Latin missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650-1760: Between local religious culture and confessional determination

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Abstract of the thesis

This thesis examines the actions of the Latin missionaries in the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople between 1650 and 1760. In Constantinople as well as in other mission territories, missionaries were constantly confronted with the universal claims of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and the practical requirements of the local pluri-religious context. The main aim of this dissertation is to analyze how the missionaries acted within the local context of Constantinople.

In terms of methodology, this study combines the approaches of recent research on Early Modern Catholicism after the Council of Trent, of closely related research on extra-European local Christianities and of recent social and cultural research on the Ottoman Empire. In order to work out the processes of negotiation and appropriation between the different actors, the thesis adopts a micro-historical approach and an actor-focused perspective.

First, the thesis focuses on the institutional actors, as the representatives of the local Latin Catholics, the patriarchal vicars and missionaries as well as the ambassadors of the European powers. Secondly, the tensions between Roman standards and the local requirements are analyzed with regard to the Constantinopolitan sacramental practice regarding baptism, marriage and funeral rituals. Finally, issues related to the crossing of religious boundaries are explored.

The study reveals that the multi-religious structure of Constantinople and the strong position of the French ambassador limited the influence of the Roman Curia on the Latin Catholic community remarkably. Moreover, it emerges how, rather than represent Roman standards, the missionaries acted to a large extent as representatives of the local Latin Catholics.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research questions and hypothesis

Early modern missionaries were constantly confronted with the universal claims of the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic Church and the challenges of the local environments.

The Latin Catholic community in Constantinople represented an important territory for missionary activities of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church during the 17th and 18th centuries. At the centre of these activities were the missionaries, who were sent to the capital of the Ottoman Empire by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) and the superiors of their orders. The main aim of the present thesis is to work out how the ecclesiastic actors in Constantinople dealt with the local situation in Constantinople. The missionaries and patriarchal vicars acted as intermediaries between the local religious culture and the requirements of the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic Church. This study starts from the hypothesis that the missionaries acted as local players, and thus as part of the local church. In this perspective, not only were the missionaries not simply agents of the Roman Curia but they also acted as intermediaries towards the Latin Catholics of Constantinople, as towards the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome.

I intend to identify the specificities of religious culture in the Muslim and pluri-confessional context of Constantinople and thereby highlight the changes in the religious and social practices within the Latin Catholic community of the city as a result of negotiation processes between different local and European actors.

Thomas Bauer, a German Arabist and Islamic scholar, has pointed out that the early modern cultures of the Near East dominated by Islamic rulers were characterized by a high ambiguity tolerance. The concept of ambiguity tolerance developed in the field of cognitive psychology and Bauer claims that it is an important concept for cultural studies as well.[1] Whereas Bauer applied the concept only to Islamic cultures, I hypothesize that the ambiguity tolerance of the Latin missionaries in Constantinople was higher than in European territories. In the Constantinopolitan case ambiguity tolerance concerned primarily the relations with Eastern Churches and only in the second place relations with Islam.

To work out interactions and conflicts between the representatives of the local church and the Curia in Rome will be one of the main aims of the thesis. Deferring attitudes existed not only between the missionaries in Constantinople and the cardinals of the Curia in Rome but

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[1] Thomas Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität. Eine andere Geschichte des Islams* (Berlin, 2011).

also between the different Roman congregations. Important questions in this regard relate to the *marge de manoeuvre* of the missionaries.

Moreover, it will be of interest to identify in which points the missionaries diverged from the Tridentine norms and how they explained the divergences to other members of the clergy in Constantinople and the cardinals of the Roman congregations. It will be important not to assume that the members of the regular clergy in Constantinople or the cardinals in Rome acted as a consistent block but to discern, where possible, the individuals involved.

As the Latin Catholic community and the missionaries strongly depended on the protection on behalf of European powers, I shall highlight in particular the French attempts to act as protector of the Latin Catholic community and clergy in Constantinople, and the implication this secular protection had on religious issues. Furthermore, the strong links of the Jesuits and Capuchins to the French Crown, and how they affected the relations with the Dominicans and Franciscans who originated by a majority from the Italian peninsula, will be analyzed.

The relations between Latin Catholics and non-Catholics (Orthodox, Protestants and members of other Eastern Churches) as well as non-Christians (Muslims and Jews) in the pluri-religious and pluri-confessional context of Constantinople are a further point of interest. After Trent, the Catholic Curia tried to reinforce the boundaries between Catholics and non-Catholics as regards the correct sacramental practice and the implementation of a proper Catholic way of life. On the basis of the sacramental practice, the tensions between the correct administration of the sacraments as defined by the congregations of the Roman Curia and the adaptation to the local requirements were particularly strong. I shall analyze whether the attempts to establish confessional differentiation succeeded or not in the context of Constantinople where several Christian Churches co-existed. An interesting question in this regard will be how the missionaries' activities were affected by this situation of religious concurrence. Moreover, the question will be raised as to whether religious practices promoted or limited inter-community contacts and how the local clergy and the members of the Roman congregations reacted to contacts between Catholics and non-Catholics.

The research questions will be tested with regard to the hypothesis that the confessional differentiation was significantly stronger in the middle of the 18th century compared to one century before and consequently the boundaries between confessions were stronger.[2]

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[2] Bernard Heyberger arrives at this conclusion in his pathbreaking study about the Middle Eastern Christians. Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Rome, 1994).

1.2. Historiography

This study combines the approaches of recent research on early modern Catholicism after the Council of Trent and closely related research on extra-European local Christianities, and of recent social and cultural research on the Ottoman Empire, with a focus on social practices between different religious communities.

The postulation of the *Konfessionalisierungsparadigma* (confessionalization paradigm) by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling since the early 1980s can be seen as the most influential contribution to the scholarly discussion about the development of early modern Catholicism after the Reform. Behind the paradigm lies the assumption of a more or less synchronous development of the three major confessions – Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism – 'into internally coherent and externally exclusive communities distinct in institutions, membership, and belief'.[3] Reinhard and Schilling understand the concept of confessionalization not as a process within church history, but more generally as a universal, socio-historical process.[4] In this perspective, the process of confessionalization is closely linked to the concepts of *Sozialdisziplinierung* (social disciplining) and state-building.[5] The representatives of the classical *Konfessionalisierungsparadigma* stress that the three concepts – social disciplining, confessionalization, and modernization – are part of the same historical process.[6]

The strong emphasis on the disciplinary action of the early modern churches – the Protestant Churches as well as the Catholic Church – and the strong links to the process of state-building has provoked vehement criticism in recent years. Particular criticism has been

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[3] Heinz Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', in Thomas Allan Brady et al. (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995), pp. 641-682, p.641. See also Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977), pp. 226-251; Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (eds), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Gütersloh and Münster, 1995); Heinz Schilling, 'Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620', *Historische Zeitschrift* 246/1 (1988), pp. 1-45.

[4] Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?', in Reinhard and Schilling, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung,* pp. 419-452, p. 420; Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', p. 642.

[5] The authors make reference to the concept of social disciplining developed by Gerhard Oestrich. For Oestrich the capacity of disciplining the society is typical for the absolute state. The concept developed in close relations to Max Weber's sociology on political dominion and authority and to Norbert Elias' volumes on the 'Prozess der Zivilisation' (Civilizing Process). Reinhard and Schilling adapted the concept to the study of early modern processes of confessionalization. See Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 179-197.

[6] See Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Gegenreformation', in John Bossy (ed.), *Christianity in the West* (Oxford, 1987); Richard von Dülmen, 'Reformation und Neuzeit. Ein Versuch', in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 14 (1987), pp. 1-25; Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1996); Paolo Prodi (ed.), *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 1994); Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State. A Reassessment', *The Catholic Historical Review* 75/3 (1989), pp. 383-404; Heinz Schilling, 'Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft – Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas', in Reinhard and Schilling, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, pp. 1-49.

aimed at the top-down perspective of the approach, which sees the population simply as malleable and passive objects of processes controlled by the elite.[7]

From this criticism research with a new focus has developed. An important contribution in this respect is the study of Andreas Holzem, in which he examines the activity of Episcopal courts (*Sendgericht)* in the prince-bishopric Münster from the 16th century to the end of the 18th century. The author applies the concept of confessionalization as a heuristic instrument for the examination of the attempts undertaken by the ecclesiastic authorities to implement the norms of Trent within the rural population. Holzem shows that there was only an eclectic acculturation of the Catholic population. Furthermore, he highlights the continuing negotiation between the ecclesiastical authorities, the local clergy and the single believers, and concludes that the believers were indeed able to modify the structures and the shaping of religious practices.[8] Holzem rejects the traditional periodization of the confessionalization and proposes an alternative one, which he developed for his specific case study: The phase of implementation of the Tridentinum started only in the middle of the 17th century and continued until the middle of the 18th century.[9]

Methodologically interesting is the approach adopted by Hillard von Thiessen in his dissertation on the activities of the Capuchins in Freiburg und Hildesheim between the late 16th century and the middle of the 18th century. His starting assumption is – similar to Holzem – that the Tridentine norms were implemented through a process of appropriation between the different actors; in his case, between the Capuchins and the Catholic population. Thiessen defines religion in the appropriation of the people as religiosity which is part of the diurnal reality and not as a dogmatic inflexible system. According to Thiessen, religiosity was a part of the everyday culture and thus primarily a social practice implemented in a constant process of negotiation. In this view, the Capuchins on the one hand acted as agents of the Tridentine

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[7] See Heinrich Richard Schmidt, 'Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung', *Historische Zeitschrift* 265/3 (1997), pp. 639-682; Idem, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert* (München, 1992).

[8] Andreas Holzem, *Religion und Lebensformen: Katholische Konfessionalisierung im Sendgericht des Fürstbistums Münster 1570-1800* (Paderborn, 2000), p. 460f. For a similar approach see for instance: Albrecht Fischer, *Reformatio und Restitutio: Das Bistum Chur im Zeitalter der Glaubenserneuerung: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Priesterausbilddung und Pastoralreform (1601-1661)* (Zurich, 2000); Dominik Sieber, *Jesuitische Missionierung, priesterliche Liebe, sakramentale Magie: Volkskulturen in Luzern 1563-1614* (Basel, 2005); Marc Vernard, and Bernard Vogler, 'Die kollektiven Formen des religiösen Lebens', in Marc Vernard (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Christentums, Religion-Politik-Kultur. Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/30)* (Freiburg i.Br., 1992), pp. 959-1030.

[9] Holzem, *Religion und Lebensformen*, p. 458ff. The classical periodization sets the confessionalization between the Confessiones (1526) or the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

novelties, but, on the other hand, had to reconcile their positions with the position of the laity if they wanted to be successful in the process of bargaining.[10]

Holzem and Thiessen are two important representatives of a more recent historiography, which abandoned the strictly authoritarian perspective in favour of a social and cultural approach, emphasizing the crucial role of subaltern actors and pointing to the high variety of local contexts.

A similar perspective is also adopted by the historiography on local Christianities in the extra-European space which is based on the assumption that the Catholic Church is not one universal church, but rather composed of various local churches with their specific religious cultures. Whereas traditionally the focus lay on the history of the missions, in this perspective, the emergence of local Christianities is in the centre of interest.

Klaus Koschorke postulates a more polycentric perspective on the history of non-Western Christianities. Encounters and interactions between western European missionaries and indigenous societies led to a variety of models of Christianity with specific characteristics. Local people did not simply act as passive receivers of the missionaries' message, but on contrary, developed creative answers to the offer. According to Koschorke, the adaptation of a new faith would coercively modify the message by integrating it in a local reality.[11]

Particularly prolific was the approach of local Christianities in the context of Chinese and Indian Christianities. Erik Zürcher pointed out that the complex encounter between Christianity and Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism led to processes of accommodation towards local practices and consequently, Chinese Christianity has to be considered as a local Chinese religion.[12]

Nicolas Standaert arrives at a similar conclusion, studying the Christian missions in China, and puts his focus on the Orthopraxy – right praxis – instead of focusing on the Orthodoxy –

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[10] Hillard von Thiessen, *Die Kapuziner zwischen Konfessionalisierung und Alltagskultur. Vergleichende Fallstudie am Beispiel Freiburgs und Hildesheims* (Freiburg i. Br., 2002), p. 23. With regard to criticism towards the dichotomy between an autonomous popular culture and a dogmatically correct elite culture and the processes of appropriation, see also: Roger Chartier, 'Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France', in Steven L. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding Popular Culture* (Berlin, 1989), pp. 229-253, p. 233ff; Richard van Dülmen, 'Volksfrömmigkeit und konfessionelles Christentum im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in Wolfgang Schieder (ed.), *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1986), pp. 14-30, p. 14ff; Robert William Scribner, 'Cosmic Order and Daily Life. Sacred and Secular in preindustrial German Society', in Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (London, 1984), pp. 17-32.

[11] Klaus Koschorke (ed.), *Transkontinentale Beziehungen in der Geschichte des Aussereuropäischen Chrsitentums/ Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity* (Wiesbaden, 2002), p. 11f; see also Idem (ed.), *Christen und Gewürze. Konfrontation und Interaktion kolonialer und indigener Christentumsvarianten* (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 25-28.

[12] Erik Zürcher, 'Confucian and Christian Religiosity in late Ming China', *The Catholic historical review* 83/4 (1997), pp. 614-653; Idem, 'The Jesuit mission in Fujian in late Ming times: Levels of response', in Eduard B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 417-457.

right belief – as it has been done until recently. This shift of perspective allows the analysis of the respective adaptability and permeability of both Chinese and Christian ritual culture. Standaert emphasizes that the mutual exchange between Catholic missionaries seen as transmitters and Chinese receivers led to the creation of new forms of religious culture.[13] How local cultures shaped the encounter between the Christian missionaries and Chinese rural communities has been highlighted by Eugenio Menegon.[14]

For the Indian context, also Ines Županov emphasizes that the nature of religious practice is not automatically linked to coherent religious beliefs and she thus proposes to study the orthopraxy instead of orthodoxy. In the southern Indian territories, where the Jesuits were particularly active during the 16th and 17th centuries, the success or failure of the efforts of conversion was linked to the capacity of the missionaries and the local people to incorporate symbolic local expressions within the new forms of Christian sensibility and sociability.[15]

While in a completely different geographical context, the study of Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile on the Jesuit's missionary activities in Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries highlights how the Jesuits adjusted and transformed their initial project of converting the Indians in relation to the local requirements and global developments.[16]

The accommodation and adaptation to local practices was at variance with the definition of strict, universally valid norms on the part of the Roman Curia. In particular at the beginning of the 18th century, the Roman pontiffs and the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office increasingly tried to restrict local forms of Catholicism. The Chinese and Malabar Rites controversies were symptomatic in this regard.[17]

The cited authors adopt a micro-historical perspective by analyzing the religious practices in a specific local context and underline the creation and existence of local forms of

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[13] Nicolas Standaert, *The interweaving of rituals. Funerals in the cultural exchange between China and Europe* (Washington, 2008), pp. 3f; 214-228.

[14] Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, 2009).

[15] Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics. The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th Centuries)* (Michigan, 2005); Idem, 'Prosélytisme et pluralisme religieux: Deux expériences missionnaires en Inde aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 87 (1994), pp. 35-56.

[16] Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile. Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil 1580-1620* (Lisbon and Paris, 2000).

[17] For the Chinese Rites Controversy see for instance George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago, 1985); David E. Mungello (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy. Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal, 1994); Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites controversy: travelling books, community networks, intercultural arguments* (Rome, 2012). The literature on the Malabar Rites controversies is less developed. See Gita Dharampal, *La religion des Malabars. Tessier de Quéralay et la contribution des missionnaires européens à la naissance de l'indianisme* (Immensee, 1982); Sabina Pavone, 'Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: una controversia', in Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la dottrina della fede: Storia e Archivi dell'Inquisizione (Roma 21-23 febbraio 2008)* (Roma, 2011), pp. 145-161; Idem, 'Tra Roma e il Malabar: il dibattito intorno all'amministrazione dei sacramenti ai paria nelle carte dell'Inquisizione romana (secc. XVII-XVIII)', *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 31/1-2 (2010), pp. 647-680.

Catholicism in the Non-Western world. The context of the Ottoman Empire, within which the missionaries' activities focused not on the proselytism towards the Muslim population but rather on the assistance of the Catholic minorities and the union of the Eastern Churches with Rome, differs significantly from the mentioned case studies. In this regard the study of Christian Windler concerning the forms of religiosity within the Christian Diaspora in the Persian Empire of the Safavid has to be mentioned. He points out that individual practices which were defined by the local circumstances could develop in addition to the requirements of the Tridentine Catholic Church.[18] The emphasis on the influence which local conditions could have on the evolution of Catholicism, even in a period of aspiration for universalistic dogmatic rules, is an interesting aspect for my own project.

Important innovations have been developed in the history of missions. Until recently, the history of missions has been studied within national frameworks, focusing on the activities of one specific order and the perspective has primarily been apologetic. Furthermore, there was a clear division between research on internal missions – seen as action of religious renewal – and research on extra-European missions – seen as Christianization of the 'savages'.[19]

Internal mission has been defined by Bernadette Majorana and Adriano Prosperi as one of the most important pastoral initiatives in post-Tridentine Europe.[20] In the perspective of the Roman Curia, the population of rural areas was often only nominally Christian, not having any knowledge of basic prayers and living without sacramental assistance as the secular clergy did not have the necessary formation for an effective pastoral care and catechetical instruction.[21] Therefore, internal mission became important in order to conquest the rural masses spiritually. Research is particularly manifold for France and Italy but recently there has been some attention for Portugal and Spain as well. The majority of historians adopt a bottom-up perspective by focusing on the strategies and methods of the missionaries in a specific predominantly rural environment. This new secular direction of research puts the

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[18] Christian Windler, 'Konfessioneller Anspruch und kulturelle Vermittlung. Katholische Missionare im Safavidenreich', in Mark Häberlein and Alexander Keese (eds), *Sprachgrenzen – Sprachkontakte – kulturelle Vermittler. Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Aussereuropäern (16.- 20. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 75-93, p. 92.
[19] Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent, 'Introduction', in Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (eds), *Missions religieuses modernes. «Notre Lieu est le Monde»* (Rome, 2007), pp. 1-17, p. 1f.
[20] Bernadette Majorana, 'Une pastorale spectaculaire. Missions et missionnaires Jésuites en Italie (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle), *Annales HSS* 57/2 (2002); Idem, 'Missionarius/ Concionator. Note sulla Predicazione dei Gesuiti nelle Campagne (XVII-XVIII secolo)', *Aevum* 73/3 (1999), pp. 807-829, p. 807; Propseri, Adriano, 'Missioni popolari e visite pastorali in Italia tra '500 e '600', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, in the following *MEFRIM* 109/2 (1997), pp. 767-783, p. 767.
[21] Adriano Prosperi reports the experiences of the Jesuit missionary Silvestro Landini who went to Corsica. The missionary wrote in his letters the sentence: 'Questa isola sarà la mia India' and called the rural population 'selvaggi interni'. Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Torino, 2002), pp. 551-561.

order and its members in the centre with regard to political, social but also cultural questions and has been particularly copious for Jesuit studies, whereas there still is a lack of similar studies for missionaries of other orders.[22] It should be stressed, however, that these studies remain predominantly in a national framework. Nevertheless, it is possible to adopt a comparative perspective by confronting the Italian findings with studies regarding other geographic areas.[23]

Only recently a comparative perspective on internal and extra-European missions has been adopted in research. According to Bernard Dompnier, the division of the two fields of activity was mirrored in the institutions of the Curia. The congregation of Propaganda Fide was responsible for the extra-European missions and the missions in Protestant areas, but not for missions in Catholic territories.[24] Despite this institutional division, there were permanent interactions between internal and extra-European missions.

A dialectic relation existed between the two activities as the missionaries of the internal apostolic work refer constantly to the mission in remote places by calling the rural environment *Indie interne*.[25] Furthermore, letters written from remote places of mission to the authorities of the orders were also read by missionaries who concentrated on the mission in European territories and could increase the motivation of the latter.[26] Finally, there was an important circulation of men, texts and consequently of pastoral methods and practices as the majority of the missionaries were engaged in the internal mission as well as in the extra European mission.[27] Adriano Prosperi goes one step further by underlining that the two missionary movements developed together and mutually influenced the practices.[28]

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[22] Paolo Broggio et al., 'Introduction', in Idem (eds), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento* (Brescia, 2007), pp. 5-18, p. 5f.

[23] See the collection of articles published by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent with several articles on internal mission on the Iberian Peninsula: Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (eds), *Missions religieuses modernes. «Notre Lieu est le Monde»* (Rome, 2007).

[24] Bernard Dompnier, 'Commentaires', in Fabre and Vincent (eds), *Missions religieuses modernes*, pp. 307-313, p. 310.

[25] See for instance: Adriano Prosperi, '"Otras Indias": Missionari della Controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi', in Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura': Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 26-30 giugno 1980)* (Firenze, 1982), pp. 205-234.

[26] Paolo Broggio, '*L'Acto de Contrición* entre Europe and nouveaux mondes. Diego Luis de Sanvítores et la circulation des stratégies d'évangelisation de la compagnie de Jésus au XVIIe siècle', in Fabre and Vincent, *Missions religieuses modernes*, pp. 229-259, p. 230f.

[27] Dompnier, 'Commentaires', p. 313. For a comparative perspective on internal and external mission see also the contributions of the research group on the modern Iberian missions published in 1999 in the Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Charlotte de Castelnau et al., 'Politiques missionnaires sous le Pontificat de Paul IV. Un document interne de la Compagnie de Jésus en 1558', *MEFRIM* vol. 111/1 (1999), pp. 277-344; Andréa Daher, 'Écrire la langue indigène. La grammaire tupi et les catéchismes bilingues au Brésil (XVIe siècle)', *MEFRIM* vol. 111/1 (1999), pp. 231-250; Dominique Deslandres, '«Des ouvriers formidables à l'enfer». Épistémè et missions jésuites au XVIIe siècle', *MEFRIM* 111/1 (1999), pp. 251-276; Hervé Pennec, 'Ignace de Loyola et le royaume du prêtre Jean. Projet et malentendus', *MEFRIM* vol. 111/1 (1999), pp. 203-229.

[28] Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, p. 561.

Antonella Romano points out how the experience of the American missions was integrated into the new European cartography of knowledge by studying the texts of Antonio Possevino and José de Acosta. An important element in this respect was the development of the *Ratio Studiorum* within the Society of Jesus, which represented the intellectual framework for Possevino who remained in an European context as well as for Acosta who, on the contrary, was active in the American 'new world'. The author emphasizes that towards the end of the 16th century, there was an increasing production of natural and moral histories of remote territories that represented the space of activity for the Jesuit missionaries.[29]

For my study within the context of the Ottoman Empire, the discussion concerning the interactions and exchanges between the internal and extra-European missions is of particular interest since the external mission was also internal.[30] After the foundation of Propaganda Fide, the Roman Curia redoubled its efforts to gain control over the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, to implement the Tridentine norms in order to create a correct Catholic way of life among the believers and to promote union with the Eastern Churches.[31] The most important volume in this context is the study of Bernard Heyberger on the effects of the Catholic Reform on the society, the behaviour and the mentality of the Oriental Catholics in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. Heyberger highlights the active role of the Ottoman Christians in the dynamic process of contact and acculturation, which was characterized by its complexity, its ambiguity and its contradictions, and for which the local peculiarities were determining. One main focus of his study is on the mediators, the missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide, who were in charge of the introduction of the novelties in the fields of religion, education and morals among the members of the Oriental Catholics. Heyberger concludes that, even if Roman and local elements continued to persist, by the end of the 17th century changes had taken place in the religious and social practices of the local Catholics as an effect of the implementation of the doctrines of the Tridentinum. Through a corpus of specific Catholic behaviours, the Oriental unified Catholics distinguished themselves from their environment.[32]

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[29] Antonella Romano, 'L'expérience de la mission et la carte européenne des savoirs sur le monde à la Renaissance: Antonio Possevino et José de Acosta', in Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci and Stefania Pastore (eds), *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi vol. II* (Pisa, 2011), pp. 159-169.

[30] Fabre and Vincent, 'Introduction', p. 13.

[31] For the history of the union with the Eastern Churches see: Ingo Herklotz, *Die Academia Basiliana. Griechische Philologie,, Kirchengeschichte und Unionsbemühungen im Rom der Barberini* (Freiburg i.Br., 2008); Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kirchenunionen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Fribourg, 2010); Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Das wechselvolle Verhältnis zwischen den Kirchen des Ostens und des Westens im Lauf der Kirchengeschichte* (Würzburg, 1996).

[32] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*. See also Bernard Heyberger, *Hindiyya (1720-1798), mystique et criminelle* (Paris, 2001); Bernard Heyberger, 'Le catholicisme tridentin au Levant (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)', *MEFRIM* 101/2 (1989), pp. 897-909.

Another important study on the Latin presence in the Ottoman Empire was published by B.J. Slot. After the Ottoman conquest of the Cyclades Islands, Propaganda Fide started to send Jesuits and Capuchins to the islands. An increasingly conflictual attitude on behalf of the Orthodox Church towards the Catholic population of the islands in the second half of the 17th century, and the likewise stricter attitude of the Catholic Church, led to a continuous deterioration of the Catholic – Orthodox relations in the second half of the 17th century and the 18th century, which culminated in the almost complete separation of the Orthodox and Catholic population in the second half of the 18th century.[33]

Research on the developments of the religious practices of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople is scarce for the 17th and 18th centuries. Publications on the Latin Catholics in Constantinople exist but they are predominantly of an older date or concentrate on the history of one specific order. The authors of the studies generally concentrate on describing the history of the churches and orders that were present in the Eastern Mediterranean.[34] An author of more recent research is Charles A. Frazee, who published a compendium for the history of the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire from the conquest of Constantinople to the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. However, the long time-frame and the immense geographical horizon taken into consideration do not allow the author to go into depth.[35] Religious practices and interactions between different actors in Constantinople and Rome are not in the focus of the mentioned studies.

One important group within the Latin Catholics was represented by the European merchant communities. Compared to the historiography on the group of Latin Catholics as a whole, research of the European 'nations'[36], which goes back to the 19th century and which has

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[33] B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus: les cylcades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane 1500-1718* (2 vols, Leiden, 1982), vol.1, p. 276.

[34] See for instance François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople* (Paris, 2nd ed., 1894); Auguste Carayon (ed.), *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant* (Poitiers, 1864); Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Le couvent et l'église des Saint-Pierre-et-Paul à Galata: précis historique* (Istanbul, 1935); Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente* (3 vols, Verona, 1973-1976); Georg Hofmann, *Il Vicariato Apostolico di Costantinopoli 1453-1830. Documenti con introduzione, 7 illustrazioni ed indici dei luoghi e delle persone* (Rome, 1935); William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921); Gabriel de Mun, 'L'introduction des Jésuites à Constantinople sous le règne d'Achmet Ier, 1603-1617', *Revue des questions historiques* 74 (1903), pp. 163-172; Antoine Rabbath (ed.), *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient* (Paris, 1905); A. Trannoy, 'La 'nation latine' de Constantinople', *Echos d'Orient* 15 (1912), pp. 246-256; Tommaso M. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* (Rome, 1999). There is some more recent research: see Rinaldo Marmara, *La communauté levantine de Constantinople. De l'Empire Byzantin à la République Turque* (Istanbul, 2012); Gualberto Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli* (2 vols, Florence, 1967).

[35] Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: the Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (Cambridge, 1983).

[36] In the specific context of the Ottoman Empire, 'nation' describes a community of Christian merchants under the jurisdiction of a European ambassador or consul. The geographic provenance and commercial activity of its members were the constitutive elements of the 'nation'. The existence of the 'nations' was based on their privileges, which the Ottoman Sultan accorded primarily to Republic of Venice and the French King, and, later

followed mainly a national pattern of analysis, is significantly more developed. Particularly numerous are the works on the French, Genoese and Venetian colonies but there are also studies on the Dutch, English and German trade in the Ottoman Empire. In recent years the older historiography has been complemented with important contributions, such as the volume of Edhem Eldem on the French merchants in Constantinople, the study of Erik Dursteler on the Venetians in the Ottoman capital city, the volume of Suraiya Faroqhi on European merchants in the Ottoman Empire, and the publications of Elena Frangakis-Syrett on the European commerce of Smyrna.[37]

Ottoman subjects of European provenance belonging to the Latin Catholic Church – often called Levantines – have been studied less than the European Latin Catholics. One major contribution is the volume by Oliver Jens Schmitt on the ethno-confessional group of the Levantines in the 19th century. Schmitt emphasizes the juridical heterogeneity within the group: Firstly, the group consisted of Levantines who were simply Ottoman subjects; secondly, it consisted of Ottoman subjects under the protection of a European power and finally, it consisted of Levantines who were full citizens of a European power. According to the author, the affiliation to the Roman Catholic Church was constitutive for the Levantine identity and limited the relevance of the legal difference.[38] Within the group of Ottoman Latin Catholics, particular attention has recently been drawn to the dynasties of the dragomans – Ottoman interpreters for European legations – and, more generally, on Levantines who acted as mediators between the Ottoman authorities and the European merchants.[39]

The discussed studies on the Latin Catholics in early modern Constantinople take issues related to the religious practices and the interactions between local actors and Roman actors only marginally into account.

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on, to other European rulers. See Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Levantiner. Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im Osmanischen Reich im „langen 19. Jahrhundert"* (Munich, 2005), p. 19.

[37] See for instance Hilaire de Barenton, *La France catholique en Orient* (Paris, 1902); Tommaso Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera* (Genova, 1888); Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1896); Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1911); Louis Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10/1 (1979), pp. 71-91; Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi* (Florence, 1975). More recent studies: Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, identity and coexistence in the early modern Mediterranean*, (Baltimore and London, 2006); Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1999); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris, 2008); Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna in the 18th century (1700-1820)* (Athens, 1992); Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State. The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999).

[38] Schmitt, *Levantiner*, pp. 328-336.

[39] See Mathieu Grenet, 'Alexis Gierra, "interprète juré de langues orientales" à Marseille: une carrière entre marchands, frères et refugiés (fin XVIIIe-premier tiers du XIXe siècle)', in Gilbert Buti, Michèle Janin-Thivos and Olivier Raveux (eds), *Langues et langages du commerce en Méditerranée et en Europe à l'époque moderne* (Aix-en-Provence, 2012), pp. 51-64; Bernard Heyberger (ed.), *Hommes de l'entre-deux: parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée, XVIe - XXe siècle* (Paris, 2009); Frédéric Hitzel (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales* (Paris, 1997); Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte ottomane* (Istanbul, 2003).

As the Latin Catholic presence in Constantinople and the whole Ottoman Empire was based on the capitulations between the European powers and the Sublime Porte, and depended largely on the protection of the French king, the historiography on these subjects has to be taken into consideration. The study of Maurits H. van den Boogert on the capitulations and the Ottoman legal system is of fundamental relevance in this respect and has substituted the older historiography.[40]

An important issue for the Latin presence in Constantinople was the protection of the French king and consequently the claims of the French ambassadors to influence the ecclesiastic affairs. Concurrently, the Roman Curia continued to postulate the independence of the missionaries from any political power and never acknowledged the protection of the French king officially, although it was empirically accepted.[41] As Emanuel Caron pointed out, the protection and assistance of a French form of Catholicism and the promotion of French commerce were the two central points of the French policy in the Ottoman Empire during the rule of Louis XIV.[42]

The conflicts and interactions between the French ambassadors in Constantinople and the Roman Curia have to be put in the larger context of the developments of the Gallican Church. Although there is no clear definition of Gallicanism, two fundamental principles can be identified. In the first place, the representatives of the Gallican church emphasized that the pontiffs did not have temporal authority in France and, in the second place the Roman pontiffs were subject to the authority of the general Church council. A further element of controversy between the Holy See and the French king was represented by the fact that the decrees of the Council of Trent were not valid in the French territories. Particularly tense was the relationship between Paris and Rome towards the end of the 17th century due to the quarrels on the expansion of Louis XIV's regalia rights and the declaration of the four articles by the French clergy.[43]

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[40] Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system: qadis, consuls and berats in the 18th century* (Leiden, 2005).

[41] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 267.

[42] Caron, Emmanuel, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicanisme dans la politique de la France à l'égard de l'Empire Ottoman à la fin du XVIIe siècle', *XVIIe siècle* 50 (1998), pp. 359-372, p. 368.

[43] For the history of Gallicansim see: Brigitte Basdevant-Gaudemet, 'Autorité du pape, du roi ou des évêques d'après le *Discours sur les Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane* de Claude Ferry', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 86/4 (2008), pp. 523-538; Pierre Blet, *Les assemblées du clergé et Louis XIV de 1673-1693* (Rome, 1972); Pierre Blet, *Le clergé de France Louis XIV et le Saint Siège de 1695-1715* (Rome, 1989); Sylvio Hermann de Franceschi, *La crise théologico-politique du premier âge baroque. Antiromanisme doctrinal, pouvoir pastoral et raison du prince: le Saint-Siège face au prisme français (1607-1627)* (Rome, 2009); Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, 2004); Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVIe siècle. Essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris, 2002).

Of particular interest for my topic are studies on the multiethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern times and, more specifically, on the non-Muslim population and the relations between European powers and the Ottoman Empire. As Eric Dursteler has pointed out, historiography insisted for long decades on the fundamental opposition between Christian Europe and the Muslim Ottoman Empire and these works were based on the assumption of a 'clash of civilization'. Only recent research has abandoned the binary narrative of opposition in favour of a more 'nuanced view of culture and cultural interaction'.[44] Recent research has shown that the boundaries between the different religious communities in the Ottoman Empire were far more permeable than was traditionally presumed.[45] Conversions to Islam represented the most evident form of crossing religious boundaries and the historiography was correspondingly extensive.[46]

Research on the multiethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire has dealt implicitly or explicitly with issues related to the tolerance and limits of tolerance of the Ottoman authorities towards non-Muslim communities. It has been pointed out by Thomas Bauer that Christians and Jews despite the fact that non-Muslims ranked below the Muslims, were completely integrated into the Ottoman urban culture and that the presence of Christian and Jewish communities in the Ottoman cities and villages was taken for granted.[47]

Whereas generally recent research emphasizes the substantial tolerance of Ottoman Islam and the Ottoman sultans towards non-Muslim communities, Marc David Bauer highlights a period of Islamization in Istanbul and the whole Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), which put enormous pressure on the Christian and Jewish communities. Baer argues that during a period of economic and military crises, political instability and religious redefinition inspired by the Kadızadeli movement, the Islamization of the districts of Constantinople which were populated by Christians and Jews represented a

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[44] Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, pp. 6-8.
[45] See for instance: Vera Costantini et al. (eds), *Living in the Ottoman ecumenical community: Essays in honour of Suraiya Faroqhi* (Leiden, 2008); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: culture and daily life in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2011); Molly Greene, *A shared world: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, 2000); Cemal Kafadar, *Between two worlds: The construction of the Ottoman state* (Berkley and Los Angeles, 1995); Schmitt, *Levantiner*; Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi. Identités et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIIIᵉ et XIXᵉ siècles* (Leiden, 2005); Lucette Valensi, 'La Tour de Babel: groupes et relations ethniques au Moyen-Orient et en Afrique du Nord', *Annales ESC* 41/4 (1986), pp. 817-838.
[46] See for instance: Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles* (Paris, 1989); Bernarad Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions chez les chrétiens orientaux (XVIIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles), in Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen/ Islamic Conversions. Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam* (Paris, 2011), pp. 245-258; Tijana Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam: narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, 2011); Lucette Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation in the Middle East (17ᵗʰ to 19ᵗʰ centuries)', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39/2 (1997), pp. 251-269.
[47] Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität*, p. 353.

visible sign of the authority of the sultan and his high officials.[48] Baer's study shows impressively to what extent the Latin Catholics and other non-Muslim communities depended on the benevolence of the sultan and the sultan's closer environment. His findings are also relevant for the Latin Catholics in the second half of the 17th century and thus for the present study.

Important developments have been made in research relating to the Ottoman urban centres with a focus on the economic activities of the members of the different communities and how they shaped the urban space.[49] Noteworthy in this regard is the collection of articles published by Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, in which the authors work out how the different Muslim and non-Muslim communities modelled the urban space in search of a way of delineating it. The authors highlight on the one hand the almost natural territorialisation of the space by the communities and emphasize on the other hand that this communitarian space was permeable and offered various possibilities for inter-community relations. The segregation of the urban society responded to the need of visibility in the city and was an instrument for the affirmation of the respective identities. At the centre of the communitarian life were the places of worship and the sociability within the communities developed around them.[50] For the Latin Catholics of Constantinople in the 17th century, Elisabetta Borromeo points out that the visibility of the community in the city increased during religious holy days, when believers had the permission of the Ottoman authorities to exit the closed space of the churches. Christian holy days were also a moment for inter-community contact, and on special occasions even the churches became a place of contact between different religions and confessions.[51] In this study I shall analyse whether the visibility of the Latin Catholics changed between the 17th and 18th centuries and how the members of the clergy and the community tried to shape it.

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[48] Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford, 2008); Idem, 'The 1660 Fire and the Islamization of Space in Istanbul', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36/2 (2004), pp. 159-181. The Kadızadeli movement had its origins in the 1620s and 1630s. It was the most influential 17th century Islamic movement in the Ottoman Empire and it began with a preacher called Kadızade Mehmed Efendi who converted from one interpretation of piety to another. The movement rejected Sufi orders and any forms of religious syncretism. Moreover, the leaders of the movement contended that true Islam had been corrupted over time and they urged the believers to renew their faith and to return to the straight path. Followers of the movement were obliged to promote the Qur'anic commands among the Muslims as among the members of other religious communities. See, Baer, *Honored by the glory of Islam*, pp. 64-66.

[49] Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (eds), *The Ottoman city between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge, 1999); Edhem Eldem (ed.), *Première rencontre international sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie modern, Insitut Nationale des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 18-22 janvier 1985. I. Recherches sur la ville ottomane: le cas du quartier de Galata* (Istanbul and Paris, 1991); Robert Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1996).

[50] Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, 'Vivre ensemble en pays d'islam: territorialisation et marquage identitaire de l'espace urbain', *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 107-110 (2005), pp. 9-30, p. 11.

[51] Elisabetta Borromeo, 'Les catholiques à Constantinople: Galata et les églises de rite latin au XVIIe siècle', *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 107-110 (2005), pp. 227-243, p. 237f.

