schismatics” remained an easy way to mark all the Eastern Christians.

Keywords: *Genoese colonies, Church union, religious communities, Council of Ferrara-Florence, Eastern Christianity.*

During the two centuries, from the 1270s to 1470s, Genoese Caffa would attract settlers from all the regions of Europe, Middle East and Great Steppe, providing space for close economic and cultural contacts.¹ Since the times of ancient colonisation, Greeks were the local people of seaside towns of Crimea not excluding Caffa where existed the ancient church of Holiest Mother of God (*Theotocos* of the Latin sources). Armenians came to Crimea due to several waves of migrations from Caucasus and Cilicia, and settled down in Caffa at the beginning of the 14th century.² The status of Non-Catholic Christians

¹ Among the vast amount of bibliography dedicated to the multicultural landscape of Caffa and ethnic communities within the city, see first: Starokadomskaia 1958; Balard 1978, p. 229–354; Balard 1987; Emanov 1991. Emanov 2022; Karpov 1993; Ponomarev 2000; Khvalkov 2015, pp. 204–335.

² Osipian 2015, pp. 350–351. Only one Armenian is mentioned in the deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto in 1289–1290: Balard 1978, p. 284.

compared with the Latins was ambiguous: they were, on the one hand, closer than Muslims and polytheists but, on the other, were considered as misguided, heretics and schismatics.

This paper was designed to examine the attitude of Caffa's Catholics to Greek Orthodox and Oriental Christians of the city, taking into account such cases when religious identity mattered. The range of issues includes preaching and cult; church structure and titles; demographic and economic policies of the Genoese authorities; legal status of the Eastern clergy. We may raise the question to what extent Western perspective on Eastern³ Christians changed (if changed) after the Union of Ferrara-Florence was signed, both at official and day-to-day level. I would like to focus not only on the image of the Other in written sources but also on legal practices and everyday life.

The Catholics whose perspective is to be studied – that part of them who have left a mark in our sources – are represented by two groups, clergy and Genoese secular power. Unfortunately, only the two last bishops of Caffa, Giacomo Campora and Girolamo Panissari, left some volume of accounts written by them or known from the correspondence of Genoese officials. Ideas of earlier hierarchs can be deduced only through references in papal bulls and secular documents. Therefore, only for the post-Union period can we compare the image produced by the Papal Curia with the perspective of the local clergy, and the perspective of clergy with that of the secular power.

1. Clerical view on Eastern Christians

Competitors, *christifideles*, *christiani* in papal bulls and missionary accounts

In their missionary bulls (*Cum hora undecima* and their analogues⁴), Roman popes put the flock of Greek Orthodox and Oriental churches on a par with “pagans” and “saracens”: from the pontiffs’ point of view, Greeks needed preaching as much as people not acquainted with Christianity. Moreover, among the peoples listed in the *Cum hora undecima* bull of 1245 Christians of Eastern churches and confessions such as Greeks, Bulgars, Ethiopians, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Georgians, and Armenians made up the biggest part.⁵ In the list, there were also peoples of the North Black Sea region who had to some extent been Christianised by the Greek Church, namely Cumans (Kypchaks), Alans, Goths, and Zichs (ancestors of the Circassians). As the Eastern clergy,

³ I use the term “Eastern” referring to the whole Eastern Christianity, including Eastern Orthodox and Oriental churches.

⁴ Matanić 1957; Guselnikov 2021.

⁵ Haluscinsky 1962, p. 36.

from the Catholic perspective, induced people to following heretical doctrines, it was considered as an obstacle on the way of preaching among pagans and as the self-sufficient target of preaching.

