

## **A worthless prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome 1464-1502**

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Andreas Palaeologus, the claimant to the Byzantine throne who died in Rome in 1502, has not been treated kindly by posterity. He has generally been portrayed as an immoral and extravagant playboy who squandered his generous papal pension on loose living and eventually died in poverty. As a result his career has been dismissed as being of little significance, George Finlay concluding that his fate and that of other members of his family 'hardly merits the attention of history, were it not that mankind has a morbid curiosity concerning the fortunes of the most worthless princes'<sup>1</sup>. Up to now, no one has ventured to question that judgement.

This article seeks to make a departure from the traditional view of Andreas in two ways. First, on the basis of evidence drawn from the Papal archives, it will be argued that there were other reasons for the financial difficulties of this exiled prince quite apart from any extravagance of his own and that the portrayal of him as a feckless wastrel is by no means entirely fair. Secondly, in view of this it would be wrong to dismiss him, as Finlay does, as an insignificant footnote to history. His years of exile in Rome represent, in fact, a continuation of the policy pursued by the Palaeologus family for a period of over a century and mark its ultimate failure.

Andreas' unsavoury reputation has not been helped by the conduct of his father, Thomas Palaeologus. Thomas ruled part of the Morea between 1430 and 1460 as despot but his constant feuding with his brother and fellow despot, Demetrius, succeeded in laying the Morea open to a Turkish invasion. Forced to flee with his family to the Venetian ruled island of Corfu<sup>2</sup>, Thomas journeyed to Rome in 1461 to throw himself on the mercy of the Pope, Pius II. In spite of a sympathetic reception, however, he was not able to raise the necessary support to reverse his losses and he died, still an exile, in Rome in May 1465<sup>3</sup>.

All this had little to do with Andreas, of course, who was a child of seven at the time of the fall of the Morea<sup>4</sup>. In 1465 he travelled from Corfu to Rome along with his younger siblings, Manuel and Zoe. As their father was already dead by the time they arrived, they were entrusted to the care of the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, himself an emigre from the former Byzantine empire<sup>5</sup>. It was he who provided for their education and arranged for the marriage of Zoe to the Grand Duke Ivan III of Moscow in June 1472<sup>6</sup>.

The financial difficulties which dogged Andreas' career seem to have begun when the protection of Bessarion was removed on his death a few months after Zoe's marriage<sup>7</sup>. By 1475 Andreas was offering to sell his rights to the thrones of Trebizond and Constantinople, contacting the king of Naples, the duke of Burgundy<sup>8</sup> and possibly the duke of Milan, presumably in a search for the highest bidder<sup>9</sup>.

Manuel, the younger brother with no titles to sell, left Rome early in 1474 to offer his services to European rulers<sup>10</sup>. By November he was in Milan where he presented the duke, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, with a letter of recommendation from the Pope, suggesting that he was seeking to enter Milanese service in some type of military capacity<sup>11</sup>. He seems not to have received a satisfactory offer in Milan and moved on the following year to Vaudémont in Lorraine where he presented himself to the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, again in the hope of being taken into service. Charles offered him a monthly allowance of a hundred écus but Manuel declined it because it was not enough to enable him to maintain his retinue and he returned to Rome soon after<sup>12</sup>.

He did not remain there long, however. According to the chronicler Theodore Spandugino, he was prompted by the *'grandissima calamità et miseria'* in which his brother was living to leave Rome again in the spring of 1476. This time he headed East and presented himself to Sultan Mehmed II in Constantinople. In contrast to his reception in Milan and Burgundy, Manuel was generously provided for by Mehmed and

he remained in the Ottoman capital for the rest of his life<sup>13</sup>.

The question is, what caused Andreas and Manuel to suffer such financial hardship as to compel one to offer to sell his inherited titles and the other to wander through Europe in search of employment? It was the opinion of at least one contemporary and of a writer of the next generation that Andreas alone was to blame for their plight. Spandugino, around 1538, compared him unfavourably with his brother, claiming that Manuel exceeded him in every virtue<sup>14</sup> and the diarist Gherardi da Volterra, writing in 1481, considered Andreas' financial problems to be the result of exhausting his pension `by indulging excessively in meretricious lovemaking and pleasures'<sup>15</sup>. The critical tone of Gherardi and Spandugino has been echoed by modern writers but it has to be said that much of this criticism has very little basis.

Every modern account of Andreas, for example, mentions his marriage to a `une personne de basse condition et de moeurs légères', to use the words of the Greek scholar, D.A. Zakythinos, as the main proof of his general irresponsibility<sup>16</sup>. Yet this mesalliance is not mentioned by any contemporary or near-contemporary writer, not even by Gherardi. Andreas did have a wife, called Caterina, but we know of her from one single reference in the Introitus et Exitus books of the Apostolic Camera, which gives only her first name and no other details about her<sup>17</sup>. The earliest allusion to her supposed bad character comes in the work of the seventeenth century Byzantinist, Du Cange<sup>18</sup>, so that this tale has to be considered, in the words of the editor of Andreas' will, as an `unproven oral tradition'<sup>19</sup>.

The dubious evidence for Andreas' morganatic alliance undermines the claim, made by Zakythinos and others, that the marriage was the cause of Andreas' poverty because Sixtus cut off his dependent's pension in disgust at his action, obliging him to head for Russia until the row had died down<sup>20</sup>. The records of the Apostolic Camera tell a very different story. Sixtus actually paid Andreas his pension for two years in advance in December 1479, presumably to cover him for the period of his absence in Russia<sup>21</sup>.

Moreover, he assured Andreas in a letter that the annuity would continue to be paid at the same rate on his return<sup>22</sup>. The moral is that scurrilous accusations against public figures should always be viewed with caution<sup>23</sup>.

