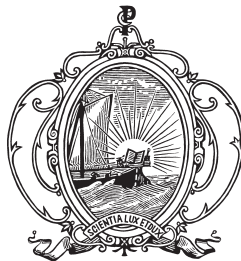


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**Greeks, Latins, and
Intellectual History
1204-1500**

Edited by

Martin Hinterberger and
Chris Schabel



PEETERS
LEUVEN - PARIS - WALPOLE, MA
2011

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MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS IN PARIS (1400-1402):
THEOLOGY, DIPLOMACY AND POLITICS

Charalambos DENDRINOS

The end of the fourteenth century found the Byzantine Empire in a critical state. With the advance of the Ottoman forces and the defeat of the Christian coalition headed by King Sigismund of Hungary (1387-1437) at Nicopolis in September 1396,¹ and the failure of plans for a new expedition the following year, which coincided with the long siege of Constantinople by Sultan Bayezid I (1394-1403), Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) intensified his diplomatic approaches to the West.² Eager to proceed with the union of the Churches, the Roman Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) responded to Manuel's pleas for help, by issuing a bull on 1 April 1398 appealing to the Christian sovereigns to provide military aid.³ As a result, a

1. King Sigismund and Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, together with a few leaders managed to escape to Constantinople; see J.W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick, NJ 1969, pp. 133-139, 149. On the disastrous defeat at Nicopolis, see Manuel's remarks in his *Letter to Demetrius Cydones*, ed. and trans. G.T. DENNIS, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, VIII), Washington, DC 1977, no. 31, pp. 80-87, and his *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. and trans. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel II Palaeologus. Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXVI), Thessalonica 1985, pp. 193.25-195.11.

2. Nicholas Notaras and Theodore Palaeologus Cantacuzenus, Manuel's uncle, delivered the Emperor's letters (dated 1 July 1397) to King Charles VI of France in October of that same year, and to King Richard II of England on 23 April 1398. They were followed by a delegation, led by Manuel's son-in-law Ilario Doria, in Italy and England, and probably France, early in 1399; see BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 154-160; J. HARRIS, *Greek Emigres in the West, 1400-1520*, Camberley 1995, pp. 44-45. Promoting the imperial policy, Patriarch Anthony IV, in his letters of January 1397 addressed to Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, and to Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Kiev, urged the formation of a crusade under Sigismund against the Turks; eds. F. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, vol. II, Vienna 1862; phot. repr. Darmstadt 1968, nos. 515-516, pp. 280-285; cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Le Patriarcat Byzantin, Recherches de diplomatique, d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, vol. I, fasc. VI, *Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410*, Paris 1979, nos. 3039-3040, pp. 302-305.

3. Ed. A.L. TAUTU, *Acta Bonifacii PP. IX (1389-1404)* (Acta Romanorum Pontificum, Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III,

French expeditionary force under the veteran of the Crusade of Nicopolis Marshal Jean le Meingre, known as Boucicaut, reached Constantinople in June 1399. The success of this small force in bringing relief to the surroundings of the city, though inevitably limited, convinced Boucicaut to urge the Emperor to secure the formation of a crusade against the Ottomans by a personal visit to Western Europe.⁴

Thus, in December 1399, reconciled with his nephew John VII through the intermediacy of Boucicaut, Manuel appointed John as his regent in Constantinople. A French garrison under the command of Jean de Chateaufort was left for the protection of the city. On 10 December Manuel sailed to the Morea. Uncertain of John's intentions, the emperor left his wife and children for safety with his brother Theodore, despot at Mistra, and with his own entourage and Boucicaut continued his voyage to Venice in spring 1400.⁵

His celebrated diplomatic journey, which has been studied extensively in the past, took him through Italy to France and England.⁶ In

vol. XIII.1), Vatican City 1970, no. 55, pp. 112-113. See also O. HALECKI, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident", in: *Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów) 18 (1937), pp. 477-532, at pp. 506ff.; HARRIS, *Greek Emigres in the West*, p. 44 with notes 21-22.

4. See ANONYMOUS (CHRISTINE DE PISAN?), *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, I, 30-35, ed. D. LALANDE, Paris-Geneva 1985, pp. 132-153; JEAN JUVÉNAL DES URSINS, *Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France et des choses memorables advenuees durant 42 années de son Règne depuis 1380 jusques à 1422*, ed. D. GODEFROY, Paris 1653, reprinted in [J.F.] MICHAUD and [J.J.F.] POUJOLAT (eds.), *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e*, 1^e série, vol. II, Paris 1836, p. 412b. Manuel's remarks in his *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, p. 163.3-17, composed after these events, reflect his original hope for the success of this plan. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 160-165.

5. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, p. 163.19-164.4. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 165-181.

6. See A.A. VASILIEV, "Putešestvie Vizantijskago Imperatora Manuila II Paleologa po zapadnoj Evropie (1399-1403 g.)", in: *Žurnal ministertva narodnago prosvěšenija*, n. s., 39 (1912), pp. 41-78, 260-304; M. JUGIE, "Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident", in: *Echo d'Orient* 15 (1912), pp. 322-332; G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres*, Paris 1916 (published originally in *Revue des deux Mondes* [Paris, 15 December 1915]; reprinted in IDEM, *Byzance et Croisades, Pages Médiévales*, Paris 1927, pp. 87-147); M.A. ANDREEVA, "Zur Reise Manuels II. Palaiologos nach West-Europa", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37 (1937), pp. 37-47. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 165-199; CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 7 with note 17, 162 with notes 87-88.

the remainder of this paper, we shall revisit aspects of Manuel's diplomatic and political activities during his stay in the French capital, and we shall examine the theological discussions he held there, including those concerning the prospects for the union of the Churches. New evidence shows that the emperor was well aware of the internal controversies in the Latin Church and the complexities of the Western Schism at the time and as an experienced statesman and diplomat Manuel used this knowledge in the context of his visit to promote his cause.

Crossing Italy, through Padua, Vicenza and Pavia, the emperor reached Milan, where he was received with great honour by the Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1385-1402), who showed generosity and promised to join other potentates for the defense of the Empire should an agreement for help be secured. There Manuel was joined by his close friend, scholar and ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras, who had been teaching Greek in Florence. From Milan the emperor proceeded to France, while Boucicaut was sent ahead to prepare the way. Manuel and his entourage were ceremoniously received at Charenton, outside Paris, by King Charles VI (1380-1422) and his court, in the presence of the people of Paris, on 3 June 1400. The Christian emperor from the East, then fifty years of age, left an indelible impression by his nobility, dignity and grace, and no less by his skills as a horseman. According to the anonymous French chronicler known as the Religious of Saint Denys, one of our main sources for Manuel's stay in France, the emperor, dressed in his imperial garb of white silk, delighted the Parisian crowds when he jumped from his mount onto the white one offered to him by Charles in his entry to the city, without setting foot upon the ground.⁷

It is not surprising that Manuel's magnificent reception inspired French artists, such as the Limbourg brothers, who were responsible for parts of the miniature decoration in the sumptuous *Book of Hours* of Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), now preserved in Musée Condé,

7. See RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, *Chronicon Karoli Sexti*, XXI, i, De receptione imperatoris Grecie, ed. and French trans. L. BELLAGUET, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, in: *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. 2, Paris 1840, pp. 754-760; English trans. BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 397. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Le livre des faits du bon messire Jehan le Maingre*, I, 35, ed. LALANDE, pp. 154-155.