Intense competition between clergy of different confessions is depicted in the letters of Franciscans from Caffa of 1287 and 1323. In 1286, Ladislaus, the Franciscan *custos* of Gazaria, and the guardian Stefan of Caffa baptised Yaylaq, the great wife of Nogay, in the presence of the Armenian archbishop as well as of “numerous priests and clerics of Greeks although all of them were reluctant and unwilling.”⁶ Later, Franciscans of Caffa also complained on “schismatics and heretics” in their letters of 1323 that the latter “make many people betray the faith and even more doubt the faith.”⁷ Such mentions contrast with benevolent words towards Mongol khans and rulers of the Golden Horde who encouraged the diversity of cults and beliefs.

In papal bulls of 14th and 15th centuries, all the Eastern Christian population of Crimea can occur in one of three ways.⁸ The first and the biggest group include mentions with clear negative connotations, as schismatics and heretics wandering in the dark and prone to give in to temptations of the devil. Some of them who converted to Catholicism managed to renounce such a bleak past, as did Seth the Armenian around 1370 when he “came to the right path of the Truth” “from the errors in which he had wandered with others of his people, when God touched his heart.”⁹ It is interesting that even after conversion Seth suffered from assaults from some Catholics who were not happy with his preaching, although this might have happened not due to prejudice against his background but rather because he was lay.

Half a century before that, the attention of the pope John XXII was attracted by women that Latin migrants lived with.¹⁰ After getting married and living

⁶ “Cumque ibi vissem ego frater Ladizlaus dictus custos una cum fratre Stephano gardiano de Capha presente archiepiscopo Armenorum cum universo suo clero nec non et Gregorum sacerdotibus et clericis quampluribus, licet omnibus reluctantibus et invitis, fuit per manus nostras baptizata”, Hautala 2019°, 124, 126. The letter of Ladislaus contains the earliest mention of the Armenian bishop in Crimea.

⁷ “Maxime autem que in nostro profectu patimur inpedimenta sunt a scismaticis et hereticis ibidem xristianis, qui factis nostris resistunt multum suis doctrinis erroneis, quibus multos a fide faciunt apostatare ac plures in fide dubitare”, Hautala 2019°, 360–361, 367.

⁸ To make a comparison, 23 bulls were picked from 1318 to 1424 according to the editions of Tăutu 1952, Tăutu 1958, Tăutu 1966, Tăutu 1970.

⁹ “Dilectus filius Seth de Armenia ... iam octavus annus elapsus est, quod erroribus, in quibus cum aliis de sua natione dudum deviaverat, Domino tangente cor eius, rectam ingressus est semitam veritatis”, Tăutu 1966, 431.

¹⁰ Relationships between Latins and local women varied from concubinage with a slave to official marriage including such exotic practice as temporary marriage under contract: Karpov 2002.

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for some time “*in the rite and obedience of the Orthodox faith <they> finally, being seduced by Satan’s tricks, collapse to the previous heresy, falling away from the true faith, and some of them incline their children and spouses to the above-mentioned heresy for their common loss and big temptation for many people*”¹¹. Not only in the *Cum hora undecima* bulls and those similar to them but also in bulls on private issues the word “schismatics” walks hand in hand with “pagans”, “infidels” and “other enemies of the faith”.

On the other hand, Eastern Christians of Crimea remained “faithful” (*Christifideles*) for the papacy. This definition was used in bulls proclaiming indulgences in favour of Catholic churches of Caffa.¹² Such churches as Dominican Santa Maria de Corona, Armenian Catholic churches of St. Nicholas, St. Peter and Paul, and St. Jacob, were supposed to be shared spaces for prayer and piety, attracting Latins as well as all *Christifideles*.

Finally, facing the hazard common for all Christians, the pope could take responsibility of the Oriental brethren. In his *Laetenter audivimus* bulls addressed to Khan Uzbek, John XXII talked about Christians (*christianos*) who had been banned from ringing church bells in the Golden Horde, without any distinction between Catholics and Non-Catholics.¹³ It becomes clear from the second bull of 1323 that it was about Christians in general as there were mentioned several churches in Soldaya that had been converted to mosques, while only one Franciscan church is known to have existed in the town that time.