If immorality and extravagance were not the cause of Andreas' difficulties, then what was? There can be no denying that he went to Russia in 1480 to beg from his sister, Zoe, or Sophia as she was now known. She was later to complain that she had no jewels left because she had given them all to her brother<sup>24</sup>. His own extravagance may well have contributed to his problems, but its root cause lay with his paymaster, the Pope.

On the face of it, the children of Thomas Palaeologus had been treated generously. The Pope who received them in Rome in 1465, Paul II, had granted them the same pension that their father had enjoyed and recognised Andreas as rightful despot of the Morea<sup>25</sup>. His successor, Sixtus IV, provided a dowry of six thousand ducats for Zoe on her marriage and a house for Andreas on the Campo Marzio<sup>26</sup>. Panegyrists lauded their generosity and Sixtus went so far to have his good deeds recorded in the frescoes of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia<sup>27</sup>. More recent writers accepted this version and even exaggerated it, one going as far as to say that Sixtus granted Andreas an annual allowance of eight thousand ducats<sup>28</sup>. In reality, such praise was not deserved.

The annual pension originally granted by Pius II to Thomas Palaeologus in 1461 had been 3600 ducats, paid in monthly instalments of three hundred, to which the cardinals had added two hundred more per month<sup>29</sup>. Generous though this may sound, the Byzantine courtier George Sphrantzes still complained that it was barely enough, not because the despot was improvident, but because he had to support not only himself but also his household<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, in the case of Andreas and Manuel, it was, in effect, considerably reduced because although Paul II had granted them the same pension, it is clear from the extant accounts that this amount was to be shared between them<sup>31</sup>. Nor was there any further mention of any extra from the cardinals.

Not only was the pension effectively reduced from that paid to Thomas, it was not always paid in full. While they were still minors and under the protection of Bessarion, the cardinal had been responsible for handing over the monthly payments from the Papal treasury to his young charges and no doubt his influence had ensured that they continued to flow regularly<sup>32</sup>. After his death, however, the situation rapidly changed for the worse. For January, February and March 1473, for example, the two despots only received a total of 690 ducats rather than the correct nine hundred<sup>33</sup>.

Worse was to come. No sooner had Manuel left Rome early in 1474 than Sixtus apparently gave orders that the pension be halved to take account of his absence, and henceforth the amount paid to Andreas was only a hundred and fifty ducats a month<sup>34</sup>. In July, Sixtus assured Andreas that his pension would continue to be paid at that rate now that he was over twenty one but he made no mention of Manuel even though he had returned to Rome in early 1476<sup>35</sup>. No doubt this accounts for Manuel's departure for Constantinople.

As the 1470s progressed Andreas' annuity was cut back ever more frequently. Whereas he was given the usual one hundred and fifty ducats for June 1478, in November the amount suddenly plummeted to a hundred and four. A note in the entry in the Liber dei Mandati which records the payment gives the reason for the curtailment as 'reductionem per s. dominum nostrum Papam propter instantes guerras factam'. This continued for several months, always on account of 'so many wars'<sup>36</sup>.

Andreas was the victim of the outbreak of conflict in Italy which followed the assassination of Duke Galeazzo Maria in Milan in December 1476. Sixtus had unwisely allowed the papacy to become involved in the conflict when he tacitly backed the attempt by members of the Pazzi family to murder Lorenzo de' Medici in the cathedral at Florence on 26 April 1478. When the plot failed, he found himself embroiled in a costly war against Florence, Venice and Milan<sup>37</sup>. As a result Papal expenditure, including pensions, had to be subjected to drastic revisions<sup>38</sup>. The period of this war coincided

with the reduction of Andreas' pension and his departure for Russia and so must have been at least to some extent responsible for his shabby appearance in the summer of 1481 as described by Gherardi and others<sup>39</sup>.

The ending of hostilities in December 1480 saw no improvement in the situation. On the contrary, it grew even worse in the latter part of the despot's life as his pension was reduced still further. It was paid at the rate of a hundred ducats a month during the year 1488-9, and it often fell below that<sup>40</sup>. With the accession of Alexander VI in August 1492, it dropped to a paltry fifty ducats a month<sup>41</sup>. Not surprisingly, Andreas made it an condition of the agreement by which he sold his titles to the French king in 1494, that the latter should use his influence with the Pope to have the pension payments restored to their former level<sup>42</sup>.

There was, moreover, another factor which contributed to Andreas' poverty. It has to be remembered that he supported not only himself but also a number of individuals who made up his household, a point made by George Sphrantzes when he had complained about the inadequacy of the papal pension<sup>43</sup>.

Some of Andreas' familiars may originally have followed Thomas Palaeologus to Rome in 1461. Although a number of them had probably accompanied Zoe to Russia in 1472<sup>44</sup>, those who remained in Rome would naturally have gravitated to his household. When Sphrantzes visited Rome in 1466, he stayed for some time as a guest in his house and others must have been permanently based there<sup>45</sup>. Michael Aristoboulos, Manuel Palaeologus and George Pagumenos, who accompanied Andreas to Brindisi in 1481<sup>46</sup>, and Demetrius Rhaoul Cavaces, who represented Zoe's brothers at her wedding in Moscow, were probably all members of his household<sup>47</sup>.

The constant curtailment of his pension meant that Andreas was increasingly unable to support these people. By 1481 Gherardi was describing his household as 'paltry'<sup>48</sup> and it would seem that the Pope had to take over from the impoverished despot as the patron of at least one former member of his household. Theodore 'Semblaco' or

Tzamblacon of Constantinople who drew three ducats a month from the Apostolic Camera between 1479 and 1493, was often described in the records as `olim de famiglia domini dispoti Moree<sup>49</sup>.