Chantilly.⁸ The scene of the royal reception at Charenton is alluded to in the meeting of the Magi, with Melchior, capturing Manuel's features, riding a white horse (f. 51v). In the miniature with the adoration of the Magi (f. 52r), Melchior-Manuel kisses the feet of the Child after he has removed his diadem. Manuel serves as the model also for the figure enthroned on a chariot carrying the sun drawn by two winged horses on the tympani of the calendar months (ff. 2-13), and several other miniatures (ff. 22r, 32v, 39r, 43v, 97v). As the manuscript was commissioned in 1409, with the Limbourg miniatures executed around 1413, the model for the depictions of the emperor must have been the medals produced earlier with the figures of two emperors associated with the True Cross, Constantine I and Heraclius, both of whom closely resemble Manuel (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles),⁹ copies of which were in the possession of the Duke of Berry.¹⁰ Similarly, Manuel, through the Heraclius medal, became the model for the depiction of King Charles VI by the miniaturist Jean (Jehan) Foucquet (c.1415-c.1480). The six miniatures Foucquet executed in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 6465, which contains a Chronicle of French Kings, include the meeting of the emperors before the walls of Paris (f. 446r), the reception by officials of the emperor mounting a white horse on the road to the royal abbey of Saint Denys (f. 444v), and the arrival of the emperor at the abbey (f. 444r).¹¹

Deeply impressed by Manuel, his hosts offered generous entertainment to their honoured guest, inviting him on royal hunts and to sumptuous festivals and court celebrations, including a banquet to celebrate the marriage of the son of Louis de Bourbon on 24 June 1400. It may not be coincidental that the emperor was seated on this occasion next to the papal legate.¹² The fact that Manuel, despite an

8. Facsimile edition by J. LONGNON and R. GAZELLES (eds.), Preface by M. MEISS, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, London 1969; repr. 1993, esp. pp. 19-20, Plates 2-13, 19-20, 34, 38, 48-49, 87. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 536-538.

9. Photographs of the medals in BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 196-197, figs. 13-16.

10. See LONGNON and GAZELLES (eds.), *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, p. 20.

11. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 538-539.

12. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, ii, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 758-759. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 175 n. 93 citing VASILIEV, "Putešestvie Vizantijskago Imperatora Manuila II Paleologa", pp. 71-74.

old, unfounded assumption,¹³ did not know Latin or French in order to hold direct conversations during his visit caused him some frustration. As he says in the letter he sent to Manuel Chrysoloras from Paris shortly after his arrival there, “The difference in language ... did not allow us to converse, as we had wished, with really good men who were extremely anxious to show us favour”.¹⁴ Therefore, his discussions must have been conducted through interpreters.

Manuel was lodged as royal guest in the quarters prepared for him in the old Louvre. Most probably at some stage during his stay there, inspired by a dyed woven hanging tapestry depicting scenes of Spring, he composed his well-known *ekphrasis*.¹⁵ This tapestry so far has not been found, if it has survived. It has been suggested that it may have been part of a group with the theme of the Four Seasons, known to have been commissioned by the French court from Jean de Jaudoigne between 1400 and 1410.¹⁶ As has been pointed out, Manuel’s short prose work departs from similar Byzantine *ekphraseis* of Spring. Far beyond a mere rhetorical exercise based on cliché perceptions and

13. S. RUNCIMAN, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 76, 77.

14. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 37, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 98 (trans.), 99.4-6 (text): “καὶ προσῆν τὸ τῆς διαλέκτου παρηλλαγμένον, ὃ τὰς συνοουσίας οὐ συνεχῶρει κατὰ γνώμην γίνεσθαι ἀνδράσι πάντα ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πάνθ’ ἡμῖν χαροῖζεσθαι βουλομένοις”.

15. Ed. and trans. J. DAVIS, “Manuel II Palaeologus’ *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*”, in: CH. DENDRINOS, J. HARRIS, E. HARVALIA-CROOK and J. HERRIN (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot-Burlington 2003, pp. 411-421, at 411-413. This short work is preserved also in codex *Parisinus graecus* 3041, which must have been in the emperor’s own possession, since it comprises a collection of his literary and rhetorical works bearing his autograph corrections and emendations. Palaeographical and codicological evidence indicates that this manuscript consists of two parts (ff. 2-21 and 22-308), each copied by two different, though very similar, hands at two stages. The first hand copied part of the collection of Manuel’s letters which are datable before he departed for his journey to the West, together with a number of his literary works composed up to that time, the last one being his *Dialogue on Marriage* (ff. 2-21). The second scribe copied a selection of the letters Manuel wrote during and after his journey (ff. 22-37), along with other rhetorical works he composed in this period, including the *ekphrasis* of Spring which bears a note above its title, added by another hand, possibly that of Manuel, indicating that it was written in Paris (“ἐν Παρυσιῶ”). See A. ANGELOU (ed.), *Manuel Palaiologos, Dialogue with the Empress-Mother On Marriage* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, XIX), Vienna 1991, pp. 13-17.

16. J. SCHLOSSER, “Die höfische Kunst des Abendlandes in byzantinischer Beleuchtung”, in: J. SCHLOSSER (ed.), *Präludien, Vorträge, und Aufsätze*, Berlin 1927, pp. 74-75 with n. 10, cited by DAVIS, “Manuel II Palaeologus’ *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*”, p. 419 n. 22.

representations of the subject, it brings a fresh approach to the genre, reflecting Manuel's intellectual and aesthetic appreciation of art as an image of life, of reality. "Indeed", he says in the epilogue, "the weaver's skill has produced a feast for the eyes, a true delight for those looking on. But the inspiration, of course, is spring itself — sorrow's end, or, if you like, joy's beginning".¹⁷ This last remark may imply Manuel's mood, wishful and hopeful thoughts, reflected also in the same letter to Chrysoloras mentioned above.¹⁸

Anxious to proceed with his task, during his stay in the French capital Manuel continued his diplomatic contacts and negotiations with other Western monarchs. During one of King Charles' periodic fits of mental illness the emperor took the opportunity to visit personally King Henry IV (1399-1413) in England in winter 1401.¹⁹ Manuel and his entourage crossed the Channel in December 1400 and, after a short stay in Canterbury as guests of the prior of Christ Church, he was received by Henry, who met him at Blackheath on 21 December and escorted him to London. There he remained in Eltham Palace as a royal guest until mid-February. In another letter he sent from London to Manuel Chrysoloras the emperor expressed his appreciation for the hospitality he received and the personality of Henry, "the King of Britain the Great, of a second empire, you might say" ("ὁ τῆς Βρετανίας ῥῆξ τῆς μεγάλης, τῆς δευτέρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, οἰκουμένης"). Henry's assurances for the provision of financial and military assistance, including soldiers, archers, and ships for the transportation of the army, raised Manuel's hopes, giving him "even greater proof of [the king's] nobility, by adding a crowning touch to our negotia-

17. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*, ed. and trans. DAVIS, pp. 413 (trans.), 412.44-46: "ὁλωσ δὲ ἡ τέχνη τῶν ὑφασμένων ἐστιῶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, τρυφή γιγνόμενα θεαταῖς· αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἔαρ, κατηφείας λύσις, εἰ δὲ βούλει, φαιδρότητος πρόξενον".

18. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 37, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 101.11-19 (text), 100: "... many are the services provided for us by the most illustrious king and many, too, the things from his kinsmen, and not a few in number those from his officials and from everyone. All of this certainly gives evidence of their nobility of soul, their friendship toward us, and a constant zeal for the faith ... to sum it all up, unless the usual malice of evil fortune should oppose us, and some terrible and unexpected obstacle should occur, we have good reason to hope that we shall return to the fatherland soon, which is what we know you are praying for and what our enemies are praying against".

19. On Manuel's visit to London see D.M. NICOL, "A Byzantine Emperor in England: Manuel II's Visit to London in 1400-1401", in: *University of Birmingham Historical*

tions, worthy of his character and of the negotiations themselves".²⁰ Manuel's optimism for the progress of the discussions for military help reached its peak in the spring or summer of 1401, when he expressed his confidence for success to his friends the priest (and later Patriarch) Euthymius (*Letters* 39-40) and Demetrius Chrysoloras (*Letter* 41).²¹

At the same time Manuel's ambassadors travelled to Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway,²² and as far as Portugal and Spain.²³ Aware of the power and authority holy relics exercised in international diplomacy, the emperor offered as gifts a particle of the garment of Christ that healed the woman of the issue of blood²⁴ to both the pope in Rome and the pope in Avignon, as well as to Queen Margaret and King Henry. He also presented King Charles III of Navarre, the duke of Berry and Visconti with pieces of the True Cross. The accompanying documents signed by Manuel confirming the authenticity of these relics have survived.²⁵ Manuel's so-called 'reliquary diplomacy' should be viewed both as a means to propagate the desperate state of the Empire at the time and, above all, as a symbol of Byzantine imperial ideology, stressing the special place Byzantium and its holy emperor held in the whole of Christendom,²⁶ carrying a message of unity of the mystical limbs of Christ.