Acknowledged titles and contender bishops: the case of Caffa

In the period between the Councils of Lyons II and Ferrara-Florence some separate clerics, congregations, bishoprics and monasteries of Eastern churches would come to the decision of the union with the Roman church. In Crimea, the most intensive and fruitful was the Armenian-Catholic movement.¹⁴ The key issues – about two natures and two wills in Jesus Christ, dates of celebrations, and adding water to wine in the Eucharist – would be solved, as the union had been made, in favour of the Roman church.¹⁵ In 1318, presumably under

¹¹ “...matrimonia contraxerunt et frequenter contrahunt per verba legitime de praesenti, quae per aliquod tempus cohabitantes cum eis in cultu et observatione fidei orthodoxae, tandem seductae versutiis satanae a veritate fidei descendentes in pristinam haeresim relabuntur, quarum aliquae interdum ad dictam haeresim protrahunt liberos ac maritos, in suarum et illorum perniciem et magnum scandalum plurimorum”, Tăutu 1952, pp. 14–15.

¹² Tăutu 1958, p. 76; Tăutu 1966, p. 24, 427; Tăutu 1970, p. 149.

¹³ Eubel 1898, p. 148, 254; Tăutu 1952, pp. 145–147.

¹⁴ The Union would be discussed by kings and Catholicoi of Cilician Armenia since 1145. The first attempt to merge occurred on the 7th synod of Sis in 1307 and caused a schism among Armenian clergy. Its decisions were approved on the synod of Adana in 1316. See: Balgy 1878, pp. 32–33, 69–75, 301–335; Mutaflan 2004, §31.

¹⁵ Balgy 1878, pp. 70–71.

influence of Hieronymus of Catalonia (by that time a bishop without a see residing in Caffa), an archbishop of Solghat called Arakel moved towards the union, and John XXII sent him instructions on how to celebrate the Eucharist according to the Latin rite.¹⁶ Opponents of the union created their own hierarchy in the Golden Horde headed by Bogos, the archbishop of Saray.¹⁷ Their protégé in Caffa Thadeos, however, moved to the Dominican order by 1322 and became a *episcopus Caphensis de Ermenis* under Hieronymus.¹⁸ He became the only Catholic bishop of Caffa in 1334. Around 1340, another archbishop of Solghat, Stepanos, influenced by the Franciscans, turned to the union.¹⁹ He would be commemorated by both Catholic and Gregorian Armenian scribes until 1365.

Table 1. The Hierarchy of the Armenian Church ca. 1320 viewed by unionists and anti-unionists

Roman church and unionists		Anti-unionists
Arakel, the archbishop of Armenians		Archbishop Bogos
/		
Stepanos of Saray	Bogos, pseudo-bishop of Saray	bishop Arakel

As long as the union of the Armenian Church with Rome would be at least formally observed, the two church structures would mutually acknowledge titles of each other: there would be no archbishop in Solghat except the Armenian one and no bishop in Caffa except the Catholic one. But in 1361, the 8th synod of Sis denounced the union and cancelled all the novelties. This gave reason to both churches to consider neighbouring sees as vacant and ordain their claimants. In the last quarter of the 14th century we find Catholic archbishops of Solghat such as a Franciscan friar Andrew, Giovanni di Saulo and Bartolomeo Ventura.²⁰ Documents of the Council of Ferrara-Florence make it clear that there had been a bishop of Armenians in Caffa before 1438 not

¹⁶ Golubovich 1919, p. 45; Tăutu 1952, pp. 16–18; Hautala 2019a, pp. 279–282.

¹⁷ In 1319, Khachatur the scribe called Bogos of Saray an archbishop: Sargsyan 2010, p. 61; Eubel 1898, p. 212.

¹⁸ Loenertz 1937, pp. 104–105; Tanase 2010, p. 17; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, p. 125; Hautala 2019b, p. 78.

¹⁹ Tăutu 1958, pp. 107–108.