He was probably not an isolated example. Catherine `Zamplaconissa' or Tzamblaconissa who was paid a similar pension from 1489 until 1504, may have been related to Theodore Tzamblacon and in the same situation. Constantine `de Morea', Theodorina `de Mori', Megalia `de Morea' and Euphrasina Palaeologina and her daughter, Thomasina Cantacuzena, both `de Moree' may also have been former members of the despot's household<sup>50</sup>. The lack of any wealthy Greek patron in Rome after the death of Bessarion may have prompted other Greeks, like the scholar, Theodore Gaza, to leave Rome altogether<sup>51</sup>.

There is, therefore, concrete evidence that the real reason for Andreas' poverty was the constant reduction of his pension by the Apostolic Camera which left him unable to meet the burden of maintaining his household. His extravagance and irresponsibility, on the other hand, have little support apart from the vague accusations of Gherardi. In view of this he deserves to be taken much more seriously. Turning now to the second point raised by this article, it is possible to discern in his actions a coherent policy, one that had been consistently pursued by other members of his family.

Since the mid-fourteenth century, the rulers of Byzantium had looked to the West, and especially to the Papacy to save their empire from conquest by the Turks. Advised by Latinophile intellectuals like Demetrius Cydones and Manuel Chrysoloras, who hopelessly over-estimated the power and authority of the Papacy, the emperors of the Palaeologus dynasty came to believe that they had only to satisfy the Pope of their religious orthodoxy and he would unleash western armies to their aid<sup>52</sup>.

It was this conviction that had prompted Andreas' great-grandfather, John V, to travel to Rome in 1369 to make his personal submission to the Pope. It had led one of his uncles, John VIII, to attend the Council of Florence in 1438-9 at which the Union of

the Churches was proclaimed and another, Constantine XI, to send desperate appeals for help to the Pope in 1452 as the Ottoman armies closed in on Constantinople<sup>53</sup>.

Even Andreas' father, Thomas, who is seldom credited with much zeal to fight the Turks, had made similar efforts to enlist Papal support. In 1460 he had encouraged the people of Monemvasia to put their city under the protection of Pius II as a papal fief<sup>54</sup>. During his exile in Italy he sought the Pope's authority to gain credibility for his plans to reconquer the Morea. At the beginning of 1462 he received letters of indulgence from Pius II aimed at encouraging the faithful to assist him in his preparations and he seems to have then travelled through Italy, probably in the hope of collecting contributions and pledges of support<sup>55</sup>.

Andreas continued this policy from his base in Rome, where, like his father, he was hoping to secure western support to mount an expedition to reconquer the Morea. In the late summer of 1481, according to Gherardi, soon after his return from Russia, Sixtus IV provided him with two thousand ducats with which to finance such an enterprise<sup>56</sup>. Andreas then moved to Southern Italy, the natural springboard for an attack and by October he was at Foggia with several companions where he received further funds from Ferrante, king of Naples<sup>57</sup>.

Historians have not been disposed to take this expedition very seriously and Runciman went so far as to claim, without any evidence, that Andreas simply squandered the money given to him by Sixtus for other purposes<sup>58</sup>. Certainly, Andreas never set sail for Greece and lingered with his companions in Brindisi throughout October and November, enjoying the hospitality of the Neapolitan monarch<sup>59</sup>.

There were, however, very good reasons why the idea was no longer practical by the end of 1481. Earlier in the year the situation had looked most promising for a successful war against the Turks who had just suffered a series of reverses. Their siege of the island of Rhodes had been repulsed with heavy losses and in September 1481 King Ferrante's armies had dislodged the Turkish force occupying Otranto. Moreover,

the death of Mehmed II on 3 May had been followed by a civil war between his sons, Bayezid and Jem<sup>60</sup>. Thus Andreas may have hoped take part in a counter-attack launched under Ferrante's leadership. By the autumn, on the other hand, it would have become clear that the Ottoman domains were not going to break up. Bayezid II was established as sultan in Constantinople and the Christian powers were, as usual, too disunited to take advantage of the recent victories.

There was, moreover, another reason why the expedition never sailed: it was under-funded. There is no sign in the records of the Apostolic Camera of the sum mentioned by Gherardi as having been given to the despot. Although there is a mandate for three thousand ducats which was ordered to be paid to him on 4 September 1481, the entry in the Libri dei Mandati makes no mention of any voyage to Greece, treating the payment as an advance on Andreas' pension similar to that made before he went to Russia<sup>61</sup>. In the absence of any trace of a payment specifically for the expedition, however, it seems very likely that this was what Gherardi had heard about. Seen in this light, Sixtus' gift appears much less generous, since he had only given Andreas the usual provision for himself and his household and no extra to cover the expenses of the expedition.

Yet although circumstances proved unfavourable and money in short supply, there is no reason to believe that the expedition had not originally been seriously under consideration. On 15 September Sixtus had written to the bishop of Evora to direct him to do everything in his power to assist the despot in his intention of crossing the Ionian sea<sup>62</sup> and Andreas' journey to Brindisi indicates that he was sincere in desiring to bring the plan to fruition. The inclusion among his companions of an individual named in the documents as `Coycondo Clada' points to the same conclusion. He may well have been the Greek soldier Crocondilo Clada who had led a revolt against the Turks in the Morea in 1480 and who afterwards had taken service with the king of Naples<sup>63</sup>. He would have been the ideal guide for such an enterprise.

It seems clear, then, that Andreas made at least one serious attempt to launch an expedition against the Turks. Even if it failed to materialise due to ill-luck and inadequate financial support it still indicates that he did not spend all his time in Rome in pursuit of pleasure.