Another approach adopted by the predominantly French group of historians and Islamic scholars working with François Georgeon and Paul Dumont examines the intra- and inter-community sociability in the Ottoman Empire. The work of this group marks an important shift in the research from studying the different communities of the Ottoman Empire separately and on the basis of their juridical status to highlighting their social interactions and, more generally, their social practices.[52] In other words, in the 90s and at the beginning of the new century we note a general shift from a rather juridical-institutional approach to an approach of social and cultural history for research on the religious communities of the Ottoman Empire. Georgeon and Dumont's study is methodologically based on Max Weber's definition of sociability, which includes all forms of interactions between individuals above family relations and beneath the institutions. The authors concentrate almost exclusively on the members of the trans-community urban elite and take the effects of religious practices and ceremonies only marginally into account.[53]

Analysis of the 'Levantine identity' and of inter-community contact are also the two main goals of Oliver Jens Schmitt's study: He elaborates the group and individual identity of the Levantines in a moment dominated by the emergence of nationalism and the communication between Levantines and other ethno-confessional communities of Constantinople and Smyrna. Schmitt points out that the Levantine conception of identity was based on a confessional fundament, but that at the same time, the multi-religious environment and the concurrence of Churches on the spot left several options open to the Levantines with regard, for instance, to the choice of spouses.[54]

A similar approach was adopted by Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis in her study on the relational structures of the urban society in Smyrna in the second half of the 18th century and in the 19th century with a focus on the French 'nation'.[55] Smyrnelis adopts three different perspectives through which she elaborates the complexity of the society of the Anatolian city, namely an

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[52] François Georgeon and Paul Dumont (eds), *Vivre dans l'Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIᵉ-XXᵉ siècles)* (Paris, 1997); Idem (eds), *Villes ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire* (Paris, 1992).
[53] See for instance the article of Georgeon in the study on Sociability: In the 18th and 19th centuries Ramadan was predominantly celebrated in the public space, then, in the 20th century Ramadan became a private celebration. The author identifies the years between 1860 and 1910 as the 'Golden Age' of Ramadan in Istanbul, when the Islamic month of fasting occupied an exceptional place in the cultural and social life of the city. It was a month of leisure, of distraction and also of more freedom for the citizens. As Ramadan was celebrated in the public space, the Ottoman Muslim society opened also to the non-Muslim communities of the city. Then, after the Revolution of the Young Turks – in a period of secularization of the state and the society – the profane elements of Ramadan disappeared and it became an existentially religious and private celebration. As one consequence, the non-Muslim population was completely excluded. François Georgeon, 'Le Ramadan à Istanbul de l'Empire à la République', in Georgeon and Dumont, *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 31-113.
[54] Schmitt, *Levantiner*.
[55] Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*.

institutional, a relational and a spatial one. Her approach is mainly micro-historical but at the same time she combines it with statistical and collective data. One of the main goals of her study is to show how the individual members of the French 'nation' could play with different expressions of their identities (*jeux d'identité*): On the one hand, the 'nation' exercised strict control over its members in everyday life, but, on the other hand, there was some *marges de manoeuvre* for individuals who wished to overcome the boundaries.[56] All in all, both Schmitt and Smyrnelis study sociability from a social perspective, using network analysis; moreover, both are primarily concerned with the 19th century.

The mentioned studies with their focus on sociability and the concept of identity in the Ottoman Empire between the 16th and the 20th centuries were important to supersede old assumptions which stressed the segregation and the, if at all, relations full of conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims. The shift of scale from a macro- to a micro-historical approach was important for this development. The role of religious practices in the everyday culture and the interaction between different actors is only one secondary aspect of these studies. It is exactly this little studied aspect of the religious practices which will be at the centre of my research.

1.3. Methodology and period of examination

Central to my study are the missionaries in Constantinople and their double mediating role towards the Latin Catholics in the Ottoman capital city and towards the members of the Curia in Rome. I shall adopt an actor-centred perspective (*akteurszentrierte Perspektive)* in this research.

Important contributions to the actor-centred perspective have been made by the representatives of micro-history (*microstoria*).[57] The concept of micro-history was developed within a small group of Italian historians in the late 1970s and in the 1980s was intensively discussed by the historians of the French *Annales* such as Jacques Revel and Bernard Lepetit. It has been pointed out that there is no clear definition of the concept of micro-history but that there is rather heterogeneous research with a strong empirical character. The shift to a micro-historical scale and the intensive study of documentary material represent the essential

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[56] Ibid.
[57] The series *Microstorie* published by Einaudi from 1981 and the review *Quaderni Storici* published by 'Il Mulino' were central to the development of micro-history.

elements of micro-history.[58] Giovanni Levi, one of its major representatives studied how individuals or groups followed their own strategies within the gaps of normative systems and he arrives at the conclusion that these interventions had an impact on the political reality. Levi emphasizes that even though it is not possible to repel forms of power, the subaltern actors were able to influence the authorities and to assert modifications on them.[59] The interpretative capacities of the historical actors is also emphasized by Bernard Lepetit who concludes that with a micro-historical approach the actors can be valorised.[60]

Several exponents of the micro-history have pointed to the importance of studying the dynamics of macro-processes on a micro-scale. In this perspective, social actors who traditionally were absent and passive, emerge and become important elements in the process. The focus of the analysis lies on phenomena such as circulation, negotiation and appropriation without denying the power relations within the studied societies.[61]

The micro-scale of our study should, however, be combined with a broad contextualisation. The interactions and developments within the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople were not an isolated local unit but part of complex stakes (*enjeux*) of Ottoman policy, the relations of different European powers in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, as well as the evolution within the Roman Curia. The missionaries themselves incorporated these *enjeux*. In the first place, they acted as members of the Latin Catholic clergy in the parishes of Constantinople and adapted to the local conditions. They were equally affiliated to the universal post-Tridentine Catholic Church and to a religious order with a specific orientation in religious and intellectual terms. Finally, the geographic origins of the missionaries had shaped them linguistically and culturally and the links with an European power could influence their relations and activities in the Ottoman Empire.

Likewise, the majority of the local Latin Catholics were linked with a specific European 'nation', originating frequently from another Mediterranean city and at the same time they were connected to the Ottoman society through commercial activities.

In this perspective the Latin Catholics of Constantinople as well as the members of the clergy present in Constantinople were acting subjects in the processes of appropriation. These processes were characterized by continuous negotiation between the different actors in

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[58] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 93-113, p. 95; Jacques Revel, 'Micro-analyse et construction du social', in Jacques Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience* (Paris, 1996), pp. 15-36, p. 16-19.
[59] Giovanni Levi, *Das immaterielle Erbe. Eine bäuerliche Welt an der Schwelle zur Moderne* (Berlin, 1986), p. 9. The study was first published in 1985: *L'eredità immateriale. Carriera di un esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento* (Turin, 1985).
[60] Bernard Lepetit, 'De l'échelle en histoire', in Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles*, pp. 71-94, p.80.
[61] Revel, 'Micro-analyse et construction du social', p. 30.

Constantinople and Rome which led to modifications of the original intentions of – in my case – Propaganda Fide, and, more generally, of the Roman Curia. I will use the term appropriation following Roger Chartier who underlines that 'cultural consumption is at the same time a form of production, which creates ways of using that cannot be limited to the intentions of those who produce'. In this view, cultural consumption is no longer seen 'as passive or dependent and submissive but as creative and it sometimes resists suggested or imposed models'.[62] An important focus of this study will therefore lie on the transformation of norms and practices in the Constantinopolitan Latin Catholic parishes.

It is not an aim of this study to discuss extensively the historiography of the field of community studies.[63] The focus on the missionaries as actors between the requirements of the universal Catholic Church and the local conditions and the nature of the sources, do not allow a more in-depth analysis of issues related to the construction of the Latin Catholic community. Nevertheless a few considerations should be made with regard to the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople. Oliver Jens Schmitt described the Levantines as a 'group defined by the religious confession with a supranational character which had a rather limited numerical weight'.[64] The same definition is applicable to the whole group of Latin Catholics in Constantinople which consisted of Latin Ottoman subjects with European origins and Latin subjects of European powers living in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.[65]

Two important characteristics have to be emphasized in relation with the group of Latin Catholics. In the first place, the Latin Catholics in the Ottoman Empire were not a legally recognised community in comparison to the other ethno-confessional non-Muslim communities. The Latin Catholics did not have any political or administrative structures. In the second place, the affiliation to the Latin Catholic Church was the only common element of the group as language, origins and the legal status in the Ottoman Empire deferred.[66]

Following the argumentation of Alan Macfarlane a community can be identified as 'a unit which it is believed has some internal structure which is more than random, in other words a "system" of some kind'.[67] In our case, the 'internal structure' or 'system' is represented by the affiliation to the Latin Catholic Church. As Mathieu Grenet has pointed out, the definition of a

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[62] Chartier, 'Culture as a appropriation', p. 234.
[63] For a detailed discussion of the research in the field of community studies see the PhD thesis of Mathieu Grenet on the Greek communities in Venice, Livorno and Marseilles which was presented in 2010 at the European University Institute in Florence. Mathieu Grenet, *La Fabrique Communautaire. Les Grecs à Venise, Livourne et Marseille, v. 1770-v. 1830* (EUI Florence, 2010). The thesis can be consulted on the following link: http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/14698. Last access, 15.5.2013
[64] Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 15.
[65] For a more detailed analysis of the different groups within the community see chapter 2 of this thesis.
[66] Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 14f.
[67] Alan Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 4.

group as a community should not cover the heterogeneity of the studied group in order not to create an erroneous sense of homogeneity.[68] Grenet identifies a double nature for every community: in the first place, a community is an empirical reality consisting of a group of individuals which is distinct from other groups or from other people in the larger society through its way of life or patterns of behaviour. In the second place, a community is a symbolic construction which reflects the perception of a boundary by its members which distinguishes and separates them from other social groups.[69] These theoretical constructions of community can be adapted to the community of Latin Catholics in Constantinople.

However, the definition of a community through its religious identity is problematic. During the early modern period, religion remained one of the primary elements of individual and group identity. This was particularly the case in the Ottoman Empire where people used to be classified by religion. As Eric Dursteler has pointed out, identity had a fluid and socially constructed character in the early modern period. The fluidity of identities was also represented by the mobility of merchants and others, who moved within the Mediterranean and adapted to the culture of their new homes.[70] Dursteler argues that 'early modern identity was multilayered, multivalent, and composite'.[71]

Despite the reservations developed in particular by Eric Dursteler, I shall use the term Latin Catholic community in order to define the whole group of Latin Catholics in Constantinople. The affiliation to the Roman Catholic Church will thereby represent the collective identity which keeps the community together. Following the example proposed by Paolo Prodi, I shall define collective identity as a 'bond of affinity which is dynamic but has a certain kind of stability and which is passed on from one generation to another of an individual to a specific social group with the sharing of values, norms and representations'.[72] This definition does not exclude that the Latin Catholics in Constantinople had other affiliations which were important for their identity but it identifies the affiliation to Roman Catholicism as one important bond.

The period under examination will start with the 1650s and end with the 1750s. In the 1650s, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide assigned Episcopal dignity to the patriarchal vicar of

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[68] Grenet, *La Fabrique Communautaire*, p. 54.
[69] Ibid., p. 54f. See also Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London, 1985) for the symbolic construction of a community and Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, 'The importance of "Community" in the Process of Immigrant Assimilation', *International Migration Review* 1/1 (1966), pp. 5-16, p. 6, for the empirical reality of the community.
[70] Dursteler *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 10f., p. 18.
[71] Ibid., p. 20.
[72] Paolo Prodi, 'Introduzione: Evoluzione e metamorfosi delle identità collettive' in Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (eds), *Identità collettive tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Bologna, 2002), pp. 9-27, p. 11.

Constantinople.[73] From the middle of the 17th century onwards, the interactions between the missionaries and vicars in Constantinople with the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome became more intense. This intensification of interactions is reflected in the quantity of sources available in the archives. The 1650s are an ideal starting point in order to study important developments for the Latin Catholic community in the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century.

In the first place, the normalization has to be mentioned of the ecclesiastic structure of Constantinople through the disempowerment of the formerly important *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, which represented the local Latin Catholics, at the beginning of the 1680s. Furthermore, Bernard Heyberger with regard to the Syrian provinces comes to the conclusion that at the end of the 17th century the interpretation of the Tridentine norms was stricter and as a consequence of the stricter attitude, the *marges de manoeuvre* of the missionaries was limited and a sharper confessional differentiation became prevalent.[74] It will be interesting to see if there is evidence for a similar change of attitude for Constantinople in the same period or whether the chronology is different for the Latin Catholics in Constantinople and finally, how the development continued in the 18th century.

The study ends at the end of the 1750s with the pontiff of Benedict XIV (1740-1758). With the final condemnation of the Chinese and Malabar rites in 1742 and 1744 by Benedict XIV the rejection of local deviations from the Roman norms was emphasized. The papal bulls were the result of a general trend of the pontiffs, the cardinals of the Inquisition and Propaganda Fide to define more closely the boundaries of orthodoxy and orthopraxy from the beginning of the 18th century onwards.[75] The multiplicity of religious cultures, which had developed in the missions all over the world after the Council of Trent, was increasingly under pressure in the 18th century as the local practices were at variance with the stricter application of the norms of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. The ultimate condemnation of the Chinese and Malabar rites thus reflected a general examination of local religious practices in the European and extra-European territories.[76] I shall analyse in how far the stricter attitude of the Curia congregations in the first part of the 18th century influenced the practice in Constantinople and

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[73] Isidoro Augusto de Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación y el vicariato apostolico patriarchal de Constantinopla (1622-1815)', in Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum. 350 Jahre im Dienst der Weltmission 1622-1972* (4 vols, Rome et al., 1972-1975), vol. 2, pp. 496-514, p. 504.
[74] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*; Windler, 'Konfessioneller Anspruch und kulturelle Vermittlung', p. 83.
[75] Christian Windler, 'Uneindeutige Zugehörigkeit: Katholische Missionare und die Kurie im Umgang mit ‚communicatio in sacris', in Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (eds), *Konfessionelle Ambiguität. Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit,* Gütersloh (2013), pp. 314-345, p. 318.
[76] Ibid.

the interactions between the Ottoman capital city and Rome and to what extent the strict Roman norms differed from the actual practice.

Also with regard to the post-Tridentine legislation, the pontificate of Benedict XIV represented a caesura. Before his election in 1742 he acted as consultant of the Holy Inquisition and as secretary of the Congregation of the Council, member of the Congregation of Rites and finally canonist of the Apostolic Penitentiary. These activities within the Roman Curia gave him a profound knowledge of the religious and sacramental practices in Europe and the extra-European missions and of the *dubia* and conflicts which emerged with the application of the Tridentine doctrines. One of his main aims was to simplify and clarify the legislation of the Curia with regard to the Tridentine norms.[77] The pontiff's decisions in relation with the sacramental practice and questions related to the *comunicatio in sacris* signalled a turning point in the legislation of the Roman Curia and were of high relevance and long validity for European Catholic territories as well as for extra-European missions.[78]

1.4. Sources

1.4.1. Archives in Rome

The *Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide* (APF) is the main archive for my research.[79] In the first place, I systematically consulted the section *Acta* vol. 20-135 (1660-1765). The section *Acta* consists in the minutes of the cardinal's monthly meetings, the report of a cardinal or the secretary and the resolution taken by the members of Propaganda Fide in their general meetings. Generally, the congregation was composed of thirteen cardinals, including the prefect and secretary of Propaganda Fide. The section *Acta* reflects the core activities and decisions of the congregation.[80]

In the second place I consulted the section *Scritture originali riferite nei congressi generali* (SOCG) which contains the original documents discussed in the cardinals' monthly meetings. The original documents consisted in letters from vicars, missionaries and ambassadors,

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[77] Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Benedikts XIV. bis zum Tode Pius' VI. (1740-1799). Erste Abteilung: Benedikt XIV. und Klemens XIII. (1740-1769)* (Freiburg i.Br., 1931), p. 20; pp. 278-337; Mario Rosa, 'Benedetto XIV', in Alberto M. Ghisalberti (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1966), vol. 8, pp. 393-408.

[78] See the contributions in Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile and Giovanni Pizzorusso (eds), *Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au nouveau monde: La Curie romaine et les 'dubia circa sacramenta, MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009).

[79] For an introduction of the archive see Nicola Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide"* (Rome, 3rd ed., 1988), pp. 16-49.

[80] Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Rome (in the following APF), Acta vol. 20-135.

dispatches from nuncios or apostolic visitations. As the documents of this section are extremely numerous and detailed, it was not possible to consult systematically those pertaining to a period of over 100 years. On the basis of the *Acta* I consulted the documents of the SOCG for particularly interesting issues. In the case of particular difficulties concerning a certain question or territory, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide convoked a commission composed by cardinals who were chosen by the pontiff.[81] The section *Congregazioni Particolari* (CP) contains the original documents and the decisions of the commission. I consulted the volumes dealing with Constantinople during my period of examination.[82]

In the third place, I systematically processed the section *Scritture (non) riferite nei congressi Romania* (SC Romania), volumes 1-8 (1670-1765). The documents of the section SC were not discussed in the congregation's monthly meetings as they were judged of secondary importance. These documents were discussed by the prefect of Propaganda Fide, the secretary and the minute taker. Nevertheless, these documents are of high importance with regard to the reconstruction of daily life in the missions.[83]

Important as regards the reconstruction of the position of Propaganda Fide is the section *Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario* (Lettere) in which the letters written by the prefects and secretaries to the patriarchal vicar, missionaries or ambassadors in Constantinople can be found. The letters reveal the content and the explanation of the congregation's decision. Similarly to the SOCG I consulted selected volumes on the basis of the information given by the Acta.[84] Finally, I processed single volumes of the minor sections *Fondo Vienna* and *Visite.*[85]

Furthermore, I worked in the archive of the Congregation for the doctrine of the Faith (ACDF)*,* the former Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, where cases of doubts concerning the administration of the sacraments, *dubia circa sacramenta,* were valued by cardinals and assessors of the congregation. The cardinal's main task was to preserve the Church's dogma. Commonly, doubts concerning the administration of the sacraments were forwarded to the Congregation by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. With regard to *dubia* concerning Constantinople, the section *Stanza Storica* was consulted.[86]

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[81] APF, SOCG vols 150, 153, 277-279, 290, 420, 425, 429, 436, 439, 447, 448-451, 453, 459, 477, 485, 515, 537, 543, 555, 562, 564, 600, 621, 624, 629, 632, 635, 654, 678, 679, 701, 733, 736, 741, 745, 782, 788.
[82] APF, CP vols 20, 31, 89, 97, 122.
[83] APF , SC Romania vols 1-9.
[84] APF, Lettere vols 40, 61, 68-73.
[85] APF, Fondo Vienna vols 40, 42, 53, 56; APF, Visite vol. 1.
[86] Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Rome (in the following ACDF), Sanctum Officium, St. St. D 4 a, St. St. D 7 d, St. St. H 4 b, St. St. H 4 g, St. St. I 7 a, St. St. I 2 a, St. St. I 7 b (34), St. St. M 3 a, St. St. M 3 b (21), St. St. M 3 c, St. St. M 3 i, St. St. M 3 l, St. St. M 3 m, St. St. M 6 n, St. St. M 6 o, St. St. M 6 p, St. St. M 6 q, St. St. M 6 r, St. St. N 1 a, St. St. MM 3d, St. St. MM 5g, St. St. OO 5 a, St. St. Q 3 b, St. St. Q 3 c,

In the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)*, I consulted volume no. 104 of the section *Gallia*, where letters from the Jesuit mission in Constantinople to the General Curia of the Society of Jesus in Rome can be found.[87]

With regard to the Vatican Secret Archives I consulted the first volume of the section *Archivio Delegazione Turchia*. On the one hand there are lists of the members of the *Confraternità di Sancta Anna* from 1741 to 1755 and on the other hand a collection of documents and decrees produced by the different patriarchal vicars in Constantinople (1722-1855).[88] Unfortunately, the majority of prior documents was destroyed by fire in Istanbul.

1.4.2. Archives in Paris

In the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (AEP)*, I consulted the diplomatic correspondence between the French ambassadors and their collaborators in Constantinople and the French court. As it was not possible to go systematically through the section *Correspondance politique: Turquie* from the 1650s to the 1750s, I have selected single years of interest for my research based on the information provided by the secondary literature and the ecclesiastic sources.[89] Moreover, the section *Mémoires et Documents: Turquie* contains instruction written by the French court to designated ambassadors and memorandums of the ambassadors submitted to the French court.

Furthermore, I worked in the *Bibliothèque franciscaine des Capuchins de Paris* because there is a lack of sources in the Roman archives regarding information on the Capuchins in Constantinople. The documentation of the section *Archives de la mission de Constantinople A-Z* is rather limited. The prime cause for the limited amount of documents is again the fires, which regularly destroyed the churches and convents of the religious orders in Constantinople. However, in the surviving documentation, letters of correspondence between the Capuchins and the superiors of their order can be found. Moreover, there are single parish registers of the Capuchin churches in Constantinople.[90]

St. St. RR 1 b, St. St. UU 17, St. St. UU 19, St. St. UV 20, St. St. UV 22, St. St. UV 48, St. St. UV 56, St. St. UV63.

[87] Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome (in the following ARSI), Gallia vol. 103.

[88] Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome (in the following ASV), Archi. Deleg. Turchia vols 1, 3.

[89] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris (in the following AEP), Correspondence Politique, Turquie vols 6-8, 9-12, 16, 17, 39-46, 61, 62, 106, 107. AEP, Mémoires et Documents, Turquie vols 1, 7, 28, 35, 50.

[90] Archives de la Fraternité des Capucins de la région de Paris (ACP), séries A-Z.

1.4.3 Archives in Istanbul

Documents dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries are rare in the archives of the religious orders in Istanbul. Rinaldo Marmara, former official historian of the apostolic vicariate of Istanbul, told me that the archive of the vicariate did not have any documents for this period of time. The documents which have not been destroyed can be found in the Vatican Secret Archives.

Nevertheless, the Dominican parish of Saint Peter and Paul still archives some important documents. The most important documents for my research are two *Libri magistrali*, one from 1699 and one from 1782, in which the parish life and the administration of the sacraments were described by two Dominican missionaries. Moreover, there are some single documents written by the patriarchal vicars for the missionaries in Constantinople.[91]

Finally, in the Franciscan parish of Saint Mary Draperis several copies of letters written by the patriarchal vicars of Constantinople to the religious orders of the city have survived. There are also a number of letters written by the prefects of the Franciscan mission in Constantinople and single parish registers. In this case, the majority of documents concerns again the 18th century, whereas there are hardly any documents for the 17th century.[92]

Taken as a whole, the documentation of the parishes in Istanbul at most contains a few additional aspects to the Roman ecclesiastic documentation.

1.4.4. General considerations to the sources

Several critical aspects with regard to the major part of the sources have to be taken into consideration. The information obtained from the local situation in Constantinople results almost exclusively from the exchange between the congregation of the Roman Curia, the superiors of the orders and the French court and the members of the Latin clergy and the French ambassadors in the city. As Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile has pointed out, the exchange between centre and periphery reflected to a certain point the power relation between them.[93] In fact, the members of the Latin clergy were aware of the expectations the members of the Roman Curia had with regard to their missionary activities. If on the one hand the local

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[91] Archive of St. Peter and Paul, Istanbul (in the following SPP), SALT SP030, SP037, SP037-1, SP038, SP040, SP042, SP09, SPP001-p, SPP001-r, SPP012, SPP013. SPP Registro 2 Busta 1, SPP Registro 5, Busta 1-7.
[92] Archive of Santa Maria Draperis, Istanbul (in the following SMD), Scatola 1 fascicolo 1-15. SMD, Copie delle decisioni, lettere pastorali e indulti quaresimali diretti alla venerabile Parrocchia di Santa Maria Draperis dai Reverendissimi vicari patriarcali 1725-1887. SMD Parish register from 1737 to 1792.
[93] Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, p. 57.

actors tended to shape their letters in order to correspond to Roman standards, on the other hand, the cardinals in Rome depended on the often fragmentary information they received from the missionary territory. As Bernard Heyberger has underlined, Propaganda Fide, and in the same way the other congregations and superiors could only influence local issues after the local actors had brought them up in their letters.[94]

Main interlocutors of the cardinals in Rome were the patriarchal vicars, the local superiors of the missions and, to a lesser degree, local missionaries. In the letters written to Rome, conflicts between members of the clergy were very frequent, and it was not easy for the cardinals to decide whether the accusations against another missionary were justified or whether the points of criticism were used in order to discredit unpopular members of the clergy. The cardinals, and especially the secretaries of the congregation, were aware of the problems of the information which arrived from the missions and they tried to get confirmation from people who were external to the mission. In the majority of cases, it was European ambassadors, consuls or prominent members of the community who corresponded with the cardinals.[95]

Despite the fragmentariness and inconsistency of the sources, they give us indispensable information about local religious practices and contemporarily about the interactions between the local and Roman actors.

The quantity of sources for the 17th and 18th centuries is not equally balanced. In particular in the convents and archives of Istanbul, there are hardly any documents from the 17th century. Moreover, the different religious orders are not equally represented in the sources. With regard to the archives consulted for this study, the activities of the Franciscans and Dominicans, who administered the parishes of Constantinople, are well documented, whereas there is less information about the Jesuits and Capuchins

There is little direct evidence of the members of the Latin community in Constantinople. This lack of documents produced by the Latin Catholics living in Constantinople and Smyrna is not a specificity of the ecclesiastical and diplomatic funds but rather a general problem for the early modern period. It should be stressed, however, that indirect information was issued by the members of the clergy in Constantinople. Issues related to the compliance or non-compliance with Roman standards in the Latin parishes of Constantinople are thereby at the centre of the documentation.

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[94] Bernard Heyberger, ''Pro nunc, nihil respondendum''. Recherche d'informations et prise de décision à la Propagande: L'exemple du Levant (XVIIIᵉ siècle)', *MEFRIM* 109/2 (1997), pp. 539-554, p. 547.
[95] See Ibid., pp. 548-550.

The ecclesiastic and diplomatic sources will be complemented with information of travel accounts, which represent a slightly different perspective on the Latin Catholics in Constantinople and which were produced outside the tension between ecclesiastic norms and local missionary activities.[96]

1.5. Structure of the thesis

In the first chapter of the thesis the Latin Catholic community and its collocation in Constantinople between the 17th and 18th centuries will be outlined. In particular the heterogeneous composition of the Latin parishes, Latin places of worship and the Latin clergy are at the centre of interest.

The following two chapters deal with the intensified interactions between local Latin and European institutional actors. In the focus are thereby the representatives of the local Latin Catholics who were organised in the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* the Holy See and the French crown. In the perspective of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide it was unsustainable that the ecclesiastic property of the churches in Constantinople should be administrated by secular members of the Latin community. The efforts on behalf of Propaganda Fide and the clergy in Constantinople to disempower the local elite were intensified in the second half of the 17th century and with the support of the French ambassador the purpose was accomplished. The chapter analyses the developments and conflicts which led to the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.*

The third chapter deals with the diplomatic protection of the Latin Catholics and the clergy, which was pivotal for the Latin presence in the Ottoman Empire and in particular in the Ottoman capital city in relation with the claims for ecclesiastic independence of the Roman Curia. In a first moment, the relevance of diplomatic protection for the Latin churches and convents will be highlighted. The growing influence of the French king and contemporaneously the loss of influence by the Venetian Republic represented a development

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[96] François Pétis de la Croix, *Etat présent des nations et églises Grecque, Arménienne, et Maronite en Turquie* (Paris, 1695); Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, ed. by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt a.M., 1994); Robert Halsband (ed.), *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (3 vols, Oxford, 1965-67); Jean-Baptiste Labat (ed.), *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant* (6vols, Paris, 1735); L. Langlés (ed.), *Voyages du chevalier Jean Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (10vols, Paris, 1811); Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant fait par ordre du roi* (2 vols, Amsterdam,1718); Marshall Poe (ed.), *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch* (2 vols, New York, 2003); Paul Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire by Paul Rycaut*, ed. by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt a.M., 1995); George Sandys, *Sandy's Travels, Containing an History of the Original and present state of the Turkish empire* (London, 7th ed., 1673); Jean Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant,* ed. by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt a.M., 1995).

in the 17th century, which has to be taken into consideration. The example of the Observant Franciscans shows that the protection of a Protestant power could be equally as convenient for a Catholic order as the protection of a Catholic power. Thereafter, the claims of the French ambassadors for French parishes and their interference in ecclesiastic issues will be analyzed. Of interest are thereby the strategies used by the French king and his ambassadors on the one hand and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, the Latin vicars and missionaries on the other in order to pursue their objectives.

In the focus of the following three chapters are the rites of passage baptism, marriage and funeral. One of the main objectives of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church concerned the correct administration of the sacraments. I intend to analyse how the clergy in Constantinople and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office dealt with the challenges of the pluri-religious and pluri-confessional environment of Constantinople. The question of how far the local clergy and the Roman congregations were willing to accept non-observation of Roman standards will be addressed. The close links between sacramental and social practices will be a further important aspect of the chapter and I shall consider how far the sacramental practices led to contacts between members of different religious confessions. Finally, I shall investigate to what extent the practices related to the rites of passage represented the opportunity for the Latin community to leave the churches and to be visible in the streets of Galata and Pera.

The last chapter of the thesis deals with issues related to the crossing of religious boundaries. In the first part of this chapter, the focus is laid on the conversion of non-Catholic to Catholicism and more generally, on the relations between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Church. Furthermore the conversion of Catholics to Islam represented a challenge for the local missionaries and the ecclesiastic and secular authorities in Constantinople. Notably the approach to death of converts to Islam who returned to Catholicism constituted a problematic situation for the missionaries in the Ottoman capital. With regard to the issue of conversions and martyrdom, the developments within the Ottoman ruling elite have to be taken into consideration.

2. Latin Catholics in Constantinople: From Genoese to Ottoman Galata

Early modern Constantinople was a complex cultural mosaic. The city, and in particular its suburb Galata, represented a commercial and cultural middle ground in which Europe and the Ottoman Empire met and mixed.[97] The heterogeneous makeup of the city was often seen as dangerous. For instance the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi wrote that Galata was no place for devout Muslims because of the Christian taverns with music and dancing and because of the prostitutes he saw on the streets. Besides his view of Galata as a morally degenerated place, Çelebi admitted he was fascinated by the Christian churches and culture.[98]

For a Venetian diplomat of the beginning of the 17th century, Constantinople was a golden vase full of poison, as according to him every vice in the universe was to be found in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.[99] On top of that, the Venetian bailo Gianfrancesco Morosini recommended in 1615 not to allow Venetian juveniles under the age of twenty to come to Constantinople as they could easily lose their souls in the city.[100]

At the beginning of the 18th century, the French traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort pointed out the European character of Galata. He emphasized that the Franks of Galata enjoyed a 'kind of freedom' which was unique for the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, in his eyes, Galata was 'a Christian city in the middle of Turkey, where cabarets are allowed and where even the Turks use to drink wine'.[101]

In the following pages I shall go beyond the affirmations of the Ottoman traveller Çelebi, the Venetian bailo Morosini and the French traveller Pitton de Tournefort. In the first place, I shall outline the origins of the Latin presence in Constantinople. In the second place, the changes that occurred in the city, and in particular in the suburb Galata after the Ottoman conquest in 1453 will be explored. The main objectives of the chapter are on the one hand to work out the places of Latin habitation, working and worship and, on the other hand, to dissect the heterogeneous origins of the Latin Catholics. Since the heterogeneity of the Latin community had important legal, cultural and social implications, it is important to be well aware of the differences in order to conceive the complex reality of the Latin community in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire.

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[97] Eric Dursteler, 'Education and identity in Constantinople's Latin Rite community, c. 1600', *Renaissance Studies* 18/2 (2004), pp. 287-303, p. 287; Edhem Eldem, 'Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital', in Eldem, Goffman and Masters, *The Ottoman city between East and West*, pp. 142-207, pp. 142-158.

[98] Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth century,* translated by Joseph von Hammer (2 vols, London, 1834-50), vol. 2, pp. 49-52.

[99] Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 288.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, vol. 2, p. 8.

Moreover I shall investigate closer the Latin churches of Galata and Pera and the members of the clergy in charge of the Latin Catholic's pastoral care.

2.1. The origin of the Latin presence in the city

The first written evidence of the presence of Latin Catholics, Catholics following the Roman rite and of European provenance in the city of Constantinople dates back to the 9th century. During the circa 400 years before the Ottoman conquest, the fortified Italian harbour Galata was preponderantly Genoese. Besides the important Genoese settlement, there were smaller groups of Venetians, Pisans and Amalfitans living in the city.[102]

Between the re-establishment of the Greek Empire by the Paleologi in 1261 and the Ottoman conquest almost two centuries later, the Greek emperors granted semi-autonomy to the inhabitants of Galata. In fact, it was in this period of time that Galata reached the zenith of its prosperity and profit. The commerce with the Genoese outposts of Caffa (Feodosiya) and Amasra in the Black Sea and the Aegean island of Chios was at the core of Galata's prosperity.[103]

In terms of surface, Galata covered a rather small area between the shore of the Golden Horn, the entrance to the Bosporus and the outer walls of the city. Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the peripheral area on the hillside of Galata, called Pera, was populated by the representatives of the western powers and by wealthy members of the non-Muslim merchant community.[104] However, until the beginning of the 18th century the names Galata and Pera were used interchangeably in order to refer to the quarter on the other side of the Golden Horn. This phenomenon can be seen in the ecclesiastic documents that were analysed for this research. Nevertheless, I shall try to use the terms Galata and Pera for the two distinct quarters: Galata for the area near the sea and Pera for the later settlement on a hill behind Galata.[105]

In April 1453, the Turkish siege of Constantinople began and on 29 May of the same year, the city was conquered by the army of sultan Mehmet II. In the following days, a delegation from Galata conveyed the keys of the city to Mehmet II and on 3 June, the victorious sultan crossed the Golden Horn and offered the former Genoese colony a concession of privileges

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[102] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 20.
[103] In the *Statuti di Peyra* (1304), the status of the Genoese community as *imperium in imperio* was reconfirmed. The Genoese governor, called Podestà, was accredited as minister in residence at the imperial court. Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata', p. 73
[104] See for instance Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 155.
[105] Today the area of Galata and Pera are part of the district of Beyoğlu.

ahidname, often simply called capitulations. According to Halil İnalcik, the sultan wanted to avoid the ruin of the mercantile centre, which the Ottoman sultan considered important for the reconstruction of the imperial capital.[106] The *ahidname* did not constitute a treaty, as it has often been called by European authors, but rather 'a unilateral pledge or privilege granted to a submitted or friendly group' by the Ottoman sultan.[107] By accepting the sultan's offer, the Genoese of Galata accepted voluntarily to be subject to the Ottoman sultan. As a consequence, the walls of Galata were demolished, the residents had to be disarmed and every male resident had to pay the *cizye,* the poll tax that was imposed on non-Muslims under Islamic rule. It has been presumed that the Genoese merchants accepted the *ahidname* because they hoped to preserve the extensive independence which they had enjoyed under the Byzantine Emperors.[108]

The *ahidnames* not only regulated the duties of the Catholic residents of Galata but were also a concession of their privileges. Most importantly, they were promised security for their lives and property, the right to trade within the Ottoman Empire and the freedom to practice their Catholic faith without being harassed. Furthermore, the sons of the Latin Catholics were not subject to the forced recruitment of boys from Christian families to the Janissary corps, the so called devişirme. There were, however, several restrictions with which the Catholics had to comply. It was specifically forbidden to ring the bells of the churches, to construct new churches and to proselytise among the Muslim subjects of the sultan. The privileges granted by the sultan allowed for substantial autonomy for the Latin Catholics in Galata as regards inner-communal affaires. The sultan appointed a local governor called *kaimakam* who was in charge of administering the quarter of Galata in the name of the central government according to Ottoman practice.[109]

Thus, the Genoese and Venetian Catholics who lived permanently in Constantinople became subjects of the Ottoman Empire on the basis of the Islamic legislation for the non-Muslim population of an Islamic state, called *dhimmīs*. Not only the Genoese Latin Catholics but also the members of Eastern Churches and the Jews of Galata accepted the *ahidname* with the Ottoman sultan and became his subjects.[110]

At the same time, there was a different regulation for foreign merchants who lived only temporarily in the city. The activity of these merchants depended on the capitulations, which

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[106] Halil İnalcik, 'Ottoman Galata, 1453-1553', in Eldem, *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie Moderne*, pp. 17-116, p. 19.
[107] Ibid., p. 21.
[108] Ibid., pp. 21-23.
[109] See Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 157ff; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 6; İnalcik, 'Ottoman Galata', p. 26.
[110] İnalcik, 'Ottoman Galata', p. 26.

were negotiated between the Ottoman sultan and the European powers. Contrary to the *dhimmīs*, the merchants living temporarily in the city did not pay the poll tax. They had the status of non-Muslim foreigners in the Ottoman Empire, called *musta'min* and were under the protection of the capitulations. The capitulations granted several privileges to the European merchant communities. As already mentioned, they were not subject to the payment of the poll tax, had free disposal of their heritage, were only partly subject to the Ottoman jurisdiction and they were granted invulnerability with regard to their living space. The only important restriction concerned the prohibition for foreign merchants to purchase real estate.[111] Between the 16th and the 18th centuries, several states concluded capitulations with the Ottoman Empire in order to protect their diplomatic missions, trading interests and merchants.[112]

In a first moment after the conquest, despite the *ahidnames* granted to the Catholics of Galata by the Ottoman sultan Mehmet, a considerable number of Genoese and Venetian Catholics left the city and thus, the number of Latin Catholics decreased. Soon after the conquest, Latin Catholics started to migrate to Constantinople from different regions of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, after the Ottoman conquest of the Genoese colony in Caffa (Feodossija) in 1475, numerous Genoese families escaped to Constantinople and became part of the Latin community.[113]

Moreover, especially in the course of the second half of the 17th century and during the 18th century, a growing number of Latin Catholics left the islands of the Greek archipelago and moved to Constantinople. The presence of Latin Catholicism in the Aegean islands goes back to the 14th century with the expansion of the Genoese and Venetian sphere of influence. Between the late 16th century and the early 18th century, the islands of the Greek archipelago were one after another conquered by the Ottoman Empire. In 1718, Venice left its last fortress in the Aegean Sea, the island of Tinos. Upon withdrawal of the Venetians, the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church grew, while the Latin presence was undermined with the displacement of the Latin rulers. This evolution together with the poverty of the islands led to the emigration of the Latin population towards Smyrna and also towards Constantinople.[114]

In summary it can be said, therefore, that the Latin population of Constantinople can be divided in two different legal conditions. Firstly, there were the Catholic subjects of the

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[111] Cf. Halil İnalcik, 'Imtiyazat', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, new edition, 1954-), vol. 3, pp. 1179ff; Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Paris, 1962), pp. 546-52; Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 122f.
[112] Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, p. 7.
[113] Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata', p. 76.
[114] See Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 130; Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus*, p. 231.

Ottoman Empire of European provenance and, secondly, there were European foreigners, who depended partly on the legislation of their rulers. Their number increased during the 17th and 18th centuries, as the European diplomatic and merchant activities were intensified during in the 17th century.

In particular during the 18th century, a third group emerged. There was a growing number of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects working for European diplomats and merchants, which obtained the protection of the respective ambassador. Most prestigious personalities among the so-called *protégés* were the dragomans, which after the *ahidnames* of France in 1604 enjoyed the same privileges as the foreign employees of the embassy. The sultan had to acknowledge the protection by a foreign power of his subjects and he did so by issuing documents, which could place individuals or even whole families under foreign diplomatic protection. Two elements have to be underlined with regard to the protégés. On the one hand, in the perspective of the sultan, the protégés remained basically Ottoman subjects. On the other hand, the number of protégés has been long overstated. According to Maurits Boogert, in the second part of the 18th century, no more than 2500 protégés lived in the whole Ottoman Empire.[115]

A fourth group of Latin Catholics in Constantinople has to be mentioned the slaves and prisoners of war in the *bagni*, the prisons for slaves who were appointed by the Ottoman sultan for public work or for the service on galleys. Moreover, numerous slaves were sold in public auctions and did service in private Ottoman households. The number of slaves varied notably according to the wartime successes of the Ottoman army and the activity of Ottoman corsairs in the Mediterranean. In particular in the 17th century, the slaves in the *bagni* and in private households represented the most numerous group of Latin Catholics in Constantinople.[116] However, as the slaves did not take part in the Latin Catholic community life, they will only marginally be part of the present study.

Whereas the Greek and Armenian Churches were recognized and supported by the Ottoman sultans, the situation was different for the Catholic Church. As the Roman pontiffs did not accept a peace settlement with the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman sultans had banned the Roman Catholic Church already in the 14th century from the Ottoman Empire. This ban was however not valid for the Catholics living within the Empire, as for instance the Latin Catholics in Constantinople. In official Ottoman documents, the officials referred to the Latin Catholics with the term *djemāᶜat* which designated a simple religious community, without 'officially recognised religious head or specific church for the Latin subjects of the Ottoman

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[115] Cf., Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 92; Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 123.
[116] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* p. 72f.

Empire living in Istanbul'.[117] The Latin Catholics attended the churches which belonged to the foreign communities and which were administered by foreign priests.