²⁰ Eubel 1913, pp. 154–155. Friar Andrew is mentioned in the account books of Caffa's massaria: Massaria Caffae 1374. Archivio Stato di Genova. Sala 34. 590/1225 (MC1374), F. 95r, 158v; Massaria Caffae 1381. Archivio Stato di Genova. San Giorgio (MC1381), F.6r, 26v, 27r; Massaria Caffae 1386. ASG, Sala 34. N 590/1226. Sala 34/67 (MC 1386), F. 573r.

acknowledged by Latin bishops²¹. Armenian scribes commemorate Karapet as the bishop of Caffa in 1432–1437.²² Most likely the Armenian bishopric was established in Caffa after the 8th synod of Sis, approximately in the same time as friar Andrew appeared in Solghat.

Much less is known about Greek Orthodox priests who turned to the union. Within the Patriarchate of Constantinople parishes and monasteries of Caffa were subjected to the archbishop (metropolitan since mid-14th century) of Sougdaia. Trying to accumulate sources, the Patriarchate could remove a monastery from a metropolis, as they did in 1366 taking the St. Peter's monastery in Caffa.²³ But not after 1393 the pope ordained a Catholic bishop, Bonifacio de Surdis, to the see of Soldaia-Sougdaia, and after 1400 Catholic bishops completely replaced the Orthodox ones: there is no evidence of the latter in the acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople since then.²⁴ Canonical obedience of Caffa's Greek monasteries and parishes in 1400–1438 is obscured.²⁵

2. Encouraging diversity and avoiding scandal: Eastern Christians for Genoese officials

For the Genoese authorities, religious otherness of Greeks and Armenians seemed to matter only in the sense that these communities both lived on their own, and any attempt to interfere in their lives could lead to a big scandal and ruin fragile social peace. Greeks (and the Orthodox as a whole) were irreplaceable for defending the city, and many of them would become soldiers, sailors, centurions and foremen of the city's militia, and made up a consul's guard of *orguxii*.²⁶ Armenian and Greek communities received gratitude from the Genoese government for their active participation in development and improvement of the city.²⁷ At the same time, Eastern Christians from the urban lower classes posed a threat as they could revolt or merely abandon the city.²⁸ Regarding Greeks, suspicion should have been even greater after the uprising in Cembalo in 1433. In August 1455, Consul Tommaso Domoculta had to admit that it would have been too risky to tax Armenians and Greeks with the tribute to

²¹ Hofmann 1950, p. 95; Balguy 1878, pp. 157–158; Gill 1959, p. 308.

²² His title was indicated as a "bishopric" or "archbishopric in Caffa": Sargsyan 2010, №140, p. 144, 146.

²³ Miclosich & Müller 1860, p. 486.

²⁴ Berthier-Delagarde 1920, p. 135.

²⁵ They might have fallen under a Catholic bishop as it was elsewhere in Latin Romania.

²⁶ Balard 1978, p. 273.

²⁷ For example, Vigna 1871, p. 277, 347–348.

²⁸ Vigna 1868, p. 117, 305; Chipiris 1962, pp. 247–248.

Tatars, given extreme poverty of most of them.²⁹

It is worth mentioning that assessments of officials could have been biased as well as any other correspondence of managers with their employers. “*You know that this land is populated mostly by Armenians who are the most loyal and good traders for us, providing great benefits for the city*”, wrote consul Domoculta to new owners of the city, the Bank of St. George, in 1455.³⁰ However, studies carried out on the basis of data from Caffa’s *massaria* showed that Armenians never constituted even the second group in the city, yielding to Latins and Greeks.³¹ They made up 19% in 1381, and it was, perhaps, the moment of their greatest presence in Caffa. In the 15th century the city, according to E. Khvalkov, would become more and more Latinised. The city’s population noted in the books of Massaria reduced from 1909 in 1381 to 1408 people in 1423 and to 1025 in 1461, and the biggest losses fell on Orthodox and Armenian population.³² It seems like the consul tended to exaggerate the size of the Armenian community in the heat of the conflict with the Latin bishop, which was the reason to write those lines.