Journal 12.2 (1971) (reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world*, Variorum: London 1972, no. X), pp. 204-225; IDEM, "Byzantium and England", in: *Balkan Studies* 15 (1974) (reprinted in IDEM, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography*, Variorum: London 1986, no. XVII), pp. 196-199.

20. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 38, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 103.18-25, 39-42 (text), 102 (trans.). Manuel's expression "τῆς δευτέρου... οἰκουμένης" is translated by Dennis as "of a second civilised world".

21. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 39-41, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 104-111.

22. Cf. G.T. DENNIS, "Official Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", in: *Byzantion* 41 (1971) pp. 45-58, at p. 49, no. 12, and IDEM, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", in: *Travaux et Mémoires* 3 (1968), pp. 397-404 (both articles reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium and the Franks, 1350-1420*, Variorum: London 1982, nos. IX and VIII, respectively).

23. See S. CIRAC ESTOPAÑAN, *La unión, Manuel II Paleólogo y sus recuerdos en España*, Barcelona 1952; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 183-189.

24. Cf. Matthew 9:20-22, Mark 5:25-34, Luke 8:43-47.

25. See above, note 22.

26. See S. MERGIALI-SAHAS, "Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use, and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority", in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001), pp. 41-60, esp. pp. 55-60; EADEM, "An Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times: Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Palaeologus' Reign", in: *Byzantion* 76 (2006), pp. 264-275.

That Manuel was acquainted with the controversies in the Latin Church and the complexities of the Western Schism at the time of his visit in Europe, namely, the rivalry between the pope in Rome and the pope in Avignon, their efforts to gain the obedience of cardinals and sovereigns, as well as the dispute between the mendicant orders, is evident from his comments in the hitherto unpublished treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, the major part of which he wrote in Paris.²⁷ “Indeed”, Manuel states, criticizing the unchecked use of philosophical reasoning in Christian doctrine,

what inflamed even more the enmity which pre-existed between the Friars Minor [i.e., the Franciscans] and those called Preachers [i.e., the Dominicans] was rekindled for no other reason, but because they turned their attention wholeheartedly to the doctrines of philosophers...²⁸ I do not think that it is appropriate to explain now what is already clear, namely what invoked the dispute between the brothers — whose attitude to each other was not at all brotherly — among other similar issues. Besides you know this very well. Nevertheless, I should only say this much, that their differences concern the Conception of the most pure Virgin.²⁹

The different interpretation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception divided Franciscans and Dominicans. The former argued that the Virgin did not inherit a human nature infected with sin as a result of the Fall, and that she alone was free from original sin from the very beginning of her life, namely her conception. For the Dominicans, however, Mary was delivered from original sin only at the moment of the Annunciation.³⁰ “This along with certain other disputed issues”,

27. Ed. CH. DENDRINOS, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise 'On the Procession of the Holy Spirit'*, PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996. The critical text will appear in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, vol. 71 (*in press*).

28. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.4-6: “Ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ τὸ τὴν ἔχθραν ἀνάψαν ἐπὶ πλέον, ἢ προὔπηρχε τοῖς Ἐλαχίστοις ἀδελφοῖς καλουμένοις πρὸς τοὺς Πρεδικάτορας προσηγορευμένους, οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν ἀνεφύη, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα προσέχειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς τῶν ἕξω δόγμασι”.

29. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.6-11: “Καὶ διδάξαι μὲν ἤδη καθαρώς ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐμπολεμῶσαν, οὐδὲ πρὶν ἀδελφικῶς ἔχοντας ἄλλων εἵνεκα τοιούτων, οὐ δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι· ἄλλως θ' ὅτι καὶ καλῶς τοῦτο ὑπὸ σοῦ γινώσκειται. Πλήν, τοσοῦτον ἂν εἴποιμι· ὅτιπερ διὰ τὴν σύλληψιν τῆς ὑπεράγνου Παρθένου τούτοις ἐστὶν ἡ διαφορά”.

30. On the history of the debate in the Catholic Church regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see I. BRADY, “The

Manuel points out to his anonymous disputant, “were of course already known to me, although you wished to hide them from us”,³¹ and he continues,

One would lament and shed bitter tears had he had precise knowledge of the different beliefs which exist between the orders, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and between certain individuals — beliefs which are overcast by the threat of fire (πυρὸς ἀπειλή) and are kept secret under some kind of inevitable punishment, while those who introduced this law aim at doing good.³²

Though it is not clear whether by πυρὸς ἀπειλή Manuel means the threat of fire in hell following excommunication or the burning of heretics at the stake by the secular authorities following the *auto-da-fé* of the Inquisition, the statement “τόνδε τὸν νόμον” may refer here specifically to the act *De haeretico comburendo* issued by King Henry

development of the doctrine on the Immaculate Conception in the fourteenth century after Aureoli”, in: *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955), pp. 175-202. M. JUGIE, “Manuel II Paléologue, Empereur de Constantinople (1391-1425), Homélie sur la Dormition de la Sainte Vierge”, in: *Homélie mariales Byzantines* (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, 16), Paris 1922, fasc. III. VI, pp. 540-542, pointed out that Manuel appears to defend the Franciscan views on the Immaculate Conception, and that probably he composed his *Oration on the Dormition of the Mother of God* under the influence of the debate between the two orders on this doctrine, which he must have heard about while in Paris. Though this may be possible, one has to place the emperor’s views on this in the general context of the Orthodox teachings regarding the nature and transmission of the original sin. On the Orthodox views *vis-à-vis* the Roman Catholic teachings, see D.T. STROTMANN, “La Théotokos, prémices des justifiés”, in: *Irenikon* 27 (1954), pp. 122-141, esp. pp. 125-131, 140-141 n. 4; F. DVORNIK, “The Byzantine Church and the Immaculate Conception”, in: E.D. O’CONNOR (ed.), *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: Its History and Significance*, Notre Dame, IN 1958, pp. 87-112, esp. p. 109 (correct the author’s error in the same page: “The learned Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus... who attended the Council of Florence [1439]”); A. SPOURLAKOU-EUTYCHIADOU, *Ἡ παναγία Θεοτόκος τύπος χριστιανικῆς ἀγιότητος. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ὁρθόδοξον τοποθέτησιν ἐναντι τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἀσπίλον Συλλήψεως καὶ τῶν συναφῶν ταύτη δογματῶν*, Athens 1990; M. LOT-BORODINE, “Le dogme de l’Immaculée Conception à la lumière de l’Église d’Orient”, in: *Irenikon* 67 (1994), pp. 328-344; E. GHIKAS, “La définition de 1854: cause de division ou de rapprochement”, in: *Irenikon* 67 (1994), pp. 345-352.

31. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.10-11: “Ἡδὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ φανερὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔτερα, καίτοι κρύπτειν ὑμῶν ἐθέλοντων”.

32. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.11-14: “Εἰ δὲ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταται τὰς διαφοράς, τὰς μέσον καὶ σχημάτων καὶ τάξεων καὶ τισιν ἰδίᾳ γεγεννημένας, ἅς πυρὸς ἀπειλή καλύπτει καὶ ἀπορρήτους διατηρεῖ δίκῃ τις ἀπραίτητος, εὖ ποιούντων τῶν θεμένων τόνδε τὸν νόμον, μέγα ἂν ἀνώμωξε καὶ πικρὸν πολὺ ἀφειὲς δάκρυον” (my italics).

in 1401 (Statute of the Realm, 2 Hen. IV. cap. 15) to suppress the heretical activities of John Wycliffe's followers known as Lollards, on the threat of punishment by burning at the stake. The questioning of the Lollard William Sawtre by the Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury at Saint Paul's Cathedral on 12 February 1401 coincides with Manuel's stay in London, while news of Sawtre's condemnation as a relapsed heretic on 26 February (before this act was officially passed in the parliament), followed by his public execution at Smithfield on 2 March of the same year, may have reached Manuel after his return to Paris in mid-February.³³ Moreover, Manuel must have been informed of the similar execution of John Huss following his condemnation at the Council of Constance in July 1415, attended by a Byzantine delegation. It should be stressed that the capital punishment of heretics was not accepted by canon law in the Orthodox Church.³⁴ If indeed Manuel refers at this point to the threat of physical, rather than spiritual, death for those charged with heresy, then his subsequent statement on the beneficial aspect of this law should be interpreted in the sense of its acting as a deterrent to the spread of heretical views. This interpretation is in agreement both with his conviction that as emperor he had the right and duty to defend the canons and doctrines of the Church,³⁵ and with his expressed view

33. This plausible hypothesis was put forward by Dr Jonathan Harris in his paper "Manuel II and the Lollards" delivered at the Workshop dedicated to *Manuel II Palaiologos' Dialogue with a Persian*, held at King's College London on 17 May 2008, and its revised version, "Byzantine Emperor meets English Heretics: Manuel II Palaiologos and the Lollards", at the Departmental Seminar, History Department, Royal Holloway, University of London on 28 October 2008.