2.2. The structure of Galata after the Ottoman conquest

As regards the spatial development of the Latin presence in the city, the Ottoman conquest did not radically change the situation. In fact, already during the Byzantine Empire, the Latin Catholic churches were to be found almost exclusively in Galata where the large majority of Catholics lived.[118]

Nevertheless, Ottoman Galata underwent important changes. In the first place, the Muslim population increased rapidly. In 1590, barely forty years after the conquest, the Venetian bailo Giovanni Moro wrote to the senate that Galata had formerly been inhabited by Christians, whereas at present, it was occupied by a Turkish majority not only within the quarter but also around it.[119] According to a census of 1478, Galata was still a largely Christian quarter twenty-five years after the end of the Byzantine Empire. The fiscal census of 1478 revealed that the Muslim population of Galata had grown to 35% and corresponded to approximately 50 % in the 18th century.[120] According to Edhem Eldem the settlement of Muslim residents in Galata represented a normal demographic evolution, which was accelerated by the foundation of three key institutions, installed by the Ottoman government in the surroundings of the walled city. Firstly, the arsenal of Kasimpasa, secondly, the canon foundry of Tophane and, thirdly, the school of Acemioglan were founded in Galata by the Ottoman sultan. These institutions attracted a large number of workers and employees and were, moreover, of high strategic and commercial interest.[121]

In the 16th century, the population of Galata was divided into three big parts. Around the tower of Galata in the centre where also the main Latin churches were situated, lived the Perots, the Latin subjects of the Ottoman sultan, and the Europeans. The eastern district of Galata was mainly populated by Greeks, Armenians and Jews. In the 16th century and in particular under the reign of Selim II, numerous Greeks left Constantinople in order to settle in Galata. In fact, despite the growing number of Muslim inhabitants, the Greek population represented the most numerous group within the population of Galata. The Jews who settled

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[117] İnalcik,'Ottoman Galata', p. 28f.
[118] Cf. Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 144.
[119] 'Galata prima abitato da Cristiani è occupato al presente per la maggior parte da Turchi, tanto dentro, quanto all'intorno.' cited in Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 158.
[120] Edhem Eldem, 'The Ethnic sturcture of Galata', *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (1993), pp. 28-33, p. 29; İnalcik,'Ottoman Galata', p. 97.
[121] İnalcik,'Ottoman Galata', p. 97.

in Galata had arrived at the end of the 15th and during the 16th centuries from the Iberian and Italian peninsula and central Europe. They played an important role as intermediaries between the European merchants and the Ottoman administration.[122] The western part of Galata, close to the arsenal and the naval dockyards, was increasingly populated by Muslims.[123]

Whereas the ethnic and religious groups tended to concentrate within the district around their places of worship for housing, there were spaces where the members of different communities mixed and collaborated. An important example in this respect is the commercial area around the port of Galata. Towards the end of the 17th century, Ottoman and foreign observers counted more than 3,000 boutiques, which were mainly possessed by Greeks and Europeans, eight markets, one of which was a covered market and, according to the French traveller Thévenot, the most beautiful fishmonger's in the world.[124] Moreover, in close vicinity to the harbour, the nautical tradesmen as, for instance, sail-makers, carpenters and manufacturers of various ship supplies were to be found. A particularity of Galata was the abundance of taverns owned by Christian proprietors, which attracted not only the Christian but also the Muslim population of the quarter.[125]

From the end of the 16th century onwards, the European ambassadors started to displace the embassies and residences outside the walls of Galata towards the hills of Pera. According to Eldem, the growing Muslim population in Galata eventually took the space of local and foreign non-Muslims and pushed them towards the exterior of the city walls. Eldem underlines that it was not a coincidence that the foreigners and Armenians led the settlement in Pera as they were the two communities with less space in Galata.[126] The settlement of Pera developed along the main street called '*grande rue de Pera*'. With the ambassadors of the European powers also a part of the Latin Catholics left Galata and settled in Pera. Whereas Galata is described as a busy and crowded district with narrow streets and small wooden houses, in Pera emerged large well-built houses of stone and gardens for the European ambassadors, wealthy Perots and respected Greek families.[127]

As regards the actual number of inhabitants of Galata and Pera in the 17th and 18th, there are no assured numbers but only estimations. Robert Mantran calculates that in the 17th and

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[122] Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul*, pp. 272-274.

[123] Stéphane Yerasimos, 'Galata à travers les récits de voyage (1453-1600)', in Edhem Eldem (ed.), *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie Moderne*, p. 118f.

[124] Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 73-75; Thévenot, *Voyages de M. Thévenot*, p. 51.

[125] See Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 152; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p. 76 ; Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata', pp. 83ff.

[126] Eldem, 'The Ethnic sturcture of Galata', p. 33; Yerasimos, 'Galata à travers les récits de voyage', p. 125.

[127] Labat (ed.), *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, vol. 4, p. 491; Thévenot, *Voyages de M. Thévenot*, p. 51f; Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, p. 8.

18th centuries approximately 50,000 persons lived in Galata and in the 18th century approximately 10,000 persons in Pera.[128] The difficulty of providing reliable numbers with regard to the population of the city is not specific for Galata and Pera. On the contrary, there are still discussions and contentions on the city's population as a whole. Robert Mantran assumed the number of 600,000-750,000 inhabitants towards the end of the 17th century, whereas more recently Edhem Eldem estimates the city's population to be about 300,000 inhabitants in the middle of the 17th century, of whom approximately 40,000 were members of the Greek Orthodox Church.[129]

Although the different religious communities tended to live within their hoods, which were constructed around places of worship, public fountains and shops, the segregation was not at all complete. In his description of Galata and Pera, Pitton de Tournefort pointed to the fact that 'the foreign merchants have their houses and warehouses in Pera as well as in Galata farraginous with Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Turks'.[130]

The living situation of the Latin Catholics in the districts of Galata and Pera can be exemplified by the description of the Capuchin friar Angelo Maria da Roma written in 1721 for the cardinals of Propaganda Fide:

'In the lower district of Galata live all the merchants and also many craftsmen of different professions, and they all make up more or less the third part of the Catholic population that lives here, and similarly there are three churches at different distances, that is, one of the Dominican fathers with the parish, one of the Jesuit fathers and one of our Capuchins. In the part of Pera there is a great district of the length of almost a mile, which starting from the above-mentioned gate terminates at the upper end with the cemetery, and which is inhabited on both sides by the ambassadors, interpreters and the rest of the families that make up the above-named Catholic population, […] In this same district there are similarly three churches at a distance of a few steps one from the other, that is one of the Conventual fathers, one of the Reformed fathers and one of the Capuchin fathers, also with a Hospice of the Observant fathers of the Holy Land who do not carry out any public function'.[131]

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[128] Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul*, p. 275.

[129] Eldem, 'Istanbul'*, p. 156; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p. 47.

[130] Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, p.9.

[131] 'Nella contrada dunque inferiore di Galata habitano tutti li mercanti et anche molti artigiani di diverse professioni, e quelli tutti formano poco più ò poco meno della terza parte del Popolo Cattolico qui dimorante, e similm[en]te vi sono tre chiese in diversa distanza cioè una de' Padri Domenicani con la Parrocchia, una de' P[ad]ri Giesuiti et una de n[ost]ri Cappuccini. Nella parte poi di Pera si ritrova una gran contrada della lunghezza quasi di un miglio, la q[ua]le cominciando dalla suddetta porta termina nella sua estremità superiore con il campo detto de' morti, e la q[ua]le da ambedue le parti è habitata da Sig[no]ri Ambasciatori, dagl'Interpreti e da t[ut]to il resto delle famiglie che formano il suddetto popolo cattolico, […].In q[ue]sta medes[im]a contrada sono simil[men]te tre chiese in distanza di pochi passi una dall'altra cioè una de' P[ad]ri Min[o]ri Conventuali, una de' P[ad]ri Min[o]ri Riformati, et una de' P[ad]ri Cappuccini, con anche un ospizio de' P[ad]ri osservanti di Terra Santa quali n[on] fanno alcuna pubblica funzione.' Angela Maria da Roma, Capuchin missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 12.8.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 632, f. 170r/v).

The Capuchin's description evidences that with the Latin ambassadors, interpreters and other members of the Latin community, also the churches were displaced from Galata to Pera between the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ottoman Galata was thus not the 'Frankish' or non-Muslim district, which has been described by European travellers as well as by Ottoman observers like Evliya Çelebi. The Latin aspects of the city were mainly concentrated to the centre of Galata and the *Grande Rue de Pera,* whereas the other districts of Galata were mainly populated by Muslims, Greeks, Armenians and Jews. For the European travellers the characteristic of Galata as a stronghold of Christianity in the Ottoman Empire was far more fascinating than the Muslim or Greek parts of the city, which were hardly ever mentioned in the travel accounts. In a reversed fashion, Ottoman observers were shocked by the freedom of non-Muslims in a district of the capital city and thus tended to exaggerate the non-Muslim elements of the city.[132]

2.3. Latin living in the Ottoman city in the 17th and 18th centuries

2.3.1. Franks and Perots

As has been demonstrated, the members of the Latin community in Constantinople were either subjects of the Ottoman Empire or subjects of European powers, who had stipulated *ahidnames* with the sultans or native Ottoman subjects, under the protection of a European power. At this point it is advisable to briefly discuss the terminology used in this research so as to avoid any ambiguities. As Oliver Jens Schmitt has pointed out, the terms Frank, Latin Catholic and Perot were used interchangeably in the sources.[133] In fact, all these designations identify a person of Roman Catholic religion with Western European provenance. The common European provenance is particularly highlighted by the term Frank, which included not only the Italian or French territory but rather all Latin Catholics of European descent, even in the cases in which families had lived for centuries in the Ottoman Empire and had adapted culturally and linguistically to the local conditions.

If the term Frank accentuates the European provenance, the term Latin Catholic or simply Latin emphasizes the religious element. Both terms include, therefore, all Roman Catholics in Constantinople regardless of their legal status in the Ottoman Empire. The roots of both terms go back to the Byzantine Empire where they were used in order to distinguish the Roman Catholic Europeans from the Orthodox population of the Empire.[134]

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[132] Cf. Eldem, 'The Ethnic structure of Galata', p. 30f.
[133] Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 53.
[134] Ibid., pp. 53-56.

Also the term Perot indicates a Roman Catholic of European provenance but, additionally, it underlines the long dated residence in the quarters Galata and Pera in Constantinople. Legally, a Perot belongs, therefore, to the group of Ottoman subjects, or is a native Ottoman subject under European protection.

In the following the term Latin Catholic will be used to designate the members of the Latin community as a whole, whereas the term Perot or local Latin Catholic will designate the Roman Catholic families with a long tradition in the Ottoman capital city. It is, however, important to keep in mind that their ancestors were originally Europeans. The term European Catholics shall refer to members of the diplomatic missions and trading houses. This procedure corresponds to the terminology used in the sources but also in the secondary literature. Notwithstanding the exchangeability of the terms, the authors of the letters from Constantinople tended generally to use the term Perot for long established Latin Catholics, Latin Catholic for the group as a whole and the state of provenance for European Catholics.

As regards the number of Latin Catholics in Constantinople, information is based on estimations carried out by European travellers and clergymen. In particular the patriarchal vicars of Constantinople regularly provided the cardinals with detailed reports on the 'state of the Christianity' and normally these reports contained also estimations on the number of Latin Catholics and Latin clergy in the city.

It is however important to be careful with these numbers. Main reasons for the reservations are, on the one hand, the fact that the Latin Catholic population was rather fluid and, on the other hand the lack of statistical surveys. In 1708, the patriarchal vicar Gallani explained this difficulty with the following words: 'It is not possible to know the exact number of the Latin Catholics because they are not divided in parishes and, moreover, the majority of them are merchants who do not have a fixed residence'.[135] Moreover, it has been shown that the European observers did not hesitate to copy the numbers one from another, in particular during the 17th century.[136]

As regards the number of Latin Catholics in the 17th century, Pietro de Marchis, bishop of Santorini and apostolic visitor in 1622, wrote in his account that there were 590 Latin Catholics in Constantinople. He did not distinguish between Perots and European Catholics, but he pointed out the fact that he included all Latin Catholics.[137] His number seems rather

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[135] 'Non è possibile di sapere il numero preciso de Cattolici Latini, si per non essere distribuite le famiglie per Parrocchia, si anco per essere la maggior parte negozianti, che non hanno abitazione fissa.' Congregatio Generalis 7.5.1708 (APF, Acta vol. 78, f. 312v).

[136] See Borromeo, *Les catholiques à Constantinople*, p. 231.

[137] Pietro de Marchis, apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 26.11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, f. 124v).

small compared to the estimation given forty years earlier. In fact, according to the apostolic visitor Pietro Cedulini, in 1580 approximately 500 Perots, 600 European merchants, 100 employees of the European embassies together with 500 freed and 2,000 Catholic slaves lived in Constantinople.[138]

In 1664, the patriarchal vicar Bonaventura Theoli drew a rather negative picture of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople:

> 'The present state of our Latins in those parts is miserable because there are few Catholic Christians and maybe they do not even reach 700 in number, or few more because there are not many Catholic slaves and the native families die out and those who remain count for less for their kinship with the Greeks.'[139]

The fear that the local Latin Catholic families could disappear through extinction and through the absorption of the remaining families into the larger Greek community was widespread among Latin clergymen in the 17th century. I shall further deal with this issue in more detail in the chapter on marriage.

Even smaller is the number of free Latin Catholics counted by a Capuchin missionary in 1671. He told the cardinals in Rome that the Latin population arrived at approximately 1500 persons. The Latin community was composed of 400 local Latin Catholics and 100 European Latin Catholics. The remaining 1000 persons were slaves in the imperial prisons and private houses.[140] The small number of European Catholics in this estimate is conspicuous. As compared with the other numbers and the increasing diplomatic and commercial relations between European powers and the Ottoman Empire it seems rather unlikely that only 100 European Catholics were in Constantinople in 1671.

From the beginning of the 18th century onwards, the numbers increase. According to the apostolic visitor David of San Carlo, in 1700, there were 50 households of foreign European Catholics, 40 households of Perots and 30 households of merchants of protestant religion.[141] Thus, even if we do not know the average size of a non-Muslim household in Constantinople,

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[138] Cf. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 72.

[139] 'Lo stato presente de' n[ost]ri Latini in quelle parti, è miserabile, perché vi sono pochi Christiani Cattolici; e forse non giungono a 700 o poco più, perché vi sono pochi schiavi cattolici, e le famiglie native s'estinguono, e quelle che ci stanno perdono p[er] la parentela con Greci.' Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 4.2.1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 278, f. 272v).

[140] Father Alessio, Capuchin missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople, 13.7.1671 (APF, SOCG vol. 429, f. 77r).

[141] David di San Carlo, apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 3.8.1700 (APF, SC Romania vol. 4, f. 29r/v).

we can assume that the number of Latin Catholic European merchants exceeded the number of local Latin Catholics from the beginning of the 18th century.[142]

It is in fact the growing number of European Latin Catholics coming to the Ottoman capital for commerce and negotiations, which led to a slightly more numerous Latin community in Constantinople in the first half of the 18th century.

For the year 1714 we have the deferring information of a Jesuit missionary in Constantinople and of the patriarchal vicar Gallani. Exceptionally high numbers were issued by the Jesuit Tarillon:

> 'Of all the families who have lived here from the time of the Genoese, there are still several who have remained in Galata and in Pera. These families make up three or four hundred persons all together. Most of them are interpreters of the ambassadors; [….] The houses of the ambassadors of the Christian princes and the merchants of their 'nations' make up the most distinguished part of the Frank Christians: they come up to about three thousand persons.'[143]

Whereas the number of Perots corresponds to the estimates of other authors before, the number of European merchants is extremely high. In fact in the following year 1715, the patriarchal vicar Gallani counted no more than 2,000 believers, Perots and Europeans together in Galata and Pera.[144] One possible explanation for the Jesuit's higher number could be that he counted not only the Catholic members of diplomatic and merchant missions but the Catholic and Protestant Europeans together, as the term Christian Frank does not necessarily refer only to the Catholics.

In 1757, the registers of the city's parishes refer to 1066 Latin Catholics of different provenance.[145] The patriarchal vicar Biagio Pauli does not distinguish between Perots and European Catholics but only between nomadic and permanent parishioners. In comparison with the previous estimations, the patriarchal vicar Pauli in 1757 had the registers of the

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[142] According to Maurits H. van den Boogert, so far no research on the average size of non-Muslim households in Constantinople has been done. Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 91.

[143] 'De toutes les familles qui y habitaient du temps des Génois, il y en a encore plusieurs qui se sont maintenues à Galata et à Pera. Ces familles font entre elles trois à quatre cents personnes. La plupart sont interprètes des ambassadeur; […] Les maisons des ambassadeurs des princes chrétiens et les marchands de leurs nations font la portion la plus distinguée des chrétiens francs: ils se montent à près de trois mille personnes.' P. Taraillon, Jesuit missionary, to Count Pontchartrain, secretary of state at the French court, Constantinople 4.3.1714, cit. in Isabelle Vissière and Jean-Paul Vissière (eds), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites du Levant* (Paris, 2004), p. 27f.

[144] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of the Congregation of the Council, Constantinople 18.2.1725. Cit. in Hofmann, *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli*, p. 90.

[145] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 14.2.1757 (APF, CP vol. 122, f. 195r/v).

parishes on which to base his count.[146] Even if not every single Latin Catholic was listed in these registers, it can be assumed that a large majority of the Latins were in fact part of one of the three parishes and that as such the number could be quite accurate.

If we accord some credibility to the estimations made by clergymen from the middle of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century, the number of Latin Catholics, without the slaves, increased from approximately 500 to roughly 1,100 persons. Between 1580 and 1714 several authors made distinctions between Perots and European Catholics. The highest estimate was made in 1580 with 500 Perots, whereas the authors in the 17th and early 18th centuries count from 300 to 400 persons. It can thus be said that the number of local Latin Catholics remained almost stable. Moreover, it can be assumed that after 1700 the Catholic European merchants and their families were more numerous than the local Catholic families. Compared with the population as a whole, the Latin Catholics were a minuscule minority. If we assume, according to Edhem Eldem, that Constantinople had 300,000 inhabitants, the Latin Catholic community would correspond to 0,3% of the population. The largest non-Muslim minority were the members of the Greek Orthodox Church, who amounted to about 40,000 faithful.[147]

Heterogeneity was a constitutive element of Constantinople's Latin Rite community. This heterogeneity was circumstantiated and resumed by the patriarchal vicar Monsignor Biagio Pauli in 1760. He emphasized the singularity of the Latin Catholic community which was composed of Catholics of different provenance and which could be divided into Franks and Orientals. According to Biagio Pauli there were French, German, Polish, Hungarian, Saxon, Italian and Ragusan Catholics. The second group was composed of Latin Catholics who were natives of Galata and Pera. Pauli also pointed to the small number of Lutheran, Calvinist and Protestant Europeans who lived in the city as merchants, artisans and employees of the Protestant ambassadors. According to the patriarchal vicar, the Protestant Europeans in the city did not have any churches except a few chapels within the ambassador's palaces.[148] He emphasized that the Protestants 'are not detrimental to Catholicism in Constantinople', on the contrary, 'not rarely the Protestant ambassadors help the apostolic vicar when they are requested and asked in his spiritual issues and this is a benefit'. 'The second benefit',

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[146] Only in 1725 were the three ancient parishes given limits and the Catholics were allocated to a parish. With this decree, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide with the approval of the French, Austrian and Venetian ambassadors, eliminated the last anomaly of the Latin community in Constantinople. In fact, before 1725, the members of the Latin community were able to change parish at their discretion. See Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p. 505f.

[147] Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 156; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p. 47.

[148] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople June 1760 (APF, SOCG vol. 788, f. 108v/119v).

continued the vicar Biagio Pauli, 'results in the return of some of the mentioned sectarians to the bosom of our church and even though these conversions are not frequent, they nevertheless sometimes happen here in Pera or Galata.'[149]

During the 17th century, the Protestant ambassadors in Constantinople were represented by England and the Dutch Republic, in the first half of the 18th century Sweden and Denmark sent their ambassadors and merchants to Constantinople after having received capitulations from the Ottoman sultan.[150]

This statement of the patriarchal vicar leads to the assumption that the relations between the Catholic clergymen and the Protestant ambassadors were quite good and thus, that the confessional conflicts were less accentuated in Constantinople in comparison with several European territories. However, this assumption will be tested also in the following chapters.

2.3.2. Latin Catholic Churches and convents in Galata and Pera

At the moment of the Ottoman conquest, thirteen Latin Catholic churches were to be found in Galata for the spiritual care of the Latin Catholics, who had settled in the city. Moreover, there were several Latin churches in the old town of Constantinople, which were confiscated at the beginning of the 17th century.[151]

In the middle of the 17th century, there were still five public Latin Catholic churches with adjacent convents in Galata. The churches existing in the middle of the 17th century were: St. Peter and Paul of the Dominicans, St. Francis of the Conventual Franciscans with the chapel of St. Anne, St. Mary Draperis of the Reformed Franciscans, St. Benedict of the Jesuits and St. George of the Capuchins. Furthermore, there was the chapel inside the prison of the slaves which was consecrated to St. Antony of Padua. Finally there were two other chapels, namely St. Sebastian and St. John Baptist, existing until the fire of 1660, of which there was hardly any information and which probably had been closed at the beginning of the 17th century.[152]

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[149] 'Non portano essi [Protestant ambassadors, LB] verun detrimento qui al Cattolicismo, anzi non rare volte quelli dati Accattolici Signori Rappresentanti quando sono richiesti, e pregati danno mano al Vicario Apostolico in qualche sue spirituali premure, che è un'avvantaggio, e l'altro risulta ancora di tempo in tempo, che è il ritorno di alcuno dei mentionati settari al grembo della nostra chiesa, e di simili conversioni, benché non frequenti, pure tal volta succedono, ò qui in Pera, ò in Galata, [...]' Ibid.

[150] See Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, pp. 4-7.

[151] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 112-117; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 7, Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, pp. 5 and 26.

[152] Bélin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 187-346; Eugenio Dalleggio D'Alessio, 'Recherches sur l'histoire de Latinité de Constantinople', *Echos d'Orient* 25 (1926), pp. 21-41, 308-315; Georg Hofmann, 'Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli 1453-1830', *Or. Chr. Analecta 103* (1935), pp. 13-42; Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación, p. 503. An accurate description of the churches can furthermore be found in the report of the patriarchal vicar Monsignor Mauri in 1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 632, f. 165r-168r).
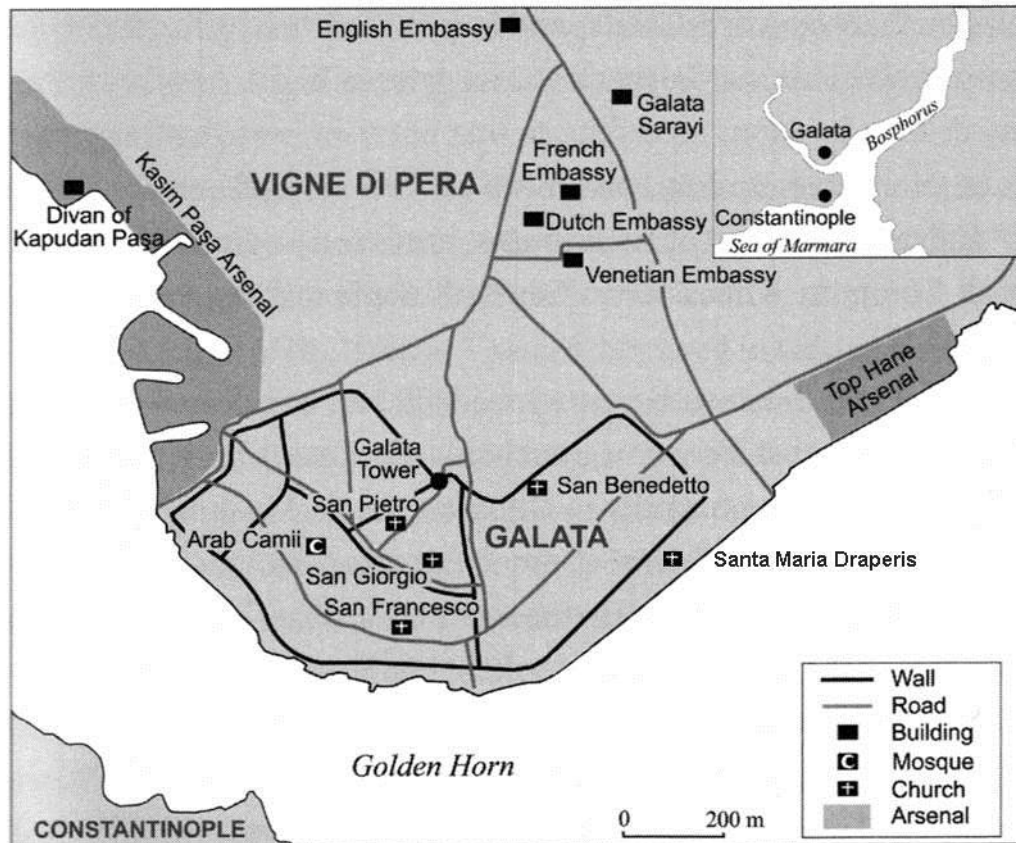
The Latin Churches and most important embassies of Galata and Pera before the great fire of 1660. Modified version of the map in Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 25.

After the Ottoman conquest of 1453, Ottoman law principally forbade the construction of new churches in Constantinople. The churches dated back to the 13th or 14th centuries and were allocated to the religious orders by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the European ambassadors. In particular when new religious orders arrived in Constantinople, such as the Jesuits and Capuchins at the beginning of the 17th century or after the confiscation of churches by the Ottoman authorities, the available churches were assigned to the orders without a stable accommodation.[153]

Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch, visited the churches of Galata at the beginning of the 1660s and marvelled at the church of St. Francis, 'which equalled Saint Sophia in height and size, and form and structure'.[154] In fact, up to the fire of 1660, St. Francis was the most important church of Galata and the patriarchal vicars celebrated masses on important occasions in St. Francis. The second church mentioned by the patriarch of Antioch was that of St. Benedict. According to him, St. Benedict's was a 'very large church, which was one of the

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[153] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 187-315.
[154] Poe, *The Travels of Macarius*, vol. 1, p. 28.

most magnificent churches belonging to the Orthodox Religion in the Grecian Empire, and is at present in the hands of the Frank Jesuits'.[155] The church of St. Benedict was probably administered by the Benedictines in the 13th century and was known as the church of the Genoese in the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1540, the church risked being converted into a mosque but the French ambassador César de Cantelmo managed to avoid the confiscation and Suleiman the Magnificent donated St. Benedict to the French king, who for his part, dedicated it to the Jesuits.[156] The church of St. Peter and Paul served by the Dominicans in the 17th century was initially in the hands of a female order, which had to leave Constantinople after the conquest.[157]

There was an architectonical particularity of the Latin churches in Constantinople. In 1622, the apostolic visitor de Marchis wrote in the church of St. Mary Draperis that there was 'a compartment for women and unmarried maids above the church door according to the customs of the country'.[158] The women's galleries continued to exist in the 18th century. David di San Carlo pointed in his visitation report to the 'commendable tradition' in Constantinople of placing the women in a separate space above the church door.[159] According to the apostolic visitor the separate space was accessible without the necessity of entering the actual church. The side of the galleries oriented towards the church nave was furthermore covered with blinds. From the visitor's account it emerges that with the exception of the provisory chapel of the Conventual Franciscans, all the churches were equipped with women's galleries.[160]

From the account of the patriarchal vicar Biagio Pauli in 1765 we know that there still existed separate spaces for women. He does not write of galleries for the women but of little choir-stalls in the back of the churches.[161] However, the authors do not say if it was actually compulsory for women to attend mass in the separate space. Presumably, the custom of building separate galleries for women had Byzantine roots. Already in the 4th century,

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[155] Ibid., p. 27.

[156] Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Sinan Kuneralp and Frédéric Hitzel (eds), *Représentants permanents de la France en Turquie (1536-1991) et de la Turquie en France (1797-1991)* (Istanbul and Paris, 1991), p. 4; Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 236.

[157] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 218.

[158] 'Sopra la porta della chiesa vi è lo spazio p[er] le donne, et zitelle secondo l'uso del paese; [...].' Pietro Demarchis, apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 26.11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, 123r). This custom still existed at the beginning of the 18th century. See for instance the description of the Latin churches by David di San Carlo, apostolic visitor, in 1706. Congregatio generalis 5.7.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 179v-188r).

[159] David di San Carlo, apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Visita apostolica a Costantinopoli, Costantinopoli 1704-1706 (APF, SOCG vol. 555, f. 260v-262v).

[160] Ibid.

[161] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Relazione dello stato delle missioni di Costantinopoli e le sue dipendenze, Costantinopoli 20.8.1765 cit. in: Hofmann, *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli*, pp. 172-178.

galleries had been built in Constantinople and other important Greek cities. There are also isolated cases of churches with galleries in France, the Holy Roman Empire and Italian territories.[162] Liturgical texts recommended the separation of the sexes in churches from the third century onwards. Also in Western Europe the separation of the sexes was discussed and frequently recommended but the construction of women's galleries did not prevail. It was more frequent to separate the sexes within the nave; either men in front and women behind, or men on the right and women on the left side.[163]

The hypothesis that the custom of the women's galleries had Byzantine origins is confirmed by the account of the French Orientalist François Pétis de la Croix. He commended that the Greek women did not intermingle with the men in Greek churches but retreated to their galleries. This tradition, continued the French Orientalist, helped to avoid the distraction and scandals which were frequent in the churches in France.[164]

The fire of 1660 and the following three decades represented a caesura in the history of Galata's Latin Catholic churches. Between the middle of the 17th and the middle of the 18th centuries at least five fires raged in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire.[165] The fire of April 1660 was by far the most devastating for the suburbs of Galata and Pera burning out of control for two days and destroying thousands of houses. Of the seven previously existing Latin churches in Galata, six were reduced to ashes. Only the church of the Jesuits, St. Benedict, could be saved from the flames by demolishing their accommodation.[166]

Theoretically, Ottoman law did not allow the reconstruction of destroyed non-Muslim places of worship but stipulated that the ground passed over to the property of the Ottoman state. Despite this principle, there were possibilities for the members of the different religious communities to recover their places of worship and rebuild the churches as long as they did not enlarge the church or add new building and structures.[167] The sultans legitimated the permission to reconstruct destroyed churches by referring to the long tradition the church had in the city. It was thus easier to rebuild a previously existing church than to build a new

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[162] Robert F. Taft, 'Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When- and Why?' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* vol. 52 (1998), pp. 27-87; Hiltje F. H. Zomer, 'The so-called women's gallery in the medieval church: an import from Byzantinum', in Adalbert Davids (ed.), *The Empress Theophano. Byzantinum and the West at the turn of the first millennium* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 290-306.

[163] Gabriela Signori, 'Links oder rechts? Zum „Platz der Frau" in der mittelalterlichen Kirche', in Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds), *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2004), pp. 339-382.

[164] Pétis de la Croix, *Etat présent des nations et églises Grecque, Arménienne, et Maronite en Turquie*, p. 23.

[165] See Acta vol. 29-135. The most significant episodes for the Latin churches in Galata and Pera happened in the years 1660, 1681, 1696, 1712, 1731 and 1762.

[166] Congregatio generalis 6.9.1660 (APF, Acta vol. 29, f. 228v).

[167] Baer, 'The great fire of 1660', p. 165.

church. After the fire of 1660, the Venetian bailo Ballarini tried to figure out with the help of an Ottoman acquaintance, what could be done in order to save the burned churches:

> '[….] Ballarino, who had sent a friend of his to a rather scrupulous Turk, knowledgeable on this matter because he had been a mufti of the Sultan for two years, asked him what was necessary for the reconstruction of the churches destroyed by fire, and he had answered that the laws of the Ottoman Empire prohibit such reconstruction but seeing as the Gran Signore was absolute Monarch he could dispense [from the prohibition, LB], albeit with great difficulty and expense'.[168]

This extract shows emblematically that the members of non-Muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire strongly depended on the benevolence of the Ottoman sultan and his highest officials with regard to the rebuilding of their places of worship. The application of restrictions depended on the prevailing circumstances. Whereas generally the Ottoman sultans allowed the reconstruction of churches or synagogues in previous and later periods, after the fire of 1660, the sultan and his entourage applied the Islamic law prohibiting the reconstruction of 'infidel' places of worship.[169]

As a consequence of the fire of 1660, the Reformed friars lost their church St. Mary Draperis. In a first moment, the terrain of St. Mary Draperis had been repurchased by the Latin Catholic ambassadors and private persons just as the terrain of the other Latin churches but, in a second moment, the terrain was confiscated by the Ottoman authorities and the buildings were razed. The land of the church became property of the Ottoman state despite the attempts of the Venetian bailo to prevent the loss by offering money. Officially, the Ottoman authorities justified the destruction of St. Mary Draperis with the explanation that the Franciscans hat broken their pledge not to rebuild a church but only accommodation for themselves.[170]

With St. Francis another church was confiscated and in place of the church a mosque was constructed in 1696.[171] Not only the church but also the houses and stores of Catholics and members of other Christian churches were destroyed contemporarily. In the hood of the new mosque only Muslims were allowed to take residence.[172]

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[168] '[…] il Ballarino, che aveva mandato da un Turco assai penale, suo amico, et intendente di questa materia per esser stato due anni mufti del Gran Signore, richiedendolo, che cosa era necessaria per rifabbricare le chiese distrutte dal fuoco, et aveva risposto, che le leggi dell'Impero Ottomano proibiscono tal rifabricat[io]ne ma che essendo il Gran Sig[no]re Monarca assoluto poteva dispensare, ma con gran difficoltà, e spesa.' Congregatio generalis 6.9.1660 (APF, Acta vol. 29, f. 229r.)

[169] Baer, 'The great fire of 1660', p. 159f.

[170] Ibid., p. 165f.

[171] Cf. Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 274 and 208; Borromeo, *Les catholiques à Constantinople*, p. 232; Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, p. 41.

[172] Baer, 'The great fire of 1660', p. 171.

With the confiscation of St. Francis the biggest and most important Latin Catholic church of Galata disappeared. From the Valide Sultan Mosque dedicated to the sultan's mother and built on the site of the church of St. Francis, one could see the identically named mosque on the other side of the Golden Horn, which had been constructed in the middle of a formerly Jewish district.[173]

Marc David Baer sees in the sultan's policy after the fire of 1660 a tendency to Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Constantinople. In the second half of the 17th century the Ottoman Empire under sultan Murad IV struggled with financial and political problems which were related to the military failure in the Mediterranean. Contemporarily, there were discussions about the 'right' religious practice among the Muslims of Constantinople. In particular the Kadızadeli movement and its leader Vani Mehmed Efendi intended not only to change the religious practice of the Muslim population but to change also the beliefs of the non-Muslim population and to limit their position in the public space. Baer thus argues that the Islamization policy 'reflected an intersection of religion politics'.[174] In a moment of political, military and economic instability and religious redefinition, the Islamization of non-Muslim space represented a strong symbol of success for the sultan and his state.[175]

It is noteworthy that the last two churches confiscated by the Ottoman authorities between 1660 and 1760 were the two Franciscan churches. The question arises as to whether the fact that the Franciscans traditionally had close relations to Venice was of any relevance in the decision of the Ottoman authorities. It can be presumed that in the eyes of the sultan and his officials it must have been particularly appealing to build a mosque on the site of the biggest Latin church.

Nevertheless it should be underlined that other churches were able to be rebuilt repeatedly and that after the confiscation of St. Mary Draperis and St. Francis, the Ottoman authorities permitted the Franciscan orders to construct their convents and churches in Pera. At the beginning of the 18th century, St. Mary Draperis was the first parish of Pera. By contrast, the new church of the Conventual Franciscans situated in Pera, St. Antony of Padua, was consecrated only in 1724. Until then, the parish activities of the Conventual Franciscans were accomplished in St. Benedict, the church of the Jesuits.[176]

The example of the 1731 fire illustrates that in circumstances other than in the second half of the 17th century, it may have been far less complicated to receive permission to rebuild

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[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., pp. 164-174.
[175] Ibid., p. 174
[176] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 211; 276-79.

burned churches and convents. The Capuchins of St. George reported that a fire damaged their convent and church as well as those of the Jesuits and Dominicans on the 20th July 1731. On the 3rd October of the same year, the French ambassador Louis Saveur, marquis de Villeneuve had an audience with the grand vizier and asked for permission to rebuild the damaged convents and churches. Four days later, the sultan's permission was in the hands of the ambassador. The Ottoman officials of Galata had to inspect the churches and convents before the construction work could start, which took place on the 15th October of the same year.[177]

It can thus be said that notwithstanding the fires and consequently the confiscation of the two Franciscan churches, the number of orders and churches in Constantinople remained stable due to Ottoman permission for constructing new churches and convents after the loss of the traditional ones. At the beginning of the 18th century, however, two of the churches with the richest tradition no longer existed. The churches which still existed, such as for instance St. Peter and Paul, the church of the Dominicans, were destroyed more than once by fires and several times rebuilt on a more modest scale compared to the previous 14th century church. There was a tendency to rebuild the churches which had been situated in Galata close to the European embassies in Pera, and, therefore, in the course of the 18th century, Pera became the barycentre of the Latin Catholic community where two of the three parishes were located.[178] In the 18th century there were no other cases of confiscated Latin churches but the sultans returned to their traditional practice of allowing the rebuilding of churches which had been destroyed by fire.

After having shortly discussed the number and particularities of the churches, I shall now briefly analyse the visibility of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople.

2.3.3. The Latin clergy

Traditionally, the spiritual care of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople depended on religious regular orders. In the middle of the 17th century the pastoral care of Galata's Latin Catholics was assured by five religious orders: the Dominicans, Conventual and Reformed Franciscans, Jesuits and Capuchins. After the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of the Faith in 1622 by Gregory XV, the activities of the Catholic missionaries in Constantinople came under the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide just as the whole Ottoman territory with the

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[177] Archives de la maison de Saint-George touchant l'incendie et la bâtisse en 1731 (ACP, Série L, Nr. 7).
[178] See Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 187-268.

exception of Albania and the Greek islands.[179] The mentioned religious orders were already present and active in Constantinople before the foundation of Propaganda Fide.