Anxious reports about the city’s depopulation seem to be more unbiased as they were proved by statistical studies. Genoese officials paid their attention to population losses after withdrawing the colonies to the Bank of St. George and the raid of Temir-Kaya in 1454.³³

While the number and share of the Armenian and Greek population decreased, the share of converted people noted in the books of massaria as *catolicus* grew up. According to A.L. Ponomarev’s calculations, the macrogroup of “Armenians” made up 398 people including “Catholics” and Syrians; the macrogroup of “Greeks”, that is all the Orthodox, 570 people.³⁴ At the same time, the number of people noted as *catolicus* in the Massaria of 1381 was only eight, or 0.85% of the whole mass of Eastern Christians and converted Catholics. E.A. Khvalkov enumerated 125 “Armenians” and 288 “Greeks” in 1423/1424, not including new “Catholics.”³⁵ Yet in the next year of 1424/1425 scribes of the Massaria mentioned 12 people as *catolicus*, or 2.82% (they made up 11 people in 1410). Most likely a certain share of depopulation of the Eastern Christians fell on people converted to Catholicism: members of one family who bore Oriental names in 1381 turned to the Catholic Church, called their children

²⁹ Vigna 1868, p. 359.

³⁰ Vigna 1868, p. 365.

³¹ Ponomarev 2000, p. 390; Khvalkov 2015, p. 296.

³² Khvalkov 2015, p. 293.

³³ Vigna 1868, p. 139, 305.

³⁴ Ponomarev 2000, p. 386.

³⁵ Khvalkov 2015, p. 293.

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after Western saints, and those became undistinguishable from the Westerners in the eyes of scribes and notaries.

Genoese government took measures to halt the out-migration without regard for Church regulations. In their letter of 1466, protectors of the Bank of St. George paid great attention to mixed marriages. First, they enumerated privileges that Genoese men who married local girls could gain.³⁶ Such families were offered a stipend of 1 sommo in a month for up to four years, provided that they remained in Caffa, did not receive any other payments from the treasury of Massaria, and the dowry of a bride made up not more than 100 sommo. Theoretically, the union of a descendant from Western Europe and a local girl suggested conversion of the bride, but officials from the Bank were ready to tolerate mixed families where spouses obeyed different rites and went to different churches, and even apostasy of Latins from Catholic faith. By that moment this law had already been working, and go-getter Caffiotes abused stipends from the treasury, receiving payments sometimes for 15 years.³⁷

3. The council of Ferrara-Florence and its consequences

The Orientals from Caffa at the Council

Armenian delegation at the Council of Ferrara-Florence included vardapet Sarkis who was a legate of the Catholicos Constantine, bishop Joachim of Pera, vardapet Markos and vardapet Tovmas O.P.³⁸ as well as interpreter monks Basil and Narses³⁹ – all except the one from Crimea. Armenians arrived to Italy accompanied by Giacomo Primadizi and Giovanni da Capistrano in August 1439 when the council was almost completed although all the participants were still gathered, and after a series of consultations the pope Eugene IV scheduled a special session on 22 November 1439 where a decree declaring the union of the churches was signed.⁴⁰ The decree solved all the issues under question unambiguously in favour of the Roman church.⁴¹

The joy caused by the Union was great. Beginning in Genoa and continuing on Chios and in Caffa, Sarkis and Tovmas should have been met with glory and

³⁶ Vigna 1879, pp. 437–438.

³⁷ Vigna 1879, p. 438.

³⁸ Vardapet Tovmas signed as an interpreter and a friar of the Dominican order under the petition for coordinating the embassy to Italy with the Catholicos: Hofmann 1953, p. 36.