This should be born in mind when assessing other aspects of his career. Modern accounts, prejudiced by Gherardi's comments, tend to see his every action as merely further efforts to extort money in order to finance an abandoned lifestyle. Yet his conduct can be interpreted in quite a different way once the gossip of Gherardi is put to one side: Andreas was merely following the traditional policy of trying to harness the resources of western Christendom against the Turks.

Take, for example, his travels through Europe to beseech the generosity of European rulers. In 1490 he left Rome for a second time and went again to Moscow, accompanied by the ambassadors of the Grand duke, Demetrius and Manuel Rhalles<sup>64</sup>. He appears not to have been welcome there and he was soon in France where the king, Charles VIII, received him kindly, paying all his travel expenses, in return for Andreas' gift of a white falcon<sup>65</sup>. England, which he visited in January 1492, proved less accommodating. Henry VII merely instructed his treasurer, Lord Dynham, to pay the visitor whatever he thought fit and gave him a safe-conduct out of the country<sup>66</sup>.

Modern scholars have chosen to see this European tour in a disreputable light, quoting Constantine Lascaris' opinion that Andreas 'wandered the earth as a beggar' and laying stress on the 'monetarily unproductive' Russian expedition<sup>67</sup>. Yet all Andreas was doing was continuing the old policy of seeking help from western monarchs. Even the idea of a direct appeal was not new. Andreas' grandfather, Manuel II, had toured the courts of Europe in 1399-1402, imploring aid for the beleaguered city of Constantinople<sup>68</sup>.

The same applies to the agreement made in Rome in September 1494 with the French king, Charles VIII, in which the despot agreed to cede to Charles all his rights to

the thrones of Constantinople, Trebizond and Serbia<sup>69</sup>. In return he was to receive an annual pension of 4,300 ducats and a personal guard of one hundred horsemen<sup>70</sup>.

This was no irresponsible abdication to obtain an easing of financial burdens, however. Andreas reserved for himself the despotate of the Morea and extracted a specific undertaking from the French King that he would make war on the Turks to restore the despotate to its rightful owner. Once restored, Andreas was to hold it as a fief from Charles for a nominal annual payment of one white saddle horse<sup>71</sup>. Clearly the despot was hoping to use Charles as a powerful champion who would provide the necessary military force to take on the Turks, much as he had tried with Ferrante of Naples in 1481. As it was Charles's premature death in 1498 put an end to these hopes.

The despot's propensity to be very particular about his titles has also been held against him. His seal bore the imposing double-headed eagle of the Palaeologi and the title 'Despotes Romeorum'<sup>72</sup>. During the 1480s he went further and took to styling himself 'Imperator Constantinopolitanus'<sup>73</sup>. He became most indignant when he considered that his imperial station had not been sufficiently recognised<sup>74</sup>.

The contrast between the grandiose pretensions and sordid reality prompted Setton's conclusion that the despot cut a 'pathetic figure' and that he 'contrived to make the always sorry spectacle of a monarch in exile even more pathetic'<sup>75</sup>. Yet Andreas had a genuine right to claim these titles. He had inherited the title despot from his father and that of emperor from his uncle, Constantine XI, the last Byzantine emperor. Moreover, his insistence on them bears witness to his intention to maintain his claim to lands which he had hopes of one day recovering.

Andreas did, therefore, have a constructive aim during his years in Rome and for this reason his activities there deserve to be seen in a more positive light. For example, scorn has been poured on the various measures resorted to by the despot to supplement his meagre income. As Setton put it he sold 'honorific titles and other privileges to those whose gullibility and social pride brought them cash in hand to his

doorstep<sup>76</sup>. Several charters survive in which he granted titles and honours to various individuals and no doubt they paid for the privilege<sup>77</sup>. Nor was Andreas above indulging in trade<sup>78</sup>. However, these transactions should not be seen as necessarily motivated by a selfish desire to maintain his lifestyle, but rather as being forced on him by the need to support his household.

Even Andreas' latter years were not entirely inactive. He continued to play his part in Papal ceremonies right up to the end, taking a prominent place in the procession during the ceremonial entry of the Lithuanian ambassador into Rome on 11 March 1501<sup>79</sup>. He made further plans to recapture the Morea, becoming involved in 1485 in a plot to seize Monemvasia from the Venetians<sup>80</sup>.

Nor need we necessarily believe the common assertion that, when the despot died in June 1502, he was utterly destitute<sup>81</sup>. This is usually inferred from Alexander VI's having given his widow the money to pay for his funeral. Yet this was not uncommon. The Pope also paid for the interment of another royal exile, Charlotte Lusignan, queen of Cyprus, whom nobody ever described as impoverished or extravagant<sup>82</sup>. Andreas may have been poor but his end does not have to be seen as squalid and degrading. After all, he was buried with all due honour beside his father in St. Peter's<sup>83</sup>.

The despot's life in exile was not, therefore, nearly so aimless and misspent as too credulous a reading of Gherardi might suggest. Certainly, it cannot be considered to have been a great success. His hopes of restoration were all dashed and most of his time was spent attempting to raise the necessary funds to support his household. However, it is to be hoped that it has been shown that this situation cannot be held to have been the consequence of his vicious character and that, in spite of everything, he continued to work for his restoration to his ancestral rights. His ultimate failure, therefore, was not so much a personal one but that of a policy.

The policy of looking to the western powers and especially to Rome for aid

against the Turks was adopted in a situation which offered little other choice. Nevertheless, the Byzantines clung to it even when it must have been clear that, in spite of all the fair promises, the Pope and western monarchs were powerless to help them. It was a sad fact which Andreas was to discover throughout his life as an exile and which ultimately ensured that he would never return to his native land.