The Franciscans had been present in Constantinople since the 13th century. Traditionally, the Conventual Franciscans served in St. Francis, the main church of Galata, which was also the church of one of the three parishes in Galata. They were subordinated to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, who sent them to Constantinople. The Conventual Franciscans originated mainly from the Italian provinces but there were also friars from other provinces and, until the first years of the 18th century local friars.[180] According to Alphonse Belin, the Conventual Franciscans were 'intimately intermingled with the life of the city of Galata'.[181]

The Reformed Franciscans had been constantly present in Constantinople since the first half of the 16th century and they were the second order in charge of a Latin parish, which was situated in the church of St. Mary Draperis from the second half of the 16th century onwards. The church was donated to the Reformed Franciscans by Clara Bartola Draperis, who was a member of one of the most important Perot families. The Reformed Franciscans were predominantly of Italian provenance, closely linked to the Republic of Venice and acted repeatedly as chaplains of the Venetian bailo.[182]

Right from the foundation of their order in the 13th century, the Dominicans had been active in Constantinople. After their first church had been converted to a Mosque in the middle of the 16th century, they moved to the church of St. Peter and Paul. With regard to the geographical provenance of the Dominicans it can be said that the majority of Dominican missionaries in Constantinople originated from the Greek islands of the Aegean Sea, in particular from Chios. Moreover, up until the first decades of the 18th century, missionaries from Galata and Pera were also rather frequent among the Dominicans. The Dominicans were directly subordinated to their Superior General and were in charge of the third Latin parish in Galata.[183]

The Jesuits first arrived in Constantinople in 1583 after the French ambassador and Venetian Bailo had sent a petition to the Roman pontiff Gregory XIII in their favour. They were accommodated in the convent of St. Benedict, which belonged to the French king and one of their main tasks was to educate the children of the Latin Catholics. Only three years after their arrival the church and convent was again deserted after the Jesuits had died of the

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[179] Ibid., p. 88f.
[180] See, Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* pp. 187-212. Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, pp. 189-210
[181] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 212.
[182] Ibid., pp. 271-28; Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, pp. 16-38.
[183] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 213-2232; R. Loenertz, 'Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', *Echos d'Orient* 34/179 (1935), pp. 339-344.

plague or left the city.[184] In 1604, the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves obtained the sultan's permission of sending again Jesuits to Constantinople, where they arrived five years later. The first decades of the Jesuit's activities were characterizedd by the repeated allegations made by the Venetian Bailo and the English ambassador against them to the Ottoman authorities. The Jesuits were accused of being spies of the Roman pontiff and the French King, and of organising an uprising of the Greek populations. The background of the Venetian opposition was the Sarpian controversy and interdict at the beginning of the 17th century. The Ottoman authorities arrested and banished the Jesuits several times between their arrival in 1609 and the end of the 1620s and only the strong protection of the French ambassadors prevented them from being expelled from Constantinople. Towards the middle of the 17th century, the almost exclusively French Jesuits were well established in Constantinople.[185]

Similarly to the Jesuits, the Capuchins first arrived in Constantinople in the second half of the 16th century but their residence became permanent only after the Capuchins of the province of Paris had been called to Constantinople by the French ambassador Philippe de Harlay, Count de Césy in 1625. The Capuchins were allocated to the convent and church of St. George in Galata and from the 1630 they served the French ambassadors as chaplains in the embassy's chapel in Pera, which was consecrated to St. Louis. Moreover, the Capuchins conducted the school for the *jeunes de langues*, young Perots and French boys who studied French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Armenian and Turkish in order to serve the French ambassadors and consuls in the Levant as dragomans. Another school for the children of Galata and Pera was established by the Capuchins, where the children were taught primarily Catholic doctrine and the most important prayers but also literacy and civility.[186]

The strong links between the French king and ambassador and the Jesuits and its implications will be analysed more in depth later.

A further religious order was permanently present in Constantinople during the 17th and 18th centuries, the Reformed Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land. After 1663, Spanish Franciscans were in charge of the custody and the convent in Constantinople. However, the Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land did not have a public church in Galata and Pera, and did not take part in the pastoral care of the Latin Catholics.[187] Therefore, they are not included in the present study.

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[184] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 232-240; Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 295f.
[185] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 250f; Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 296f.
[186] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 285-315; Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p.302; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 87.
[187] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 281-284.

On average, there were from 20 to 30 members of the regular clergy in Galata. The main aim of the Latin missionaries was on a more normative level the reunion with the Eastern Churches, and on a practical level the pastoral care of the members of the Latin Catholic community. The patriarchal vicar Monsignor Ridolfi defined briefly their assignment and the limits of their missionary activity:

> '[….] one cannot get much out of those missionaries, because with the Turks one cannot negotiate the faith and the Greeks are unmanageable for their ambition and arrogance whereby all the good done is reduced to maintaining among the Barbarians those few traces of our faith and to freeing some slaves from the bonds of slavery.'[188]

Even though this affirmation of a Catholic clergyman seems rather polemical towards Islam and the Greek Orthodox, the daily activities of the Latin clergymen in Constantinople were indeed mostly concentrated on the Latin Catholic community.

At the head of the Latin Catholic clergy stood the patriarchal vicar, who was chosen by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. Only in 1652 was the patriarchal vicar granted full Episcopal dignity. Before, the provincial superior of the Conventual Franciscans held office without having the juridical authority of a bishop. The vicars were chosen from the regular and secular clergy and were invested with the faculties of a local Ordinary, that is a bishop or archbishop.[189] The patriarchal vicars played a crucial role in the communication between the Catholic clergy in Constantinople and the Roman congregations, were the main interlocutors for the foreign ambassadors, and in particular the representative of the French king, and represented the highest ecclesiastic authority in Constantinople. For these reasons, it is worth taking a closer look at the patriarchal vicars in charge during this period under examination:

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[188] '[…] da quei missionari si può far poco frutto, perché con i Turchi non si può trattar di fede, et i Greci sono intrattabili per la loro ambitione, e superbia onde tutto il bene, che si fa, si riduce in mantener in mezzo ai Barbari quelle poche vestigi della nostra fede, et in liberare della schiavitù qualche schiavo.' Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 32v).

[189] Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', pp. 497-500.

List of patriarchal vicars 1650 - 1760 according to Alphonse Belin[190]

1648 – 1651	Giovanni Francesco d'Anagni OFM Conv.
1651 – 1652	Filippo Severoli da Faenza OFM Conv.
1652 – 1653	Hyacinthe Subiano OP, archbishop of Edessa.
1653 – 1662	Bonaventura Teoli da Velletri OFM Conv., archbishop of Mira.
1663 – 1677	Andrea Ridolfi della Fratta d'Urbino OFM Conv., bishop of Calamine.
1678 – 1705	Gasparo Gasparini da Castignano OFM Conv., archbishop of Spiga (Biga).
1706 – 1720	Raimondo Galani da Ragusa OP, archbishop of Angora.
1720 – 1730	Pietro Battista Mauri da Carbagnato OFM Ref.
1731 – 1750	Girolamo Bona da Ragusa secular priest, archbishop of Carthage.
1750 – 1767	Biagio Paoli da Ragusa secular priest, archbishop of Larissa.

From the list of patriarchal vicars it emerges that also after the acknowledgment of the vicar's Episcopal dignity and his nomination by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, the charge remained predominantly in the hands of Franciscans and Dominicans until the 1730s. Moreover, in this period under examination the patriarchal vicars originated exclusively from the Italian peninsula or the Republic of Ragusa. The absence of French members of the clergy, or more specifically members of the French Capuchins and Jesuits, in this list is remarkable. Finally, it emerges that the prelate of the Constantinopolitan Latin community was chosen among the members of the regular clergy until the 1730s.

Girolamo Bona from Ragusa was the first secular priest appointed for the charge of patriarchal vicar of Constantinople. Bona was well known at the Roman Curia, where he was appreciated for his religious and diplomatic activities. Thus, with the choice of Girolamo Bona the cardinals of Propaganda Fide introduced the novelty of a secular patriarchal vicar while at the same time mantaining the tradition of choosing a person from within the Roman Curia.[191] It should, however, be taken into consideration that already the first prefect and in particular the first secretary of Propaganda Fide, Francesco Ingoli, had favoured the secular

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[190] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* pp. 350-358.
[191] Giuseppe Pignatelli, 'Francesco Girolamo Bona', in Alberto M. Ghisalberti (ed.), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1969), vol. 11, pp. 440-442.

clergy for the office of bishops over the regular clergy. The main reason for this preference was the often conflicting relations between the members of different religious order and consequently the risk that a prelate of one religious order would defend the interests of his own order against the interests of others. Moreover, the members of the secular clergy did not depend on the authority of a regular religious order but depended directly on Propaganda Fide.[192]

The few secular priests present in Constantinople originated predominantly from the Greek archipelago where they were unable to support themselves. For instance in 1748, the number of secular priests amounted to more or less 10 individuals. According to the patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona, only a few of them had the 'necessary education for their ministry'.[193] Here again, the question of incompetent local priests in comparison to the respectable European clergymen recurs. Interesting in this case is that the patriarchal vicar was himself a member of the secular clergy. The patriarchal vicar tried to provide a remedy by instructing them in monthly meetings during which, on the basis of spiritual cases, the duties of the ministry were discussed.[194]

Whereas before the middle of the 18th century, the mostly Ottoman secular clergy was almost completely excluded from the pastoral ministry by the patriarchal vicars and the superiors of the regular orders, towards the end of the 18th century, their importance grew slowly. This development is reflected in the nomination of patriarchal vicars who originated from the city of Constantinople between 1796 and 1835. However, as Oliver Jens Schmitt has pointed out, the growing influence of local secular priests led increasingly to conflicts with the European regular clergy.[195]

At this point it is worth going back to the geographical provenance of the members of the regular clergy in Constantinople. Whereas the Jesuits and Capuchins were almost exclusively of French origin, the Capuchins of the province of Paris and the Jesuits of the French province, the members of the orders with a longer tradition in Constantinople, Dominicans and Franciscans, were either of Italian, Aegean or Constantinopolitan origins. Traditionally,

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[192] Josef Metzler, 'Verso un Istituto Missionario di sacerdoti secolari', in Idem, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 1/1, pp. 506-522, p. 506f.

[193] Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.8.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 537r.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ludwik Biskupski, *L'origine et l'historique de la représentation officielle du Saint-Siège en Turquie (1204-1967)* (Istanbul, 1968), pp. 69- 97; Schmitt, *Levantiner,* pp. 266-268.

the Dominicans were the order with the highest percentage of friars originating from Constantinople or the Aegean Sea.[196]

The presence of local friars within the Dominicans and Franciscans was controversial. In fact, after a decree of Propaganda Fide in 1704, the superiors of the convents in Constantinople were forbidden to provide local Catholics with the clothing of the religious orders.[197] In the correspondence between the regular clergy in Constantinople and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, both the supporters and the opponents of the practice of admitting local novices to the convents, adduced their arguments to the discussion. According to the opponents of local novices, it was not possible to train novices to become responsible clergymen in the convents of Constantinople. In the past, the superiors of the Franciscans had admitted novices who did not comply with the requirements needed for the admittance in other places and this omission had led to scandals and prejudice for the Latin Catholic faith. Furthermore, Ottoman law expressly forbade the superiors of the Latin orders from admitting Ottoman subjects to the ecclesiastic life.[198]

Almost contemporarily to the letter written by the apostolic visitor David di San Carlo, the prefect of the Reformed Franciscans, Francesco da Carosino, approached the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Carlo Barberini with regard to the faculty of admitting local Latin Catholics as novices. In his eyes the local Latin Catholics 'were more capable of attaining success among these people as they are conversant with their language and custom, used to the climate and more willing to procure the necessary support which would bring great relief to the benefactors, who maintain the convent'.[199]

Similar was the argumentation of two Reformed Franciscans in 1721, who were themselves Ottoman subjects. In a memoir to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide they explained that local friars had the knowledge of the languages necessary for missionary activity in the city: Turk, Greek, Armenian and Italian. On the contrary, the friars argued that the European missionaries did not have these linguistic skills and had not managed to achieve proficiency in the local languages during their five-year sojourn in Constantinople. Moreover, the two Reformed friars identified more religious zeal within the local missionaries as far as the missionary work was concerned, whereas the European missionaries would be more

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[196] Cf., Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* pp. 187-255; Congregatio generalis 5.7.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 179v-184r), Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 6.1760 (APF, SOCG vol. 788, f. 124r/v).

[197] Congregatio generalis 22.9.1704 (APF, Acta vol. 74, f. 240v).

[198] Congregatio generalis 22.9.1704 (APF, Acta vol. 74, f. 238r/v).

[199] '[…] p[er] esser q[ue]sti più capaci di far frutta tra quei popoli come pratici della loro lingua, e costumi, avvezzi a quel clima, e più atti a procacciarsi il necessario sostentam[en]to con molto sgravio de' Benefattori, che hora mantengono la custodia.' Congregatio generalis 17.7.1702 (APF, Acta vol. 72, f. 72v).

interested in accomplishing their sojourn in Constantinople in order to be eligible for ecclesiastic privileges and return to their provinces.[200]

These arguments were promptly challenged by the patriarchal vicar Mauri. The vicar, himself an Observant friar, originated from Milan.[201] According to Mauri, the arguments of the two Ottoman missionaries had no substance. He underlined that the European missionaries knew several languages perfectly and could thus preach in the necessary languages, whereas the local missionaries preached generally in Greek. Furthermore, it would not depend on the origin of the missionary if he was esteemed by the Latin Catholics, but rather on the exemplarity of his customs. This exemplarity of customs was, as it was generally known, to be found only in the foreign missionaries. In order to stimulate the foreign missionaries to study the local languages, the vicar Mauri proposed to send the missionaries back to their provinces if, after three years of sojourn, they had not learned the necessary languages. Mauri moreover pointed to the fact that it was also important to admit every once in a while some local novice as an act of comfort for the Latin Catholics of Constantinople. According to Mauri it was important to limit the number of the local novices as it was not possible to send them away from the custody of Constantinople as their native city.[202]

The statement of the patriarchal vicar Mauri concerning the excellent linguistic skills of the present missionaries can be further illustrated with his report of the same year in which he listed all the missionaries and their language abilities. Of five Dominicans, and in indeed all of Ottoman origin, five knew Italian and Greek, three also Turkish and two were additionally able to preach in French. With regard to the parishes of the Reformed and the Conventual Franciscans, three of eleven friars were of Ottoman origin, four knew Turkish and five Greek. Moreover, five of eight Capuchins, one of Italian, one of Ottoman and the remaining six of French origins, were able to preach in Turkish and four in Greek. Finally, four of the five Jesuits were of French, one of Ottoman origin, and three of these were able to preach in Turkish and Greek. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide discussed the different statements and decided to partly relax the prohibition of accepting Constantinopolitan novices. However, every single case had to be evaluated by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the novices had to be educated in an Italian convent.[203]

Of course the information of the patriarchal vicar has to be interpreted with due caution. Nevertheless, it seems that the European languages Italian and French as well as the local

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[200] Congregatio generalis 23.6.1721 (APF, Acta vol. 91, f. 225v/226r).
[201] Biskupski, *L'origine et l'historique du Saint-Siège en Turquie*, p. 63.
[202] Congregatio generalis 23.6.1721 (APF, Acta vol. 91, f. 226v/227r).
[203] Pier Battista Mauri, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.3.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 632, f. 166r-167v).

languages Greek and Turkish were well represented among the missionaries. It is, moreover remarkable that the five Dominicans were all natives of Constantinople or Chios. This fact furnishes further evidence for the particularly strong relation between the convent of the Dominicans and the local Latin Catholics.

Returning to the question regarding local novices, it can be assumed that, on the one hand, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide did not want to contravene an Ottoman law and for this reason forbid the admission of Ottoman novices. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the debate evidences several recurring elements concerning the keen competition between local and European missionaries. Of course, it was dangerous for the Latin Church not to comply with Ottoman laws, but as we have seen in the extract from the source, there were other important arguments in favour of or against Ottoman and European members of the clergy: in the first place the importance of language skills, and, in the second place, the exemplarity of customs and morality.

Linguistic skills and the admission of local novices represented a delicate subject for Propaganda Fide and the Catholic missions all over the world. Whereas theoretically, already the first secretary of Propaganda Fide had expressed a positive attitude towards the development of local clergymen in all missions, the consecration of locals was particularly controversial among the European missionaries. In the mission in Southern American territories or Asian territories, the number of European missionaries was often too small to ensure pastoral care to the converted Christians in frequently large territories. Moreover, according to the Ingoli, Catholicism could only become entrenched in a territory if the local population was integrated in the pastoral activities. However, the almost exclusively European superiors of the missions repeatedly questioned the capability of indigenous Catholics of acting as priests.[204]

Symptomatic for the scepticism of European missionaries towards local recruits is the case of the 16th- and 17th- century mission in Brazil. The European Jesuits emphasized the inferiority of local members of the clergy who had not been educated in Europe.[205] Besides the lack of European missionaries, the linguistic skills of local recruits constituted the strongest argument in favour of local priests. Already the *Constitutiones* of the Society of Jesus had defined that the Jesuits were supposed to learn the languages of the territory of their activity, and as such the knowledge of the local language became a veritable virtue of the

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[204] Karl Müller, 'Propaganda-Kongregation und einheimischer Klerus', in Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 1/1, pp. 538-558.
[205] Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, pp. 211-221.

missionary. However, the learning of the local languages was difficult and European Jesuits achieved only modest linguistic skills.[206]

Different was the case of the Dominican mission in the Chinese province of Fuan in the 18th century. Whereas the Dominicans were perfectly willing to consecrate local priests, the Chinese authorities did not allow it and threatened both the missionaries and the local priests who had to act clandestinely.[207] The situation in Constantinople was different from both mentioned examples. On the one hand, the number of Latin Catholics was small and there were no mass conversions as in the case of the Southern-American territories. On the other hand, the Ottoman authorities did control and limit the consecration of local Catholics but, as there were Ottoman missionaries during the whole period under examination, the prohibition was presumably not very strict.

The linguistic circumstances of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople were complicated and changed repeatedly. The most important languages were Italian and French for the European Latin Catholics, Greek for those Perots who did not know the European languages (their number diminished during the 17th century), Turkish and eventually Armenian for the apostolic work among the Armenians, and Arabic for the small number of Maronites from Aleppo, who were present in the Ottoman capital city. Moreover, there were always a more or less large number of slaves of different origins in the prisons of the sultan.

If we go back to the sources, we find several letters containing references to the language skills and challenges of the missionaries. Up to the beginning of the 18th century, in the daily routine, the missionaries preached and taught alternately in Italian, French, Greek and Turkish. For example, in 1702 the following linguistic conventions were used for the missionaries' activities: 'in this city, there are four open churches, in which, during Advent and Lent, the missionaries preach in Italian on weekdays and in Greek and French on Sundays and feast days; during the year, the Capuchins [preach] in Greek in the morning and [teach] the Christian doctrine in French at vespers'.[208] It can be presumed that Italian, French, Latin and Greek were widely known by the missionaries and that there always were missionaries who were proficient in Turkish.

Depending on occurrences and evolutions, this linguistic routine had to be widened. For instance in 1691, the Conventual friars asked Propaganda Fide to send missionaries with a

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[206] Ibid., p. 150f.
[207] Menegon, *Ancestors, virgins, and friars*, pp. 140-142.
[208] 'In q[ue]sta città sono quattro chiese aperte, ne' quali l'avvento, e quaresima, si predica in lingua Italiana ne giorni feriali, in Greco e Francese le Domeniche, e festi; frà l'anno li P[adri] Cappuccini in Greco la mattina, e la dottrina Christiana, al Vespero in Francese [...].' Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 1.6.1702 (APF, SOCG vol. 543, f. 462r).

good knowledge of German and Polish to Constantinople in order to assist the slaves of these territories.[209] The huge number of German and Polish slaves was not accidental but coincided with the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League consisting of the Habsburg Empire, Venice, the Polish-Lithuanian League and the Russian Empire.[210] Again, in 1736, Reformed friars of German language were requested by the resident of the German Emperor in Constantinople. Contrary to the first request, this time not the high number of slaves but the rapidly growing number of Germans living in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire was the reason for the request.[211]

Proficiency in Turkish and Armenian became increasingly important for the Latin missionaries at the beginning of the 18th century. As we will see in the chapter on conversions, the Latin missionaries had notable success among the Ottoman Armenians.[212] As Turkish was the most prevalent language among the Armenians of Constantinople, proficiency in this language was important for the Catholic missionaries. According to a letter written by the Catholic Armenian bishop from Caffa and by the Armenians of Constantinople, this language was generally lacking among the Conventual friars of Constantinople. As a consequence of this absence, the Catholic Armenians could not be instructed in the Holy faith and they did not have any possibility to confess themselves.[213]

In fact, the achievements of the missionaries among the Armenians in terms of conversions made the knowledge of Turkish indispensable for the clergy in Constantinople. Giovanni Battista Bavestrelli, an Ottoman Dominican, demanded that the Curia in Rome choose patriarchal vicars or at least missionaries who were able to speak and preach in Turkish, in order to augment the benefits of the mission. He then added that the current vicar had at least tried to learn Turkish, whereas young missionaries coming from Europe would not even try but preferred to abandon themselves to idleness and left the city a few years later without any merit.[214] The request of Bavestrelli was approved at least partly by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide as can be seen in a letter of the patriarchal vicar Biagio Pauli in which he acknowledged that the cardinals of Propaganda Fide had ordered that the superiors of the

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[209] Congregatio generalis 3.9.1691 (APF, Acta vol. 61, f. 55r).

[210] See Virginia Aksan, 'War and Peace', in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The later Ottoman Empire (1603-1839)* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 81-117, p. 107; Reinhard Schulze, 'Die Islamische Welt in der Neuzeit', in Albrecht Noth and Jürgen Paul (eds), *Der islamische Orient, Grundzüge seiner Geschichte* (Würzburg, 1998), p. 357.

[211] Congregatio generalis 18.11.1737 (APF, Acta vol. 107, f. 153r/v).

[212] See Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 178-185.

[213] Congregatio generalis 19.9.1707 (APF, Acta vol. 77, f. 317v/318r).

[214] Giovanni Battista Bavestrelli, Dominican missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 30.9.1740 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 828v, 831r/v).

Reformed Franciscans in Constantinople and Smyrna had to be at least expert in one of the two languages of Greek and Turkish.[215]

This decision of the Curia seems to be an important example for the more general development, which led to a stronger emphasis on the language skills of the clergymen in Constantinople during the first part of the 18th century. As far as concerns the strategy of language training is concerned, the orders adopted different approaches. Whereas generally, the missionaries were taught individually because there was no central institution for the language instruction, the order of the Reformed friars founded a language school in the college of Saint Peter Montorio in Rome, where the missionaries could prepare their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire. Main objects of the college were, on the one hand to teach the local languages, and, on the other hand, to instruct the missionaries with regard to the local culture and local customs.[216]

The growing attention which Propaganda Fide paid to the knowledge of languages is reflected in the sources. From the middle of the 18th century onwards, the superiors of the different convents of Constantinople had to inform the cardinals of Propaganda Fide about the language skills of their missionaries. If we take again the example of the Reformed friars we can see that in 1753, according to the information provided by the superior of the convent, of twenty missionaries operating in the custody of Constantinople, fifteen knew either Greek or Turkish, one had proficiency of Arabic and only three did not know any oriental language. The same document reveals that in the middle of the 18th century, there were two friars from the Aegean island of Tinos, two Bohemian friars and one Armenian friar. The remaining fifteen were of Italian origin.[217]

It is remarkable that in the case of Constantinople, the question regarding the lack of language knowledge concerned primarily the Franciscan missionaries, whereas the linguistic skills of the other orders are less questioned. In the case of the Dominicans the percentage of Ottoman missionaries remained high until the middle of the 18th century. The Ottoman Dominicans originated mainly from Chios and the Cyclades.[218] One possible explanation for the fact that Capuchins and Jesuits were hardly ever attacked for lacking linguistic skills

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[215] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 13.1.1745 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 272r).

[216] Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, p. 139f.

[217] Giandomenico di Valdagno, prefect of the Reformed Franciscans, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 12.3.1753 (APF, SC Romania vol. 9, f. 163r-165r).

[218] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Relazione dello stato della missione di Costantinopoli dell'anno 1760, Constantinople June 1760 (APF, SOCG vol. 788, f. 124r).

despite the fact that there were less Ottoman missionaries, could be that the two orders traditionally placed more weight on the knowledge of languages of their missionaries.[219]

In summary it can be said, therefore, that the ecclesiastic life of Latin Catholics in Constantinople was shaped by European, predominantly of Italian or French origin, members of regular orders. The European predominance becomes even stronger if we take into consideration that only a very small number of secular priests used to live in the city.

Two more considerations are important for chapters three and four of this study. Firstly, it is remarkable that the main reason for conflicts between local and European clergymen in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* in 1682.[220] Apparently, the events of 1682 were still perceived as an attack of the Curia and the French king against the traditional local church structure and led to feelings of strong resentments. It will be all the more important to analyse the developments of the 1680s.

However the rupture between Ottoman and European friars and priests was only one line of area of conflict within the Latin clergy. The second consideration concerns, in fact, the conflicts between French and Italian members of the regular clergy in the Ottoman Empire and between the papacy and the French crown that were a constant source of disturbance in the reality of the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople during the 17th and 18th centuries.

2.3.4. Confraternities and the visibility of the Latin Catholic community in the streets of Galata

Ottoman law and the *ahidnames* granted free practice of religion to the European Latin Catholics. In fact, members of the Latin clergy in Constantinople referred regularly to the freedom they enjoyed in their religious life. The patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi emphasized in a letter to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide that 'the exercice of the Christian religioni s permitted in the whole Ottoman dominion and is securer in Constantinople and its surroundings for the numerous representatives of crowns who reside there'.[221] A more

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[219] Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, pp. 148f; Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 303f; Renate Dürr, 'Übersetzung als Wissenstransfer. Das Beispiel der Guaraní-Wörterbücher von Antonio Ruiz de Montoya S.J. (1639/40)', in Häberlein and Keese, *Sprachgrenzen- Sprachkontakte – kulturelle Vermittler,* pp. 31-45, p. 34.
[220] Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 156.
[221] '[…] l'esercizio della Religione Christiana è permesso in tutto il dominio Ottomano ed è più sicuro in Costantinopoli, e suo recintato per i tanti rappresentanti di Corone che vi risiedono.'Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Costantinopoli 8.3.1760 (APF, SOCG vol. 425, f. 177r).

detailed account of the freedom of worship can be found in a letter written by the Jesuit missionary Taraillon in 1714:

> 'The ordinary functions of our church include the celebration of Holy Mass, the administration of the sacraments, sermons, catechism, lectures on the gospel, all with such complete liberty as if we were in the midst of the most Christian towns.'[222]

The comparison he makes between the situations in Constantinople and cities in Christianity can be found recurrently in letters from Constantinople. For the members of the Latin clergy, the fact that in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire it was possible to do almost everything as in a Catholic city seemed noteworthy.

A further description of the free practice of religion in Constantinople was issued by another patriarchal vicar at the beginning of the 18th century. Gasparo Gasparini pointed to the fact that even though the Latin believers came from different backgrounds, they observed the precepts of the Latin rite uniformly and celebrated the feast days according to the General Roman Calendar. Moreover, the patriarchal vicar praised the great religious zeal of the members of the Latin parishes, which was also reflected in the splendour and pomp for religious celebrations and processions. According to the patriarchal vicar, small processions inside the churches of the Dominicans, Jesuits and Capuchins were performed every Sunday by the members of the confraternities with numerous torches and candles.[223]

In this letter, the confraternities are mentioned by the patriarchal vicar. As in Catholic territories of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, the members of the confraternities were particularly active with regard to the organizing of processions inside the churches and in the streets of Galata and Pera. The information about the confraternities in Constantinople is rather limited. Generally, the members of the clergy confined themselves to listing the confraternities present in the different churches and at the most briefly described the main holy day of the confraternity and the year of the confraternity's foundation in Constantinople. In the middle of the 18th century, in the churches of the Dominicans, Conventual and Reformed Franciscans, Jesuits and Capuchins eleven confraternities existed.[224]

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[222] 'Les fonctions ordinaires de notre église sont la célébration du service divin, l'administration des sacrements, les prédications, les catéchismes, les conférences sur l'Evangile, tout cela avec une liberté aussi entière que si nous étions au milieu des villes les plus chrétiennes.' P. Tarillon, Jesuit missionary, to the count de Pontchartrain, secretary of state, Etat présent des missions des pères jésuites dans la Grèce 4.3.1714, cit. in Vissière, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, p. 29.

[223] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 1708 (APF, SOCG vol. 562, f. 385v).

[224] The Dominicans guided the confraternity of the Rosary, the Confraternity of the Name of Jesus and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The first two existed already at the beginning of the 17th century; the third was installed in the 18th century. The Reformed Franciscans guided '*ab antiquo*' a confraternity of the Good Death. In the church of the Conventual Franciscans there existed two confraternities: one of the Cordon and one of St. Anthony, which are mentioned after the second half of the 18th century. Up to the fire of 1660, the confraternity of the

After the Council of Trent, the lay confraternities played an important role in the renovation of the Catholic Church. The main aim of the confraternities was to propagate religious practices and a form of spirituality which corresponded to the intentions of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. Common rituals, different forms of devotion, charity activities public ceremonies, individual prayers and the veneration of images of Saints and relics were important elements of the confraternities' activities. In Constantinople, as in other European and non-European contexts, the members of the religious orders were the main promoters of the confraternities and disseminated the confraternities all over the world. The confraternities of the Holy Sacrament, the Rosary and the Name of God and Jesus were particularly widespread and also active in Constantinople.[225]

In our sources, the confraternities are frequently mentioned with regard to the processions and thus related to the presence of Latin Catholics in the public space of Galata and Pera. The confraternity of St. Anne and the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament were particularly active in this respect. The confraternity of St. Anne was originally composed of reputable members of the Perots and had its own chapel, first in the church of St. Francis of the Conventual Franciscans and from 1660 onward in the Jesuit church of St. Benedict. After the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* the confraternity of St. Anne was the only representation of the local Latin Catholics in Constantinople. However, at the beginning of the 18th century, the confraternity of St. Anne admitted also European Catholics. The members of the confraternity used to wear a uniform called '*sacco'*, an alb with a Franciscan cordon during the most solemn ceremonies.[226]

Once a month, the confraternity met on Sunday for a mass with communion and subsequent procession with the relic of St. Anne. Moreover, on 26th July, the confraternity

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Blessed Sacrament had its chapel in St. Francis of the Conventual Franciscans. The Jesuits were in charge of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament for the French 'nation' and in their church the Confraternity of St. Anne of the Perots had its chapel. Finally, the Capuchins guided a Confraternity of St. Roch and one of the Souls in Purgatory, which are both mentioned from the beginning of the 18th century onwards. See Pietro Demarchis, apostolic visitor, Visita Apostolica a Costantinopoli, 10./11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, f. 122r-128r); David di San Carlo, apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Visita Apostolica a Costantinopoli 1704-1706 (APF, SOCG vol. 555, f. 212r-267r); Hofmann, *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli,* pp. 170-183.

[225] Christopher Black, 'Introduction', in Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (eds), *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas. International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 1-34; Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des* dévots (Paris, 1987); Bernard Dompnier and Paola Vismara, 'De nouvelles approches pour l'histoire des confrères' in Bernard Dompnier and Paola Vismara (eds), *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne (MI-XVe-XIXe siècle)* (Rome, 2008), pp. 405-423; Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, *Espace et Sacré en Provence (XVI-XXe siècle). Cultes, Images, Confréries* (Paris, 1994); Bernard Heyberger, 'Confréries, dévotions et société chez les Catholiques orientaux', in Dompnier and Vismara, *Confréries et dévotions dans la Catholicité moderne,* pp. 226-241; Nicolas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and civic religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, 1995).

[226] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 491; Hildebert de Zara, *Traditions populaires de la Semaine Sainte à Constantinople (Galata-Péra, Buyukdéré). La pieuse et vénérable confrérie de Sainte Anne* (Istanbul, 1933), pp. 18-20.

celebrated solemnly its patron saint, Anne. However, the confraternity of St. Anne was primarily known in Galata and Pera for the processions and ceremonies during the Easter week.[227]

Whereas the monthly processions remained inside the churches and convents, the Easter processions represented an opportunity for the Latin Catholic community to be visible in the streets of Galata and Pera. In the letters to the cardinals in Rome, the members of the clergy in Constantinople used to proudly describe the public processions in the streets of Galata and Pera:

> 'These Catholics from time immemorial have been used to having two processions in the church of the Jesuit Fathers of the confraternity of Saint Anne, with the intervention of all the secular and regular clergy and in all pomp and solemnity that none could desire more in terms of Christianity. Besides the representation of the Holy Resurrection that is all made of silver, and decorated with many lights, the Santa Spina is carried under a canopy and accompanied with singing and music played on all sorts of instruments furnished by these Catholic representatives, and above all a great quantity of Torches and many lamps, which go ahead of the Santa Reliquia. The most remarkable is that both the above-mentioned processions take place at night. The first on Holy Friday two hours after dusk, but this does not go beyond the boundaries of the Monastery and garden of the above-named Fathers; the other on the Holy Sabbath and this begins two hours after midnight so the whole function usually ends at the break of dawn; this [procession, LB] goes around the districts of Galata for about a mile with a throng of people crowding round to accompany the procession or to see the display which imposes respect and 'civetteria' (sentimentality) and even the Turks themselves who come to watch in large numbers.'[228]

According to the account of the French Jesuit Tarillon and the patriarchal vicar Raimondo Galani, at the beginning of the 18th century both processions on the Holy Saturday took place in the streets of Galata and Pera. The Jesuit and the patriarchal vicar emphasize that it was

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[227] Zara, *Traditions populaires de la Semaine Sainte à Constantinople*, p. 21f.

[228] '[…], questi cattolici dal tempo immemorabile solevano farsi due processioni nella chiesa dei Padri Gesuiti dalla confraternità di S. Anna, coll'intervento di tutto il clero secolare e regolare, e con tanta pompa, e solennità, che niente di più potrebbe desiderarsi in merito alla Cristianità. Oltre la macchina della S. Resurezione, ch'è tutta d'argento, et ornata di molti lumi si porta la S. Spina sotto il Baldachino, accompagnata da canti, e da istrumenti musici d'ogni sorte, che sogliono fornire questi Sig[no]ri Rappresentanti cattolici, e soprattutto da una gran quantità di Torce, e molti fanari, che precedono la sud[ett]a S. Reliquia. Il più rimarcabile si è, che ambe le prenominate processioni si fanno di notte. La prima, il venerdì Santo a due ore di sera, ma questa però non sorte fuori dei recinti del coleggio, e giardino dei sud[ett]i Padri, l'altra il Sabato Santo, ed a questa si da principio dopo due ore di mezza notte, cosicche tutta la funzione suol finire ordinariam[ent]e allo spuntar del giorno; questa fa un giro presso che d'un miglio per le contrade della città di Galata, col concorso d'un popolo infinito, che suole affollarsi ò per accompagnar la processione, ò per vedere questo spettacolo, che impone rispetto, e civetteria fino ai turchi medesimi, che in grandissimo numero si rendono spettatori.' Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 14.4.1747 (APF, SOCG vol. 745, f. 212r/v).

allowed to carry the cross through the streets of Galata and Pera and Tarillon accentuates that 'the Turks who meet the procession are the first to stop and give signs of respect'.[229]

Processions across the quarter of Galata and Pera with the crucifix, torches, music and religious images would not have been possible without the permission of the Ottoman authorities. In fact, as the patriarchal vicar Gallani explained, it was the governor of Galata, the *vaivoda*, who had to issue the permission. Not only did the *vaivoda* grant the permission in change of a gift, he also assured the safety of the participants and spectators of the procession with his guards and he even decided that the gate between Galata could remain exceptionally open in order to assure the participation of the Latin Catholics living in Pera.[230]

It is indeed noteworthy that the Latin Catholics were able to realise splendid processions in the streets of capital of the Ottoman Empire. The only restriction concerned the time of the processions. In fact, the procession could only take place at night. But we can imagine that an event of this magnitude was nevertheless followed by a huge majority of the quarter's population. The tradition of the Easter procession on Holy Saturdays in Constantinople goes back to the Middle Ages and reflects a medieval form of religiosity which was strongly linked to the human nature of Christ and thus, the passion of Christ.[231] Presumably, after the Ottoman conquest in 1453, the significance of the Easter procession grew notably. It became an important symbol in the attempts of the members of the Latin Catholic community to preserve their identity as a religious community. Moreover, it should be emphasized that the Easter procession was traditionally organised by the members of the confraternity of St. Anne*,* which consisted predominantly of local Latin Catholics, and was, thus, an important symbol of the local Catholicism.

The request for permission had to be presented to the Ottoman authorities every year. The weightiest argument which the Latin Catholics could use in order to obtain the permission was to emphasize that they had performed the procession 'from time immemorial'. For the Ottoman authorities, issuing the permission represented a possibility of additional earnings, as they usually asked for retribution.[232]

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[229] 'Les Turcs qui se rencontrent sur le chemin sont les premiers à s'arrêter et à donner des marques de leur respect.' P. Tarillon, Jesuit missionary, to the count de Pontchartrain, secretary of state, Etat present des missions des pères jésuites dans la Grèce 4.3.1714, cit. in Vissière, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, p. 30; Galani patriarchal vicar to the cardinals of the Congregation of the Council, 18.2.1725. Cit. in Hofmann, *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli*, p. 90.

[230] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 1708 (APF, SOCG vol. 562, f. 389v).

[231] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 209; Zara, *Traditions populaires de la Semaine Sainte à Constantinople*, p. 12.

[232] Borromeo, *Les Catholiques à Constantinople,* p. 237; Zara, *Traditions populaires de la Semaine Sainte à Constantinople,* p. 28.

In 1750, the Ottoman authorities no longer wanted to issue the permission for the procession and according to the French ambassador Roland Puchot, comte des Alleuers, it was impossible to receive the permission after that. From that point onwards, processions had to take place inside the cloister of St. Benedict during the daytime. For the clergy and the members of the Latin parishes it was important to continue the custom in order to preserve the souvenir of this pious tradition.[233] The tradition of the Easter procession continued until the 20th century. In the middle of the 19th century, the Latin Catholics were again allowed to leave the churches and convents for the procession.[234]

Another celebration of particular splendour was the Corpus Christi procession. The procession was organised by the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament composed of French merchants. The confraternities of the Holy Sacrament were of high importance for the post-Tridentine forms of devotion. The promotion of the Eucharistic celebrations was one of the confraternity's main objectives. Around the Blessed Sacrament developed particular forms of worship, which culminated in the solemn procession of the Corpus Christi. The confraternity of the Holy Sacrament was particularly widespread in France and promoted by the Jesuit missionaries.[235] It is thus not coincidental that the French members of the Constantinopolitan confraternity were under the guidance of the Jesuits. After St. Francis had been destroyed by the fire of 1660, the celebration took place in the Jesuit church of St. Benedict:

> 'Their piety shows through all the more in the solemnity of the Corpus Christi which,
> after the fire and loss of the Church of Saint Francis of the Conventual Fathers, is
> performed in that of the Jesuit Fathers with noble decorations and setting up of rich altars
> with an abundance of lights, with the intervention of the Most Excellent Ambassadors of
> France and Venice […] and great convergence not only of Catholics but also Schismatics,
> and Turks, who attend the solemn mass, and the Procession, observing all the Sacred
> Ceremonies with much attention and modesty, […].'[236]

In this case, the non-Catholic spectators had to enter the church in order to see the ceremony. Even though it is difficult to say how numerous the Greek and Muslim actually were in the ceremony, we can nevertheless assume that it was not unusual to enter the places of worship

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[233] Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 18.3.1750 (APF, SOCG vol. 745, f. 214v/215r).

[234] Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 330; Zara, *Traditions populaires de la Semaine Sainte à Constantinople*, pp. 136-38.

[235] See, Froeschlé-Chopard, *Espace et Sacré en Provence*, pp. 503-536.

[236] 'Risplende a maggior segno la loro pietà nella solennità del Corpus Christi, che dopo l'incendio, e p[er]dita della Chiesa di S. Francesco de P[adri] Con[ven]tuali si fa in quella de' P[adri] Gesuiti con nobil'addobbo, con erezione di ricchi Altari, con abbondanza di lumi, coll'intervento delli Ecc[ellentissi]mi S[igno]ri Amb[asciato]ri di Francia, e Venezia […] e concorso grande non solo di Cattolici, ma di Scismatici, e Turchi, che assistono alla messa solenne, et alla Processione, osservando tutte le Sacre Cerimonie con molta attenzione, e modestia, […].' Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propganda Fide, Constantinople 1708 (APF, SOCG vol. 562, f. 585v).

of another religious community. The significance of the participation should however not be overestimated: presumably the curiosity of seeing an equally magnificent and unfamiliar ceremony may constitute a reason for it.

The two examples of the Easter procession and the celebrations of the Corpus Christi show that the Latin Catholic community had indeed visibility beyond the limits of their own community. Unsurprisingly, magnificent ceremonies within the quarter of Galata attracted spectators of different religious backgrounds. Similarly, Latin Catholics were spectators of the principal Greek Orthodox, Jewish or Muslim religious celebrations.