³⁹ Balgy 1878, p. 98; Hofmann 1953, p. 34. As Genoese doge Tommaso Campofregoso would highlight later, Sarkis and Tovmas travelled to the Council being older people: Hofmann 1950, p. 93.

⁴⁰ Balgy 1878, 99–101.

⁴¹ Balgy 1878, 102–124.

generous gifts, and three-day processions were held uniting all the Christians of a city.⁴² Vardapet Sarkis brought a precious relic from Rome which the pope had presented him, the Cross with a part of the True Cross of Christ which all the Armenians regardless their faith treated with particular respect. The relic remained in Caffa for a while where it was found by Mkrtich Nagash, the archbishop of Mesopotamia and anti-unionist, who transferred it to the city of Amed (Diyarbakır).⁴³

As the decree was issued, the pope provided the Armenian delegates with instructions. If earlier Latin bishops had not recognised the Armenian ones, treated them as heretics, and banned them from carrying a mitre during processions, now the pope confirmed the right of Armenians to have their own bishop in Caffa with all his privileges.⁴⁴ Armenians were allowed to build churches within the walls of the citadel (*"intra menia castr"*), their churches were liberated from any land tax (*"ab omni gabella soli seu terratici"*) which they had apparently had to pay earlier. Armenian bishop also gained the right of the court over Armenians of Caffa and the whole diocese without resorting to the Latin bishop or secular power.⁴⁵ Thus, the Armenian Church received in the Genoese possessions the same rights and privileges which earlier only the Roman Church had enjoyed, while Latin bishops lost a part of their jurisdiction and proved to be losers in the unionist process.

After the Council of Ferrara-Florence a Greek bishopric was created in Eastern Crimea subordinated to the unionist Patriarch-Cardinal Bessarion. Protectors of the Bank of St. George indicated consequently three different bishops and candidates to that see: one unnamed "bishop of Greeks of Caffa" in 1464, a former archbishop of Amasya, Pachomius, in 1469, and Nicholas from Caffa in 1472.⁴⁶ In his brief, ordaining Nicholas as a new bishop, Sixtus IV mentions his precise titular residence, the church of Foulloi (*ecclesia Fullensis*). The pope also defines the limits of authority of the hierarch: *"super grecos Caphe et Soldaie."*⁴⁷ It seems that after the fall of Constantinople the see of Foulloi was separated from Sougdaia occupied by Latin bishops, and the bishop of Foulloi assigned in Rome was in that time the only Greek hierarch in Eastern Crimea, in order to avoid duplication of titles with Latin bishops of Caffa and Soldaia.⁴⁸

⁴² Hofmann 1950, p. 93, 94.

⁴³ Balgy 1878, p. 159; Sargsyan 2010, pp. 243–245.

⁴⁴ Balgy 1878, p. 157.

⁴⁵ Hofmann 1950, p. 95; Balgy 1878, p. 158; Gill 1959, p. 308.

⁴⁶ Vigna 1871, Doc. 622, 621, 665, 674, 822, 823, 829, 849, 851, 903, 921, 1035, 1063.

⁴⁷ Vigna 1871, p. 880.

⁴⁸ It was noted already by A.L. Berthier-Delagarde: Berthier-Delagarde 1920, pp. 53–54.

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Table 2. Bishops of Caffa before and after the Council of Ferrara-Florence

Latin bishops of Caffa	Greek bishops of Foulloi	Bishops of Armenians of Caffa	
1417 – Gioffredo Cigala (Martin V)			
		1432–1437 – Karapet ⁴⁹	
1441 – Giacomo Campora (Eugene IV)		1440 – Malachy	
1458 – Girolamo Panissari (Pius II)	Before 1464 – bishop of Greeks of Caffa		
	1469 – Pachomius	1466 – Hovanes (inheriting)	
		1473–1475:	
1475 – Battista Fatinanti (locum tenens)	1474 – Nicholas	Hovanes (legate of Sarkis II)	Karapet (legate of Hovanes VII)

Thus, after the Union of Florence every of the three main Christian communities of Caffa gained the right to have their own bishops acknowledged by Roman popes. The Greek bishop bore the title of Foulloi, and the Armenian one that of “the bishop of Armenians of Caffa”.