## Footnotes

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1. G. Finlay, History of Greece, IV (Oxford, 1877) 267; W. Miller, Latins in Levant (London, 1908) 454; S. Runciman, The Fall of Constantinople, 1453 (Cambridge, 1965) 183-4; D.A. Zakythinos, Le despotat grec de Moree, 2nd ed., I (London, 1975) 290-7; K.M. Setton, The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571), II (Philadelphia, 1978) 462; D.M. Nicol, The Immortal Emperor (Cambridge, 1992) 114-16; D.M. Nicol, The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1993) 400-1.

2. George Sphrantzes, Memorii (Chronicon Minus), ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), XXXIX. 1, p. 110, XL. 1-16, pp. 116-24; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 219-26.

3. Sphrantzes, Memorii, XL. 13, p. 122, XLI. 2-6, p. 124; Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini), Commentaries, trans. F.A. Gragg and L.C. Gabel, (Smith College Studies in History, 22, 25, 30, 35, 43, Northampton, Mass., 1936-57) 377-8; L. Pastor, History of the Popes, ed. and trans. F.I. Antrobus et al., III (Nedeln, Liechtenstein, 1968-9, reprint), appendix no. 43, p. 403; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 228, citing document in Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga.

4. He had been born in the Morea on 17 January 1453: Sphrantzes, Memorii, XXXV. 5, p. 96.

5. Sphrantzes, Memorii, XLI. 10, p. 126, XLII. 10, p. 130; S.P. Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ πελοποννησιακά, IV (Athens, 1930) 284-91; L. Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion als

Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann, III (Paderborn, 1942) 531-6. Thomas' wife, Caterina Zaccaria, had earlier died on Corfu: Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 267-73.

6. Bessarion sent a Greek called George to Moscow to conduct the negotiations: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome (hereafter ASVat) Introitus et Exitus 472, f. 110v (orig. 173v); The Nikonian Chronicle, trans. S.A. Zenkovsky and B. Zenkovsky, V (Princeton, 1989) 114; Jacopo Ammanati, Diario Concistoriale (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new series 23.3, Città di Castello, 1904) 143-4; P. Pierling, La Russie et le Saint Siège, I (Paris, 1896) 108-85. It had first been planned to marry Zoe to King James II of Cyprus. The story of her betrothal to a member of the Italian Caracciolo family in 1466, however, is based only on the evidence of the late and unreliable Pseudo-Phrantzes, Chronica, 1258-1481, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966) IV. 22.4, p. 562; J.B. Papadopoulos, `Οι ῥραβ\_νες τ\_ς "Α\_θεντοπούλας" μετ\_ το\_ \_Ιταλο\_ \_ρχοντος Καρακκίολου', EEBS 12 (1936) 264-8; G. Pignataro, `Un vescovo di Gerace alla corte di Cipro (1467-8) e un matrimonio mancato', Historica 17 (1964) 19-23.

7. Bessarion died at Ravenna, while returning from an unsuccessful legatine mission to France: ASVat Armario 31, vol. 52, f. 79 (orig. 46); P. Ourliac, `Louis XI et le Cardinal Bessarion', Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France 5 (1942-5) 33-55.

8. R.J. Walsh, `Charles the Bold and the crusade: politics and propaganda', Journal of Medieval History 3 (1977) 53-86, esp. 73, 78, citing Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga 1625 and Archivio di Stato, Milan, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere 78.

9. There exists a very servile letter written by Manuel to Duke Galeazzo Maria dated early 1476 and in reply to a letter of the duke sent in December. Manuel refers to the conversations they had had together though on what subject he does not say. The scholar

Demetrius Chalcocondyles may have been the bearer of the letter, as he visited the despots in Rome in late 1475 from Milan: E. Legrand, Cent dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe (Paris, 1892) 184; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 310.

10. He was armed with two thousand ducats 'per la sua andata a Milano', dated 31 January 1473/4 and a safe-conduct: Archivio di Stato, Rome (hereafter ASR), Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1234, f. 272; ASVat Reg. Vat. 564, ff. 214-214v contains the safe-conduct, dated 23 March 1475, year four of Sixtus IV. Since the fourth year of Sixtus' pontificate ran from August 1474 to August 1475, this would mean that the document is to be dated to early 1475. However, there is good reason for thinking that the clerk made a mistake here, for all the subsequent items in the same register are dated 'Anno tertio'. The mandate for Manuel's travelling expenses and Sixtus' letter of recommendation to the duke of Milan (below) are both dated early 1474 so that it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the safe-conduct was issued on 23 March 1474.

11. Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter ASV) Commemoriali 16, f. 92; R. Predelli, I Libri Commemoriali della republica di Venezia - Regesti, V (Venice, 1901) 217; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 308-9. Another similar letter was provided by the marquis of Mantua, so that Manuel may have visited the Gonzaga family on his way to Milan: Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 296.

12. Walsh, 'Charles the Bold', 72 citing Archivio di Stato, Milan, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere 517. Given this report of Manuel's presence in Burgundy, it is probable that he was the 'son of the emperor of Constantinople' who received sixteen francs from the duke at Dijon at this time: Inventaire-sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790 (Dijon), ed. L. De Gouvenain and P. Vallée, III (Dijon, 1892) 13.