The Latin presence in the streets however depended on the benevolence of high Ottoman officials and on the financial capacity of making them generous gifts. It was thus important for the Latin Catholics and their clergy to have powerful and financially strong allies, the European ambassadors and in particular the representative of the French king, for the negotiations with the Ottoman authorities.

However, the visibility of the Latin Catholics was not restricted to the major religious holy days. On the contrary, Latin Catholic clergymen and parish members were regularly present in the streets of Galata and Pera during the daytime for the funeral processions of members of the community. The funeral processions started in the churches of Galta and Pera and led to the cemetery, which was placed outside the city walls beyond Pera. In the chapter about the rites of passage the details of some particularly interesting and important funeral ceremonies will be analysed.

Furthermore, the Latin Catholic community had a certain visibility beyond religious limits, within the churches as well as in the streets of Constantinople. Only in the middle of the 18th century, was this visibility restricted by the Ottoman authorities. Barely 100 years later, in the course of the Tanzimat, the Latin Catholic community was again allowed to leave the churchyards for the processions. Oliver Jens Schmitt writes that 'the undisturbed accomplishment of Latin processions in the public space of Constantinople under the protection of the European ambassadors and Ottoman authorities in the middle of the 19th century represented a success for Catholicism which could hardly be overestimated'.[237] It should however be emphasized that the presence of the Latin Catholics in Galata's public space was not uncommon in the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century.

The position of the representation of local Latin Catholics within the Latin community of Constantinople will be the central issue of the next chapter.

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[237] Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 331.

3. Local representation vs. Roman centralization: the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*

From the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 to the 1680's, the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* represented the local Latin Catholics and controlled the accountancy and the estate of the different churches and convents or, in other words ran the affairs of the Latin churches and convents. From a Roman perspective, the administration of the churches by secular members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* was not satisfactory and led to conflicts with the superiors of the religious orders, and the patriarchal vicar in particular, in the second half of the 17th century. In 1682, the cardinals of *Propaganda Fide* ended the quarrels with a decree assigning the temporal administration of the churches to the patriarchal vicar and the superiors of the religious orders.

According to Alphonse Belin, a French specialist of Oriental studies at the end of the 19th century, this moment characterizedd the beginning of a new era for Constantinople's Latin Catholics which would lead to increasing influence of the Roman authorities in the city.[238] It is remarkable that later historians writing about the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* referred almost exclusively to *Belin's* analysis.[239] This fact leads to the assumption that little research has been done on the subject. Furthermore, the change in the administration of the churches and convents was rather represented as a single event at a specific moment in time. Instead, I would argue that it was rather the result of several developments during the 17th century. It seems thus particularly promising to study more in depth the events and interactions which led to the disempowerment of the local Church structure at the beginning of the 1680s.

The main actors were, on the one hand, the heads of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and, on the other hand, the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini. The main aim of this chapter is to work out the strategies of the most influential representatives of the Perots in order to reconstruct their line of argument against the prelate who challenged their traditional privileges. I intend to do this by analysing the correspondence of different actors in Constantinople, Rome and Paris between 1680 and 1685. Who were the allies of the Perots, who, on the contrary, the opponents? What was the position of the Perots until the middle of the 17th century and afterwards? Furthermore, I shall try to find out to what extent the members of the Latin community in Constantinople were involved in the dispute and how far

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[238] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 355.
[239] See Borromeo, 'Les catholiques à Constantinople', pp. 233-236; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 95-98; Rinaldo Marmara, *Précis historique de la communauté latine de Constantinople et son église: de l'Empire byzantin é la République de Turquie* (Istanbul, 2003), pp. 49-51; Schmitt, *Levantiner;* p. 127f; Trannoy, 'La «Nation Latine» de Constantinople', pp. 246-256.

the representatives of the European powers played an active role in the conflicts. In the first place, I shall briefly outline the main functions of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*. In the second place, I shall analyse the interactions and events of the early 1680s, which led to the disempowerment of the representatives of the local church. Finally, we will outline the role of the French and Venetian ambassadors in the conflict. On the basis of the mentioned analysis, it will, moreover, be possible to identify the role and importance of the Perots within the Latin community of Constantinople at the end of the 17th century.

3.1. Characterising the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*

The members of the most important Latin families of Galata formed a religious body in accordance with the treaty signed with the Ottoman sultan. In a certain sense and with less privileges, the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* replaced the former Genoese communal entity, the so-called *podestà*. It should again be underlined that the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* did not have any administrative or political autonomy. The local Latin Catholics were subjected to the authority of the Ottoman judge (*qadi*) and the governor of Galata (*voyvoda*). As the head of the Latin Catholic community was the Roman pontiff, and thus a foreign and also hostile power, the Latin Catholics could not be recognized as *tā'ifa* or later *millet*, like the Eastern Churches and Jews. Thus, the task of the *Comunità* consisted in running the affairs of the churches in the community. With regard to the spiritual life of the Latin community, until the beginning of the 17th century, the elite of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* governed the confraternities and hospitals of Galata and played a crucial role in the shaping of processions and holy feasts. Despite the *Comunità's* very limited actual power, it was the only institution which witnessed the existence of the community of local Latin Catholics in Constantinople.[240]

Unfortunately, we have only little information on the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.* For instance, we do not know how exactly the selection process worked, or, in other words, who of the local Latin Catholic heads of family was eligible for the office of prior, councillor or procurator.

It is, moreover, not possible to reconstruct the social mechanisms which defined the narrow circle of families representing the elite of the local Latin Catholics and the status of the respective families within the Latin community. It would undoubtedly be interesting to see

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[240] See Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 167f; Borromeo, 'Les catholiques à Constantinople', p. 234; Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 289; İnalcik, 'Ottoman Galata', p. 28f; Marmara, *La communauté Levantine de Constantinople*, p. 85; Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 149f; Trannoy, 'La «Nation Latine» de Constantinople', p. 250.

if there were conflicts within the local Latin community concerning admission of further families to the sphere of the powerful elite. Furthermore, it is important to stress that the information on the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* available in the literature, and in particular in the recent literature, goes almost exclusively back to Belin's text and to the edition by Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio of a detailed description of the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople, which had probably been written by the Conventual Franciscan Giovanni Mauri in the 1630s.[241] In the following paragraph, I shall thus bring together the few facts available.

Every year at Christmas, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* elected a prior, a vice-prior and twelve councillors. Before the fire of 1660, the assemblies of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* took place in the chapel of St. Anne, which was situated within the complex of St. Francis. After 1660, the members of the local elite came gathered togehter in the church of the Jesuits, St. Benedict. According to the information given by Dalleggio d'Alessio, the number of members never exceeded thirty illustrious Perots. After 1632, the priors and councillors and procurators of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* had to be Catholics of Latin rite, native Perots or at least married to Perot women.[242]

For the temporal administration of the city's Latin churches, the member of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* appointed annually two procurators for every church. More specifically, the procurators administrated the church's immovable property and managed the revenues of charity and tax collection among the members of the Latin community. Furthermore, they were in charge of providing the necessary amount of money for ordinary and extraordinary repairs of the church buildings and were, finally, responsible for the churches' silverware.[243]

I should stress, however, that the functions of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* were by no means limited to the mentioned financial and administrative aspects. Before the foundation of Propaganda Fide, the prior of the *Comunità* conducted an ongoing correspondence with a member of the Roman Curia, who acted as connecting link between the Holy See and the Constantinopolitan local church. Through this link to Rome, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* tried repeatedly to influence the Roman decisions with particular interest for the Latin community of Constantinople.

One example to quote concerns the case of the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the Latin community of Constantinople in 1606. In a letter to the Curia in Rome, the Perots

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[241] Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio (ed.), *Relatione dello stato della cristianità di Pera e Costantinopoli obbediente al Sommo Pontefice Romano. Manoscritto della prima metà del XVIIº secolo* (Istanbul, 1925).

[242] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 167-172; Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Relatione dello stato della cristianità,* p. 25f.

[243] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 167f.

added for consideration that this reform would increase the barriers between the Latin and Greek Orthodox Churches with severe consequences for families of mixed confessions and accordingly they asked for the Curia's permission to continue to celebrate important religious holy days together with the Greek Church, according to the Julian calendar. The Curia did not meet the desire of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* but rather recommended that the Greek authorities be persuaded to adopt the Gregorian calendar as well.[244] This example evidences the extraordinarily close relations between the local Latin Catholics and the Greek population of Galata at the beginning of the 17th century.

In the perspective of the *Comunità's* elite, the close links to the Greek population implied the danger of a complete assimilation to the larger Greek community. Eric Dursteler pointed out that the promotion of education was one of the main strategies adopted by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* in the attempt to conserve their cultural and religious specificities in the pluri-religious environment of Constantinople. In 1582, the notables of the community informed the apostolic visitor Cedulini that they lacked a school and requested that Jesuits be sent to Constantinople for the instruction of their children. In their request the Perots emphasized that they would be willing to pay a substantial part of the accruing costs.[245] We can thus presume that the elite of the local Latin Catholics was composed of wealthy and influential families.

At the same time, the heads of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* acted also as official representatives of the Latin presence in Constantinople. In fact, as the members of the Latin clergy did not have the right to purchase real estate, the Latin community depended on the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* or other Ottoman members of the Latin community who acted as agents and intermediaries.[246]

The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* used to emphasize that their claim for sovereignty in administering the Latin Rite churches dated back to the treaty between the Genoese and Mehmed II in 1453. Towards the end of the 16th century, the councillors asked the Roman Curia for the privilege of choosing the priests for the churches they administered, but to no avail. Again, the claim for more privileges on a spiritual level was based on the capitulation of Mehmed II signed in 1453.[247]

Already at the end of the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, the privileges of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* were criticised by the Roman Curia. For instance in 1590,

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[244] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 168f.
[245] Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 292.
[246] Borromeo, 'Les catholiques à Constantinople', p. 233f; Marmara, *Précis historique de la communauté latine*, p. 50.
[247] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 168.

a Roman official wrote to the bailo in Constantinople, 'you will do well not to give any authority here to the Perots over these places, nor over the monks, because unfortunately they usurp the authority of the Religious, and of the monasteries, to their damage'.[248]

There is evidence for the prestige of the heads of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* until the middle of the 17th century. For instance, on the occasion of the solemn funeral service for the former French ambassador François de Gontaut Viron, baron de Salignac in 1611, the Jesuit missionary de Canillac addressed himself to the notables of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* with the title '*Messeiurs de cette ville, messieurs de Péra*. On other occasions at the beginning of the 17th century, they were addressed with the title '*les seigneurs Pérotz'*.[249]

The circle of prestigious local Latin families was limited. The most notable Latin Rite family in Galata were the Draperis, a family of Genoese origin. The family was mentioned for the first time in a treaty concluded in 1382 between the Genoese authority in Galata and the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos. In the 15th century, Francesco Draperis was remembered as one of the wealthiest and most enterprising merchants in the Ottoman Empire. Already in the years preceding the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Draperis was well connected with the court of the sultan Mehmed II, the future conqueror of Constantinople. Draperis' prestige at the Ottoman court further strengthened his and his family's position in the Ottoman capital city. Furthermore, in 1585, Clara Bartolda Draperis invested her patrimony in the foundation of the church of Saint Mary Draperis, which she later donated to the Reformed Franciscans. The prestige of the Draperis' family lasted up to the 17th century and, as will emerge in the following pages, they still played an important role in the local Catholic society.[250]

Clear evidence for the importance of the family comes from the fact that they provided the priors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* together with some other families, such as, for instance the Fornetti, Testa, Perone and de Negri. During the 100 years between 1605 and 1705, only sixteen families alternated one with another, providing the priors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, which continued to exist after 1682 under the name of *Confraternita di Sant'Anna*.[251] If one considers that the prior was changed every year, the influence of just a few families becomes even more evident. Based on commerce and connections to the

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[248] Cit. in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 144.

[249] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 172.

[250] Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Relatione dello stato della cristianità* p. 22f; Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 272f; Matteucci, *La missione Francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, pp. 314-317.

[251] Olivieri, Galante, Daggagliano, Grillo, Tarsia, Alessio, Fontana, Summa, Parada, Mamouca della Torre, Timone were the other families which had at least one family member who acted as prior of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*. See Eugenio Dalleggio D'Alessio 'Liste des podestats de la colonie génoise de Péra (Galata) des prieurs et sous-prieurs de la Magnifica Comunità di Pera', *Revue d'études byzantines* vol. 27 (1962), pp. 151-157, p. 156f.

Ottoman court, these families constituted the healthiest and most influential core of the Perot community. Traditionally, members of the mentioned families acted as dragomans – interpreters – for different European diplomatic missions. The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* developed a strong self-confidence and an actual aristocratic habitus.[252]

It is important to underline, however, that the circle of influential families with connections to the representatives of the Ottomans as well as to and several European powers was restricted and that the majority of Perots lived a modest life as craftsmen. Consequently, it is rather difficult to find direct evidence from the latter. Nevertheless I shall try to gather as much information about their role in the dispute between the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the patriarchal vicar. The information will inevitably be indirect because only members of the clergy or of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* maintained correspondence with the Curia in Rome.

So far the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* has been little studied, which presumably depends on the limited archival material available. The members of the local Latin Catholic elite acted as the interface between the European Catholics and the Ottoman society. One of the central aspects of their conception as a community was their role as defender of the Roman Catholic Church in the Ottoman capital. Eventually, the Perots and the Curia in Rome depended strongly on each other.[253]

In the following section, I shall briefly outline the development of the Catholic and more specifically the Holy See's presence in Constantinople over the course of the 17th century. Additionally, the most relevant events and developments with regard to the administration of the churches will be taken into consideration.

3.2. From Rome to Constantinople: the attention of Propaganda Fide for the ecclesiastic organisation in the Ottoman capital

After the foundation of Propaganda Fide in 1622, the Roman Curia made an effort to take control of the churches of Constantinople. As one important measure in this respect, the prefect of Propaganda Fide, cardinal Ludovisi and the other cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to strengthen the position of the patriarchal vicars in Constantinople. The institution of apostolic vicars at the head of missions indeed marked a crucial instrument in the attempts of Propaganda Fide to exert more control over the missionary activities. The vicars acted as

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[252] See Schmitt, *Levantiner*, pp. 220-228.
[253] Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 145.

direct representatives of the Roman pontiff in their territory of mission and were the Curia's most important interlocutors.[254] In 1653, once the patriarchal vicar received Episcopal dignity, the old structure of the vicariate of Constantinople was changed into a modern apostolic vicariate. Nevertheless, in practice, the prelate of Constantinople continued to be called 'patriarchal vicar'.[255]

In 1623, the members of the *Comunità di Pera* were adamantly opposed to the nomination of a patriarchal vicar for Constantinople by Propaganda Fide. The main argument used to explain their opposition was that the mere spiritual function of the vicar could be misconceived by the Ottoman authorities and that they could be persuaded that the vicar was actually the ambassador of the Roman pontiff. In the argumentation of the Perots this misunderstanding could have serious consequences for the whole Latin community in Galata or, even worse for the Latin presence in the whole Ottoman Empire.[256]

This argumentation was certainly not completely absurd, even though the patriarchal vicars were under the protection of the ambassadors of the French king and the emperor, and of the Venetian bailo. Nevertheless, it seems presumable that the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* were aware of the potential threat to their privileges that a strong prelate could represent.

Indeed, in the 17th century, the patriarchal vicars contested several times the claim of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* of having the 'absolute dominion over all the churches of Pera'.[257] For the first time in 1631, the patriarchal vicar Giovanni Francesco d'Anagni requested the heads of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* to give him an annual balance of accounts of the churches administrated by the *Comunità's* procurators. Apparently, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* did not follow the vicar's instruction and consequently, the same vicar requested the members of the *Comunità* to 'provide finally the accounts of their administration of the churches which they had refused to present during long years'.[258] Moreover, Giovanni Francesco d'Anagni urged the procurator to return the objects they had taken in the churches and to pay the debts resulting from bad administration. After the refusal of the Perots, the patriarchal vicar excommunicated the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*. After the retirement of Giovanni Francesco d'Anagni, his successor did

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[254] Claude Prudhomme, 'Centralité romaine et frontières missionnaires', *MEFRIM* 109/2 (1997), pp. 487-504, p. 498f.
[255] Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p. 499f.
[256] Ibid., p. 170.
[257] Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 290.
[258] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 169.

not insist on the case and after he had received a generic summary of the *Comunità's* activities, he absolved those involved.[259]

Worthy of note is the fact that the presence of the patriarchal vicar was not the only element that weakened the position of the *Comunità*. The main problem was that the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* could neither maintain Galata's Latin Rite churches nor protect them efficiently from Ottoman sanctions. The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* relied strongly on the interventions of European ambassadors and the subventions from European rulers. For instance in 1603, the urgently required restoration of the *Comunità's* churches only became possible after the Venetian Senate had granted the Perots the necessary money.[260]

After the fire of 1660, when the impotence of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* regarding the destroyed churches became once again evident, the prefect of Propaganda Fide wrote to the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi that he should finally enforce his authority over the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera:*

> 'And primarily hearing that the Administrators of the property of these Churches claim to not be under any obligation to answer to Your Eminence, and as such they refuse to be subject in this to your censorship, the Eminences have ordered that you should see with your discretion to reducing them and coercing them, if necessary, with canonical remedies.'[261]

Even though Andrea Ridolfi did not prevail and the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* refused to be accountable to the vicar, it can be stated that towards the middle of the 17th century, the position of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* was weaker than in the 16th century and the pressure of the patriarchal vicars to limit the privileges of the *Comunità* increased.

After this general picture about the status of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, I shall now analyse more in depth the dispute between the representative of the local Latin Catholics and the prelate.

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[259] Ibid.

[260] Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 144f.

[261] 'E primieram[en]te sentendosi che gl'Amministratori de' beni di coteste Chiese pretendono di non esser obbligati à render conto à V[ostra] S[ignoria], e perciò ricusano di sottoporsi in questo alla censura di lei, hanno l'Em[inen]ze loro ordinato, che ella veda onninam[en]te con la sua prudenza di ridurrveli, et astringerveli, anco bisognando, con i rimedi canonici.' Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi, Rome 26.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 101r).

3.3. The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* vs. the patriarchal vicar Gasparini

In the years between 1680 and 1684 extraordinary numbers of letters were written by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, clergymen in Constantinople, the French and Imperial ambassadors and by members of the Curia in Rome. The involvement of a high number of actors makes the reconstruction of the dispute, which finally led to the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* very complex. With regard to the actors within Propaganda Fide, it is often difficult to say how the cardinal members argued or voted. We only have the final decisions and sometimes the responses for the actors in Constantinople, which were usually written by the prefect or secretary of Propaganda Fide. Neither in the paragraph with the decisions (*Rescriptum*) nor in the letters to Constantinople, are single positions or more important discussions among the cardinals ever reported. Generally we find formulas like 'the cardinals have decided' or 'it is the will of the cardinals' in the letters to Constantinople. Similarly, the patriarchal vicars and other members of the clergy frequently addressed their letters generically to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. Thus, to a certain extent, Propaganda Fide appears as a monolithic bloc in the sources.

One of the main actors in the dispute was the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini. He was born in the environments near Ascoli Piceno in 1623 and studied theology in the convent of the Conventual Franciscans of his hometown. In 1661, he was appointed commissary of the Orient by the superiors of his order and lived for the first time in Constantinople from 1661 to 1666. After the years in the Ottoman Empire he guided the convent of the Conventual Franciscans in Fano and, in 1675, he visited the convent of his order in Avignon. Finally, in 1676 he was appointed patriarchal vicar of Constantinople by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome and, two years later, he took up quarters in the Conventual convent St. Francis in Constantinople, where he was in charge of his office until his death in 1705.[262] Gasparo Gasparini left a strong imprint on the Latin Rite community of Constantinople. However, considering that he held his office for almost 30 years, this is not surprising. Moreover, he combined a profound education in the Italian context with long-lasting experience in the Ottoman Empire.

The first letter of complaint against the patriarchal vicar Gasparini, which was written by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* dates from 1680. According to the authors, Gasparini acted disgracefully, provoking scandal not only among the Latin Catholics but also

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[262] For a summary of his biography see the article of Dario Busolini, 'Gasparo Gasparini' in Mario Caravale (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1999), vol. 52, pp. 483-485; Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 355f; Biskupski, *L'origine et l'historique de la représentation officielle du Saint-Siège en Turquie*, p. 61.

within the Schismatic and Heretic populations. The main accusation raised against the prelate concerned his presumed indulgence towards Giovanni Antonio Timone, who had lived for years in concubinage with a woman in Constantinople despite his Catholic wife still being alive. Whereas Gasparini's predecessor had made efforts in order to achieve the separation of the couple, Gasparini himself kept good company with the adulterer and his offspring, and even celebrated the funeral of Timone.[263]

On the basis of the signatures it is possible to reconstruct the identity of the subscribers: the prior, at the time Giorgio Draperis, and the councillors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*. The families represented in the *Comunità* correspond precisely to the names presented earlier in this chapter.

In this first letter we find evidence for the line of argumentation used by the members of the *Comunità* against the prelate. Noteworthy is the fact that in the first letter the control of Galata's Latin Rite churches was not mentioned. On the contrary, the authors of the letter tried to delegitimize the prelate by accusing him of scandalous conduct which was not consistent with his important office and with Roman standards.

This accusation is however significant. As I shall outline in the chapters on marriage, the local Catholics tended to be sceptical towards the rules introduced by the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, the church authorities' struggle against couples living in concubinage generally encountered resistance among the members of the Latin community. In the present case, on the contrary, they claimed for sanctions against the bishop of Constantinople because he lacked in severity. One possible explanation for the *Comunita's* strategy could be that the Perots were aware of the Roman standards, or had at least been consulted on the standards, and presumed that it could be promising to attack the prelate in relation to his lacking compliance with Roman rules. Regardless of their own opinion in the present case, the authors used their knowledge as a powerful argument against their opponent, Gasparini.

Two more reflections should be added relating to the allegations against Gasparini. In the reality of missions, it was rather frequent among clergymen to accuse unpopular figures of living scandalously and in open defiance of Roman rules. Evidently the strategy of delegitimizing opponents was believed to be efficient. Furthermore, the authors of the letter indirectly criticise the life of Giovanni Antonio Timone. This seems however remarkable considering the fact that the family Timone was part of the circle of powerful families in

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[263] Giorgio Draperis, Priore della *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, H. de Negri, L. Scema, T. Pavone, F. A. Testa, A. Dane, D. Perone, B. Dane, F. Testa, Gio. Perone, L. de Negri to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Pera, 18.12.1680 (APF, SC Romania, vol. 2, f. 183v-184r).

Galata and it raises the question of the motivations that led the other members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* to attack Timone. Unfortunately, the sources consulted furnish no information in this respect.

Another recurring element in letters from Constantinople is the reference to the reactions of non-Catholic inhabitants of Galata. If even the Greek Orthodox or Muslim population was shocked by the behaviour of a Catholic clergyman, the situation had to be very serious. Thus, the topos of inter-communal indignation was used in order to emphasize the gravity of offences against the Catholic community.

It can be presumed that at the basis of the allegations was the urgent request of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to the patriarchal vicar Gasparini in Constantinople, at the end of 1680, to take over the administration of the accounts of the convent and church of St. Francis from the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* until the arrival of a new provincial of the Conventual Franciscans. This step was taken after the members of Propaganda Fide had received evidence of irregularities in the balances of the church.[264] Monsignor Gasparini repeatedly reported that the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* who traditionally controlled the accounts of the places of worship, regularly abused their privilege by placing their own interests first.[265]

In my interpretation of the quarrels between the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the patriarchal vicar Gasparini, the elite of the Perots feared that Gasparini could seriously challenge their privilege of administering the churches of Constantinople and reacted by delegitimizing him. St. Francis was the principal Latin church in Galata and presumably its administration was correspondingly appetizing for the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.* The religious aspects such as the right sacramental practice were used as an instrument in order to achieve their goal of having Gasparini recalled to Rome.

However, before taking any further resolution against the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* the prelate was invited by the secretary of *Propaganda Fide* Edoardo Cibo to comment on the accusations against him.[266] Thus, in Rome the complaints against Gasparini were taken seriously and he had to explain himself. In his letters to Rome, the prelate of Constantinople pointed out that he was well-known for his efforts in the struggle

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[264] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 6.8.1680 (APF, Lettere vol. 69, f. 39r/v).

[265] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, prefect of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 2.1.1681 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 185r).

[266] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 8.4.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 23v-24r).

against couples living in concubinage. When he had started his office in 1678, Gasparini emphasized, there were at least forty couples living together in blatant disregard of the rules of the Roman Catholic Church. According to the vicar, after two years of sermons and exhortations only two couples had remained in concubinage and they remained banned from the sacraments. He then explained that in fact he had celebrated the funeral of Giovanni Antonio Timone in the presence of the city's clergy, the Perots with their wives and members of the Greek community. The religious ceremony was possible because Timone had abandoned the woman he had married following the Greek rite one month before his death, and he had been confessed and absolved by the Capuchins and Dominicans. In a meeting of representatives of the regular clergy, it had been officially decided to re-admit Timone to the sacraments and as a consequence, Gasparini had decided to celebrate the funeral. Moreover, he underlined, the Perots had insisted on the presence of Timone's second wife during the ceremony. The vicar Gasparini concluded his letter with the presumption that if he had not taken the control over the accounts of St. Francis and had not stopped the credits, to which the Perots lay claim on the convent and church, the Perots would not have attacked him.[267]

Similar was the interpretation of the French ambassador, Gabriel-Joseph de la Vergne count de Guilleragues:

> 'Also their hate increased, since he [patriarchal vicar, LB] had discovered that the revenues of the churches, confraternities and convents were ill administered by the community of Pera and after many paternal, private and benevolent exhortations, he exaggerated in a sermon, without however accusing anyone in particular, that whoever held the property of the Church would be excommunicated as according to the Sacred Canons, for which there was an uproar in a show of insolence and they declared they would not recognize him as their Bishop, and charged the first Dragoman of the Ambassador of France, as one of the same Perots, with bearing their complaints to his Excellency.'[268]

From the letter it emerges that the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* tried to involve the ambassadors of the European powers, in this case the French ambassador in order

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[267] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 4.10.1681 (APF, SC Romania vol. 4, f. 608v, 607r).

[268] 'Si accrebbe poi anco l'odio loro, poiche havendo scoperto, che le rendite delle chiese, confraternità, e conventi venivano malam[en]te amministrate dalla comunità di Pera dopo m[ol]te paterne, private, e caritive esortazioni esagerò in una Predica, senza però toccare alc[un]o in particolare, che chi si teneva i beni della Chiesa era scomunicato secondo i Sacri Canoni, p[er] il che insolentem[en]te tumultuarono, dichiarandosi non volerlo riconoscere p[er] loro Vescovo, incaricando il primo Dragomano del Sig[no]re Amb[asciato]re di Francia, come uno de med[esim]i Perotti di portare a S[ua] Ecc[ellen]za le loro doglianze.' Congregatio generalis 26.9.1682 (APF, Acta vol. 52, f. 232r/v).

to have powerful allies against the prelate and thus strengthen their position towards the cardinals of Propaganda Fide.

The secretary of Propaganda Fide Edoardo Cibo not only asked the French ambassador for an account of the events but also Giovanni da Gozzano, a Reformed Franciscan and superior of the convent in Smyrna. The Franciscan friar added some details to the accusal of appropriation of funds appurtenant to the church and convent of St. Francis. Gasparini had taken over the control of St. Francis' accounts and detected that there were 700 *piastre* missing from the Confraternity of St. Anna (*Magnifica Comunità di Pera*). The vicar asked the procurator of St. Francis Tomaso Tarsia and the other members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* to present all the accounts of the convent. Finally, in a sermon during advent, the prelate criticized the subtraction of money sharply. The accusatory words were reported by members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* to the prior Giorgio Draperis. Giovanni da Gozzano concluded that the prior was strongly offended because according to him, the patriarchal vicar had treated the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* as if they were thieves and so they decided to proceed against the prelate.[269]

However, from a letter written by de Guilleragues to the French king, the ambassador hypothesized that the close relations between the patriarchal vicar and the French ambassador could constitute a further element in the dispute. He wrote that 'the bishop suffers persecution for Your Majesty. All the nations write to Rome against him and accuse him of being French'.[270] As will be seen further down, the protection of the French ambassador was very important for the patriarchal vicar.

3.4. Crisis between Rome, Vienna and Venice

In the meantime, new accusations against the patriarchal vicar had reached Rome and Gasparini was increasingly under pressure. The first accusation concerned the installation of a memorial tablet for the deceased Imperial representative Hoffmann in the church of St. Francis. According to the same components of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* as before, this memorial tablet had not been mounted because of the opposition of the patriarchal vicar. Through the new Imperial representative in Constantinople, this information was reported to the court in Vienna. For the Emperor, Leopold I, the supposed refusal to mount the memorial

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[269] Giovanni da Gozzano, Reformed Franciscan, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Smyrna 30.5.1682 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 329r).
[270] Gabriel-Joseph de Guilleragues, French ambassador in Constantinople, to the French King Louis XIV, Constantinople 27.4.1682 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 39, f. 368v).

tablet by Monsignor Gasparini amounted to an offence to the honour of the Emperor himself. Furthermore, the refusal was interpreted as further evidence for the strong links of the vicar with the French ambassador and for the vicar's hostility towards the Imperial ambassador.[271]

Considering that the Austro-French relations were very bad at the beginning of the 1680s, the opposition of the Imperial representative against the strong links between Gasparini and Guilleragues becomes evident. In fact, in September 1681 Hungarian rebels under the guidance of Imre Thököly, and with Turkish troops and French financial aid, had again taken up weapons against the emperor. Moreover, at the end of the same month, French troops occupied Strasbourg and the generals of the imperial army feared a general French attack on the Rhineland.[272]

In fact, Leopold I requested an official explanation from the papal court in Rome on this incident and demanded that the vicar be recalled from Constantinople. Gasparini was consequently interrogated by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the vicar's answers were then sent to the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Francesco Buonvisi, who finally had to refer the information to the Emperor. In his justification, Gasparini emphasized that he had always endorsed the application of a memorial tablet for the ambassador Hoffmann, that it was the Venetian Bailo who opposed it because Venice claimed to have the Iuspatronat over the church of Saint Francis and that therefore, a memorial tablet for an Imperial representative would be misplaced.[273]

The Imperial court was satisfied with these explanations and did not rescind the request of removing the patriarchal vicar from his office. However, the members of Propaganda Fide were well aware that the Perots and the emperor's ambassador would probably continue with the animosities against him.[274]

This assumption expressed by the secretary of Propaganda Fide proved itself true. Almost contemporarily with the incident of the memorial tablet, a new instance from Constantinople arrived in Rome and consequently, the secretary of Propaganda Fide Edoardo Cibo asked Gasparini to comment on the incriminations. According to the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* Gasparini had turned to the Turkish judge in order to receive assistance against the members of the *Comunità*. The members of the *Comunità* sustained that the

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[271] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Francesco Buonvisi, Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Rome 6.12.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 90r-91r).

[272] Jean Bérenger, 'L'Empereur Léopold Ier et la défense de la chrétienté au début des années 1680', in Daniel Tollet (ed.), *Guerres et paix en Europe centrale aux époques moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 2003), pp. 405-426, p. 406f.

[273] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Francesco Buonvisi, Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Rome 6.12.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 91v-92r).

[274] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 4.4.1682 (APF, Lettere vol. 71, f. 114r).

vicar's intervention had put them at risk of being arrested by the Ottoman janissaries during a spiritual ceremony in the chapel they had reconstructed after the fire. Fortunately for the Perots, the Venetian bailo had been able to give warning and thus prevent their imprisonment.[275]

As such, the patriarchal vicar was accused by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* of having appealed to the Ottoman authorities, in order to involve the representatives of the Perots in trouble with the Ottoman law. At the basis of this accusation was the fact that the Perots had established a little chapel in a renovated building in which they held the unions of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and religious ceremonies without permission of the Ottoman authorities. Therefore, the elite of the local Catholics incurred a risk maintaining a chapel without the knowledge of the Ottoman authorities. Edoardo Cibo, the secretary of Propaganda Fide, urged Gasparini to write his view of 'such a relevant incident'.[276]

Gasparini outlined in his answer that if the chapel of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* had been in danger, it was the fault of the Venetian bailo who had told the Ottoman officials that the building was used as a storehouse instead of telling them rightly that it was used as a chapel. In view of the consideration he had at the Sublime Porte and with the aid of a substantially important gift, the bailo managed to convince the Ottoman judge not to bother the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* during their religious celebrations.[277]

However, it is highly unlikely that Gasparini had turned to the Ottoman authorities against the elite of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* because the patriarchal vicars were hardly ever in direct contact with Ottoman officials. Normally, the prelate was represented by ambassadors and their dragomans.

In summary, the years 1680 and 1681 were already characterizedd by several lines of conflict. Whereas the conflict with the Imperial court could be resolved with Gasparini's explanations, the quarrels with the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* continued. Edoardo Cibo, the secretary of Propaganda Fide, appealed several times to Gasparini in order to urge him to 'act with softness in order to mellow the souls of the involved Perots'.[278]

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[275] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 30.6.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 58r).

[276] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 30.6.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 58v).

[277] Congregatio generalis 13.1.1682 (APF, Acta vol. 52, f. 21r).

[278] '[…] procurando di camminar con soavità raddolcendo gl'animi loro, […].' Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 30.6.1681 (APF, Lettere vol. 70, f. 56v).

This hint of the congregation's secretary is emblematic for the impotence of the Roman Curia in this case. The cardinals could only advise caution to the vicar and hope that the situation would improve.

3.5. The escalation of the dispute (1682/83)

Contrary to the hope for a peaceful future expressed by the members of Propaganda Fide, the years 1682 and 1683 were characterizedd by a general escalation of the situation. At the beginning of 1682 the prior Mamouca della Torre and councillors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* addressed a petition to the pontiff, Innocent XI, with which they asked for the withdrawal of Gasparini from Constantinople. The supplicants pointed out that Monsignor Gasparini was intolerable and that they had been asking for the support of Propaganda Fide for two years, in this case to no avail. Now, after two years of vain hope, they had decided to address themselves directly to the pontiff and asked again that Gasparini be recalled. They asked the pontiff to consider that their patience was nearly exhausted, that they were in a desperate situation and emphasized that they had firmly remained Latin Catholics despite the calamities.[279]

The list of the supplicants included the prior, in 1682 Marc'Antonio Mamouca della Torre, and ten councillors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*.[280] It can thus be said that this petition was an official statement of the Perots' representatives who were aware of their importance within the Latin Rite community. In fact, this petition evidences the confidence of the *Comunità's* members. Since Propaganda Fide did not satisfy their wishes with regard to the city's prelate, the heads of the *Comunità* appealed to the supreme authority of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, the pontiff. Whereas here the authors did not express explicitly their next steps in the case of the Holy See still ignoring their request, on other occasions Giorgio Draperis let the Franciscan Giovani da Gozzano know that they considered turning to the Ottoman authorities:

> '[…] said [the prior of the *Comunità*, LB] when no sort of resolutive measure corresponding to their wishes arrives from Rome, they will do exactly as shepherds do to defend their sheep from the wolf, they will avail themselves of the wolves to agitate the

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[279] Petition to the pontiff, Innocent XI, Constantinople 22.1.1682 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 295r/v).
[280] 'Marc'Antonio Mamuca della Torre, Priore della Comunità, Pietro Pangalo sottopriore, G. Draperis, Consig[lie]re, P. Navone Conseg[lie]re, P. Bianchi, Consi[glie]re, A. Perone Cons[iglie]re, G. Testa Consig[lie]re G. Perone, Consig[iglie]re, A. De Negri C[consigliere], D. Perone C[consigliere], I. Sperco C[consigliere].' Ibid.

dogs; so they say also we shall do, having recourse to the Turks, who are our dogs
[…].'[281]

In this description of the situation, not the Ottomans but the Latin prelate represented the main enemy of the local Latin Catholics. The menace of recurring to the Ottoman authorities was always present in every letter written by representatives of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* against the patriarchal vicar Gasparini. In 1683, the *Comunità* voted the recourse to the Ottomans during a meeting and it was decided not to proceed. According to the information which arrived in Rome, only three members of the *Comunità* expressed themselves in favour.[282]

In the question as to whether it was reasonable or not to involve the Ottoman authorities in this conflict, the particular position of the local Latin Catholics emerges again. On the one hand, they clearly were subjects of the Ottoman sultan and, on the other hand, they were part of the Roman Catholic Church and closely linked to the Europeans of Galata and Pera. Finally, even if several members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* had close links to the Ottoman court, intervention on the part of the Ottoman authorities was not desirable for the majority of them.

Two further events caused turbulence within the Latin Rite community in Galata in the year of 1682. Both incidents were somehow related to funeral ceremonies and thus involved a larger number of Latin Catholics. In the first place, Gasparini reported that he had been asked by the wife of an important member of the Latin Rite community to be present at her funeral. According to the prelate, it was common practice in Constantinople for the bishop to be present at the funerals of important community members. However, one of Gasparini's principal opponents, Tarsia, tried to impede the vicar's presence. Tarsia invited the members of the Latin Rite community to abstain from attending the funeral if Gasparini intended to participate. According to Gasparini's account, in particular the women and the members of the French 'nation' did not want to celebrate the funeral without the prelate. When Tomaso Tarsia realized that there was opposition against his boycott, he turned to the Perots and the Venetian 'nation' and exhorted them to abstain from participating. In the end, only two Englishmen and three Perots followed Tarsia's appeal.[283]

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[281] '[…] disse [the prior of the Comunità, LB] quando da Roma non verrà qualche risoluzione di provvedimento conforme loro desiderano faranno a punto come fanno li pecorari e pastori p[er] difendere le loro pecore dal lupo, da lupi si servono p[er] agito de cani; cosi dice faremo ancor noi facendo ricorso alli Turchi, che sono li nostri Cani,[…].' Giovanni da Gozzano, Reformed Franciscan, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Smyrna 30.5.1682 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 329r/v).
[282] Congregatio generalis 26.1.1683 (APF, Acta vol. 53, f. 24r).
[283] Congregatio generalis 22.9.1682 (APF, Acta vol. 52, f. 228v/229r).

In this way, the funeral turned into a trial of strength between the different factions within the Latin community, with a clear reinforcing of the vicar's position within the Latin Catholic community. Presumably, for the members of the Latin Catholic community, the social importance of a funeral was very high, and for this reason, the Latin Catholics preferred to attend and did not follow Tarsia's call for a boycott. Moreover, the question arises as to what extent the members of the Latin community were actually interested in the quarrels about the administration of the church property.

A further incident on All Saints Day caused a stir within the Latin community. The fact was reported by the prior of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* Marc'Antonio Mamouca della Torre. In Constantinople it had been usual practice from time immemorial for the Latin parish members to go together with their parish priests on the third of November to the Catholic cemetery in order to commemorate the deceased parishioners. According to the authors of the letter, traditionally the patriarchal vicar was not present but just that year, the vicar announced his participation. Consequently, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* decided that they would postpone the ceremony to the next day without informing the prelate. This novelty reached the patriarchal vicar, who prohibited the parish priests from celebrating the ceremony for the Latin Catholics on a date other than the third of November under threat of ecclesiastic sanctions. Finally, concluded the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* the ceremony was celebrated on the third of November in presence of the parish priests, who, as reported by the prior, obeyed their prelate to the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*.[284]

In this specific case it is important to stress that the vicar's attendance at the memorial ceremony had already been decided in 1679 by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. This decision had been taken after years of conflicts between the superiors of different regular orders regarding the choice of the celebrants.[285] What was presented by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* as scandalous innovation had actually been customary for three years.