34. See THEODORE BALSAMON, *Commentary on the Nomocanon*, Scholion to title IX, Chapter 25 of the Nomocanon of title XIV, edited in *Patrologia Graeca* 104, col. 1112B, with reference to the only attested public execution in Byzantium of a heretic at the stake, that of the Bogomil leader Basil (c.1099), on the order of Emperor Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1111), recorded by ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, XV, 8-10, eds. D.R. REINSCH and A. KAMBYLIS, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XL.1), Berlin 2001, pp. 485-493; cf. EUTHYMIOS ZIGABENOS, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, Book II, 27, edited in *Patrologia Graeca* 130, cols. 24A, 1317D, 1332D (a new annotated critical edition of Book II, 23-28 of this treatise is in preparation by Mr Metin Berke for his doctoral thesis at the Queen's University Belfast). It should be noted, however, that the death sentence for heresy seemed an acceptable measure to Balsamon and certain other Orthodox authors: see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's Dependence on Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae*", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), pp. 276-341, at pp. 331-338.

35. Justinian I, *Novellae* 109 and 131, ed. R. SCHOELL, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin 1912; phot. repr. 1954, pp. 519.35-520.7, 654.24-655.8; *Eisagōgē* II. Περὶ

that those suspected of unorthodox beliefs would be able to clear their name simply by making a profession of faith before the standing Synod.³⁶ In addition, Manuel was clearly against the use of violence in matters of faith.³⁷

More importantly, in the treatise Manuel refers to the confinement of Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417) in Avignon and the threat to indict him of heresy should he persist in his refusal to abdicate voluntarily. He states that Benedict's former supporters and cardinals threatened to indict him for promoting the Schism into heresy, an accusation that was "highly criticized by the more moderate on the grounds that they had overstepped the boundaries of justice; however, [their opponents] did not change their minds".³⁸ It was Jean Courte-cuisse who brought the accusation of heresy and perjury against Benedict, on the grounds that his persistence of his claim to be the rightful pope was the cause of the continuation of the Schism.³⁹ Jean

βασιλέως, δ', eds. I. ZEPOS and P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, vol. 2, Athens 1931; repr. Darmstadt 1962, p. 241.4-16. See CH. DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολή τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ καὶ οἱ ἀντιλήψεις του περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῶν σχέσεων Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας", in: *Φιλοσοφίας Ἀνάλεκτα* 1 (2002), pp. 58-74.

36. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letter to Iagoup* (c.1396), ed. DENDRINOS, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise 'On the Procession of the Holy Spirit'*, p. 352.7-9: "Ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδαμῶς τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν λόγῳ τῶος οὐδ' ἠγνινοῦν προσοίσομεν βράσανον· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅσον ἡμολογοῦσιν, ἀσφαλείαν τι· ἐντεῦθεν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες πορίζεσθαι ...". See DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολή τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ", pp. 65, 68.

37. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Dialogue with a Persian*, VII, ed. E. TRAPP, *Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialog mit einem "Perser"* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 2), Vienna 1966, p. 79.4-33. Cf. J.A. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, "Pope Benedict XVI's use of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos' *Dialogue with a Muslim Muterizes*: the Scholarly Background", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 16 (2008), pp. 264-304.

38. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 15, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 20.5-13: "Ἡ [scil. φιλοσοφία] προσέχοντες ὑμεῖς, ὑποσαινύσῃ τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ πολλὰς τε καὶ ποικίλας μορφὰς εἰς τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς εἰσαγούσῃ, πολλάκις τε ἀλλήλων διέστητε· καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο νοσεῖτε. Τοῦ μὲν Ῥώμης, παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρὰς πολλὰς δεχομένου, ὡς παρὰ κανόνας κατασχόντος τὸν θρόνον, τοῦ δὲ νῦν ἐν Ἀβενίου καθιεργμένου, παρὰ μὲν τῶν προσκειμένων τῷ Ῥώμης ἀντιπάχῃ λεγομένου, παρ' ὑμῶν δέ, ἕναγχος μὲν, πάντα τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων δεχομένου, νῦν δ' οὐκ οἶδα τί καλουμένου· πλὴν ἕγωγε τινων ἤκουσα τῶν πρὶν ἐκεῖνῳ συνήθων καὶ τούτων καρδηναλίων ἀπειλούντων αὐτὸν ἐλέγξειν, εἰς αἴρεσιν τὸ σχίσμα προαγαχόντα τῷ χρόνῳ· οἱ πολλὰ παρὰ τινων ἐπιεικεστέρων ἐπιτιμώμενοι ἅτε δὴ παρεκφερόμενοι τοῦ δικαίου, οὐ καθυφῆχαν τῆς γνώμης".

39. See RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXIII, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 22-23. See also N. VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. III, Paris 1901, p. 261; J.B. MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, Manchester 1960, pp. 55-56.

Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris and leader of the moderate party, defended Benedict against these charges at the time.⁴⁰ Later on Gerson withdrew his support and adopted, along with the majority of the Avignonesse cardinals and the conciliar party, the view that only a general council could, and should, impose its authority on a heretical pope.⁴¹

It is not clear whether the emperor visited the pope in Rome on his way to France,⁴² though Boniface issued a bull on 27 May 1400, renewing his plea for military and financial help for the defense of the Empire.⁴³ Manuel, however, makes no mention in his treatise of a meeting with the pope. In any case, one should exclude the unreliable late sixteenth-century *Historia politica Constantinopoleos*, which makes mention of Manuel's personal visit to Italy and his refusal to kiss the effigy of Christ on the maniple of the Latin bishop of the city where he arrived, whereupon the Pope, offended by the emperor's disrespectful act, withdrew his previous offer of help.⁴⁴ The *Ecthesis Chronica* repeats the same story, stressing however that it was on the bad advice of his entourage that Manuel objected to do obeisance to the Latin bishop, with the same results: "Τὰ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἡ κακοσυμβουλία".⁴⁵ Convinced of the legitimacy of his office, Boniface made

40. MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, pp. 55-69; see also C.M.D. CROWDER, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism*, London 1977. Finally the accusation of heresy was pronounced against both popes at the Council of Pisa in 1409. This did not solve the problem, for on 26 June 1409 a third Pope was elected, the Cretan-born Alexander V. On the active role of universities in the debate concerning the Western Schism and the conciliarist movement in the Catholic Church at that time, see R.N. SWANSON, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, 12), Cambridge 1979, esp. pp. 70-174.

41. On these events RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXIII, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 20-23, esp. 23. See also VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. III, pp. 189-323, esp. 264-323; vol. 4, pp. 20 n. 3. 111; MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, pp. 44-93; G.H.M. POSTHUMUS MEYJES, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: his Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J.C. GRAYSON, Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1999, esp. pp. 174-183.

42. See DENNIS, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", pp. 402-404; BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 222, Appendix XIX, pp. 510-512. For a discussion of this question, see CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 162-164, n. 88 (citing relevant sources).

43. Ed. TAUTU, *Acta Bonifacii PP. IX (1389-1404)*, no. 90, pp. 183-186; see HALECKI, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident", pp. 514-515.