The conflict of jurisdiction

The acknowledgement of Greek and Armenian bishops’ equal status resulted in prolonged conflict over jurisdictions that all three bishops and secular Genoese authorities were involved in. Hopes for implementing the Union placed in the new Latin bishop Giacomo Campora (1441–1458) turned into litigations with Eastern hierarchs and irritation of Genoese officials. Abundance of repetitive instructions from Genoa and Rome shows that the council decisions were being implemented with great difficulty, and the Latin bishop was not eager to recognise the new status of other churches within the city.

The article of the Statute of Caffa (1449) prohibited the Latin bishop to claim the property and sign documents related to the jurisdiction of another bishopric.⁵⁰ Campora refused to transfer two parishes in Caffa, those of St. Michael and St. Laurence, to vardapet Tovmas who had received them

⁴⁹ His title was known as a “bishopric” or an “archbishopric in Caffa”: Sargsyan 2010, №140, p. 144, 146.

⁵⁰ Vigna 1879, pp. 630–631.

for his job as an interpreter on the council.⁵¹ In 1451, Pietro Campofregoso addressed to the Holy See in order to transfer the Latin bishop. The doge accused Campora that he had not succeeded in his pastoral mission and was responsible for the consequences contrary to the Roman faith, namely discords and controversies.⁵²

The argument over jurisdiction would remain until the capture of Caffa by the Osman Turks. In 1464, protectors of the Bank of St. George told the bishop of Armenians of Caffa (Malachy) that his power, as well as of the bishop of Greeks, was limited by matrimonial and spiritual issues.⁵³ However, in the same year the protectors accused Girolamo Panissari just for the case that seemingly must have been in his power: the marriage. As can be seen from the letter over the case of Georgio de Fazio who had married a Greek girl without consent of her relatives, the Genoese government preferred to completely take under their control all interfaith marriages and all the cases that could cause outrage among Non-Catholic communities of the city.⁵⁴ Ironically, they did not consider their own claims to regulate marriages of Non-Catholics as “interfering”. Nevertheless, the Latin bishop who had consecrated the marriage neglected the protectors’ instructions and passed a sentence in favour of de Fazio.⁵⁵

Limits of equality

Until 1475, Eastern clergy of Caffa remained loyal to the Union of Florence, which is proved by the procedure of electing and ordaining hierarchs. A candidate for the see of Foulloi was discussed and coordinated in Genoa and Rome, while elections of the Armenian bishop after death of Malachy that divided the Armenian community would involve consuls Goffredo Lercari (1471–1473), Battista Giustiniani (1473–1474), and Antoniotto Cabella (1474–1475)⁵⁶ as well as Girolamo Panissari⁵⁷ and protectors of the Bank of St. George. On the other hand, the expression “schismatics and heretics” remained the easiest way for the protectors of the Bank to mark Non-Catholics and to emphasise their otherness.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Vigna 1879, pp. 700–701.

⁵² Delacroix-Besnier 1997, pp. 101–102.

⁵³ Vigna 1871, p. 278, 279.

⁵⁴ Vigna 1871, p. 469.

⁵⁵ Vigna 1871, p. 496.

⁵⁶ Vigna 1879, p. 103.

⁵⁷ Vigna 1879, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁸ “*matrimonia pertinentia ad grecos, armenos aut alios hereticos vel sismaticos in illa urbe habitantes*”, Vigna 1871, p. 469. An in another letter: “... *se intromittere in causis spectantibus grecis et armenis ac aliis hereticis*”, Vigna 1879, p. 558.