In the conclusion of the letter, the authors presented that the fact that the prelate had prohibited a religious ceremony which the Turks had allowed, and which was prohibited in numerous other states, represented an unimaginable cruelty. Moreover, some of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* wanted to turn to the Greek, others to the Armenian Church in order to ask for relief. If this happened, concluded the prior, it would represent an instance of severe mortification for the Latin Catholics and, on the contrary, an important

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[284] Il piore con l'anziani della Comunità di Pera to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Costantinople 26.11.1682 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 424r/v).
[285] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Constantinople 26.6.1679 (APF, Lettere vol. 68, f. 40r).

triumph for the members of other Christian Churches, who had always opposed the privileges of the Latin Catholic Church.[286]

These two incidents show that the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* indeed tried to mobilize a larger part of the Latin Catholic community for their purpose. However, as has been demonstrated, a large majority of the Latin Catholics did not want to follow the elite of the Perots. The question remains open as to whether they did not follow the Perots because they did not want to chase Gasparini from his office or because the social relevance of the funeral ceremonies was too high to be instrumental in a protest against the prelate.

As we will see in the following chapters, the Latin Catholics frequently used the threat that they would turn to other religious ministers or even convert because of discontent with the rules or decisions of the Latin Catholic clergy.

This escalation towards the end of the year 1682 was not occasional. In fact, the pressure exerted on the members of the *Magnifica Comuunità di Pera* by Gasparini and the Roman curia was augmenting. With the famous decree issued by *Propaganda Fide* on the 17th October 1682, the function of administering the Latin Rite churches of Constantinople was assigned to the patriarchal vicar and finally to the superiors of the respective convents. I should point out that I could not find the original decree stated by Belin in the archive of Propaganda Fide.[287] It is interesting to see that Alphonse Belin did not quote a reference for this important decree. Nevertheless, several authors copied Belin's information without verifying the existence of the decree.[288]

In the archive of Propaganda Fide for the year 1682, there is only evidence for the instruction given by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to the patriarchal vicar Gasparini not to leave the accounts of the church and convent of St. Francis in secular hands.[289]

However, there is indirect evidence pointing to the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* which continued to exist as the spiritual confraternity of *Sant'Anna*

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[286] Marc'Antonio Mamouca, prior and the councillors of the *Comunità di Pera*, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Costantinopoli 26.11.1682 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 424v).

[287] Belin writes: 'Le dernier coup lui [*Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, LB] fut porté par le Vicaire patriarcal qui, lassé de son opposition, parfois tracassière et jalouse, demanda au St.-Siège et obtint de la S.C. de la Propagande un décret, du 17 octobre 1682, qui lui enlevait totalement des mains l'administration des biens des églises.' Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 173.

[288] E.g. Borromeo, 'Les catholiques à Constantinople', p. 236; Marmara, *Précis historique de la communauté latine de Constantinople,* p. 51; Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 178

[289] 'Quanto al rendimento de conti, et a libri del med[esim]o Convento, non doveva mai consegnarli in mano de secolari, et in avvenire non lascierà di consigliarsi con Mons[igno]r Vic[ari]o Patriarcale, e secondare le sue direttioni p[er] mantenere cotesta Chiesa, e Convento nella libertà, in che dopo tante fatiche, e contrasti l'ha egli ridotta.' Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Giuseppe Mazza, Conventual Franciscan, Rome 17.10.1682 (APF, Lettere vol. 71, f. 203r).

(subsequently the confraternity of St. Anne) without any control over the churches and convents of Constantinople.[290]

This change in the administration of the churches affected primarily the small number of families represented in the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* and in particular, the Draperis family. As mentioned before, a member of the family had donated the church of Saint Mary Draperis to the Discalced Franciscans. As a sign of appreciation, until 1682 the family held the lucrative office of procurators for the church uninterruptedly.[291]

The dispute between certain members of the *Comunità* and Monsignor Gasparini did not end with the assignment of the control of the church to the religious authorities. In fact, in 1683 a newly arrived Conventual Franciscan pointed out that there 'is more discord between the four Catholic clergymen, ambassadors and seculars than between two millions of Muslims.[292]

This statement may be an exaggeration but it is symptomatic for the situation in the early 1680's in the Latin Rite community of Constantinople. Further evidence for the constant conflicts is sustained by a letter written by the secretary of *Propaganda Fide,* Monsignor Cibo. He recommended Gasparo Gasparinni to try to mitigate the anger of the Perots with kindness, and, in particular, with a glass of wine.[293] Despite this advice from Rome, the situation for the patriarchal vicar remained critical during the next years. In particular the Venetian ambassador attacked the Gasparini sharply. Thus, the role of the Venetian and French ambassadors will be at the centre of the next subchapter.

3.6. The role of the French and Venetian ambassadors in the power struggle

It has already emerged that the French and Venetian ambassadors, and in a more limited manner also the representative of the emperor, played important roles in the conflicts between the patriarchal vicar and the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.* Several times, the French ambassador Guilleragues was asked by the secretary of Propaganda Fide Edoardo Cibo to write his view of the events and in particular his opinion on the behaviour and the activities of the patriarchal vicar Gasparini. In the eyes of the cardinals, the French ambassador was, therefore, an important non-ecclesiastic point of reference in Constantinople.

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[290] Cf. Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 173.
[291] See, Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli,* vol. 2, pp. 314-317.
[292] 'Regna più discordia frà quei quattro cattolici religiosi, ambasciatori, e secolari che frà due milioni d'infedeli.' Vincenzo Maressini da Giulianova, Conventual Franciscan, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 4.8.1683 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 491r).
[293] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Rome 20.4.1683 (APF, Lettere vol. 72, f. 121r).

A good summary of the French and Venetian positions in the conflict was given by the French ambassador Guilleragues towards the end of the year 1682. According to the French official, the bailo not only protected the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* but also came into conflict with the patriarchal vicar with regard to the latter's privileges during masses. The Venetian bailo claimed to have the right of kissing the gospel before the patriarchal vicar and he wanted to be welcomed at his entrance by the prelate. As these elements contrasted with the precepts of the Roman Rite, the vicar did not give in to the pressures of the Venetian bailo. Guilleragues continued that the Perots and the bailo accused the vicar of being a partisan of France because they were unable to find any other imperfection in the vicar's behaviour. Finally, the ambassador emphasized that the patriarchal vicar had good reasons for being satisfied with the French ambassador because of the relief he granted to him. Guilleragues had always treated the vicar with due respect, sustained the authority of his Episcopal office and of the Holy See, opposed the couples living in concubinage, contrasted non-compliance with the Roman orders and provided that the French members of the Latin Catholic community and those under French protection lived in a decent manner.[294]

This short extract of a letter from the French ambassador to the cardinals in Rome reveals several interesting elements with regard to the position of the foreign representatives. Firstly, Guilleragues made it very clear that he positioned himself as the protector of the patriarchal vicar and more generally as the protector of the Roman Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. By so doing, he acted according to French policy in the Levant, in concordance with the intentions of Louis XIV. In fact, with the capitulations of 1673, the French king was recognised by the Sublime Porte as the guarantor of the safety of all Catholic clergy in the Levant.[295] The issue of protection will be dealt with more in detail in the next chapter.

Secondly, the Venetian bailo positioned himself as protector of the elite of local Catholics and their claims against innovations regarding administration of the church property. As opposed to the increasing French influence in Constantinople, Venice was in a very difficult situation in the second half of the 17th century. Due to several wars against the Ottoman Empire and the consequent losses of territories in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Venetian position in the Ottoman capital city was weakened. The Venetian representatives reacted to the growing French influence and their own difficult situation with the strategy of preventing innovations that could weaken not only the position of the local Catholics but also the

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[294] Congregatio generalis 26.9.1682 (APF, Acta vol. 52, f. 233r/v).
[295] See, Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 102; Caron, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicansime', p. 359.

Republic's position, and consequently became the main ally of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*.

With regard to the bailo's demand for the kiss of the gospel and the reception at the entrance, it has to be said that this kind of claim was not new. Already during the 1660's and 1670's, the bailo as well as the French ambassador had claimed these privileges but finally, the ambassadors had decided to content themselves with the prayers designated by the Roman Rite in honour of the secular powers.[296] The fact that the Venetian bailos came back to the claims ten years later could be interpreted as an attempt to underline the importance of the Venetian presence in Constantinople in a moment of difficulty. As the patriarchal vicar and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide did not satisfy the Venetian desire, the conflict continued.

The hostilities towards the patriarchal vicar of the Venetian representatives, who were exchanged frequently at the time because of the repeated military conflicts between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, heated up in the following two years. At a certain point Gasparini received a letter written by a physician of Smyrna, after which, the vicar risked being poisoned by the bailo with the altar wine during Episcopal celebrations in St. Francis. Moreover, the author of the letter, advised the vicar to better inspect the food he was offered in the convent of St. Francis for traces of poison.[297] Of course, we do not know if this warning was based on any evidence or if it was rather used by the opponents of the Venetians in order to undermine the credibility of the Venetian bailo. However, the episode can be seen as evidence for the very tense situation between Gasparini and the bailo and, hence, for the importance of French protection.

One year later, in 1684, the support of the French ambassador became crucial for Gasparini. Two local Latin Catholics who worked for the bailo, conspired against the patriarchal vicar by intercepting and manipulating letters written by Gasparini. One of the two conspirators was Tomaso Tarsia, who had been the procurator of St. Francis when Gasparini assumed control of the accounts of St. Francis. Gasparini had written to the bishop of Taranto in order to prevent the sister of an apostate from Taranto being brought to Constantinople. As the apostate had become an important Ottoman official, he sent a Greek to Taranto in order to fetch his sister. Gasparini asked the bishop of Taranto to prevent the woman from leaving Taranto for Constantinople. The letters were brought to the Ottoman authorities and Gasparini was accused of having insulted Islam. According to the statement of the Venetian bailo and the French ambassador, the Ottoman authorities had already decided to arrest the patriarchal

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[296] Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p. 509f.
[297] Filippo Lancelli, phisician, to Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, Smyrna 8.9.1683 (APF, SC Romania vol. 2, f. 500r).

vicar. Before the janissaries proceeded with the imprisonment of Gasparini, the French ambassador Guilleragues was informed about the case by the judge (*qadi*) and managed to prevent the imprisonment by paying a substantial sum to the Ottoman officials.[298]

In a letter to Louis XIV Joseph de la Vergne Comte de Guilleragues acknowledged, 'I have disbursed, Sire, six thousand crowns to save the life of our Bishop whom we could not lose without making a protest, a great risk for Religion and for the missions.'.[299]

The most remarkable fact in this story seems to be that the Ottoman *qadi* contacted the French ambassador before ordering the janissaries to arrest the patriarchal vicar. Presumably, the Ottoman official was aware of the French protection for the Latin clergymen which had been reaffirmed in the capitulations of 1673. Moreover, the case represented an excellent opportunity for the Ottoman authorities to collect additional fees. It was in fact common practice at the Sublime Porte to desist from more drastic measures in exchange for gifts of money. This practice was by all means part of the Ottoman legal jurisdiction and existed on all levels.[300]

After these incidents, the patriarchal vicar was convinced that the Venetian bailos wanted his death and they let the vicar know that the secular sovereigns had long arms and that they had to account for their actions only to God. Now, after their design with the letter had failed because of the French intervention, they would undoubtedly continue.[301]

The French ambassador expressed a similar point of view in a letter to the pontiff Innocent XI. He expressed doubts about the safety of the prelate following his departure from Constantinople, which he expected to come some months later. According to Guilleragues, on the one hand, it would have been an error to call Gasparini back to Rome because the vicar's departure would have represented a triumph for the 'scandalous Catholics who were as detestable as the most obstinate Schismatic'. On the other hand, the ambassador feared that after his return to Paris, the persecutions against Gasparini could increase because of the lack of a strong secular power.[302]

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[298] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Costantinople, 4.4.1684 (APF, SC Romania, vol. 3, f. 14r/v). See also: Gabriel-Joseph de Guilleragues, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Innocent XI, Constantinople 24.3.1683 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 39, f. 496r-498r).

[299] 'J'ai déboursé, Sire, les six mille écus à sauver la vie de notre Evesque qu'il ne pouvoit perdre sans un grand décri, et un grand péril de la Religion et des missions, […].' Gabriel-Joseph de Guilleragues, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Innocent XI, Constantinople 9.6.1684 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 17, f. 45v).

[300] Cf., Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, pp. 117-156.

[301] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 3.5.1684 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 23r).

[302] Gabriel-Joseph de Guilleragues, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Innocent XI, Pera 5.5.1684 (APF, SC Romania, vol. 3, f. 25r).

We have to use caution as regards the real danger in which the patriarchal vicar could have been without the French ambassador. From a French perspective, the situation provided an excellent occasion for emphasizing the importance of the French protection for the vicar and more generally for the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, a second interpretation of the ambassador's letter should be taken into consideration. Presumably, the ambassador would have wanted to continue his mission to the Ottoman Empire and hoped to obtain a prolongation of his mandate from the French king. By representing himself as indispensable for the Latin Church in Constantinople, he intended to gain the pontiff's support in this purpose and thus the pontiff's intervention at the French court for the extension of the ambassador's mission to Constantinople.

Among the members of the Curia in Rome, the French commitment for the protection of the patriarchal vicar was acknowledged and several times the cardinals wrote letters of appreciation. For instance, this was the case after the episode with the falsified letter, which had almost led to the imprisonment of Gasparini. The prefect of Propaganda Fide Angelo Paluzzi degli Albertoni wrote to the French ambassador and praised his inestimable efforts in favour of the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople. Guilleragues had demonstrated to the Curia that he spared neither effort nor expenses for the liberation of the vicar and the honour of the Holy See and the Catholic faith. Moreover, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide expressed their confidence in Guilleragues' unremitting zeal to protect the patriarchal vicar and the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople.[303]

It is significant that the Curia in Rome was almost forced to communicate its appreciation to the French ambassador after the mentioned years of quarrels. The fact was that without the effective French protection, Gasparini would probably not have been able to resist the pressures exerted by the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the Venetian bailos.

The close relations and strong protection granted by the French ambassador to the patriarchal vicar at the beginning of the 1680's becomes more remarkable if one considers that precisely in those years, the relations between the French court and the Roman pontiff were almost inexistent after the declaration of the four articles concerning the Gallican liberties in 1682. In Constantinople, the conflict between the pontiff and the French king did not compromise the good relations between the French ambassador and the patriarchal vicar. On the one hand, Louis XIV and consequently his ambassador in Constantinople, intended to further strengthen the French influence in religious issues in the Ottoman Empire, and, on the

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[303] Angelo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Gabriel-Jospeh Guilleragues, French ambassador in Constantinople, Rome 31.5.1683 (APF, Lettere vol. 72, f. 42v).

other hand, the Roman Curia was well aware that French protection was crucial for the Catholic Church and in these years in particular for the patriarchal vicar.

As mentioned in the introduction, the change in the administration of the church property is normally described in one sentence as yes, a crucial change, but nonetheless an isolated event. I hope to manage to demonstrate that it should better be understood as a power struggle between 'old actors' who were in a critical situation at the end of the 17th century, such as the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and Venice, and 'new actors' who became stronger in the same period, such as France and, to a certain extent, the patriarchal vicar. The interests of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* who wanted to maintain their privileges and the fear of the Republic of Venice of losing influence to the French met in the constellation of the 1680's.

The same was true for the French interest in increasing influence over the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman capital and the whole Ottoman Empire and the patriarchal vicar, who needed a strong ally in his quarrels with the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.* For both actors, the disempowerment of the local representation of the Latin Catholic community represented an important step towards the objective of increasing the control over the Latin Catholic community.

Even if, in the medium term, the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* would have happened anyway, the outcome of the struggle in favour of the pontiff's representative Gasparini was not that evident from the beginning. An important figure in the shift of power distribution was, without any doubt, the French ambassador count de Guilleragues, who became the vicar's most important ally. The alliance between French ambassador and vicar was strengthened by the conjuncture that both actors were contemporarily in Constantinople for a long period of time.

It is noteworthy that the most severe persecution of the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople between the middle of the 17th and the middle of the 18th centuries was orchestrated by inner-Catholic opponents and not by Muslims or the members of Eastern Churches.

One important result of this dispute was the strengthening of the French position towards the Holy See, whereas the Venetian position was weakened. The Holy See, too, had to acknowledge that the protection of the vicar and the clergy in general on the part of the French king and ambassador was pivotal for the Latin presence in Constantinople. However, as will emerge in the next chapter, the French protection implied stronger French exertion of influence in ecclesiastic issues, which could lead to controversies between the French ambassador and the clergy, and also between the members of different orders.

For the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, losing their privilege of administering the church property represented, on the one hand, the loss of influence and prestige, and, on the other hand, the loss of financial benefits. Even if the number of effectively affected Perots was small, it seems likely that the general shift of influence from the local church in Constantinople to Rome was seen with diffidence. Contemporarily, the importance of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* decreased as well in the eyes of the Ottoman authorities as well; increasingly, the ambassadors of European powers, in particular the French ambassadors, became the main advocates for the Latin Catholic Church at the Sublime Porte.

The strategy chosen by the elite of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* in order to get rid of Gasparini by discrediting him was indeed reasonable. Several times before, the arrival of a new vicar had led to the cancellation of a dispute and of measures taken by the predecessors. The main argument of the elite of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* in order to justify their claim for influence was that they had been the guardians of the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople for centuries. In fact, with the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* there was a clear shift of power in favour of the Roman Curia, and indirectly of the French ambassador, whereas the representatives of the local church were deprived of their influence. The developments of Constantinople corresponded to worldwide efforts of the Curia with regard to the centralization and unification of the Latin Catholic Church.

Whereas in this struggle the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* emphasized their entrenchment to the Ottoman Empire, in the 18th century they increasingly tried to reinforce the relations with the European powers.

In the next chapter, the diplomatic protection of the Latin Catholic Church by European powers and its repercussions on the Latin Catholic clergy in Constantinople will be highlighted.

4. Reflections of European power struggles within the Latin clergy: Diplomatic protection and ecclesiastic independence

Until the early 17th century, the concept of crusade against the Ottoman Empire was dominant in the rhetoric of European powers, and in particular of the Holy See. As Bernard Heyberger has pointed out, the missions of the Levant developed in a prophetic idea of the history and the vision of crusade against the Turks. In particular the conservation of the holy sites in the Palestinian territories continued to be a prolongation of the concept of crusade during the 17th century and beyond or, as Heyberger puts it, 'an ideal of honour and of Catholic resistance opposite the infidel schismatic and heretic enemies'.[304]

The concept of crusade was organically linked to the concept of Christendom and the struggle against the Turks represented an eminent duty of the Roman pontiff. However, in the 17th century the political influence of the Holy See decreased strongly and the unity of Christendom against the infidel enemy became a hardly attainable ideal. Nevertheless, until the treaty of Vienna in 1738 it remained the declared goal of the Roman pontiffs to unify Christendom against the infidel Turkish enemy. On a more practical level, the pontiffs supported the mainly imperial projects of war against the Ottoman Empire with financial aid, the sending of troops and spiritual graces for the combatants.[305] It is characteristic, considering the shift from the concept of crusade to the diplomatic protection of Catholic clergymen, churches and believers in the Ottoman Empire, that in 1683Louis XIV declared to the Apostolic Nuncio Angelo Maria Ranuzzi, who was urging the French king in the name of the pontiff Innocent XI to support the Catholic forces during the siege of Vienna, that the age of the crusades was definitively over.[306]

With regard to the letters of the patriarchal vicars and missionaries written in Constantinople, the concept of crusade is hardly ever an issue. This is in marked contrast to issues related to diplomatic protection.

In fact, reinforced protection of the Latin Catholic clergymen, the members of the Latin Catholic community, of the Holy Places and the pilgrims in Jerusalem and of the Christians of the Orient became central in the territories of the Ottoman Empire where a Muslim authority was in charge of the political power.[307]

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[304] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 183.

[305] Alphonse Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade* (4 vols, Paris, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 494-502; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* pp. 190-193; Géraud Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2004), pp. 275-305.

[306] Jean Bérenger, 'La politique ottoman de la France dans les années 1680', in Tollet, *Guerres et paix en Europe centrale*, pp. 99-122, p. 119.

[307] Cf. Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 183f.

The first European power to obtain these privileges from the Ottoman sultan was Venice. Nevertheless, with the arrival of a French ambassador in the 1530s, a new era of relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe began. Francis I needed the alliance with Suleiman the Magnificent in order to restrict the power of the Habsburg dynasty in Europe. During the 16th century, and more markedly in the 17th century, the French kings' claim for a French pre-eminence in the Levant developed.[308] As the alliance of the French kings was not undisputed among the European powers, nor among the French Catholics, the French rulers had to legitimize their strategy of peaceful relations with the Ottoman sultans. The protection of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire was the main element of the most Christian kings' legitimization.[309]

With the renewal of the *ahidnames* between the Sublime Porte and the French king in the 17th century, and in particular in 1673, the French position as protector of the Catholics and Catholic places of worship in the Ottoman Empire was further strengthened. Before discussing more in depth the importance of the France in the Ottoman Empire, it seems appropriate to briefly explain the main elements and characteristics of the *ahidnames* on the basis of the ground-breaking study of Maurits H. van den Boogert on the capitulations and the Ottoman legal system.[310]

In the first place, *ahidnames,* capitulations, were international treaties between rulers, but in the second place the capitulations were intended to stimulate trade between the Ottoman Empire and Europe and as such in fact regulated the presence of communities of foreign merchants in the Ottoman territory. Originally, the *ahidnames* were unilaterally granted by the sultan to the sovereigns of foreign countries as long as the applicant rulers promised to maintain peaceful relations with the Ottoman Empire and not to capture and enslave Ottoman mariners and merchants. In the case of violation of the promise, the Sublime Porte could revoke the privileges granted in the capitulations. As already mentioned, the Republic of Genoa and the Most Serene Republic of Venice were the first beneficiaries of Ottoman capitulations in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Then, in the 16th century France and England, and at the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch Republic, negotiated *ahidnames* with the Ottoman Empire.

Finally, there was a major increase in capitulations in the 18th century: the Habsburg Empire in 1718, Sweden in 1737, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1740, Denmark in 1746,

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[308] Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade*, p. 128f.
[309] Emmanuel Caron, 'Le tournant de l'année 1688 dans la politique ottomane de Louis XIV', in Tollet, *Guerres et paix en Europe centrale*, pp. 563-584, p. 563; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 241-243.
[310] Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system.*

Tuscany in 1747, Prussia in 1761, Russia in 1774 and lastly Spain in 1782.[311] There was a fundamental unity in the capitulatory system. Although each European sovereign received his own *ahidnames*, the contents were always linked to the deeds of privileges of the other foreign communities.[312]

Generally Western ambassadors in the Levant represented their rulers before the Ottoman authorities, acted as agents of the national governing body of Levant trade and enforced its regulations, and functioned as judges of conflicts among the members of their community. However, it is important to note here that the members of the foreign communities were not completely independent from the Ottoman legal system. Only in the case of civil or criminal cases among the subjects of the same ruler or between members of different foreign communities, did the ambassadors have the authority to adjudicate the cases according to their customs. In any other case, the Ottoman courts and judges were responsible for the jurisdiction. However, if a member of a foreign community had to appear in an Ottoman court, he had the privilege of being accompanied by one of the ambassador's dragomans.[313]

Although commercial interests always came first, the Catholic powers, and in particular France, Venice and the Habsburg Empire, claimed the protection of the Latin Catholic Church and of the Catholic Churches in general. The position of Venice and the Habsburg Empire was weakened by recurring acts of war against the Ottoman Empire. In the case of war, the Sublime Porte used to revoke the *ahidnames*, the ambassadors had to leave Constantinople and thus their position of protectors for the Latin Catholics was weakened.[314] In fact, the only European power which could guarantee constant protection was France. To claim a kind of protectorate over all Catholic communities in the Ottoman Empire represented a possibility for the French monarchs to justify their policy with regard to the relations with the Sublime Porte. Traditionally, the French kings had rejected the pontiffs' projects of crusading. On the contrary, the French strategy was almost continuously based on an alliance with the Ottoman sultan against the Habsburg monarchies in Spain and Austria. The good relations between the French crown and the Ottoman sultan started in 1535 and led to the stipulation of the first

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[311] Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 4-7.
[312] Ibid., p. 9.
[313] Ibid., pp. 35-51.
[314] Until the early 18th century Venice was regularly in conflict with the Ottoman Empire. Between 1645 and 1669 in the Cretan War, between 1684 and 1699 in the Morean war and, between 1714 and 1718 in the 7th and last Ottoman-Venetian war. After 1718 Venice did not participate in the Turkish wars. Venice contended with the Ottoman Empire for the possession in the Eastern Mediterranean and was decisively pushed back until the end of the 18th century.
The Habsburg Empire fought the Austro-Turkish War between 1663 and 1664, the Great Turkish War between 1683 and 1699, other Austro-Turkish Wars between 1714 and 1718, between 1735 and 1739 and between 1787 and 1791. The Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire battled for the possession of Hungary and the Peloponnese. See Schulze, 'Die islamische Welt in der Neuzeit', p. 354-384.

capitulation granted to Charles IX by the sultan Selim II in 1569.[315] This attitude was highly controversial in Catholic Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries, when the concept of organising a crusade of Christianity against Islam was still widespread. With the concept of protection of the Catholic Churches, the French kings had a relevant argument for the legitimisation of their good relations with the Ottoman sultan the more so, because of the precarious status of the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire and of numerous wars, which practically excluded the other Catholic powers of Venice and the Habsburg Empire from being powerful protectors.[316]

With the reign of Louis XIV (1661-1715), religious issues became a central point of the French Levant policy. In fact, during the fifty years of his reign, France renewed its capitulations with the sultan twice and managed by so doing to obtain the amplification of the privileges also concerning the protection of the Catholic Churches. Towards the end of the 17th century, France openly claimed to represent the interests of all Catholics in the Ottoman Empire and the French ambassadors considered themselves entitled to intervene at the Sublime Porte concerning any issues in relations with Catholic interests.[317]

In the capitulations between the sultan and the French king of 1673, the religious orders of the Capuchins and Jesuits were guaranteed particular protection. Of course, in the intent of the French king and subsequently of his ambassador in Constantinople the protection of the Latin Catholic churches, clergymen and believers was clearly associated with the French claim for a more decisive exertion of influence. The French claim to have more influence over religious issues in the Ottoman Empire reflected the discussions and conflicts between Louis XIV and the Roman pontiffs concerning the Gallican liberties of the French church, which came into conflict with the will of the Holy See to maintain autonomy towards political powers.[318]

In the following pages I shall analyse the implications of the diverging perceptions the different diplomatic and ecclesiastic actors had on the questions relating to the protection of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire and the attempts to assert the independency of the Catholic Church from secular influence. Just how much did the national affiliation of the Latin Catholic actors determine conflicts and divergences between different orders and their diplomatic protectors? I shall approach this on the basis of examination of three cases. Firstly, the diplomatic protection of the orders will be highlighted and, in particular, the changes of

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[315] Caron, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicanisme', p. 362f.
[316] See ibid., p. 359; Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, p. 101f; Heyberger, *Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 242ff.
[317] Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 102.
[318] Heyberger, *Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 243.

the protecting power during the 17th and 18th centuries. Secondly, the importance of the French provenance of Capuchins and Jesuits for the parish structure will be considered and thirdly, I shall analyse how the French ambassador tried to influence ecclesiastic life in Constantinople.

4.1. French or Venetian protection? Developments in diplomatic protection of the religious orders in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

The development of diplomatic protection of religious orders in Constantinople seems particularly appropriate in order to study the shift of influence between Venice and France and the consequences in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. As already mentioned, Venice was the traditional protecting power of the religious orders. Thus, at the beginning of this period of investigation, the convents and churches of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had existed since the 13th century, were under Venetian protection. In particular in the case of the Reformed Franciscans, the strong links with the Venetian Republic were reflected in the provenance of the friars. Until the last quarter of the 17th century, all superiors of the convent of Santa Maria Draperis were Venetians and also a high number of friars originated in the Venetian territories. In comparison with the French crown, the Republic of Venice never managed to assign the convents exclusively to the Venetian province of the orders. Those friars and later superiors who were not Venetians originated predominantly in the territories of the Papal States.[319]

The descent of the Venetian hegemony regarding protection of Catholicism started with the definitive establishment of French Jesuits and Capuchins in Constantinople at the beginning of the 17th century. From the beginning, the mission of the Jesuits and Capuchins to the capital of the Ottoman Empire was strongly linked to the French crown and, as such, to the French ambassador in the city.[320] Thus, in the middle of the 17th century, the Franciscans and Dominicans who administered the three parishes were under Venetian protection, whereas the Capuchins and Jesuits were under French protection. The Cretan War (1645-1669) and the Morean war (1684-1699) weakened the Venetian position further.

Emblematical for the precarious condition of the Venetian presence in Constantinople are the circumstances, which led to the loss of the church of the Conventual Franciscans in 1696. At the time, Venice was involved in the Morean war with the Ottoman Empire and the

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[319] Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli,* vol. 2, p. 35.
[320] See, Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* pp. 81-87.

Conventual friars had temporarily accepted French protection because of the absence of the Venetian bailo.[321] The example of the confiscation of St. Francis is perfect for showing the importance of effective protection and the challenges which the Latin Catholic clergymen and ambassadors faced. After the fire in 1696, the convent of the Conventual friars was destroyed, whereas the church had remained undamaged. In a first moment, reported a friar to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome, the Ottoman authorities had intended to convert the church into a mosque, but the effective intervention of the French ambassador managed successfully to avoid the confiscation of St. Francis.[322]

Notwithstanding this, a number of months later, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide were informed that despite the repeated intervention and the payment of a huge sum of money by the French ambassador, the sultan had ordered to convert Saint Francis into a mosque. Interesting for our purpose is first and foremost the exposition of the reason which led to the confiscation and which is somewhat remarkable. The antecedent provincial of the Conventual Franciscans had planned to renovate the floor of the sacristy. To do this, reported one of his confrères, several gravestones had to be removed and in the process, the bodies of buried friars reappeared. These bodies were thrown into the sea through a specially built well. According to the Conventual friar, Turkish stonecutters had been engaged to accomplish the work on the sacristy floor. When the Ottoman authorities heard about the work done in St. Francis with the help of Turkish stonecutters, a delegation of Ottoman officials went to St. Francis to get an overview of the situation. During the inspection of the church, the Ottoman officials noticed the arms of the Most Serene Republic of Venice on the altars and elsewhere in the church. Thereupon the Ottoman officials were convinced, concluded the friar, that the church was still Venetian and ordered the confiscation of St. Francis. Under these circumstances, not even the French ambassador was able to change the sultan's mind despite the privileges, which proved that the Conventual friars were under French protection.[323]

Presumably, in this specific case it was, on the one hand, the annoyance caused by the employment of Turkish craftsmen in a Catholic church and, on the other hand, the war with Venice, which led the sultan to the decision to convert Saint Francis into a mosque. Moreover, the episode is evidence that also the influence of the French ambassador had its limits and it recalls the fact that capitulations and privileges of the Ottoman Empire were granted by the

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[321] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 205.
[322] Congregatio generalis 10.9.1696 (APF, Acta vol. 66, f. 184r).
[323] Congregatio generalis 17.6.1697 (APF, Acta vol. 67, f. 196v, 197v).

sultan who had, however, in any moment the possibility to revoke the privileges singularly or constantly.[324]

From this perspective, an alternative explanation for the confiscation of St. Francis, which corresponds to what has been said in chapter 2.3.2. on the Latin churches of Galata and Pera, could be the adduced. The Ottoman authorities had decided that they wanted to convert the church into a mosque but had somehow to legitimate the action, which was in conflict with the *ahidnames* granted to the French king since the 16th century. Theoretically, the *ahidnames* could only be revoked legitimately if the beneficiary violated the promises vowed on the occasion of the stipulation of the deed of privileges. As France was neither at war with the Ottoman Empire, nor did it capture and enslave Ottoman subjects, another strategy had to be adopted. In fact, in a first moment, the church was given back to the Conventual friars. But when the Ottoman officials saw the Venetian arms in the church, it became clear to them that it was still under the patronage of Venice and as Venice, at the time, was fighting the Ottoman Empire, the sultan was no longer bound to his promise of granting the privilege.

Despite this episode, which led to the loss of St. Francis, the Conventual friars remained under the protection of the French ambassador. Two years after the loss of their church, the French ambassador was successful in obtaining an important deed of privileges for the Conventual friars. They had moved to Pera near the French embassy, and were allowed to celebrate all ecclesiastic ceremonies in complete safety.[325] Similarly to the Conventual friars, also the Dominicans left Venetian protection and from 1705 onwards, the French ambassador was also the protector of the Dominican convent in Constantinople.[326]

In a letter to the secretary of state count de Pontchartrain, the French ambassador Charles Ferriol reported the event:

> 'I have obtained under the protection of the King, the Reverend Dominican Fathers and their Church, the ceremony took place on the day of the Conception with the utmost splendor. It appears by this step of the Reverend Dominican Fathers how little the protection of Venice is considered, […].'[327]

In a second letter, Ferriol added the information that 'the bailo of Venice was a little bit chagrined' when he heard about the decisions of the Dominicans to accept French

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[324] See Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p. 26, 102.
[325] Congregatio generalis 27.7.1699 (APF, Acta vol. 69, f. 257v).
[326] Cf. François Rey, 'L'Ordine di S. Domenico a Costantinopoli', *Bessarione* 4 (1899), pp. 413-424, p. 418.
[327] 'J'ay reçu sous la protection du Roy les R[évérends] P[ères] Dominicains et leur Eglise, la cérémonie s'en est faite le jour de la conception avec tout l'éclat possible. Il paraît par cette démarche des R[évérends] P[ères] Dominicains combien la protection de Venise est peu considérée, […].' Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Louis Phélypeaux count of Pontchartrain, secretary of state of Louis XIV, Constantinople 27.12.1705 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 224r/v).

protection.[328] According to Ferriol's letter, it seems that the Dominicans actually chose to accept French protection instead of the less considered Venetian protection. Following the description of the French ambassador, the Dominicans had taken the initiative themselves and contacted the French ambassador. The fact that the change of protection was celebrated with joy in the church of the Dominicans and in the presence of the French ambassador indicates the prestige of the protection of religious orders for the European rulers and their ambassadors.

With the Dominicans, the Republic of Venice lost the last religious order under its protection. In the following year, Ferriol reported to the French court that the Venetian bailo had tried to take vengeance upon the Dominicans by promoting the confiscation of their church on behalf of the Ottoman authorities. However, Ferriol was able to end the bailo's machinations with the help of the English ambassador, who, although a heretic, had shown more charity than their enemy the Venetian bailo.[329] Here again, we have evidence of good contacts and cooperation between Catholic and non-Catholic European ambassadors, it is presumable that the confessional boundaries were quite permeable within the European elite in Constantinople. The idea that the heretic Englishman demonstrated more charity than his Catholic counterpart was typical. As Christian Windler has pointed out for the Persian context, reference to the 'most Catholic virtues' was used frequently when Catholic clergymen or ambassadors described a commendable action of a non-Catholic.[330] Unfortunately, Ferriol does not say in what exactly the help of the English ambassador had consisted.

One reason for the change of protection lay in the strengths and stability of the French presence in Constantinople, which was very visible not only among the Latin Catholics. Moreover, there was also further institutional reinforcement in favour of the French claim to be the protector of the Latin orders. In fact, with the renewal of the *ahidnames* between the Ottoman sultan and the French king in 1673, the latter was recognised as the guarantor for safety of the Catholic clergy in the Levant and thus also in Constantinople.[331]

After the Cretan and Morean wars during the second half of the 17th century, the position of Venice as protecting power for the religious orders with their churches and convents was

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[328] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Louis Phélypeaux count of Pontchartrain, secretary of state of Louis XIV, Constantinople 27.12.1705 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 226v, 227r).

[329] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Louis Phélypeaux count of Pontchartrain, secretary of state of Louis XIV, Constantinople 1.9.1706 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 44, f. 70r).

[330] Christian Windler, 'Katholische Mission und Diasporareligiosität. Christen europäischer Herkunft im Safavidenreich', in Henning P. Jürgens and Thomas Weller (eds), *Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 183-212, p. 198.

[331] Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* p.102.

extremely weak. The orders needed strong and reliable protection by a secular power in order to secure their churches and their permanence in the Ottoman capital city. In particular, protection was needed in the case of fires in order to receive permission for the rebuilding and, in general, for negotiations with the Ottoman authorities, concerning any kind of permission for rebuilding or similar issues. As already shown, the Conventual Franciscans and Dominicans turned to the protection of the French king, who had managed to obtain additional privileges in the capitulations of 1673. At the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, the French ambassador was effectively the only strong representative of a Catholic power in Constantinople. The Reformed Franciscans made another choice by accepting the protection of the Dutch Republic. As I shall illustrate on the next pages, the decision of the Reformed Franciscans was sharply criticised by various actors.

4.2. The Dutch protection of the Reformed Franciscans

The rather pragmatic approach of the religious orders towards diplomatic protection can be illustrated with the example of the Reformed Franciscans under Dutch protection. At the very end of the 17th century, the Reformed Franciscans in Constantinople, and also those in Smyrna who belonged to the same custody, had lost their churches in recent fires. The rebuilding of their churches and convents was thus the main objective of both missions. As in the 1690s, their traditional protection power, Venice, was in war with the Ottoman Empire, the Reformed Franciscans needed new European protection.

In the case of Constantinople we only know that in 1700 the Reformed Franciscans were under the protection of the Dutch ambassador. The reason for this decision, asserted the Reformed Franciscans, was the fact that without the protection of the Dutch ambassador they would have lost not only their living quarters but also their church.[332] More detailed is the information we have concerning the Reformed mission in Smyrna. In the account of cardinal Barberini, it emerges that the Reformed Franciscans had accepted Dutch protection because the ambassador had been able to obtain the Ottoman permission for the rebuilding of a public chapel in Smyrna. According to Barberini, the Reformed Franciscans had asked the French ambassador for help before contacting his Dutch counterpart. But as the French ambassador had refused to negotiate with the Sublime Porte about the mentioned permission, the

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[332] Congregatio geneneralis 24.5.1700 (APF, Acta vol. 70, f. 147v).

Reformed Franciscans were forced to recourse to the ambassador of the Dutch Republic, who represented everything they had.[333]

In this specific situation, the Dutch ambassador was willing and able to offer the Reformed Franciscans what they needed, namely the permission to rebuild their church and convent. The protection of a Catholic religious order through a non-Catholic power in Constantinople and Smyrna at the beginning of the 18th century was not an exceptional case.

In 1733 the councillor of the Holy Inquisition of Maronite origins Giuseppe Assemani informed the cardinals of Propaganda Fide that the Dutch and sometimes also the English ambassadors offered religious orders their protection in the Levant. Assemani stated that the protection of the heretic power in the Levant was indeed effective and in his opinion it was not a coincidence that mainly the Reformed Franciscans accepted Dutch protection. Assemani surmised that the main reason for this fact was that the relations between the French ambassadors and consuls and the Italian Reformed Franciscans were traditionally bad.[334] Additionally, it has been pointed out that the Reformed Franciscans were closely linked to the Republic of Venice and, taking these elements together, the friars were very reluctant to accept French protection.