44. M. CRUSIUS (ed.), *Historiae Turcograeciae*, Basel 1584, p. 1.γ'-δ'.

45. S. LAMPROS (ed.), *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*, London 1902; repr. Amsterdam 1969, p. 2.4-20.

no attempt to put an end to the Schism. On the contrary, his intransigence eliminated any possibility of compromise. In 1404 he refused to co-operate with Benedict, who proposed a meeting for the two sides to discuss the settlement of the Schism, including the proposal of mutual abdication.⁴⁶

Manuel, as already mentioned, came into contact with Pope Benedict at Avignon through his envoys.⁴⁷ Whether the emperor's contacts with Benedict were sanctioned by King Charles, who, having failed to bring the two sides together, had been laying siege to the papal palace in Avignon since September 1398,⁴⁸ is difficult to tell. Charles, however, was anxious to convene a general council to put an end to the Schism — a project rejected by Benedict. It is perhaps in the context of these efforts for a general council and reconciliation between the two popes that Manuel's diplomatic overtures may have taken place, and in such case not without the sanction, or even encouragement, of Charles, for otherwise the emperor would have run the risk of offending his host.⁴⁹ Moreover, Manuel shared Charles' strong view that the emperor could and should intervene in ecclesiastical affairs when necessary to maintain peace in the Church, a policy the emperor maintained throughout his reign, facing strong reaction from the Church.⁵⁰

Manuel's diplomatic activities were coupled with his theological discussions. His treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* is in fact a response to a tract he was presented in Paris, concerning the Latin

46. See J.N.D. KELLY, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford-New York 1988,² pp. 230-232.

47. See above, p. 6 with note 22; BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 183, 195, 198.

48. See VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, pp. 189-323. It was not until 11 or 12 March 1403 that Benedict fled in disguise to safety at Château Renard in the territory of the court of Provence (*ibid.*, pp. 325-326). Manuel by then had left Paris.

49. On the relations of Byzantium with both Rome and Avignon during the Western Schism see HALECKI, *Un Empereur, passim*; IDEM, "Rome et Byzance"; IDEM, "La Papauté et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident", in: *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini*, vol. I, Rome 1939, pp. 184-187. See also M. DABROWSKA, "Francja i Bizancjum w okresie wielkiej schizmy zachodniej", in: *Historia Bizancjum, Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis, Folia Historica* 48 (1993), pp. 127-141 (with a summary in French), who bases her study mainly on the evidence provided by the anonymous Religious of Saint Denys.

50. See DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολή τοῦ ἀυτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ", esp. pp. 68-71.

doctrine of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Father and the Son. The identity of the author of the Latin tract, which proved instrumental for Manuel in composing his treatise, remains unknown. The emperor seems not to have met him in person. It has been assumed that he was a doctor of theology at the University of Paris,⁵¹ and although this may be very probable, no evidence to support such an assumption has been adduced so far. The only specific reference Manuel makes on his anonymous disputant is that he was “a monk practising his monastic life in the suburbs of Paris”⁵² and “in reclusion”.⁵³ We know that the French court was attached to the royal Benedictine abbey of Saint Denys in the suburbs of Paris, and that Manuel had the occasion to visit it a number of times in the company of King Charles VI during his stay there.⁵⁴ It is not implausible, therefore, that Manuel was presented with the Latin tract, without meeting its author in person, for the anonymous Benedictine, a recluse, would have been bound by vows of ‘stability’.⁵⁵

51. M. JUGIE, *Le schisme byzantin, aperçu historique et doctrinal*, Paris 1941, p. 263; IDEM, “Le voyage de l’empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident”, p. 331: “un docteur parisien”; IDEM, “Manuel II Paléologue, Empereur de Constantinople (1391-1425)”, p. 542: “un docteur de l’université”; repeated by R.-J. LOENERTZ (ed.), *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas* (Studi e Testi, 152), Vatican City 1950, p. 49; T. KHOURY, *Manuel Paléologue: Entretiens avec un Musulman, 7^e Controverse* (Sources chrétiennes, 115), Paris 1966, pp. 16-17; and V. LAURENT, “Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^e siècle”, in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972), pp. 5-166 at pp. 33-34.

52. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, Expositio syllogismi secundum Latinos de processione Spiritus Sancti ex Patre Filioque, p. 2.1: “... ἀσκοῦντος ἐν τοῖς προαστελείς τοῦ Παρισίου...”.

53. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, Prologus imperatoris, p. 1.3 (titulus): “... τοῦ ἀπρότου μονάζοντος...”. In his *Dialogue with a Persian*, ed. TRAPP, p. 35.5, Manuel uses the word ἀπρότιος in the sense of “a person in seclusion” or “confinement”. Cf. the similar use of the word by Symeon the New Theologian, B. KRIVOCHEINE (ed.), *Symeon le nouveau théologien, Catéchèses 6-22*, vol. II (Sources chrétiennes, 104), Paris 1964, cat. xx, p. 345.162-163: “...Καθέξου ὡδε ἀπρότιος ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσει δύναμιν ἐξ Ἑψους” (cf. Luke 24:49).

54. Manuel and Charles jointly attended a Latin Mass at the royal Abbey of St Denys, producing mixed feelings among the Catholic French: RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, vii, ed. and trans. L. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 774-775; cf. BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 181-182. It is possible that the miniature in the *Book of Hours* of the Duc de Berry (f. 39r) (eds. LONGNON and GAZELLES, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, Plate 34), illustrating Psalm 92 with the enthroned Christ in Majesty receiving homage by two royal figures, the one resembling Manuel, commemorates this event.

55. For the Benedictine principle of ‘stability’, see D.O. HUNTER BLAIR, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, IV, LVIII, LX, London-Edinburgh 1902,² pp. 34-35, 154-155, 160-161;

The Latin tract so far has not been found, if it has survived,⁵⁶ and hence we have no knowledge of its precise length and content, though internal evidence suggests that it must have been extensive.⁵⁷ Manuel gives a summary (in Greek translation) in his introduction and in addition quotes sections of the Latin tract in translation throughout his treatise, including arguments in support of the papal primacy.⁵⁸ This enables us to reconstruct to a certain degree the Latin argument on both themes. It should be noted that, since Manuel had no knowledge of Latin, the tract must have been translated for him by interpreters.

In response to the challenge of his disputant Manuel composed a lengthy treatise in which he refuted the arguments put forward by the Latin monk. Internal and external evidence suggests that the major part of Manuel's treatise was written in Paris sometime between 3 June 1400, the date of Manuel's arrival there,⁵⁹ and 23 November 1402, when he left the city for the last time.⁶⁰ In chapter 87 Manuel

C. BUTLER, *Benedictine Monachism*, Cambridge, MA-New York 1924; phot. repr. 1961, pp. 123-134, 141. I would like to thank Dr J.A. Munitiz, S.J. for his valuable advice on this point. For a list of Benedictines at the University of Paris during the time of Manuel's visit, see T. SULLIVAN, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, 1229-1550: A Biographical Register* (Education & Society in the Middle Ages & Renaissance, 4), Leiden 1995; IDEM, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register*, Leiden-Boston 2003-. The information provided in these two works is not sufficient to trace Manuel's anonymous disputant.

56. The archives of the Abbey of St Denys were destroyed during World War II, and so far no evidence regarding the treatise has been found in the catalogues of its library published by D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Document, études et répertoires, CNRS, Paris 1985, or the catalogues of the Latin manuscripts and the archive registers at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Sorbonne (H. DENIFLE and E. CHÂTELAIN [eds.], *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. IV, Paris 1899; phot. repr., Brussels 1964; Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* [nos. 1-3835], 7 vols., Paris 1939-1988; L. DELISLE, *Inventaire de manuscrits de la Sorbonne conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176-16718 du fonds latin*, Paris 1870).

57. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xx-xxi.

58. These sections are indicated in both manuscripts by distinctive marginal quotation marks; see DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, p. xxxi, n. 139.

59. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 754-759.

60. On the date of his departure from Paris see DENNIS, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", p. 401; repeated in his edition of Manuel's *Letters*, 43, p. 14, n. 1.

mentions Saint Dionysius, “who suffered martyrdom and lies here”, referring to the relics of the legendary founder of the Church of Gaul, preserved in the abbey of Saint Denys.⁶¹ Saint Denys of Paris is in fact a fusion of the historical third-century bishop of Paris with Saint Paul’s disciple Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34) and the fifth-century anonymous author of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus of mystical writings attributed to the Areopagite. This legend, and the authority of Saint Dionysius’ patronage of the French monarchy, was created in the abbey.⁶² Given that Manuel refers (in chapter 15) to the events involving Jean Courteuise’s accusation against Benedict on 15 April 1402, he must have composed this section (in chapter 87) sometime after that date.⁶³

It is true that the dating of the composition of chapter 15 cannot provide conclusive evidence as to the beginning of the writing of the treatise, for it is possible that Manuel inserted this section at a later stage. On the other hand, the note in the same chapter, clarifying that he heard of these events “while in Paris”,⁶⁴ would indicate that the

61. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 87, p. 147.6: “... Διονύσιος οὗτοςσί, ὁ ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ μαρτυρήσας καὶ κείμενος ...”. On the conflict between the abbey of Saint Denys and the canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame over the authenticity of their capital relics of Saint Dionysius, which resulted with the case referred to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris for discussion in 1406, finally appearing before the Parlement of Paris in 1410, see H.-F. DELABORDE, “Le Procès du chef de Saint Denis en 1410”, in: *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* 11 (1884), pp. 297-409; R. BOSSUAT, “Traditions populaires relatives au martyr et à la sépulture de saint Denis”, in: *Moyen Âge* 11 (1956), pp. 479-509.