13. Manuel's departure can be dated from a Papal safe-conduct for himself and his followers dated 25 April 1476: ASVat Reg. Vat. 665, ff. 182-182v; Theodore Spandugino, De la origine deli imperatori ottomani, in C.N. Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce, IX (Paris, 1890) 157; Historia Politica Constantinopoleos, ed. I. Bekker, (CSHB, Bonn, 1849) 34-5; Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum, ed. S.P. Lambros (London, 1902) 23.
14. Spandugino, De la origine, 157: `superava il fratello non solamente in ingenio et prudentia ma anchora de ogni altra virtù et costume ...'.
15. Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, Diario Romano (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new series 23.3, Città di Castello, 1904) 81: `Maior autem cum nimis meretricio amoris et voluptatibus indulisset, pecuniam omnem consumpsit que singulis mensibus pontificio erario sibi numerabatur'.
16. Zakythinos, Despotat, I. 292-3. Writers in English usually refer to her as `a woman of the streets of Rome': Miller, Latins in Levant, 454; Runciman, Fall, 184; Nicol, Last Centuries, 400; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 462.
17. ASVat Introitus et Exitus 532, f. 126v (orig. 207v); A. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica (Innsbruck, 1889) 292.
18. Charles du Fresne du Cange, Historia Byzantina (Paris, 1682) 248: `Verum stirpis suae et antique nobilitatis ducta in conjugem Graeca vilique meretrice ...'. None of the sources he cites mentions it though.
19. P.K. Enepekides, `Das Wiener Testament des Andreas Palaiologos vom 7 April 1502', Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses, München 1958, ed. F. Dölger and H.G. Beck (Munich, 1960) 138-43, esp. 138.

20. Zakythinus, Despotat, I. 293; Nicol, Last Centuries, 400.
21. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1236, f. 31. Andreas arrived in Moscow in the spring of 1480: Nikonian Chronicle, V. 211.
22. ASVat Reg. Vat. 594, ff. 183-183v summarised in Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 318, n. 13.
23. Stefano Infessura, Diario della città di Roma, ed. O. Tommasini (Rome, 1890) 155 accuses Sixtus IV of much worse things than Gherardi does Andreas. He has not, however, been so widely believed: Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 380, n. 56.
24. J.L.I. Fennell, Ivan the Great of Moscow (London, 1961) 313-14; Gherardi, Diario, 81: `... cumque propterea de pontificis munificentia desperasset quod ea abuteretur, urbem et ipse dereliquit et ad sororium in Scithiam est profectus. Sed ibi brevi tempore commoratus esset, rursum ad Italiam est reversus ...'.
25. Sphrantzes, Memorii, XLII. 11, p. 130; Gaspare da Verona, De Gestis Tempore Pontificis Maximi Pauli II (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new series 3.16, Città di Castello, 1904) 59.
26. ASVat Reg. Vat. 583, ff. 89v-91; Reg. Vat. 660, ff. 314-314v (orig. 316-316v); ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1234, f. 264; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 307; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 319. The house is probably that which stood next to the church of Sant'Andrea in Campo Marzio: M-H. Laurent and A. Guillou, Le Liber Visitationis d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457-1458), (ST 206, Vatican City, 1960) 209; C. Hülsen, Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo (Florence, 1927) 188-9.
27. One of them depicts Sixtus with a grateful Andreas kneeling at his feet: P. De Angelis, L'architetto e gli affreschi di Santo Spirito in Saxia (Rome, 1961) 265-6;

Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 307; Michael Canensi, De Vita et Pontificatu Pauli II (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new series 3.16, Città di Castello, 1904) 138-9; Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger, Analecta Franciscana, II (Quaracchi, 1887) 456: 'Principes etiam pauperes et nobiles, patria extorres, et praesertim Palaeologorum filios ... atque alios complurimos a Turchis pulsos, pecuniis adjuvare non destitit'.

28. F. Gregorovius, Storia della città di Roma nel medio evo, III (Rome, 1901) 847

29. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1235, ff. 121v, 124v; Pius, Commentaries, 377-8; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, 292.

30. Sphrantzes, Memorii, XLI. 8, p. 126.

31. The three hundred ducats were always paid jointly to 'I despoti della Morea': ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1234, ff. 223, 225, 225v et passim.

32. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1235, ff. 81, 82v, 83 where it is stated that the money was handed over by 'B. Tusculani', i.e. Bessarion, bishop of Tusculum.

33. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1234, f. 268: 'I Dispoti della Morea per la loro pensione di mesi tre, cioè gennaio, febbraio e marzo'.

34. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1234, f. 272v. This was the amount he received for the month of May 1474.

35. ASVat Reg. Vat. 563, ff. 122-123; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 310.

36. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1236, ff. 15, 18v, 19, 20, 21v, 22v, 23v, 24v, 26v, 27.

37. E. Lee, Sixtus IV and Men of Letters (Temi e Testi, 26, Rome, 1978) 38-40, 83-5; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 326; Pastor, History, IV. 300-30 where Sixtus is defended from the charge that he was involved in the conspiracy.

38. It was not only Andreas' pension which was affected. Sixtus is reported to have promised to increase the pension of Leonardo Tocco, titular despot of Arta in 1480 but only if God granted an end to the wars: Gherardi, Diario, 12.

39. Gherardi, Diario, 81: `... hac presenti estate Rome eum vidimus, familia sordida et pannis obsitum et qui superioribus annis purpuram et siricum induebat assidue, vili nunc veste membra vix tegit'. While travelling back from Russia to Rome in July 1481, Andreas and his thirteen companions had stopped off at Mantua. They were lodged and fed at the expense of the Marquis who also provided a letter of recommendation to the Duke of Ferrara, in which he pointed out that Andreas was slightly related to the House of Malatesta and that he was in a state of dire penury: A. Bertolotti, `Varietà storico-gentilizie', Giornale Araldico-Genealogico-Diplomatico 16 (1888-9), No. lxiii, p. 46, citing Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copia Lettere.

40. ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali 851 ff. 280, 319v: for the month of January 1486 he only received sixty six ducats.

41. ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali 856, f. 1c. It seems thereafter to have been paid more regularly though: Ibid. ff. 1-76. On 16 January 1500, sixty ducats were ordered to be paid to the despot by the Pope for an unknown reason: ASVat Armario 29, vol. 53, f. 51v (orig. 49v); F. Russo, Registro Vaticano per la Calabria, III (Rome, 1977), no. 14231, p. 135 where the reference is incorrectly given as Armario 29, vol. 51.

42. E. Lauréault de Foncemagne, `Eclaircissements historiques sur quelques circonstances du voyage de Charles VIII en Italie et particulièrement sur la cession que

lui fit André Paléologue, du droit qu'il avoit à l'Empire de Constantinople', Mémoires de Littérature Tirés des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 28 (1769) 1-73, esp. 71-2: `... Serenissimus Rex operam dabit, et faciet, et curabit omnibus favoribus, et cum omni instantia qua poterit, quod proviso, alias eidem illustri Domino dispoto tempore foelicis recordationis Sixti Papae IV. mille VIII<sup>e</sup> (sic) Ducatorum annuatim solvendorum de pecuniis Cruciatæ constituta, eidem in futurum integraliter persolvetur'. (Copy in British Library, London, 896. a. 1).

43. Sphrantzes, Memorii, XLI. 8, p. 126.

44. Contemporary accounts give the numbers in Zoe's retinue as being between sixty and one hundred people: Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte - Nürnberg, IV (Leipzig, 1872) 330-1, V (Leipzig, 1874) 468-9; I. Martynov, Annus Ecclesiasticus Greco-Slavicus (Brussels, 1863) 134; Nikonian Chronicle, V. 150; G. Schuhmann, `Die "Kaiserin von Konstantinopel" in Nürnberg', Archive und Geschichtsforschung: Studien zur Fränkischen und Bayerischen Geschichte, Fridolin Solleder zum 80 Geburtstag dargebracht (Neustadt, 1966) 148-74; Fennell, Ivan the Great, 122-31.

45. They probably included John Hermetianos and the physician, Critopoulos, who had accompanied the Despot Thomas' children to Rome in 1465, Stamates Branas and Thomas Rhalles, who are mentioned as familiars in a Papal safe-conduct of 1474, and Mancaphas, Contos and Nicolas whom the Historia Politica credits with having advised the younger brother Manuel to leave Rome in 1476: ASVat Reg. Vat. 663, f. 551v; Lambros, Παλαιολογία, IV. 274; Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion, III. 533; Historia Politica, 34-5; Sphrantzes, Memorii, XLIII. 1, p. 130.

46. F. Forcellini, `Strane peripezie d'un bastardo di casa di Aragona', Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane 39 (1914), 212, n. 4. This Manuel Palaeologus may have

been the same man who witnessed a letter in the house of the despots in May 1467: Laurent and Guillou, Liber Visitationis, 209. He is to be distinguished from Andreas' younger brother of the same name who had left Italy for ever by 1481.

47. ASVat Reg. Vat. 681, ff. 2\*, 273 (orig. 276); Nikonian Chronicle, V. 157-8; R. Croskey, 'Byzantine Greeks in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Russia', The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe, ed. L. Clucas (New York, 1988) 38. Cavaces had been in Rome since at least 1467: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 2238, f. 155; S. Lilla, 'Gli Excerpta di Strabone fatti da Demetrio Raoul Cabakes nel codice Vat. Gr. 2238', Scriptorium 33 (1979) 68-75; A. Keller, 'Two Byzantine scholars and their reception in Italy', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 20 (1957) 363-70.

48. Gherardi, Diario, 81.

49. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1236, f. 33v and 1237, f. 85v; ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali 856, f. 1; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, 292.

50. ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata 1236, ff. 61v, 76, 88-89v and 1237, flyleaf; ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali 857, f. 30v; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, 292.

51. Lee, Sixtus IV, 174, n. 88. According to one story Gaza, however, left Rome in a rage because Sixtus only paid him fifty florins for his translation of Aristotle's De Animalibus: C.F. Börner, De Doctis Hominibus Graecis (Leipzig, 1750) 124-5.

52. For an example of the kind of uncritical admiration these intellectuals had for Rome, see Manuel Chrysoloras, Epistola ad Joannem Imperatorem, PG CLVI. 23-54; Demetrius Cydones, Apologia della propria fede, in G. Mercati, Notizie di Procuo e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota (ST 56, Vatican City, 1931) 359-435,

esp. 373; F. Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: a fourteenth century autobiographical source', Byzantine Studies 7 (1980) 57-71, esp. 67; H. Homeyer, 'Zur "Synkrisis" des Manuel Chrysoloras, einem Vergleich zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel', Klio 62 (1980) 525-34; D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine view of western Europe', Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 8 (1967) 315-39, esp. 333-7.

53. O. Halecki, Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome (Warsaw, 1930); J. Gill, The Council of Florence (Cambridge, 1959); R. Guiland, 'Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452-3)', Byzantinoslavica 14 (1953) 226-44; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 104-7.

54. ASVat Reg. Vat. 479, ff. 292v-293v (orig. 288v-289v); Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 224-5.

55. ASVat Reg. Vat. 518, ff. 71-75 (orig. 70-74); Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 241, 259-64; Zakythinios, Despotat, I. 289-90. Pius II wrote to the government of Florence asking for their help in the enterprise: G. Müller, Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'oriente (Florence, 1879) 189-90; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 248-50.

56. Gherardi, Diario, 81: 'Tamen navigantem in greciam non sine aliqua spe dominatus paterni, aureorum duobus milibus Pontifex est muneratus, quo postmodum appulerit mihi prorsus ignotum est'. Runciman, Fall, 184 incorrectly gives the amount as two million gold pieces.

57. Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 212, n. 4, citing the now-destroyed Cedole della tesoreria d'Aragona, reg. 99 (1481-2), f. 345v.