The Dutch, and thus 'heretic' protection of the Reformed Franciscans aroused indignation among the Catholic ambassadors. In a long account to the pontiff Clement XI, the Venetian bailo outlined that the Reformed Franciscans had been introduced to the places in the Levant by the Republic of Venice and that they had always acted as chaplains of the Venetian representatives. It was the merit of Venetian efforts, continued the bailo, if the Reformed Franciscans had been allowed to construct a church in Smyrna with the right of patronage of the Most Serene Republic. Moreover, Venice had always backed the Reformed mission with alms. So far, underlined the bailo, the friars had always returned under Venetian protection after the end of wars with the Ottoman Empire. This time, he hypothesised, they wanted to remain under Dutch protection in order to live without being controlled. In conclusion, the bailo asked the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to constrain the Reformed Franciscans to return under Venetian protection.[335]

This short extract of the bailo's letter to the pontiff reveals several important elements concerning the issues of diplomatic protection. Firstly, the Venetian ambassador considered the protection of the Reformed Franciscans of high importance. Evidence for this assumption lies in the fact that he wrote directly to the head of the Latin Catholic Church, whereas

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[333] Congregatio generalis 5.2.1703 (APF, Acta vol. 73, f.52r/v).
[334] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 247.
[335] Congregatio generalis 5.2.1703 (APF, Acta vol. 73, f. 51v, 52r).

normally the correspondence between Constantinople and the Curia in Rome was directed to Propaganda Fide. In his argumentation, the Venetian ambassador laid particular emphasis on the tradition of Venetian protection. In fact, in a moment of weakness, accentuating the past glory of the Most Serene Republic of Venice seemed to be the most evident strategy. On the contrary, the fact that the Dutch ambassador represented a Protestant power was not at the centre of the ambassador's objection to the Dutch protection of the Reformed Franciscans. Moreover, the Venetian procedure of application to the pontiff shows that the Republic did not have the authority of adopting appropriate measures in order to constrain the Reformed Franciscans to abandon Dutch protection. Neither did the Curia in Rome have the instruments to constrain the Reformed Franciscans. The cardinals could only try to exert moral pressure.

The French ambassador Charles Ferriol was more vehement in his opposition to the 'heretic' protection of a Catholic religious order, which he judged to be disgraceful. In 1706, Ferriol wrote to the Roman pontiff Innocent XI and informed him about the sanction he tried to enforce in Constantinople and Smyrna against the Reformed Franciscans:

> 'I have forbidden the French people and my protégés from going anymore to the hospice of the fathers and from receiving them in the houses, the relief obtained therein is moreover rather mediocre, but I wished to prevent further accidents which could occur due to their recklessness […] and I shall not revoke this prohibition before all those [Reformed Franciscans, LB] who are here are changed and those who will come in their place leave the protection of these heretics who publicly burned an ever venerable effigy of Your Holiness in the month of last November in the village of Belgrade four leagues away from Constantinople; […].'[336]

In contrast with the Venetian bailo, the French ambassador based his argumentation on the fact that the Dutch were 'heretic' and that they consequently did not respect the Roman pontiff. Ferriol's request to change all the Reformed friars before revoking the interdiction for the French Catholics to attend the churches of the Reformed Franciscans was addressed to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide who sent the Reformed Franciscans to Constantinople.

The reaction of the Roman Curia to the Dutch protection of the Reformed Franciscans did not correspond to the expectations of the French ambassador Ferriol. The cardinals decided

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[336] 'J'ay défendu aux français et à mes protégés d'aller davantage à l'hospice de ses pères et de les recevoir dans les maisons, le secours qu'on en tire est d'ailleurs fort médiocre, mais j'ay voulu parvenir des nouveaux accidents qui pourraient arriver pour leur témérité. […], et je ne révoquerai pas cette défense que tous ceux qui sont ici ne soient changer, et que ceux qui viendront à leur places quittent la protection de ces hérétiques qui ont brulé publiquement l'effigie toujours vénérable de votre sainteté dans le mois de novembre dernier au village de Belgrade éloigné de Constantinople de quatre lieux; […].' Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Innocent XI, Constantinople 18.2.1706 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 247r).

not to do anything but to gather more information and to take the Reformed Franciscans temporarily under the direct protection of Propaganda Fide.[337]

Ferriol was rather indignant about the decision of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to take the Franciscans under their direct protection. In a letter to the French ambassador at the Holy See, cardinal Joseph-Emmanuel de La Trémoille, Ferriol stated that if the cardinals of Propaganda Fide claimed to be the protectors of the Reformed Franciscans, whereas in cases of necessity the protection of a secular power was needed, they were not well-informed about the customs of the Ottoman Empire. The ambassador then continued to explain why the protection of Propaganda Fide could not be effective in the Ottoman Empire. In the first place, wrote Ferriol, the clergymen and Franks coming from Europe chose the protection of an ambassador in order to be safe from Turkish avarice and to benefit from the graces and privileges granted to their protector by the capitulations. Ferriol then rhetorically asked whether the cardinals of Propaganda Fide had any treaty with the Sublime Porte and what kind of protection they intended to give to the Reformed Franciscans from such a distance. Finally, the French ambassador pointed out the fact that the protection of Propaganda Fide would have to remain secret as Rome was the principal enemy of the sultan.[338]

The argumentation of the French ambassador with regard to the protection of the Reformed Franciscans on the part of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide is indeed compelling. The protection of Propaganda Fide had in fact an almost exclusively symbolic value for the Reformed Franciscans. Presumably, also the cardinals in Rome were aware of the fact that they could not protect the Reformed Franciscans of Constantinople and Smyrna effectively and as such they actually accepted the Dutch protection of the religious order. One explanation for this attitude is that the Propaganda's scope of action against the Franciscans was limited. But as Propaganda Fide did not change the friars as requested by the French ambassador, we can presume that the cardinals did not completely reject the offer of Dutch protection. In a period in which the Roman Curia intended to limit French influence on religious issues in the Ottoman Empire, Dutch protection seemed less reprehensible. Moreover, the decision not to do anything about the Dutch protection also shows the impotence of the Curia to enforce its decisions and opinions. In fact, non-decisions and postponed decisions were rather characteristic of the administrative process of the Roman congregations.[339]

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[337] Congregatio generalis 5.2.1703 (Acta vol. 73, f. 54r).
[338] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Joseph-Emmanuel de La Trémoille, French ambassador at the Holy See, Constantinople 15.12.1707 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 45, f. 226r).
[339] Heyberger, 'Pro nunc, nihil respondendum', p 539.

Different were the reservations of the French crown against Dutch protection of the Reformed Franciscans. Under the reign of Louis XIV, and in particular after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the eradication of heresy was one of the French king's main objectives. Also in the Ottoman Empire, French Protestants were forced to convert to Catholicism and the only way to escape this constraint was to search for the protection of a Protestant power, in particular the Dutch Republic or England. Moreover, after the Dutch war (1672-78), the Nine-Year War (1688-97) and the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), relations between France and the Dutch Republic were very tense. In particular Anglo-Dutch moves towards Austria at the very beginning of the 17th century caused distrust on the part of the French.[340] Under these circumstances, Dutch protection of a Latin Catholic order was unacceptable for the ruler, who claimed to be the protector of the Latin Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.

However, it is also worth noting that in Constantinople relations indeed existed between the French and Dutch ambassadors. In 1706 Ferriol wrote to cardinal de Janson in Rome, informing him that he had dined with the Dutch ambassador and that they both agreed on the poor quality of the Reformed Franciscans, who were 'persons without education and peasants wearing monastic clothes'.[341] It is not known whether the Dutch ambassador actually shared Ferriol's opinion, but the letter indicates that there was regular exchange between the French ambassador and his Dutch counterpart.

In the following years, despite the French and Venetian pressure, the situation did not change and the Reformed Franciscans remained under Dutch protection. At this stage, it seems noteworthy to consider the Reformed Franciscans' point of view. At the beginning of the 17th century, the superior of the Constantinopolitan convent praised the Dutch protection, pointing out that the reasons for the Dutch commitment were exclusively charitable, guaranteeing them safety and provision for the future and remarking that the Reformed mission in the Levant had never been so fruitful. Moreover, according to the Reformed friar, the Dutch protection did not provoke any real scandal in Constantinople and Smyrna.[342] In fact, under Dutch protection the Reformed Franciscans had been able to rebuild their convent in Constantinople and to build a new chapel in Smyrna with the permission of the sultan.

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[340] Cf. Bérenger, 'La politique ottoman de la France dans les années 1680', p. 115; Jeremy Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: The Fate of a Great Power* (London, 1999), pp. 41-67; Caron, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicanisme', p. 367.

[341] 'J'y ajouterai une chose que M[onsieu]r l'Amb[assadeu]r d'Hollande leur protecteur qui vient diner avec moi deux jours après ce démêlé m'a dit, que les d[ites] pères avoient tort qu'ils étoient des gens sans éducation et des paysans revêtus d'habits de moines, […].' Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to cardinal Janson in Rome, Constantinople 19.2.1706 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 250v).

[342] Congregatio generalis 27.1.1705 (APF, Acta vol. 75, f. 35r).

Moreover, they had also benefitted from a substantial contribution assigned to them by the Dutch ambassador.[343]

Even more enthusiastic was the statement of the friars' prefect Bernardino da Roma. In the first place, it is notable that the hymn of praise for Dutch protection was written in 1721 and we can thus conclude that after the initial excitement, the protection had become a matter of fact. In short, stressed Bernardino da Roma, 'the Dutch protection could not be better for the progress of the Latin Catholic religion and the preservation of our missions'.[344] The figurative proof for long-term Dutch protection is the detail that as well as the Reformed church of Constantinople, also the convents of Smyrna and Tine were decorated with the arms of the Dutch Republic. According to Bernardino da Roma, everyone in Constantinople knew that the Reformed Franciscans of the Constantinopolitan custody were under Dutch protection: the arms did not provoke any scandal except for the Venetian ambassador. Moreover, concluded the Franciscan friar, the arms were important evidence for the Ottoman authorities that the order was under Dutch protection.[345] No detailed information is available with regard to how the case evolved. What is known is that in the 1760s the Reformed Franciscans accepted Austrian protection.[346]

The example of Dutch protection of the Reformed Franciscans confirms that confessional boundaries were not insurmountable at the end of the 17th century. The Reformed Franciscans needed strong secular support in order to have permission to rebuild the convents and churches after a fire. Venetian or imperial protection was not an option at the time and for reasons of attachment to the Venetian Republic, neither was French protection. For the Dutch ambassador, the protection of the Reformed Franciscans represented a possibility to emphasize his prestige at the Sublime Porte towards his European rival, the French ambassador. Dutch protection worked because neither wanted the Reformed Franciscans to convert the Dutch ambassador to Catholicism, nor the contrary. The position of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide can also be described as pragmatic. On the one hand, the Franciscan friars had the necessary protection of a secular power and, on the other hand, the claims for influence of the French ambassador were limited.

The diplomatic protection of religious orders always went together with claims for influence and privileges on the part of the protecting powers. In the following I will examine

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[343] Cf., Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2, p. 95f.
[344] 'In somma la protettione che noi habbiamo de' Sig[no]ri Olandesi, non può essere migliore p[er] li avanzamenti della n[ost]ra S[anta] Religione, e conservazione delle nostre missioni.' Bernardino da Roma, prefect of the Reformed Franciscans, to Pietro Luigi Caraffa, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 20.3.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 629, f. 536r).
[345] Ibid., f. 535v.
[346] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 277.

the claim for a French parish in Constantinople by the French orders and ambassador. The example may also demonstrate how Propaganda Fide and the different order reacted to those Gallican claims.

4.3. National or supranational parishes?

In Constantinople, the three parishes of the Conventual and Reformed Franciscans and the Dominicans co-existed without territorial boundaries and every member of the Latin Catholic community could choose freely the parish for the parish sacraments. Hence, with regard to the parish rights, Constantinople represented an exceptional case within the post-Tridentine Latin Catholic Church.[347] According to the rules established by the Council of Trent, the church members had to be assigned to a parish where the parishioners went to receive the parish sacraments. The main purposeof this rule was to have the Latin Catholics under control for the yearly Easter communion and the other parish sacraments, namely, baptism, marriage, last rites and confession. In the parish registers, which had to be maintained in every parish, the attendance of the sacraments by the parishioners was recorded.[348]

Repeatedly, the lack of boundaries and the consequential problems from the Roman perspective were thematized by members of the clergy in Constantinople. A good summary of these problems can be found in the report of the apostolic visitor David di San Carlo at the beginning of the 18th century. He pointed out the fact that without fixed parish boundaries, the parish priests would not know their parishioners who, therefore, could change parish simply on the basis of a whim. By so doing the parishioners could obtain licences or dispenses from one parish priest which another had previously refused to grant them. Even more alarming, continued the apostolic vicar, was the fact that the believers would die without receiving the last rites, and also that the instruction of the younger population tended to be neglected. David di San Carlo concluded that boundaries for the parishes had to be created.[349]

The freedom of choice persisted until 1725, when the patriarchal vicar with the approval of the French, Venetian, Imperial and English ambassadors divided the members of the Latin Catholic community into three parishes.[350] The assignment of the parishioners to the parishes was accomplished on the basis of the position of the houses where the Latin Catholics lived.

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[347] Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p.504.
[348] Paola Vismara, 'Il cattolicesimo dalla „riforma cattolica" all'assolutismo illuminato', in Giovanni Filoramo and Daniele Menozzi (eds), *Storia del cristianesimo. L'età moderna* (Rome and Bari, 2001), pp. 153-290, p. 174.
[349] Congregatio generalis 8.4.1710 (APF, Acta vol. 80, f. 117v).
[350] Congregatio generalis 28.5.1725 (APF, Acta vol. 95, f. 300v-304v). See also Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p. 504f.

The Dominican parish included the Latin Catholics living in Galata, the parish of the Conventual Franciscans was attended by the Latin Catholics living on the right side of the long street, which divided Pera and the parish of the Reformed Franciscans was for the Latin Catholics living on the other side of the street.[351] It is important to make clear that the division of the parishes was effectuated on a strictly territorial basis, whereas the provenance or nation of the Latin Catholics did not play any role.

With the territorial division of the parishes, almost forty years after the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, the last element of the Constantinopolitan local church disappeared. Thus, after the first quarter of the 18th century, the structure of the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople corresponded to the standards of the Tridentine Church. From the beginning of Propaganda Fide's activity in the Ottoman capital city, the members of the local elite had almost always struggled against innovations, which in their perspective posed a threat to the survival of the whole Latin Catholic community. An excellent example for this attitude can be found in a letter written by the counsellors of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* in the middle of the 17th century. The counsellors urged the cardinals in Rome 'not to accept the introduction of innovations, but to always preserve things as they had been from time immemorial' as every change could be the perdition of everything as the country was different from others.[352]

The priors of the confraternity of St. Anne were sceptical towards the new parish boundaries and pointed out the privilege they had had 'from time immemorial' of receiving the Easter communion in the chapel of St. Anne. Consequently, they asked the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to confirm their privilege despite the new division of parishes. The patriarchal vicar granted the permission under the condition that the priors had to inform the vicar about transgressors of the Easter communion.[353] Thus even if the members of the local elite had lost their influence with regard to the administration of the Latin Catholic churches of Constantinople, they nevertheless preserved a certain prestige based on the tradition.

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[351] The project of the division had been elaborated already in 1721. '[…], si potrebbe praticare con assegnare alla Parrocchia de' Domenicani tutta la città di Galata, ov'è situata, ed anco la vicina città di Cos[tantino]poli, in cui dimorano pochi cattolici, tanto più che la lor Parrocchia poco puol servire ai Cattolici esistenti nella contigua città di Pera, perché Galata è circondata di Mura con Porta, che rigorosamente resta chiusa di notte. Le altre due Parrocchie de Conventuali, e Riformati son situate in Pera, che da una lunga strada vien divisa per mezzo, e si potrebbe assegnare una parte all'una, e l'altra all'altra Parrocchia.' Congregatio generalis, 24.11.1724 (APF, Acta vol. 91, f. 437v).

[352] 'Repplichiamo di novo riv[erentemen]te all'E[mine]nze V[ostre] R[everendissime] a non admetter mai che venghi fatto novità, ma lasciar tutte le cose come ab antico, […] conoscendo molto bene esser la rovina del tutto, essendo il paese diverso de gl'altri, […]'. Priors of the Confraternity of St. Anne to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.7.1658 (APF, SOCG vol. 277, f. 11r).

[353] Congregatio generalis 28.5.1725 (APF, Acta vol. 95, f. 302r).

After these short paragraphs on the situation of the parishes in Constantinople, I shall now go back to discussing the parishes in relation to the issue of nation. As already illustrated, the fire of 1660 destroyed every church with the exception of St. Benedict, the Jesuit church of Galata. As a consequence, public celebrations could only be solemnised in this church. In particular the destruction of St. Francis, the church of the Conventual Franciscans, had grave consequences for the traditional religious life of the Latin Catholic community. On the one hand, the patriarchal vicar used to celebrate solemn masses in St. Francis and, on the other hand, the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, and, after the disempowerment of 1682 the confraternity of St. Anne, had its chapel in the church.[354]

In the years after the fire, St. Benedict thus became the centre of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople. It was in those years that the French ambassador and orders for the first time claimed vehemently the right to administer the parish sacraments in St. Benedict (Jesuits) and St. Louis (Capuchins). Compared with the beginning of the 18th century, the French only asked for the temporary right to build a parish and there was no question of having a parish just for the French Latin Catholics. Nevertheless, the answer given by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide was a simple *nihil,* no.[355]

Already slightly different were the requests submitted to the pontiff in the name of the French king at the end of the 1660s. In fact, it was asked whether Jesuits and Capuchins could administer the parish sacraments to the French Catholics. The principal argument of the French ambassador, who presented his request in the name of the French king, was that the existing parish priests were of Greek or Italian origin and were not proficient in the French language. Consequently, continued the ambassador Denis de la Haye, they could neither listen to the confessions of the French, nor properly administer the sacraments as they were not able to say one word in French.[356]

Propaganda Fide consequently asked the superiors of the Dominicans, Conventual and Reformed Franciscans, who administered the three parishes of the city to comment on the case. According to the secretary of Propaganda Fide, they answered unanimously that three parishes were enough for the more or less 700 Latin Catholics of Constantinople. Furthermore, they explained that linguistic problems were not an issue as the French missionaries could ask the parish priests for a licence to hear the confessions of the French

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[354] See for instance Congregatio generalis 13.3.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 29v).
[355] Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 161r/v).
[356] Congregatio generalis, 1.5.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 70r/v).

parishioners. Moreover, the French merchants did all know Italian because of the commerce.[357]

We can assume that language was by no means the most important reason for the French claim to have a French parish. In the first place, the activity of the Jesuits and Capuchins had become very important for the Latin Catholic community in the half century of their presence in the city. In particular the teaching in their schools was an important service to the Latin community. In the second place, under the reign of Louis XIV, the French claims for Gallican liberties were very strong and not limited to the French territories. Consequently, from a French perspective it was desirable that the French Capuchins and Jesuits, who were reporting to their superiors in France, should be in charge of the spiritual care of French subjects in the Levant.[358]

4.3.1. The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the parish clergy against the French Jesuits

Between 1670 and 1675, thus, at the time of growing French influence and the first claims for a French parish, the orders with a century-long tradition in Constantinople, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* and the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi attacked the Jesuits heavily. They accused the Jesuits of trying to prevent the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* from doing their usual spiritual exercises in the church of St. Benedict. Moreover, the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* argued that the church had been built by their ancestors and that they had placed St. Benedict at the disposal of the French Jesuits after the Ottoman conquest. Furthermore, they asked the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to send a superior who was not of French provenance. If not, they threatened to go to the Sublime Porte with the capitulation in order to have their claim for St. Benedict confirmed. The general of the Jesuits answered promptly that St. Benedict had been awarded to the French king by the sultan Mohamed II and that Henry IV had decided to send French Jesuits in the Constantinopolitan convent. He also pointed out that neither the king nor the ambassador would ever allow Jesuits of other provenance than French to be sent to the mission of Constantinople.[359] The threats of the local elite remained empty and consequently,

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[357] Congregatio generalis, 7.8.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 155v, 156r).

[358] See, Caron, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicanisme', p. 368f.

[359] Congregatio generalis 11.9.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 167v/168r); Ristretto della lettera de' Padri della Comp[agnia] di Gesù residenti in Pera di Costantinopoli alla S[acra] Cong[regazio]ne de Prop[agan]da Fide sotto li 25 Aprile 1671 in risposta alla lettera mandata alla med[esi]ma S[acra] Cong[regazio] sotto nome de' Curati di Pera in data dell'ultimo febbraro 1670 (ARSI, Gallia vol. 103, Nr. 29, f. 92r-96r); Sommario delli 14 capi d'accuse con i P[ad]ri della Comp[agni] di Gesù (ARSI, Gallia vol. 103, Nr. 32, f. 98r-99r).

the Jesuits remained in charge of St. Benedict. The French position was stronger than the position of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera.*

Not only the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* but also the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi, himself an Italian Conventual Franciscan, and the Dominicans and Franciscans offered resistance to the growing influence of the French Jesuits in Constantinople. The Jesuits were accused of conspiring against the Latin presence in the city by publishing a booklet which offended the Greek Orthodox Church in the name of the Imperial representative. According to the patriarchal vicar and the parish priests, the diffusion of the booklet could provoke a reaction of the Ottoman authorities, at the suggestion of the Greek Orthodox elite. Moreover, the vicar complained to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide that the Jesuits refused to acknowledge his authority and that he was unable to prevent the publication of the booklet without the support of Propaganda Fide. Moreover, the superior of the Dominican mission accused the Jesuits of having distributed printed material, in which it was affirmed that the Dominicans had constructed a new oratory with acts of deceit.[360]

The allegations made against the French Jesuits in Constantinople reflect recurring elements of the anti-Jesuit propaganda of the 17th century, which developed also in parallel with the beginning of the Chinese and Malabar rite controversy.[361] Moreover, conflicts between French missionaries and the Imperial presence in the Ottoman Empire were rather frequent. The reason for these conflicting relations lies in the antagonistic politics of the two European powers on the European mainland and also in the Levant.[362] In Constantinople, the presence of the Jesuits was strongly linked to the French ambassador and the French king. They were thus clearly seen as French subjects by the Italian missionaries and patriarchal vicars.

The conflict with the Dominicans and Franciscans can also be explained with a certain kind of concurrence between the orders, traditionally present in Constantinople and the orders of the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had arrived at the beginning of the 17th century and who played an important role from the beginning. This situation of concurrence was further reinforced by the strong links between the orders and the French king.

Furthermore, the difficult position of the patriarchal vicars towards the Jesuits was a recurrent issue in the correspondence between the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the mission territories. The Jesuit missionaries claimed that they had only to obey their Superior

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[360] Congregatio generalis 20.8.1669 (APF, Acta vol. 38, f. 284r).
[361] See the contributions in the volume of Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (eds), *Les Antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne* (Rennes, 2010).
[362] See Caron, 'Défense de la Chrétienté ou gallicanisme', p. 370.

General and not the vicars of Propaganda Fide.[363] As the Jesuits and Capuchins, and in fact also the Dominicans, depended directly on their Superiors General, the authority of the patriarchal vicar and Propaganda Fide was restricted. In particular, the Society of Jesus did not intend to accept the control of the Roman Curia and emphasized the autonomy of its action from Propaganda Fide. Whereas Propaganda Fide tried to assert its authority, the Jesuit missionaries tended to offer resistance to the orders coming from Rome.[364]

According to Giovanni Pizzorusso, frequently, albeit not exclusively, the conflicts between the missionaries from different orders depended on the Jesuits. On the basis of these conflicts lay the Jesuits' tendency to monopolize the institutions they managed. In the perspective of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, it was particularly misplaced that the Jesuits should acknowledge the authority of the monarchs in the missionary territories, whereas on the contrary, Propaganda Fide tried to limit the influence of secular power in religious issues.[365]

The strategy of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide was to remain in correspondence with the Superior General in order to possibly have his backing in the cases of different opinions. This is precisely what the cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to try with regard to the quarrels between the Jesuits and the patriarchal vicar Monsignor Ridolfi. The Superior General Giovanni Paolo Oliva was invited to remind the Jesuits in Constantinople that they had to recognise the authority of the patriarchal vicar and act within the limits of respect and veneration towards the prelate. The Superior General replied promptly that he had forwarded the congregation's instruction to his missionaries in Constantinople.[366]

To furnish a further example for the correspondence with the Superior General and the massive attack of the patriarchal vicar Monsignor Ridolfi against the French Jesuits, I shall briefly analyse the episode concerning the clothing of the Jesuit missionaries, which represented a topos in missionary conflicts. Ridolfi reported to Rome that the Jesuits dressed '*alla Turchesca*' – in Turkish style, whereas the other missionaries wore the traditional clothes of regular clergymen. The Jesuits responded that they were not dressed in Turkish clothes but exactly in the manner of the local Christians. Moreover, they reported, the vicar himself dressed like a secular bishop instead of like a regular bishop.[367]

More explicit was the explanation of the Jesuit missionary Alessandro Duvignau as regards their clothing. He described that the Jesuits had doffed the cloak and hat in order to dress in a

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[363] Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Le pape rouge et le pape noir. Aux origines des conflits entre la Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide" et la Compagnie de Jésus au XVIIe siècle', in Fabre and Maire, *Les Antijésuites*, pp. 539-561, pp. 548-550.
[364] Ibid., p. 542f.
[365] Ibid., p. 552.
[366] Congregatio generalis 12.2.1674 (APF, Acta vol. 44, f. 39v).
[367] Congregatio generalis 7.11.1672 (APF, Acta vol. 42, f. 259v).

black or black-brown waistcoat and a simple cap just like the local Catholics, Greeks and Armenians. Duvignau underlined that the vicar's accusation seemed absurd to him. Anyone in the Ottoman Empire would think that they were dressed in Turkish style. He then went on to explain that they could move with more freedom within Galata and Pera as well as outside the city, if they dressed with a waistcoat and cap. The Jesuits' closest friends, the former French ambassador and the superiors of the order in France and Rome, agreed with their new vestments. When they dressed in the traditional way with the cloak and the wide hat, they never returned to their convent without being vexed by Turks or without having the hat thrown to the floor by Turks, who used to trample on it. If, on the contrary, they dressed in soutane, waistcoat and cap, they were still recognisable as Latin Catholic priests but no longer had to fear any harassment. Alessandro Duvignau concluded that in the Levant, the majority of missionaries would dress in similar ways and that the Jesuits did not need dispenses or privileges for adapting their dress to the custom of the place of mission as they did for instance in Syria, Persia, India, Japan, China, England and elsewhere they preferred not to wear their traditional dress. So, in the perspective of the Jesuit missionary, the patriarchal vicar had only complained against their clothing because he did not know that the Jesuits did not have one defined dress, but could choose to wear the dress, which proved to be best for their apostolic action.[368] The same Alessandro Duvignau observed a couple of years later that the patriarchal vicar, who was a bitter enemy of the French, 'attacks the Jesuits because he can not attack the French ambassador'.[369]

In this quarrel between the Jesuits of Constantinople and the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi, several very interesting elements emerge with regard to issues concerning the Jesuits' French provenance. In fact, Ridolfi, the Italian Conventual friar and patriarchal vicar, was at variance with the French ambassador Denis de la Haye with regard to the ambassador's privileges during mass.[370] As already seen, it was almost impossible for a patriarchal vicar to set against the French ambassador, and thus the theory of the Jesuits according to which the vicar attacked them because they were French and in close relations with the ambassador is at least plausible, the more so because the case of the clothing was discussed only years after it actually emerged.

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[368] Alessandro Duvignau, Jesuit missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 29.9.1671 (APF, SOCG vol. 436, f. 158r-159v). See also Copia di una lettera dell'Eccell[entissi]mo Sig[no]r de la Haye già Ambasciatore del Re Christianissimo in Constantinopoli, scritta da Parigi il 30 Dicembre 1671 (ARSI, Gallia vol. 103, Nr. 56, f. 176r).

[369] '[…], et essendo nemico de Francesi batte i Gesuiti, p[er] non poter battere l'Amb[asciator]e, […].' Congregatio generalis 26.6.1674 (APF, Acta vol. 44, f. 177r).

[370] Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le dissens survenu entre Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de France et M[onsieu] l'Evesque de Calamine vicaire patriarchal de Constantinople (ARSI, Gallia vol. 103, f. 104v-110v).

It is equally significant that the Jesuits of Constantinople had discussed their new form of dress with the French ambassador, and their superiors in France and Rome. This testimony confirms the fact that the Jesuits primarily gave account to the superiors of the order and secondly to the ambassador of the French king.

Discussions on the choice of the missionaries' form of dress were very frequent in the 17th century and were not limited to the Ottoman Empire. As compared to other regular orders, the Jesuits did not have clear rules about the material, the colour or the cut of their clothes. Consequently, the external appearance of the Jesuits was liable to change according to the challenges of the place of their activity. In extra-European or also in the English territories, in particular the Jesuits adapted their clothing to the local custom in order not to be recognised or in order not to stand out in contexts where Catholic missionaries were looked at with diffidence. In regions like Japan, China or India this strategy could open doors, which otherwise would have remained closed if the missionaries had been recognised as such. The adoption of local dress-style was widespread among missionaries in general, and among the Jesuits in particular, and the choice of wearing local clothes was controversial between Rome and the orders, but also between the different orders and occasionally among the members of the same orders. The clothing of the Jesuit missionaries was an important element of the Chinese and Malabar rite controversy but it was taken up also in Europe, the Middle East and the Americas. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide did not generally prohibit the disguise of the missionaries as in certain territories where Catholicism was banned it was the only possibility for the missionaries to be active.[371] In Constantinople, and more specifically outside the city, dressing like the locals allowed the missionaries more freedom of movement with regard to the Eastern Christians and the Muslim population.

In summary it can be said that the years of quarrels in the late 1660s and early 1670s did not result in any change. St. Benedict remained the church and convent of the French Jesuits, the latter continued to dress in the soutane, waistcoat and cap, and the Dominicans, Conventual and Reformed Franciscans administered the three parishes. In particular the Jesuits were attacked heavily by the traditional Constantinopolitan orders but also by the local elite and the patriarchal vicar. Presumably, the claim for a French parish and the dominant position of the Jesuits after the fire alarmed the orders, who were in charge of the parishes and led to opposition against them. Moreover, the Jesuits were under pressure not only in

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[371] Evonne Levy, 'Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits? Jesuit dress in theory and in image', in Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker R. Remmert (eds), *Le monde est une peinture. Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder* (Berlin, 2001), pp.127-152; Matteo Sanfilippo, 'L'abito fa il missionario? Scelte di abbigliamento, strategie di adattamento e interventi romani nelle missioni "ad haeretico" e "ad infideles" tra XVI e XX secolo', *MEFRIM* 109 (1997), pp. 601-620.

Constantinople but in several territories of mission and had particularly difficult relations with the Franciscans in the Ottoman Empire.[372]

Furthermore, with the renewal of the capitulations between the French king Louis XIV and the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV, the position of the French Jesuits and also of the French Capuchins was strengthened. In fact, the capitulations guaranteed the presence of the French Jesuits and Capuchins in Constantinople.[373]

After this excursus about the quarrels against the Jesuits in the 1660s and 1670s, I shall now resume the main issue of this subchapter, the foundation of a national French parish.

4.3.2. National parishes: a necessity or the first step towards the destruction of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople?

More or less three decades after the first attempt to install a French parish in Constantinople, the issue re-emerged with urgency around the turn of the century. In the name of the Capuchins in Constantinople, the Capuchin friar Lodovico da Parigi proposed to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to divide the city's Latin Catholics into four parishes as a solution to the problem of the absence of parish boundaries, and to found a French parish. The parish of the Conventual friars, which was the most ancient, was to be attended by the Ottoman Greek speaking Catholics. As the Dominicans originated predominantly in Chios, they were to take spiritual care of the Catholic Greek foreigners and the Italian Reformed Franciscans were to administer the parish sacraments to the foreign Italians. Lastly, the French population of Galata and Pera together with the Latin Catholics under French protection and their domestics and employees should attend either the Capuchin church inside the French embassy, frequented by the ambassador and his family, or in their church of Galata. According to Lodovico da Parigi, the church of the Capuchins in Galata was located in the middle of the area, where the French merchants used to live and was thus easy to reach for them.[374]

The Capuchins, therefore, presented a project of division on the basis of the parishioners' national and linguistic origins. According to this proposal the three existing parishes would remain and, moreover, a French parish would be added. More radical was the claim of the French ambassador Charles Ferriol in 1705 who complained to the pontiff Clement XI that the Dominican and Franciscan parish priests were neglecting to provide the pastoral care for

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[372] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 245.
[373] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 102.
[374] Congregatio generalis 13.9.1700 (APF, Acta vol. 70, f. 285r-287r).

the plague sufferers and were thus to blame for the numerous cases of Latin Catholics who died without the last rites. He pointed out that these misfortunes would come to an end if the Capuchins took care of Pera and the Capuchins of Galata.[375]

In the line of argument of the French ambassador, the avaricious and little charitable Dominican and Franciscan parish priests were to be replaced by the very zealous and courageous French Capuchins and Jesuits.

In these two letters written by a French Capuchin and the French ambassador are evidenced the two variants presented to the cardinals in Rome with the main goal of having the French missionaries at the guidance of one or more parishes in Constantinople. The French pressure led the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to the decision to convoke a so-called *congregazione particolare,* an extraordinary congregation of the members of Propaganda Fide in the presence of the pontiff Clement XI in order to discuss whether the claim for a French parish of the Capuchins should be granted. In the present case of the French parish, the members of the Curia did not have any doubt, the French claim had to be rejected and the reasons for the rejection had to be explained to the French king by the Apostolic Nuncio in Paris.[376]

Already from the information given in the introduction of the documents produced during the extraordinary congregation it becomes explicit that neither the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, nor the pontiff had ever taken into consideration the possibility of conceding the guidance of a parish to the French Capuchins. Merely the fact that the request had been presented with the support of the French king or actually in his name, induced the Roman Curia to justify its negative decision. Thus, the Roman Curia was aware of the Nuncio's delicate mission in Paris. On the one hand, the Curia did not want to give in to the French claims, but, on the other hand, it was important not to irritate the French king excessively. Therefore, it seems important to analyse the principal reasons advanced by the Roman Curia against the establishment of a French parish.

In the first instance of Propaganda Fide's explanation, we find the reference to the long tradition of the three Constantinopolitan parishes. The parish rights of the Dominicans and Franciscans dated back to the 13th century and had subsequently been acknowledged by the Ottoman sultan at the moment of conquest. In the absence of imperative necessity, decided the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, there should be no innovation and given that the three

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[375] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to Clement XI, Constantinople 26.12.1705 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 222r/v).
[376] Congregazioni Particolari tenute sopra l'erezione della Chiesa de Cappuccini di Costantinopoli in Parrocchia sotto li 24. Luglio 1705 e 23 marzo 1706 (APF, CP vol. 31, f. 143r).

parishes had proved successful for centuries, a fourth parish was not an option.[377] As already seen, the French and Roman opinions differed precisely on the question as to whether a French parish was necessary or not.

Apart from the argument concerning the tradition of the existing parishes, the members of the Curia pointed to the problems which a French parish could raise in the context of Constantinople. In the first place, they saw a problem in dividing the Latin Catholics into French and non-French members of the community. The cardinals acknowledged that the French represented the most numerous group among the Latin Catholics, but nevertheless, it was not clear if the French parish had to be attended by persons of French origin, persons with French relatives, persons under French protection or actually persons with other kinds of relations with the French nation in Constantinople. This confusion would lead to constant quarrels between the French parish of the Capuchins and the parishes of the Franciscans and Dominicans. According to the cardinals, in Constantinople almost every Latin Catholic family was composed of persons with different national origins and it was, therefore, impossible to define if a family was Greek, French or Italian. Consequently, the Latin Catholic families were simply labelled as Catholic families and not as part of a specific nation.[378]

In the conclusion of their evaluation, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide emphasized particularly that the ideal of the universality of the Catholic Church formed the basis of their reasoning. According to the cardinals, especially in the Ottoman Empire it was important that the Latin Catholics were identified with only the name of Catholic Christians so as to distinguish them from the Greek Orthodox and other Christian communities. They praised the fact that the principal prerogative of Catholicism consisted in unity of faith, which meant that in every Catholic part of the world, the same dogmas, sacraments and sacrifices were observed and celebrated. With the establishment of a French parish and consequently the sharing of the spiritual exercises among Italian and French nations, according to the members of the Roman Curia, the prerogative of unity of faith would be superseded. Besides negative consequences for the Catholic Church, the cardinals also pointed out the danger that the Ottoman authorities could interpret the division into two 'nations' as a secession from the Catholic Church by the French.[379]

The propagation of the universal Catholic Church was one of the core objectives of the post-Tridentine church in general, and of Propaganda Fide in particular. With the foundation of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Inquisition, the Roman Curia made an important effort

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[377] Ibid., f. 144r, 180r/v.
[378] Ibid., f. 144r, 181v.
[379] Ibid., f. 193v, 194r.

towards the uniforming of the religious practices all over the world.[380] Closely linked to the discourse of the universal Catholic Church was the discourse of the supranationality of the Catholic Church with the Roman pontiff as centre. The ideal of the clergymen's independency from the secular powers remained unattainable. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the *padroado* and in our case Gallicansim limited the scope of action of the Roman Curia in the mission territories.[381] Implicitly, the main point of the cardinals concerned the Gallicanism of the French church under Louis XIV. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide intended to prevent reinforced French exertion of influence in the parishes of Constantinople while instead indicating the problems the creation of a new parish could cause among the Ottoman authorities is used instead.

On a more practical level, it was actually rather difficult to define who to consider a member of the French nation and who not. Identification was easy in the case of French merchants, who lived only temporarily in the Ottoman capital city but became more difficult in the case of merchants with French origins, who had lived in the Ottoman Empire for generations and had become Ottoman subjects. As Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis has pointed out, there was also a discussion within the French nation regarding the status of persons with remote French origins.[382]

Similarly, it was difficult to decide whether Ottoman Latin Catholics under French protection were French or not. In the first place, this was the case of the dragomans and other employees working for the French ambassador or French merchants. According to the *ahidnames,* the foreign representatives had the right to take under their protection a certain number of Ottoman non-Muslims. Whereas the dragomans officially enjoyed the same privileges as the French, other Ottoman protégés enjoyed not the same but similar privileges, as for instance exemption from the poll tax. Here, however it is important to underline again that for Ottoman law, the protégés remained Ottoman subjects and did not become French subjects. With the exception of the dragomans, the privilege was personal and not automatically valid for the whole family of the protégés.[383] It was thus difficult to decide who had the right to attend a French parish. Moreover, as for the Ottoman authorities the protégés remained in any case Ottoman subjects, it would have been indeed difficult to explain why they attended a national French parish.

After the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and Clement XI had denied parish rights to the French Capuchins of Constantinople, Charles Ferriol expressed his astonishment and

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[380] See Prudhomme, 'Centralité romaine et frontières missionnaires', pp. 491.
[381] Ibid., p. 497f.
[382] Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*, pp. 53-80.
[383] See for instance, Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system,* pp. 63-115.

discontent about the decision of Propaganda Fide to cardinal de La Trémoille, who was an important representative of Louis XIV in Rome:

> 'I complain again of the Holy Congregation having refused me all that I have asked for up to now, although my demands are more convenient for its own interests than for mine. I see without difficulty that the Venetians are listened to more in Rome than the Ambassador of France […].'[384]

Also with regard to political issues Ferriol was not very successful during his mission in Constantinople between 1699 and 1711. As he disregarded the protocol at the audiences with high Ottoman officials, he never obtained an audience with the Ottoman sultan. Moreover, his main task after the treaty of Karlowitz, which had increased the power of the Habsburg Emperor in central and southeast Europe and during the Spanish War of Succession, was to promote hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the emperors Leopold I and Joseph I.[385]

The issue of the parish rights for the French Capuchins was resumed by the French ambassador Jean-Louis d'Usson, marquis de Bonnac in 1720. In his letter to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, he expressed for his part astonishment about the fact that the Curia over the years had never agreed to concede a French parish and subsequently named three reasons which were supposed to sufficiently justify the French claim. Firstly, the Latin Catholics Church enjoyed the particular protection of the Most-Christian King, secondly, the number of French Latin Catholics exceeded the number of any other Catholic nation and thirdly, the Dominican and Franciscan parish priest did not have sufficient command of the French language in order to comply with the tasks of pastoral care towards the French members of the Latin community and as such were completely useless for the French. If the French Catholics did not want to remain without religious instruction and without the holy sacraments, they had to turn to the French Capuchins and Jesuits. Thus, concluded the ambassador, the French Capuchins and Jesuits carried out almost the whole work, whereas the Italian parish priests enjoyed the emoluments of the parishes.[386]

From a French perspective, the protection of the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire and the number of French members of the Latin community in Constantinople sufficiently justified the French claims. The fact that the Italian priests would not speak French was only further evidence for the necessity to found a French parish. Despite the fact

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[384] 'Je me plains encore de la Sacrée Congrégation de m'avoir refusé tout ce que je luy ay demandé jusqu'ici, quoique mes demandes convinssent plus à ses intérêts qu'aux miens. Je vois sans peine que le Vénitiens sont plus écoutés à Rome que l'Amb[assadeu]r de France, […].' Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to cardianal de La Trémoille in Rome, Constantinople 24.1.1707 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 44, f. 114r).