62. On the legendary founding of the Church of Gaul by Dionysius Areopagite and his martyrdom in Paris, see R.-J. LOENERTZ, “La légende parisienne de S. Denys l’Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 69 (1951), pp. 217-237. See also G.M. SPIEGEL, “The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship”, in: S. WILSON (ed.), *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 141-168; P. ROREM, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence*, New York-Oxford 1993, pp. 12-18; Y. DE ANDIA (ed.), *Denys l’Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1994* (Collections des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 151), Paris 1997. On the Greek *Life* of Saint Dionysius, see F. HALKIN (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a), 2 vols. and Supplement, Brussels 1957,³ nos. 554-558, pp. 166-169.

63. See above, pp. 407-408.

64. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 15, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 20.10: “πλήν ἔγωγέ τινων ἡγουσα, ἐν τῷ Παρυσίῳ δηλονότι in marg. *Vat. gr* 1107, add. sup. lin. *Barb. gr.* 219>”.

emperor wrote this section most probably while he was still there, but had continued to revise his text after he had left the city, following his return to Constantinople in June 1403.⁶⁵ The revision would not have extended beyond November 1417, date of the end of the Western Schism with the election of Pope Martin V (1417-1431) at the Council of Constance, for Manuel makes no mention of the reconciliation in his treatise, but talks about the conflict between Rome and Avignon as still being in existence.⁶⁶

In revising his treatise Manuel secured the help of his friend and fellow theologian Makarios Makres. This is indicated by palaeographical evidence contained in the two extant manuscripts, *Vaticanus graecus* 1107, which preserves a working copy of the text, and the final edited work in *Barberinianus graecus* 219 copied by his chief scribe Isidore of Kiev.⁶⁷

The treatise comprises a brief Preface by the emperor, a *précis* of the syllogism put forward by the Latin in defense of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, and Manuel's refutation of the Latin arguments in no less than 156 chapters, followed by the annexed discourse *On the Order in the Holy Trinity*. Though not entirely systematic in his approach, in the course of the argument Manuel succeeds in moving from the specific issues into a wider theological discussion regarding the Trinity, concentrating on the important theological questions which underlie the *Filioque* controversy: man's pursuit of the knowledge of God; the relation between God and His creation; and the path which leads to man's salvation and deification. Having established the fundamental principles, namely the scriptural, patristic and conciliar authority on doctrine, the impossibility of discovering divine truths merely by philosophical reasoning, and the Orthodox teaching regarding the distinction of divine essence, energy and hypostases, Manuel moves on to refute the specific points of the Latin syllogism

65. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xvii-xix. On the date of Manuel's return to Constantinople, see P. SCHREINER (ed.), *Chronica Byzantina Breviora (Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken)* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XII/1-2), Vienna 1975, vol. 1, no. 12.14, p. 114; vol. 2, pp. 378-379.

66. See above, note 38.

67. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xl-xciii; CH. DENDRINOS, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)", in: DENDRINOS, HARRIS, HARVALIA-CROOK and HERRIN (eds.), *Porphyrogenita*, pp. 423-456, at pp. 424-427.

concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, before he turns to the next important question raised by the Latin, the primacy of the pope. Though the arguments put forth by the emperor in response to the Latin challenge follow strictly traditional lines, and in that sense the treatise lacks originality, it is clear that Manuel was a serious theological thinker, evidently familiar with the wider Latin theological views, including Thomas Aquinas' teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

In both the treatise and the annexed discourse, the emperor adopts a defensive tone. However, his approach, though forceful at times, is far from hostile. His awareness that the two sides follow different traditions, but nonetheless are parts of the 'body of Christ', permeates his theological thought. It is this belief in the unity of the Christian Church that prevails in his work, rather than his bitterness which underlies some of his comments on the failing of the scholastic theologians to appreciate contemporary Byzantine theological thought.

Manuel concludes his treatise with an appeal to his anonymous challenger, in which he makes clear the basis on which an ecumenical council could take place, namely the conduct of genuine discussion which would bring true reconciliation, stressing the unifying element of the two Churches on a theological and doctrinal level, namely the belief "that the Trinity which is the cause of all is one God, the same God Whom we consider to be united in a unit according to the essence, but a trinity according to the hypostases", adding the need for accepting the fundamental distinction between the essence and energy of God.⁶⁸

Whether his intentions were appreciated by his Latin disputant is unknown, for though Manuel may have sent his reply, possibly a summarized translated version, either when he was still in Paris, or

68. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 156, p. 316.5-12: "Καὶ δὴ, πειθόμενοι φωναῖς προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, διδασκάλων, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν καλῶς ἡμῖν ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὡς οἶμαι, συνέλθωμεν ἀλλήλοις, ὧ φίλοι, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιμνιον [cf. 1 Peter 5:2], οὐ φθαροῖς, ἀγνορίῳ ἢ χροσίῳ περιποιηθέντες τῷ κτίσαντι, ἀλλὰ τιμῶ αἵματι φησίν, ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσίλου Χριστοῦ [1 Peter 1:18-19]. Τὸ δὲ συνέλθεῖν ἔσται πῶς; Ἄν Θεὸν ἓνα μὲν τὴν πανταίτιαν Τριάδα εἶναι φρονῶμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἡνωμένως μονάδα καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις διακεκριμένως τριάδα, καὶ ὄντα καὶ πιστευόμενον καὶ λεγόμενον ἄναρχον, δημιουργόν, ἀγαθόν, ἰσχυρόν, δίκαιον· αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν".

later on through his envoys, we cannot tell. What is certain, however, is that by his lengthy refutation of the Latin views, the emperor proved above all to his own people that despite the desperate political situation they could still be proud of their theological tradition and intellectual creativity.⁶⁹

The prospects of an ecumenical council were discussed by Manuel and the representatives of Charles. This information is recorded by a member of the emperor's entourage, the theologian Makarios Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405). In chapter 102 of his lengthy theological treatise, which in some manuscripts bears the subsequent title *Against the Errors of the Latins*, Makarios states that

certain persons among the bishops and nobles in Paris visited [the emperor] as representatives of the king and his council, and asked, either truly or as a pretext, that an ecumenical council should be convened for the union and peace of the Churches; and after [the emperor] defined in his imperial capacity the strains involved, he gave his consent.

Makarios strongly advised Manuel to insist that the French delegation

should demand what concerns this council persistently as a matter of greater importance, so that a full agreement on this is concluded not in a rush and, as one might say, unobjectionably; but those who make this demand should promise this in advance, in writing, and confirm this securely, according to the ancient custom, the canons and the acts of the ecumenical councils⁷⁰

69. See the comments to Manuel's treatise by an anonymous contemporary young author: ed. DENDRINOS, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)", pp. 449.254-265, 274-290.

70. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 102, *editio princeps* by DOSITHEOS PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, Jasi 1692-1694, pp. 187 (ad fin.)-188; new edition by CH. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *An annotated critical edition of the treatise Against the Errors of the Latins by Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405)*, 2 vols., Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2009, vol. 2, p. 362.8-21: "Ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀπάρξασθαι, ἀξιώ τὸν ἄγιον βασιλέα, τὸν κράτιστόν τε καὶ γαληνότατον, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τινες ἀναδραμόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ Παρισίῳ ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ῥηγῶς καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν βουλῆς, εἶτε ἀληθείας, εἶτε προσήματι ἠξίωσαν ὥστε σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συναθροῖσαι ὑπὲρ ἐνώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτον ὁρίσας βασιλικῶς τὰ συντείνοντα, οὕτω κατένευσεν, ὡς εἶπερ καὶ ἔτι σπουδαιότερον καὶ ἐπιμόνως αἰτήσουσι τὸ περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἵνα μὴ εὐκόλως καί, ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις, μὴ ἀνεπιφωνήτως τὸ περὶ τούτου σύνθηται τελείως πρὶν ἂν ἐγγράφως καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ὑποσχεθεῖεν οἱ ἀξιούντες κατὰ γε τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος καὶ τὴν τῶν κανόνων καὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς τετάρτης, διατάξιν καὶ

Makarios' advice to the emperor to proceed with caution, placing certain pre-conditions concerning the spirit, procedure and basis on which the dialogue should be conducted, for otherwise "things might become worse than before",⁷¹ is indicative of the climate of the discussions and tensions within the Orthodox Church.

Unfortunately, Makarios does not specify the members of this embassy. However, the names of the members of the royal council of France are recorded in the journal of Nicolas de Baye, notary of the Parliament of Paris between 1400 and 1417. In July 1401 the council consisted of members of the higher clergy, including the bishops of Paris, St Flour, Puy, and Maguelonne, and nobles, including the Chancellor of France Arnault de Corbie, the President of the Parliament Pierre Boschet and Marshal Boucicaut.⁷² Whether it was this embassy that Manuel received in Paris, or indeed on his return to Constantinople, as Makarios is not clear on this, is difficult to tell, for to our knowledge, so far this information cannot be checked in any other contemporary source.

Makarios' treatise, first published by the scholar Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem at the end of the seventeenth century, has been severely criticized by Roman Catholic scholars in terms of its polemical tone and lack of structure, systematic analysis and originality.⁷³ It seems that for this reason the treatise has not been duly studied as a historical source. Two further passages in the same treatise, referring to

ἀκριβειαν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν προβῆναι καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν σύνοδον. Μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς δ' ὡς εἴρηται ἰγίας συνόδου...". I would like to thank Dr Christos Triantafyllopoulos for drawing my attention to this passage, the one cited below, note 75, and the references in note 73.

71. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 102, ed. DOSITHEOS, p. 188; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, vol. 2, p. 363.12-13: "... καὶ οὕτω συμβῆῖ γενέσθαι τὰ ἔσχατα χεῖρω τῶν πρώτων".

72. NICOLAS DE BAYE, *Journal*, ed. A. TUETÉY, *Journal de Nicolas de Baye, greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1400-1417*, vol. I, Paris 1885, pp. 7-8 (assembly of the Council at the court on 14 July 1401).

73. See LEONE ALLACI (= LEO ALLATIUS), *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione*, Cologne 1648; phot. repr. 1970, pp. 865-866; L. PETIT, "Macaire d'Ancre", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. IX.1, Paris 1926, cols. 1441-1443 at 1442; DENNIS, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. liii. LAURENT, "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^e siècle", pp. 15-19, is more appreciative. For a discussion of the reception of Makarios' treatise, see TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *An annotated critical edition*, vol. 1, pp. 32*-35*.

the debate on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist in the Latin Church, confirm this view and highlight Makarios' reliability.

Listing the lands and cities he went through in his travels to Western Europe accompanying the emperor, Makarios describes the iconographical representation of the Trinity known as the *Throne of Grace* or *Mercy* which he saw in Latin churches he visited, using it as pictorial evidence in support of the Greek views on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone:

So, the description of the aforementioned icon is as follows. As a symbol and an impress of the blessed and life-giving Trinity, as far as it is possible to contemplate what is beyond us using our own human experience — not to mention those people who lack in intelligence — the Latins traditionally depict on the one hand God the Father as 'The Ancient of Days' [Daniel (LXX) 7:9, 13, 22] seated on a throne stretching His arms, while His Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ [is depicted] as usual on the Cross, raised from off the ground. The Father holds the Cross upright from the level of His chest down to His feet, while He projects the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, from His mouth, as if towards His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, Who, as we have already said, stands on the Cross. This much, as far as the image is concerned. The depiction shows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests and remains within the Son. But the Latins, shutting their physical and spiritual eyes, remain indifferent to the holy sayings and decrees of the Fathers, and in this way to the meaning of the icon, thus erring in both respects...⁷⁴

"While in Paris", Makarios remarks elsewhere in his treatise, "the points in the present discourse were handed to the incumbent of the

74. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 99, ed. DOSITHEOS, pp. 175-176; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, vol. 2, pp. 336-337; see DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. 386-387. On the representation of the Trinity in the Latin Church known as *der Gnadenstuhl*, see E. KIRSCHBAUM (ed.), *Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. I, Rome 1968, s.v. *Dreifaltigkeit*, cols. 535-536. Two representative Icons depicting the *Throne of Mercy*, one Italian by Barnaba da Modena, dated 1374, and the other from Austria by an anonymous artist, dated to the early fifteenth century, are part of the National Gallery collection in London (nos. 2927 and 3662, respectively). An interesting, and the only surviving, depiction of *der Gnadenstuhl* in Byzantium recorded so far is preserved in the Church of the Virgin in Rustica, Rethymnon, Crete, painted in 1391 by Greek artists in Byzantine iconographical style: see I. SPATHARAKIS, "A Gnadenstuhl in Crete and its Significance", in K. FLEDELIUS (ed.), *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence. XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen, 18-24 August 1996*, Copenhagen 1996, Abstracts of Communications, no. 5332.

whole of France”,⁷⁵ referring either to the Chancellor of France Arnault de Corbie (1400-1405) or most probably the bishop of Paris Pierre d’Orgemont (1384-1409). With relation to the discussion over the use of *azymes* in the Eucharist by the Latin Church, Makarios states that he needed to find out whether the Jewish custom prescribes, or not, leavened bread from the moment of the celebration of the Jewish Passover and the week following, in order to confirm the use of leavened bread by Christ in the Last Supper in support of the Greek liturgical practice. Despite his efforts, however, Makarios was unable to do so, for “it is impossible not only to find a Jew there, but virtually even to hear the name of a Jew”.⁷⁶ This statement refers to the expulsion of Jews from France, which occurred several years earlier, in September 1394, on the order of Charles VI. According to the Religious of Saint Denys, the king was instigated to take action by the queen against the “excesses of usury by the Jews which led to the misery of Christian families in the kingdom”.⁷⁷

Returning to Manuel’s policy towards the union of the Churches, the question has been raised whether it reflects his own conviction to the cause or was used by him merely as a lever for the much hoped for military aid from the West. The fact that he provisionally agreed to the convening of an ecumenical council for that reason, as Makarios of Ankyra reports, and his comments in his own treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* on the pre-conditions for a union in terms of doctrine, show willingness but also caution. This approach is better understood in the wider context of Manuel’s internal and external policy, and priorities.

A climate of mutual understanding and admiration among Greek and Latin intellectuals, theologians and statesmen — exemplified in

75. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 101, ed. DOSITHEOS, p. 179; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, pp. 345.25-346.8: “... ἐν γὰρ τῷ Παρισίῳ τῷ προκαθημένῳ πάσης τῆς Φράντζας τὰ τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας ἡμῶν ἐγχεύονται, ἔνθα οὐ μόνον πάντῃ ἀδύνατον εὑρεῖν Ἑβραῖον, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὄνομα σχεδὸν Ἑβραίου ἀκούεται —, φέρε ὡς οἶόν τε δι’ ἄλλων ἀξιοπίστων μαρτυριῶν τὸ ἀμφιβαλλόμενον διαλύσωμεν, καὶ παραστήσωμεν μετὰ τὸ Πάσχα, ἤγουν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας καὶ ἐξῆς, γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἐνζύμου τὴν ἄρσιν, μηδὲν ἐλάσσω τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγων, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἔχον τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνους πράξεων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτως μείζω καὶ βεβαιότεραν ἔχουσῶν τῶν εἰρημένων μαρτυριῶν τὴν παράστασιν”.

76. See note above.

77. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XIV, xvii, ed. and trans. L. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 118-121.