58. Runciman, Fall, 184. Gherardi is silent on this point.

59. Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 213, n. 1, citing Cedole della tesoreria d'Aragona, reg.

94 (1481), ff. 143, 144v, 146, 150, 153.

60. Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 358-62, 371-3, 381-2.

61. ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali 848, f. 96: 'In deductionem sue pensionis et subventionis familie sue'.

62. Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 373, n. 35 citing Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Bib. Magliab. ms I-III 256, f. 34.

63. ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 29, ff. 164-169 (orig. 154-159); Sathas, Documents, II. nos. 186-94, pp. 273-81, VI. 226; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 328-9.

64. Nikonian Chronicle, V. 225.

65. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris ms français 28669 (pièces originales, 2185), cote 49378, nos. 2 and 3; Archives Nationales, Paris K74, no. 32; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 301-4; Johannes Burchard, Diarium, ed. L. Thuasne, II (Paris, 1884) 667.

66. Public Record Office, London E404/81/1; C76/175, membrane 6; T. Rymer, Foedera, Conventiones, literae etc., V (The Hague, 1741) pt. IV, p. 40 (= XII. 470 in 1st ed.). At first sight, the identity of the visitor to England in January 1492 is not at all clear. In Henry VII's warrant to his treasurer, cited above, he was merely called 'the Greke for whom our holy ffadre the Pope and diverse cardinalles have written unto us'. In the version of the safe-conduct given by Rymer, he was described as 'Palaeologus ... Constantinopolitani imperii heredes'. The original of this latter document in the Treaty Rolls (C76), however, gave him his full name of Andreas Palaeologus. As the warrant is dated 16 January, the day before the safe-conduct, it therefore seems fair to assume that the nameless Greek was the claimant to the Byzantine throne.

67. Constantine Lascaris, Basilii Imp. Successorum Notitia, PG CLXI. 968; Zakythinus, Despotat, I. 293, n.3; Runciman, Fall, 184.

68. M. Jugie, 'Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en occident (1399-1403)', EOr 15 (1912) 322-32; G. Schlumberger, Un empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres (Paris, 1916); M.A. Andreeva, 'Zur Reise Manuels II nach West Europa', BZ 34 (1934) 37-47; D.M. Nicol, 'A Byzantine Emperor in England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal 2 (1970) 205-25.

69. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris ms français 15526, ff. 165-168; C. Halm, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, VII (Munich, 1875) no. 1266 (Gall. 650), p. 356; Foncemagne, 'Eclaircissements', 60-73; Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 461-3.

70. Foncemagne, 'Eclaircissements', 69-70; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 299-300; S.P. Lambros, 'Μετανάστευσις Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Νεαπόλεως', Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8 (1911) no. 8, 394-5. Andreas was not the first member of his family to contemplate such an arrangement. In 1399 John VII Palaeologus had offered to sell Constantinople to the king of France, in return for an annual pension and a French castle: S.P. Lambros, 'Ἰωάννης ζ' Παλαιολόγος ἀχώρησις τῆς βυζαντιακῆς αυτοκρατορίας δικαιωμάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Γαλλίας, Κάρολον ζ'', Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 10 (1913) 248-57.

71. Foncemagne, 'Eclaircissements', 71: '... Serenissimus Rex operam dabit, et totis viribus conabitur cum suis gentibus, et exercitibus tam terrestis quam maritimis, recuperare Regnum seu dispotatum Moreae ...'.

72. A drawing of the seal is preserved as Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover ms XXVI, 1520: S.P. Lambros, 'Σφραγίδες τῶν τελευταίων Παλαιολόγων', Νέος

Ελληνομνήμων 1 (1904) 416-32, esp. 426.

73. Burchard, Diarium, I. 174, 281, II. 425. Andreas' upbringing in Rome probably accounts for his not knowing that the title 'Emperor of Constantinople' had never been used by the Byzantine rulers themselves. They retained the dignity of 'Emperor of the Romans' (Βασιλεύς τῶν Ῥωμαίων) until 1453.

74. Witness his insistence that he be allowed to carry the same type of candle as the cardinals in a procession in the Sistine Chapel in 1486: Burchard, Diarium, I. 174.

75. Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 395n, 462.

76. Setton, Papacy and Levant, II. 462.

77. ASVat Fondo Borghese, vol. 1, 783, ff. 124-126 (orig. 125-127); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 4-5; Lambros, Παλαιολόγεια, IV. 297-8; W. Regel, 'Chrysobull of the Emperor Andreas Palaeologus of 13 April 1483' (in Russian with Latin text of document), VV 1 (1894) 157-8; G. Lancellotti, Poesie italiane e latine di Monsignor Angelo Colocci (Jesi, 1772) 177-8.

78. Three merchant vessels belonging to the despot were reported at Majorca in 1484: A. de la Torre, Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los reyes católicos, II (Barcelona, 1950) no. 60, pp. 58-9, no. 62, p. 60, no. 138, p. 124.

79. Burchard, Diarium, II. 558, III. 120.

80. ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 22, f. 190v (orig. 154v).

81. Zakythinos, Despotat, I. 295; Runciman, Fall, 184; Miller, Latins in Levant, 455; Nicol, Immortal Emperor, 116.

82. ASVat Introitus et Exitus 520, f. 150v (orig. 176v) and 532, f. 126v (orig. 207v); Gottlob, Aus der Camera, 142-3, 292; Runciman, Fall, 184; Nicol, Last Centuries, 401. On Charlotte, see G. Hill, A History of Cyprus, III (Cambridge, 1948) 582-612.

83. Geronimo Zurita, Anales de la corona de Aragon, V (Zaragoza, 1610) IV. 39, ff. 209v-210v; Enepekides, 'Das Wiener Testament', 138-43.