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Bulls of the 14th century would repeat again and again that clerics who had turned to the communion with the Roman church enjoyed the clerical privilege (*privilegium clericale*) that was, inter alia, immune from secular trial.⁵⁹ Books of Caffa's Massaria provide a clear understanding that Catholic clergy actually enjoyed this privilege: while Greek and Armenian priests sometimes paid fines under sentence of a consul,⁶⁰ the Catholic ones never did it. The decree of 1439 secured the right of court within their communities for Armenian and Greek bishops. In practice, however, the immunity of the Eastern clergy remained under question. In 1441, two Greeks identified as *papa* paid fines. If regarding the first one, *Papa Teofilatus*, one may suggest that an honorific title became a part of a name, *Papa Georgius* was instead undoubtedly a priest, namely the prior of the St. John the Forerunner's church. In October 1441 he paid a fine of 100 aspres into account of offences: "*Papa georgius grecus rector ecclesie gloriosi percussoris*⁶¹ (= *praecursoris*) *grecorum debet nobis pro condemnatione peccantium [et sunt pro duabus condemnatiis de 44 asperos C]*."⁶²

Latins of Caffa got accustomed to sharing the space with Eastern Christians, and acknowledging their usefulness for the city's prosperity and defence. Latins and Non-Latins settled in one quarter, sometimes in one house,⁶³ married and made deals. But when it came to religious duties of the Genoese officials, demonstration of the unity after 1439 would not go beyond the customs that had been shaped in the second or third quarter of the 14th century. These are well known traditions of celebrating Epiphany and Easter which Greek priests and the whole Christian population were involved in.⁶⁴ Also, the decrees of the council and the Genoese doge minimally influenced an old city custom of presenting candles to churches which remained unchanged until 1449 when it was fixed in the Statute of Caffa.⁶⁵ Lists of dates and churches marked by presenting candles in 1424–1426 and in 1449 almost completely coincide, with only the day of St. Fabian and Sebastian being added.⁶⁶ Therefore, although Armenian

⁵⁹ For example: Haluscinskyj 1962, p. 38

⁶⁰ For example, *Papas Constantinus* from the church of St. Theodor and *Vassili papas* that *Procopi papa* vouched for (MC1381, F.161v), as well as *Avach vocatus monachus* (Massaria Caffae 1424. Archivio Stato di Genova. Sala 34. 90/1232, 1262, 1264 (MC1424), F. 12v).

⁶¹ This short note astonishes a reader with a weird wordplay caused by one careless stroke on "P": the precursor became a murder...

⁶² Massaria Caffae 1441. ASG, Sala 34/45. N 1233, 1228, 1262 (MC 1441), f.207r.

⁶³ As A.L. Ponomarev has shown, there were no closed ethnic districts in Caffa but all the areas of the city were inhabited by representatives of different faiths: Ponomarev 2000, p. 441.

⁶⁴ Karpov 1993, Balard 2009.

⁶⁵ Vigna 1879, pp. 615–618.

⁶⁶ Vigna 1879, p. 615, no. 191.

and Greek churches had gained their recognition from the papacy, the consul and his assistants were not ready to extend their patronage over Non-Catholic communities or address alien churches for heaven's protection.

Examples of intense competition between the three churches as well as remaining attitude of Genoese authorities towards "schismatics and heretics" suggest that the church union changed very little in people's minds, although one may hardly find a city with conditions more favourable for implementing the union than Caffa. We are not able to assess the shift of the status of Armenian and Greek churches before and after the Council but in some aspects such as arranging celebrations, symbolic duties, and clerical privilege, their position did not alter at all. Armenian and Greek churches did not become attractive for the Latins, and the Uniates, Armenians and Greeks, remained aliens for the Genoese authorities. The acknowledgement received in Rome faced a local habit of disregarding, suspicion and interfering private lives.

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Timur Guselnikov

Junior Research Fellow

Byzantine Black Sea Region History and Archaeology Lab

Sevastopol State University, Ukrain

timgusel@gmail.com