Manuel's circle by his mentor Demetrios Cydones and Manuel Chrysoloras⁷⁸ — fostered a rapprochement between the two Churches, which in turn promoted the theological dialogue and the unionist cause. The political advantage of this approach by both sides did not exclude a genuine desire to mend the breach between the two Churches. This policy was supported especially by Latinophile circles in Byzantium, including members of the imperial court and the higher clergy, who considered it as the only possible and realistic solution for the survival of the Empire in the face of the imminent Ottoman threat.

These feelings and views, however, were not shared by the anti-unionist party, largely formed by the majority of the Byzantine people and clergy, in particular the lower clergy and monastic community. In their view, the bitter experience of the Latin occupation of the Empire (1204-1261) and the intransigence of the papacy, which demanded union and submission to Rome prior to any financial and military aid, instead of providing help and agreeing to the convening of an ecumenical council to discuss on equal terms doctrinal and ecclesiastical points of dispute, as the Byzantines insisted,⁷⁹ confirmed that the

78. See D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, Oxford 1966; IDEM, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, Hamden, CN 1973; IDEM, *Constantinople and the West*, Madison, WI-London 1989; W. BERSCHIN, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Berlin-Munich 1980; C.N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Nicosia 1982; N.G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983; IDEM, *From Byzantium to Italy*, London 1992; S. MERGIALI, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)*, Athens 1996; S. LAMPAKES, "Οι ελληνομαθείς λόγιοι στο πλαίσιο των πνευματικών αλληλεπιδράσεων Ανατολής — Δύσης από τον 12^ο έως τον 14^ο αιώνα", in: N.G. MOSCHONAS (ed.), *Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος*, Athens 2008, pp. 327-341.

79. For contemporary views on the possible terms of union, see JOHN CANTACUZENUS, *Dialogue with the papal legate Paul*, ed. J. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367. Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960) (reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems*, Variorum: London 1974, no. XI), pp. 147-177, at pp. 161-177; JOSEPH BRYENNIOUS, *Council on the Union of the Churches* (1422), ed. E. BOULGARES, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βορνένιου, Τὰ Εἰρηθεύοντα*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1768; revised edition Thessalonica 1991,² i, pp. 400-424; cf. G. PATACSI, "Joseph Bryennios et les discussions sur un concile d'union (1414-1431)", *Κληρονομία* 5.1 (1973), pp. 73-96; I.M. CHIVU, *Ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ Βορνένιου*, Thessalonica 1985. See also D. BALFOUR, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 13), Vienna 1979, p. 222; J. BOOJAMRA, "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80 (1987), pp. 59-76; D.M. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, Cambridge 1993²; repr. 1994, p. 337 with n. 37.

much discussed union was in fact a pretext for the gradual Latinization of the Empire. The asphyxiation of the Byzantine economy by Venice and Genoa created additional problems, which in turn contributed to the political and social tension in the Empire, directed not only against the Latins, but also the Latinophiles, who were considered by their compatriots as betraying their country and faith.⁸⁰

It is in this light that one should consider Manuel's *Realpolitik*, primarily aiming at preserving the unity of the Byzantine Church and society, essential for the very survival of the Empire. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the advice he gave to his son John VIII (1425-1448), who was entrusted with the then on-going negotiations with the papacy (1422), namely, always to discuss the union but never to materialize it, fearing that a *worse schism* (Matthew 9:16, Mark 2:21) might be brought about among his own people and clergy, thus leaving the Empire exposed to the enemy.⁸¹ This policy was the result of his long political experience, including that gained from his journey to the West, for the promises and assurances he received were not fulfilled.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was kept informed of the developments in the East. The unexpected defeat of the Turkish army by Timur in the battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402 changed the course of events, giving the Empire a brief respite from the Ottoman threat. Manuel decided that this was the right time to return to Constantinople. His relief at the deliverance of the City from the Ottomans and the imprisonment of Bayezid by Timur is expressed in the two short compositions he wrote possibly while still in Paris or shortly afterwards, a hymn in the form of a Psalm on the occasion of Bayezid's

80. See P. GOUNARIDES, "Πολιτικές διαστάσεις της συνόδου Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας", in: *Θησαυρίσματα* 31 (2001), pp. 107-129; T. ΚΙΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση*, Athens 2007; J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, "Η διεξόδυση της δυτικής οικονομίας στη Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία", in: MOSCHONAS (ed.), *Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος*, pp. 27-42.

81. GEORGE SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon Minus*, XXIII, 5-6, ed. R. MAISANO, *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXIX), Rome 1990, p. 82.1-15. Cf. Manuel's comments in his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. DENDRINOS, pp. 30.12-31.7-13, 91.3-6, 316.3-317.18, and his *Letter to Iagoup*, ed. cit., p. 367.3-10. Cf. JOSEPH BRYENNIUS, *Council on the Union of the Churches* (1422), ed. BOULGARES, p. 409.25: "τοῦ προτέρου ... σχίσματος σχίσμα χειρόν". See CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 8-10; CH. DENDRINOS, "Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence", in: *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007), pp. 131-148.

defeat, and an *ethopoieia*, a fictional address by Timur to Bayezid.⁸² Manuel left the French capital on 23 November 1402 and via Genoa, possibly Florence, and Ferrara reached Venice in March 1403. Boarding Venetian ships he sailed to the Morea to re-join his family, and with a Genoese and Venetian escort returned to Constantinople three months later.⁸³

When Manuel Chrysoloras visited Paris, as Manuel's ambassador, in 1408, he presented the abbey of Saint Denys, on behalf of the emperor, with the well-known manuscript with the works of their patron Saint (the Dionysian corpus), adorned with the beautiful illuminated portrait of Manuel, his wife and their three oldest sons standing under the protective figures of the Virgin and Christ.⁸⁴ The manuscript contains Chrysoloras' autograph dated subscription (f. 237v), which relates the emperor's earlier visit to Paris.⁸⁵ Almost six centuries earlier (in 827) another Greek manuscript containing the Dionysian corpus was presented by Emperor Michael II (820-829) to King Louis the Pious (814-840).⁸⁶ Apart from their value as diplomatic gifts and personal

82. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Τίνας ἂν εἶπε λόγους ὁ τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ Σκεθῶν ἐξηγούμενος τῷ τυραννοῦντι τῶν Τούρκων μεγάλη τε καὶ σοβαρὰ φεγγρομένῳ καὶ ἀφοσίτῳ ὄντι ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἠνίκα εἰς ἔπραττε, τραπέντι δὲ πρὸς τοῦναντίον μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν*, and *Ἐν εἶδει ψαλμοῦ περὶ Κερανοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθηροῦ, ὁπότε ἐπισκέψατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν παντοδαπὸν ἀπέκτεινε θῆρα*, ed. J. LÖWENKLAU (= LEUNCLAVIUS), *Praecepta educationis regiae*, Basel 1578, pp. 446-448 and 448-451, respectively (reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca* 156, cols. 579C-582A and 581A-C, and *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, ed. E. LEGRAND, Paris 1893, pp. 103-104).

83. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 227-38.

84. *Musée du Louvre, Dept. des objets d'art*, M.R. 416 (olim *Ivoires A. 53 0 10078*). See D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1985, pp. 35, 193.31, 273. The miniature is reproduced in BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 101, fig. 5. See also I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, vol. I, Text (Byzantina Neerlandica, 8), Leiden 1981, p. 68, no. 278 (with bibliography).

85. Reproduced in BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 264, fig. 20; R. BARBOUR, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford 1981, p. 24, Plate 87; S. BERNARDINELLO, *Autografi greci e greco-latini in occidente*, Padua 1979; P. ELEUTERI and P. CANART, *Scrittura greca nell'Umanesimo Italiano*, Milan 1991, no. II, pp. 30-32; no. 6, p. 47.

86. Cod. *Parisinus graecus* 437, so far the earliest Greek manuscript preserving the Dionysian corpus. See H.A. OMONT, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827", in: *Revue des Études Grecques* 17 (1904), pp. 230-236; G.P.A. BROWN, *Politics and Patronage at the Abbey of Saint-Denis (814-898): the Rise of a Royal Patron Saint*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1989, pp. 209, 279-282, 324-329; M. MCCORMICK, "Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium

royal tokens of appreciation and friendship, these two manuscripts and their content symbolize the common tradition and intellectual dialogue between Byzantium and the West, an important area of European history explored in depth by the late Professor Deno John Geanakoplos, in whose memory the conference on which this volume is based was dedicated with profound admiration and respect.