[385] Bacqué-Grammont, Kineralp and Hitzel, *Représentants permanentes de la France en Turquie*, p.26f.

[386] Congregatio generalis 27.5.1721 (APF, Acta vol. 91, f. 169r/v).

that Bonnac did not clearly express this in the letters to the Curia in Rome, behind the claim for French parishes stood the Gallican conviction that only French missionaries should guide French parishioners.

Important evidence for the strong will of the cardinals in Rome not to give in to the claims for national parishes, lies in the introduction of territorial limits of the parishes. The innovation of the boundaries for parishes was implemented but there was no discussion with regard to the establishment of a French parish. As seen before, the question of the parishes in Constantinople was closely linked to issues related to the contentions between Paris and Rome about the exercise of influence over the Latin Catholics in general, and the French Latin Catholics in this particular case.

To sum up, the issue of French parish rights can be seen as one element in the struggle of the Roman Curia against the growing influence of secular powers in the activities of the church in general, and of the mission in particular. In the Constantinopolitan case, Rome did not officially acknowledge French protection, despite the awareness that it was a matter of fact.[387] Despite the – from a Roman perspective – successful prevention of a French parish, the French influence in religious issues grew remarkably during this period under examination. I shall resume this question later.

Three points have to be taken into consideration here. In the first place, the sacraments administered only by a parish priest, were just baptism, marriage, last rites, the sacrament of penance and the Holy Communion during the Easter celebrations. On any other day of the year and occasion, the French Latin Catholics could anyway turn to the French missionaries. In the second place, the French ambassador was not the only foreign representative to claim the possibility of establishing a national parish. In the 18th century, particularly the Venetian bailos demanded several times for the permission to administer parish sacraments in the chapel of the Venetian embassy to Venetian subjects.[388] The cardinals of Propaganda Fide gave as little consideration to the concession of parish rights to the Venetian chaplain as they had to the French case. One of the main arguments used by the patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona in 1739 against the national parish of the Venetians was that if this privilege was conceded to the Venetians, the same privilege would be claimed by the ambassadors of France and the emperor. Consequently, the traditional three parishes and the patriarchal vicar would lose any *raison d'être*. According to Bona, if in Constantinople national parishes were

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[387] See Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 267.
[388] (APF, SC Romania vol. 6, f. 339r), Circa le pretensioni che hanno i cappellani de prencipi d'esercitare le funzioni parrocchiali, Costantinople January 1737 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 498, 501r); Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Costantinople 20.7.1738 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 584v).

established, the same would happen in the whole Ottoman Empire and this evolution would lead to conflicts and confusion.[389]

The reasoning of the vicar seems indeed sensible. Not only the French king, but also the other Catholic powers would have preferred to exercise stricter control in spiritual matters on their subjects in the Levant. But at least with regard to the parish rights, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide did not give in to the pressure of the secular powers.

However, towards the middle of the 18th century, a certain kind of compromise became apparent. Theoretically, after a decree issued by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in 1655, the chaplains of the foreign embassies were strictly forbidden to administer the parish sacraments to the subjects of the respective powers who were not part of the ambassador's family and did not live in the embassy.[390] This decree of Propaganda Fide in the reality of Constantinople was never really observed by the ambassadors and their chaplains. On the contrary, they used the ambiguity of the term *domi degentium,* persons living in the palace of the embassy, in order to administer the sacraments to a higher number of national subjects. This strategy led to conflicts with the parish priests and patriarchal vicars and, finally, in 1738, a certain compromise was reached by the Venetian republic with the patriarchal vicar Bona by determining that the chaplains could administer parish sacraments if they previously obtained the permission of the parish priests to do so. With this procedure, explained the patriarchal vicar, the authority of the Catholic Church and the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople would be acknowledged by the ambassadors and their chaplains.[391]

In conclusion it can be said that with regard to the issues concerning the national parishes, the members of the Roman Curia did not deflect from their negative attitude during the period under examination. The emphasis on the supranationality of the Catholic missions evidences that this concept was at least a rhetorical priority of the Curia. The claim of the Curia was often rhetorical because in the specific mission areas as well as in European Catholic dioceses, it had to take into consideration the secular forces who were often indispensable for the apostolic action.[392] Thus in the local situation, it was important to reach compromises to which the Catholic authorities as well as the secular powers could agree without shifting too much from their positions. With regard to the questions concerning the parishes of Constantinople, constant conflicts existed between the Franciscan and Dominican orders

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[389] Congregatio generalis 13.7.1739 (APF, Acta vol. 109, f. 348r-349r).

[390] The decree of 1655 is regularly cited by the cardinals like for instance in 1739. 'Negative, et serventur decreta ab hac S[acra] Cong[regatio]ne edita 27.8.1655, et 2.5.1707, […] Congregatio generalis 13.7.1739 (APF, Acta vol. 109, f. 351v-352v).

[391] Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarcal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 20.7.1738 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 584v).

[392] See for instance, Prudhomme, 'Centralité romaine et frontières missionnaires'*,* pp. 495-498.

representing the parishes and the French Capuchins and Jesuits, who clearly acted as representatives of the French position.

On the one hand, it seems reasonable that the French ambassador, in the name of the French king, claimed a parish guided by one of the French orders. On the other hand, the claim for a parish exclusively for the French members of the Latin Catholic community objectively involved certain dangers with regard to the Ottoman subjects under French protection. In fact, the Ottoman authorities would not have agreed to their subjects attending an explicitly French parish. Thus, apart from the Curia's scepticism towards secular influence in spiritual matters, there were real problems with exclusively national parishes in the Ottoman Empire.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to find evidence about the sacramental practice in the parishes. It is not known whether there were problems between the French parishioners and the parish priests. Likewise, it remains an open question as to whether the French members of the parishes supported the claim of the ambassadors and French orders or not. It emerges clearly that the nationality of the missionaries and vicars could matter. In the next pages, I shall analyse how the French ambassadors tried to influence the missionaries' activities.

4.4. Collaboration or opposition? Roman and French influence on the pastoral care

As demonstrated in the chapter on the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* the French ambassador became the most important ally of the patriarchal vicar in the course of the 1680s. Good relations with the representative of the Curia in Constantinople were indeed also in the interests of the French ambassador. For this reason, after the death of Gasparini, Ferriol tried to promote a candidate of his liking for the office of patriarchal vicar, writing a letter to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, in which he recommended the apostolic visitor David di San Carlo. Ferriol wrote that the French king was willing to continue to pay an annual contribution for the vicar's sustenance, which was in fact pivotal for the patriarchal vicars, if the French candidate was elected.[393] The French strategy of using financial support as leverage for the choice of a new patriarchal vicar was indeed reasonable, as the patriarchal vicars were often short of money and thus reliant upon French contribution. Despite the French preference for David di San Carlo, or perhaps because of the French preference, the

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[393] Congregatio generalis 24.11.1705 (APF, Acta vol. 75, f. 360v, 361r).

cardinals of Propaganda Fide chose first the Reformed Franciscan Nicolay, who never arrived in Constantinople and consequently the Dominican friar Raimondo Galani from Ragusa.[394]

The French ambassador Ferriol expressed his disapproval of this choice and he communicating his discontent to the pontiff Clement XI, in which he criticized the selection criteria of Propaganda Fide:

> 'Most Holy Father, I have learned, in the letter I have received from Rome, that Monsieur Nicolai of the order of the Reformed Fathers of St. Francis has been elected Patriarchal Vicar of Constantinople; what has surprised me more is that his election has been carried out with the principle of a new maxim of the Holy Congregation that intends to distribute this favour to the Italians without any regard for the merit and for the services of the Foreigners. The Holy Congregation makes use indiscriminately of all sorts of nations, yet it nevertheless wishes to gratify only the Italians. Nothing is more contrary to its duty and for the sake of Religion, it is a [sure] way of putting off good servants […].'[395]

Remarkably, as Nicolay did not arrive in Constantinople due to an illness, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide sent a Ragusan Dominican friar to Constantinople. Whether the choice to send to Constantinople for the first time one who was not a patriarchal vicar from the Italian peninsula had anything to do with the French complaints is not evident. However, subsequently it became clear that the French ambassador wanted a French vicar or at least a bishop with close links to France as patriarchal vicar.

Ferriols complaints about the new patriarchal vicar Raimondo Galani continued when it became evident that the vicar was not interested in co-operation with him. He expressed his discontent again to the cardinals in Rome. He himself supported the cause of the Latin Catholic Church and also of the patriarchal vicar at great expense. He would have expected the new patriarchal vicar to be in confidence with the French ambassador. Instead, Galani had chosen to join forces with the Venetian bailo and the dragoman of Ragusa, who was his countryman and possibly also his relative. In conclusion, the French ambassador Ferriol underlined that he was most dissatisfied with this situation.[396]

The French discontent regarding the Italian predominance within the vicariate of Constantinople can be associated with the conflicts in relations with the Latin parishes.

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[394] Congregatio generalis 15.3.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 72r).

[395] 'Très Saint Père, j'ay apris par la lettre que j'ay reçu de Rome que M[onsieu]r Nicolay de l'ordre des pères Réformés de St. François a été élu vicaire patriarcal de Constantinople, ce qui m'a surpris davantage c'est que son élection a été faite par le principe d'une nouvelle maxime de la Sacrée Congrégation qui ne veut distribuer cette grâce aux Italiens sans aucun égard pour le mérite et pour les services des Etrangers. La Sacrée Congrégation se sert indifféremment de toute sorte de nations, elle ne veut cependant gratifier que les Italiens. Rien n'est plus contraire à son service, et au bien de la Religion, c'est le moyen de dégouter les bons serviteurs […].' Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople to Clement XI, Constantinople 15.4.1706 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 268v)

[396] Congregatio generalis 23.1.1708 (APF, Acta vol. 78, f. 60r/v).

Whereas the French represented the largest group of Latin Catholics within the community, the parish priests as well as the patriarchal vicars were Italian subjects or at least of Italian provenance. Until the middle of the 18th century, all patriarchal vicars were either from the Italian territory or from the Republic of Ragusa.[397] This choice had political reasons. If Propaganda Fide wanted to succeed in maintaining at least a certain kind of autonomy from secular powers, the cardinals would never elect a French, Venetian or Austrian subject for the office of patriarchal vicar. Or as the apostolic visitor David di San Carlo put it, the patriarchal vicars should be subjects of the Papal States and not of a European power with diplomatic representation at the Sublime Porte. If this was the case, the patriarchal vicars would be threatened as subjects and thus lose their autonomy.[398]

This raises the question as to why several vicars in the 18th century were from the Republic of Ragusa, which normally was represented at the Sublime Porte with an ambassador. Probably, the influence of Ragusa on spiritual life in Constantinople was rated as insignificant in comparison to the influence of Venice, the Austrian emperor and, above all, France. The Republic of Ragusa was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire and had to pay a tribute to the Ottoman sultan in exchange for local autonomy.[399] Thus, the patriarchal vicars from Ragusa were technically not Ottoman subjects but neither were they foreigners from Europe. According to the sources this factor did not have any negative consequences on behalf of the Ottoman authorities.

The same concept was described in details by the patriarchal vicar Francesco Girolamo Bona from Ragusa at the beginning of the 1740s. He explained that in order to assure the independency of the vicars, they should not be subjects of the four Catholic powers which had an ambassador in Constantinople, namely France, Venice, the Habsburg Empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He then underlined that it was necessary for the vicars to treat the French ambassador with particular respect as a question of duty, for the improvement of the Catholic religion in the Ottoman Empire and for necessity: for duty, because the French ambassador protected the patriarchal vicar and everything related to the Catholic religion, for the improvement of Catholicism because all privileges of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire depended on the good relations with the ambassador and, finally, for necessity,

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[397] Cf., Biskupski, *L'origine et l'historique du Saint-Siège en Turquie*, pp. 62-65.

[398] 'P[rim]o che questo fosse suddito dello Stato della Chiesa, e non di qualche Nazione, che tenesse Ministri alla Porta, perché da questi verrebbe trattato, e comandato come suddito.' Congregatio generalis 23.1.1708 (APF, Acta vol. 78, f. 62v).

[399] Cf. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 31.

because the French ambassador was the only foreign minister who could sustain and protect Catholicism at the Sublime Porte.[400]

Interestingly, Bona emphasizes in the first sentence how significant the vicar's independency from secular powers was, whereas in the second sentence, he underlines the importance of good relations with the French representative. Here again, we find a contradiction between the claim of absolute spiritual autonomy and reliance on French protection. Even though the French ambassador did not manage to have a decisive vote in the nomination of the patriarchal vicars, it was nevertheless clear for the Latin clergymen that good relations with the representative of the most powerful European power were pivotal for the continued existence of the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. Coincidentally, the Curia tried nevertheless to preserve a certain amount of autonomy for the vicars by appointing subjects with Italian origins or from Ragusa.

It can be said that during the first half of the 18th century, the French ambassadors generally tried to augment their influence in ecclesiastic issues. An important example for this exertion of influence was the French claim for a decree by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, with which it was ordered that no innovation should be introduced in Constantinople without the approval of the French ambassador. For the first time, this decree was demanded by Ferriol in a letter to the French king in 1707. A copy of the letter was also sent to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. Ferriol was not in good relations with the patriarchal vicar Galani. Their relation worsened further when the patriarchal vicar decided to send two new decrees to the Latin churches in order to have them published without consulting the French ambassador about the innovations. The latter was informed by the friars of the Capuchins and Jesuits about the case and he prevented the publication. He added that in these difficult times any innovation could trigger new persecutions. Ferriol argued that he did not want to interfere in ecclesiastic matters, but that he was obliged to watch over the conservation of the Latin Catholic Churches and missions because he was accountable to God and to the French king and as such had to be informed about innovations. The patriarchal vicar was annoyed about the intervention and showed no discernment. Ferriol then concluded that it was necessary to have a patriarchal vicar in Constantinople who served zealously the French king and who was perfectly aware of the mechanisms of the Ottoman Empire.[401]

Consequently, Galani wrote to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide that Ferriol had expressly forbidden to publish any order without previously consulting the French ambassador. The

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[400] Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, to cardinal Vincenzo Petra, prefect of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 6.5.1740 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 761r/v).

[401] Copia di Lettera scritta in data del 28 Luglio 1707 al Re, da Monsieur Ferriol suo Ambasciatore residente in Costantinopoli (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 5r/v).

patriarchal vicar wanted the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to write to the French king in order to obtain a decree of Louis XIV for his ambassador. According to Galani, the French king should order his ambassador to acknowledge the autonomy of the prelate and the ministers of the Holy See. The cardinals decided instead to not do anything about it.[402]

In 1722, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to order definitively that superiors of the convents in Constantinople should not have permission to introduce innovations without informing the local prelate and obtaining the approval of the French ambassador:

> 'Order therefore [the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, LB] that in the future no superior of any order or institute may indirectly or immediately make any reforms regarding anything without the knowledge of the ordinaries of the place, and without the judgment and approval of His Excellency the Ambassador of France pro tempore at the Ottoman gate, to be procured through the Patriarchal Vicar of Constantinople pro tempore, and moreover that they may not undertake to effect this without the approval of the same Holy Congregation, excepting those cases which do not suffer postponement, to be judged such by the same Most excellent Ambassador and by the Patriarchal Vicars, and this under penalty of the privation of the offices respectively to other punishments reserved for the will of the same Holy Congregation, to be declared according to the quality of the Transgression and because no person in the future can lay claim to ignorance or excuses of obeying exactly this supreme command, and by order all the superiors shall keep a copy of this letter and read it once a year in their religious communities and pass the same over to their successors once they have terminated their period of office.'[403]

Therefore, with this decree issued by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, the French ambassador officially became an important part of the ecclesiastic decision-making process, and this contemporarily represented a further loss of autonomy on behalf of the Catholic clergy in Constantinople and indirectly of the Roman Curia. The particular emphasis of the

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[402] Congregatio generalis, 16.4.1709 (APF, Acta vol. 79, f. 189v/190r).

[403] 'Ordina pertanto [Sacra Congregazione, LB] che in avvenire nessun superiore Regolare di qualsiasi ordine, et Istituto possa mediatamente, ò immediatamente innovare cos'alcuna senza l'intelligenza degl'ordinari de luoghi, e senza il sentimento et approvatione dell'Ecc[ellentissi]mo Sig[no]r Ambasciatore di Francia prò tempore alla porta ottomana dà procurarsi mediante il Vicario Patriarchale di Constantinopoli pro tempore, et in oltre, che non possino intraprendere l'effetto senza l'approvatione della stessa Sac[r]a Cong[regazio]ne, eccettuati quei casi, che non patiscono dilazione dà giudicarsi tali dal med[esim]o Ecc[ellentissi]mo Sig[no]r Ambasciatore, e da Vicari Patriarchali, e ciò sotto pena della privazione degl'uffizi rispettivamente ad altre pene riservate all'arbitrio della med[esim]a Sac[r]a Cong[regazio]ne da dichiarsi secondo la qualità della contravvenzione, e perché nessun in avvenire possa pretendere ignoranza ò scusa d'ubbedire esattamente à questo supremo comando, et ordine dovranno tutti li superiori tener copia di questa circolare, e leggerla una volta l'anno in piena comunità de loro religiosi, e nel terminare de loro uffizi consegnarla à loro successori.' Copia della lettera circolare mandata d'Ordine della Sacra Congregatione alli molto amati nel Sig[no]ri li Superiori Regolari che hanno conventi, ospizi, e residenze nel Dominio Ottomano salute e benedizione, Constantinople 27.11.1722 (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 556r).

disposition can be evidenced in the final part of the citation. It was a frequently used strategy of missionaries and vicars to pretend not to know the decrees of Propaganda Fide and as a consequence to not be able to comply with the decrees. In this, case, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide apparently wanted to avoid this kind of justification.

The French ambassadors also increasingly commented on the activities of the missionaries and proposed measures in order to improve the situation of the Latin Catholic Church in the Levant. One important element of the possibilities of the French ambassador to control the Latin missionaries was that the ambassador had the right to send insubordinate missionaries, who potentially could represent a danger for the whole Latin presence in the city back to their province of origin.[404]

During the first part of the 18th century, the French ambassadors several times advised caution to the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. The French ambassador Bonnac let the prefect of Propaganda Fide know that the most difficult task of the ambassadors was to contain the zeal of the missionaries, who were never satisfied with what they had and who did not want to understand that it was almost impossible and very dangerous to risk everything with drastic changes. Moreover, continued Bonnac, the missionaries were rather indocile as regards the dispositions which the ambassador used to make. Presumably, he assumed, the missionaries wrote to the cardinals in Rome that France was not willing to protect them. On the contrary, the truth was, concluded Bonnac, that it was really difficult to assist the missionaries with the troubles caused by their tactlessness. Unfortunately, not even he, the French ambassador, was able to prevent them from personal suffering.[405]

According to Bonnac, the major risk for the Latin Catholic Church was jealousy between the different orders then active in the Ottoman Empire. The missionaries of every order went to the Ottoman Empire with the purpose of enhancing their own religious order by striving against the others. A consequence of this behaviour was that it seemed to be impossible to pool forces in a stable cooperation. Bonnac finally warned the cardinals that the controversies between the more or less forty missionaries of different orders could one day lead to the annihilation of the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire as had almost happened in Aleppo. As a precaution, the French ambassador proposed to reduce on the one hand the number of the regular clergy and on the other hand the multiplicity of religious orders.[406]

The multiplicity of the religious orders and the different nationalities of the friars were at the centre of a memoir concerning the missions of the Levant written by the French

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[404] Congregatio generalis 6.9.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 258r).
[405] Jean-Louis de Bonnac, French ambassador in Constantinople, to the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Vincenzo Petra, Constantinople 1.10.1720 (APF, SOCG vol. 629, f. 187v/188r).
[406] Ibid., f. 431r-434r.

ambassador Louis-Saveur, marquis de Villeneuve. In the first place, Villeneuve emphasized that the Catholic missions in the Levant would not exist without the protection of the French king and the commitment of the ambassadors in the Ottoman capital. As already several predecessors had done before him, he called the attention to the missionaries' obligation to answer to the French ambassador with regard of their activities and innovations. In order to improve the situation of the missions in the Ottoman Empire, Villeneuve wished for the good of the Catholic religion to refrain from having friars of different orders in the same place of mission because of the mutual jealousy. Furthermore, he proposed not to mix members of different 'nationalities' in the same convent. Friars of different provenance were unable to agree on the issues of mission because they interpreted differently the rules of their order and submitted themselves to the guidance of a superior of different 'nationality'.[407]

Propaganda Fide did not issue any orders in this direction, but undoubtedly the French ambassador Villeneuve and his predecessors took up important matters which had been discussed within the Roman Curia from the beginning of the 18th century. The main problems identified by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide concerned namely the reluctance of the missionaries to conform to discipline, the fact that they were often disobedient towards the ecclesiastic and secular authorities and that the missionaries lived in constant discord among the members of different orders and nations.[408] These grievances were not specific to the mission in Constantinople or the Ottoman Empire but were to be found in different forms in the missions all over the world.

Moreover, it can be said that the nationality of the missionaries and patriarchal vicars mattered. Bernard Heyberger with regard to the Syrian provinces assessed that the missionaries' attachment to their country of origin became even stronger during the 18th century.[409] In the case of Constantinople, the heaviest quarrels took place between the French Jesuits and the mostly Italian Dominicans and Franciscans together with the Italian patriarchal vicar in the 1760s. As seen in the subchapter on the city's parishes, there was a latent conflict concerning the French claim for a national parish. Thus, in general, the major line of conflict can be found between the French and the Italian or local clergy with Italian origins.

As far as the diplomatic protection was concerned it seems evident that French influence increased from the second half of the 17th century onwards and, coincidentally, the Roman Curia struggled in order to maintain the aspired autonomy from secular powers. Nevertheless,

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[407] Mémoire concernent les missions de Levant, Louis Saveur de Villeneuve ambassadeur de France, Constantinople 5.3.1736 (APF, SC Romania vol. 7, f. 459r-461v).
[408] Joseph Metzler, 'Die Kongregation im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Struktur, Missionspläne und Massnahmen allgemeiner Art (1700-1795)', Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 2, pp. 23-83, p. 51.
[409] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 247f.

the cardinals in Rome and even more the vicars and missionaries on site were aware of the pivotal role of French protection. From a Roman perspective, the Curia and also the clergy in Constantinople had to walk a tightrope. On the one hand, the French ambassadors and kings had to be honoured for their protection, but, on the other hand, their privileges and Gallican claims had to be contained.

5. The sacrament of Baptism: For the salvation of their souls

The council of Trent confirmed and reinforced the dogma of the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church as well as defending the idea that sacraments were actually efficacious and that there was therefore an actual transition in the object or person involved through the words spoken and the gestures performed. Catholics could thus attain salvation by means of sacraments.[410]

The emphasis on the sacraments and their efficacy represented one of the main lines of conflict between the Catholic and the Reformed Churches in the 16th century. Moreover, the sacramental practice was a pivotal aspect in the Curia's efforts for centralization. Already in 1564, and thus almost immediately after the closure of the Council or Trent, Pius IV had proclaimed that any kind of local interpretations and variations of administration of the sacraments were forbidden. As a consequence, in the entire Catholic world, the sacraments had to be administered according to the Roman precepts, which were defined in the Roman Ritual. If this was not the case, the validity of the administered sacraments was dubious, which could endanger the salvation of the believers.[411]

The Christianization of the populations in America, Africa and Asia represented a huge challenge for the Curia in Rome and the missionaries who were active in the apostolate. This all the more if we consider that the expansion took place in a moment in which the Roman Catholic authorities were concerned about the implementation of a more uniform sacramental practice. In fact, afterwards the Council of Trent defined Catholic doctrine more clearly and intended to restrict local variations of the sacramental practice to a minimum. This aspiration for a uniform sacramental practice was put to the proof by the extraordinary variety of local customs and requirements.[412]

Evidence for the conflicts between the Tridentine norm and the local practice, and correspondingly between the members of the Roman Curia and the missionaries, can be found in the archives of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office. Together with the sacrament of marriage, *dubia* or doubts regarding the correct administration of baptism were the most frequent in the documentation of the Roman congregation. With regard to the sacrament of

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[410] Michael W. Maher, 'Jesuits and Ritual in Early Modern Europe', in Joëlle Rollo-Koster (ed.), *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual. Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 193-218, p. 196f.

[411] Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile and Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Le temps des doutes: les sacrements et l'église romaine aux dimensions du monde', *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009), pp. 5-22, pp. 7-11.

[412] See for instance Boris, Jeanne, 'Diplomatie pontificale et sacrements. La querelle autour des baptêmes de masse au Mexique (1524-1584), *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009), pp. 139-154, p. 139; Diego Pirillo, 'Sul battesimo degli Indios: polemiche di fine Cinquecento', in Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa, 2006), pp. 425-448, pp. 425-427.

baptism questions regarding the correct formula, the correct use of the Holy Water, the behaviour of the officiant and of the recipient were the most frequent.[413]

It will thus be interesting to see which aspects concerning the administration of baptism led to conflicts between Constantinople and Rome. Moreover, the sacraments and in particular baptism, marriage and last rites, were located at the point of intersection between the religious and social spheres of the Catholic's lives. In the following, I shall investigate to what extent and in which manner the conditions in Constantinople determined the administration of baptism by the Latin clergy and how the latter coped with the local requirements. Moreover, I shall analyze how far and with what kind of means the Propaganda Fide cardinals tried to enforce Roman standards, also exploring whether the members of the Latin Catholic community were able to exert influence on the actual sacramental practice.

5.1. The administration of baptism according to the Roman Ritual

The first of the seven sacraments is the most important sacrament in Catholic theology as from an ecclesiastic perspective baptism is 'the basis of the whole Christian life'.[414] At the Council of Trent, it was explicitly emphasized that the sacrament of Baptism was necessary for salvation. The sacrament of baptism had to be administered only once and was never repeated if validly received. According to the fathers of the Council, the sacrament of baptism purified the baptized from the Original Sin, and ensured the Christian's new birth in the Holy Spirit. On a more collective level, with baptism one became a member of the Universal Catholic Church and of a particular faith community. Moreover, only the baptized were allowed to receive the other sacraments of the Catholic Church and exercise the ministries of the church. After Trent, the sacrament of baptism had to be administered as soon as possible after birth (*quamprimum*) by the parish priest, who had to record every baptism of his parish in the parish registers.[415]

In a social perspective, the sacrament of baptism defined the infant's social identity. A crucial point was undoubtedly that children received their names on the occasion of their

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[413] Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Le fonti del Sant'Uffizio per la storia delle missioni e dei rapporti con Propaganda Fide', in Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome, 2011), pp. 393-423, p. 409.

[414] J. A. Jungmann and K. Stasiak, 'Sacrament of Baptism', in Thomas Carson et al. (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 60-67, p.60.

[415] Jacques Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit. La naissance dans l'Occident modern XVIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1984), p. 520; Jungmann and Stasiak, 'Sacrament of Baptism', pp. 60-65; Adriano Prosperi, *Dare l'Anima. Storia di un infanticidio* (Torino, 2005), p. 150; Idem, *Il concilio di Trento: una introduzione storica* (Torino, 2001), p. 138; Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval rituals and Theologies of Baptism. From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 153f.

baptism. Furthermore, the public ceremony confirmed the child's parentage, and welcomed the new-born into the Christian community. Finally, the baptized received surrogate spiritual parents, the godparents, who were supposed to provide their godchildren with a network of long-lasting spiritual kinship.[416]

According to the Roman Ritual, a baptism had to take place in the parish church and had to be administered by the parish priest. As pointed out by John Bossy, it was one of the main purposes of the Council of Trent father to define the parish as the most important place for the devotional and ritual lives of Catholics. The obligation to receive the rituals of transition in the parish and from the parish priest was a consequence of this intention.[417]

Normally, the ceremony of baptism was comprised of three main rituals. In the first place, there were the rituals enacted at the door before entering the church: the priest chased the demon away, made the sign of the cross and blessed some salt, which could eventually be put into the mouth of the baptized as a symbol of purification. After the godparents had named the infant, the opening ceremony at the church door finished and the infant was brought to the baptismal font, where the second part of the ceremony started comprising the solemn renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith and the desire expressed by the godparents to baptize the infant and the actual baptism. For the act of baptism, the priest undressed the infant, poured holy water three times on his head and pronounced the Trinitarian formula. In the third part of the ceremony, the infant was dressed in white garments, the head was anointed with chrism and the baptismal candle was lit. The priest closed the ceremony with a reading and a reminder to the godparents that they now had a close and life-long spiritual link with the infant. Once the religious ceremony was finished, the parish register had to be compiled and signed by the priest and the godparents.[418]

Whereas the sacrament of baptism normally had to be administered by the parish priest, in the case of an emergency, anyone, even a non-Christian could perform the rite. If a child was born sickly, it was usually the father who administered the baptism, if the child died immediately after birth it used to be the task of midwives to baptize the creature in order to assure that the child would not die unbaptized. According to the Catholic doctrine, unbaptized children could not enter paradise but remained in limbo for eternity and therefore the idea of losing an unbaptized child was awful to contemplate for the clergymen as well as for the

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[416] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 21-23.
[417] John Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *Past and Present* 47/1 (1970), pp. 51-70; Mahut, 'Jesuits and Ritual in Early Modern Europe', p. 201.
[418] Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit*, pp. 530-533; Spinks, *Early and Medieval rituals and Theologies of Baptism,* p. 155.

children's parents.[419] For an emergency baptism to be valid, water had to be sprinkled on the head of the infant and the words of the Trinitarian formula spoken.[420]

The Council of Trent established that new-borns should be baptized as soon as possible after birth in order to avoid the death of unbaptized children. At the basis of this regulation was undoubtedly the fact that the infant mortality was extremely high at the time and that unbaptized children risked eternal damnation.[421]

From the description of a typical ceremony of baptism it emerges clearly that the godparents had a pivotal role in the religious ritual as they were the actual key figures to the act of admission into the Christian community.[422] According to the Tridentine precepts, one godfather or at most one godfather and one godmother were allowed. The institution of the godparents was also of high importance for social relations in Catholic societies and linked the family with the society. The choice of a child's godparents had to follow established criteria, which could vary from one context to another. Relevant networks for the selection of godparents were the extended family circle, neighbors, friends, important members of the community and suchlike. With the choice of the godparents and particularly with the godfathers, alliances could be created or reinforced and the social and professional status of a family could be assured. Moreover, members of inferior social classes tried to find a godfather of higher position in the perspective of a process of social climbing, whereas the members of the upper classes would generally choose godparents of their own class.[423]

Godparents had manifold obligations towards their godchildren and indirectly towards the church. On the one hand, the godparents paid for the ceremony, gave the child a present and solidified the new alliance with a banquet. Moreover, on a spiritual level, the godparents provided the child with a network of spiritual kindred which was, according to the post-Tridentine church, stronger than consanguinity. It was for this reason that godparents were not allowed to marry their godchildren. Since the spiritual affinity as well as the financial

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[419] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe,* p. 24.

[420] 'God's creature, I hereby baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.' Ibid., p. 24; Jungmann, 'Sacrament of Baptism', p. 65.

[421] Jungmann, 'Sacrament of Baptism', p. 65; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe,* p. 23; Adriano Prosperi, 'Battesimo e identità Cristiana nella prima età moderna', in Idem, *Salvezza delle anime*, pp. 1-65, p. 39.

[422] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe,* p. 21f.

[423] Guido Alfani, 'Parrains, *partecipanti* et parenté. Tendances de longue durée dans la sélection des parents spirituels au sein d'une communauté exceptionnelle: Nonatola, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles', in Guido Alfani, Philippe Castagnetti and Vincent Gourdon (eds), *Baptiser, Practice sacramentelle, pratique sociale (XVIe-XXe siècles)* (Saint-Etienne, 2009), pp. 293-316, p. 293; Cosme Jesús Gómez Carrasco, Francisco García González, 'Parents, amis et parrains. Parenté spirituelle et clientèles sociales à Albbacete (Castille-La Manche), 1750-1830', in Alfani et al., *Baptiser*, pp. 393-413, p. 411; Jean-François Chauvard, '"Ancora che siano invitati molti compare al Battesimo". Parrainage et discipline tridentine à Venise (XVIe siècle)', in Alfani et al., *Baptiser,* pp. 341-368, p. 356-359; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 21-23.

obligation of the godparents towards their godchildren lasted for life, the godparenthood provided the new-born with a very important network of friends and allies.[424]

According to the requirements of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, the future godparents had to be baptized, mentally stable and intent on accomplishing their obligations towards the godchild. Furthermore, the godparents of a Catholic child had to be Catholics themselves and anyone who had been excommunicated could not be accepted as godparent.[425]

In the perspective of the Curia, if either the objects used for the administration of a sacrament or the words spoken or the person who actually administered the sacrament did not correspond to the strict definition of the sacramental act, the validity and thus the efficacy of the sacrament was uncertain.[426] If the administration of a sacrament and in particular, the sacrament of baptism was declared null by the ecclesiastic authorities, the consequences for the affected persons could be extensive. The inexistence of a valid baptism annulled in a chain reaction the other sacraments received during the life-course and challenged consequently the salvation of the individual and also the affiliation of the same to the local Catholic community. In such cases, the clergy generally used to administer the sacrament of baptism again *sub conditione* and usually in secrecy in order not to provoke scandal.[427] It was thus of pivotal importance for the members of the Catholic Church as individuals and members of a community and indirectly for the Catholic clergy that the administration of the sacrament of baptism be done in compliance with the Roman Ritual.

In the following part I shall explore the issues related to the administration of baptism in Constantinople.

5.2. Baptism in Constantinople between the 1650s and the 1750s

As compared with other missionary territories, the documentation concerning baptism in Constantinople is much less extensive. The main reason for this phenomenon is that the principle tasks of the missionaries in Constantinople concerned not the evangelization of the local population but rather the spiritual care of the small Latin Catholic community. Moreover, the attempts of proselytizing were focused on the members of Eastern Churches.

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[424] Alfani, 'Parrains, *partecipanti* et parenté', p. 192; Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit,* p. 528; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe,* p. 22.
[425] Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit,* p. 527.
[426] Ibid., p. 7.
[427] Cf. Emmanuel Betta, 'Il St. Uffizio e il battesimo di necessità (sec. XIX-XX)', *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009), pp. 123-137; Boris, 'Diplomatie pontificale et sacrements', *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009), pp. 139-154.

As they were already baptized according to the rituals of their original churches and those baptisms were recognized by the Catholic Church, baptism as a major symbol of conversion was almost inexistent. In fact, it was the missionary activities for the conversion of infidel populations that created the highest number of *dubia*.[428]

With regard to the sacrament of baptism in Constantinople two main issues can be found in the sources of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office. Firstly, the custom of baptizing the infants in private houses instead of bringing them to the Latin churches, and secondly, the difficulty of the parish clergy to implement the rule that the parish priests had the exclusive right to administrate the parish sacraments and thus baptism. In particular the French, the Venetian and the Ragusan ambassadors claimed that the chapels of their embassies became the parish not only for the actual families of the ambassadors but also for the families of the ambassador's employees and even for the whole nation. In the Roman and Parisian documentation, quarrels about these issues are frequent and fierce.

Less frequent but likewise interesting were questions concerning participation of non-Catholics at the baptisms of children who had at least one Muslim parent. In the first place, I shall approach the issues related to the Tridentine precept which defined that the sacraments in general and baptism in particular had to be administered in the parish church.

5.2.1. Baptism in private houses: necessity or simple convenience?

In 1622, the year of the foundation of Propaganda Fide, Pietro Demarchis, himself bishop of Santorini, visited the Latin churches of Constantinople and wrote a detailed report on the religious orders, churches and customs of the city which he sent to the cardinals of the new congregation. With regard to baptism, he informed the cardinals that, as a general rule, baptism took place in the churches, but if the houses of the infants were far away from the Latin churches, they took place in the houses of the families.[429]

From Demarchis' description it can be presumed that he was perfectly aware of the rule that baptisms had to be celebrated in the churches but at the same time knew that numerous baptisms were celebrated in private houses. In the second half of the 17th century the situation appears quite different. Between 1660 and 1664, the patriarchal vicar Bonaventura Teoli and another member of the Latin clergy pointed out in different letters grave infringements which were widespread within the Latin community of Constantinople. Important cases of improper

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[428] Broggio et al., 'Le temps des doutes', p. 10.
[429] Pietro Demarchis, bishop of Santorini and apostolic visitor, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 26.11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, f. 100r).

conduct concerned the administration of baptism. As the undated letter of the anonymous author was discussed by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in March 1660, we can presume that he wrote it between the second half of 1659 and the beginning of 1660. In a general introduction which is followed by a long list of instances of malpractice, the author writes that the Latin Catholics were more ignorant than the Greeks when it came to religious issues. Moreover, according to this author, the patriarchal vicar Teoli was a clergyman of good knowledge and doctrine, who deserved to guide entire provinces and hold important offices instead of guiding a few Latin Catholics in Constantinople, the more so as the Latin Catholics refused obedience to the patriarchal vicar and, unlike the Greek population, did not fear ecclesiastic menaces at all.[430] Subsequently, he mentioned two of the inveterate instances of malpractice concerning the administration of baptism:

> 'The Latins could have their children baptized in church, even if rather distant, but for their own convenience they have them baptized at home where they make a show of superiority with feasts and banquets… […..]; yet more intolerable than this however is that they keep their children in the state of slaves of Satan for many months and even years, without a Holy Baptism, waiting for some convenient solution [to arise, LB] with regard to the godfather, as if they had not [already] had nine months' time.'[431]

In response to the two instances of malpractice relating to the sacrament of baptism, the prefect of Propaganda Fide Antonio Barberini wrote a letter to the patriarchal vicar Bonaventura Teoli in which he explained to the vicar that it would be desirable to remove the those concerning baptism but that according to the cardinals it was not the right moment for a strict prohibition. The vicar should rather try with ability and prudence to convince the Latin Catholics to change the custom.[432]

However, as the improper habit of waiting for months or even years before baptizing the children was also outlined in 1664 by the patriarchal vicar Bonaventura Teoli after he had left Constantinople and his post of patriarchal vicar, we can either presume that the strategy proposed by the prefect of Propaganda Fide did not have the desired result or that the patriarchal vicar did not pursue the issue as he was asked to do. Teoli emphasized in his letter that the Latin Catholic delayed the sacrament of baptism for months and years after birth

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[430] Letter without name and date discussed in the Congregatio generalis 16.3.1660, (APF, SOCG vol. 277, f. 79r).

[431] 'Potrebbono i Latini far battezzar i loro bambini in chiesa, benché al quanto distante, ma per non incomodarsi li fanno battezzar in casa, ove mostrano la lor superbia con banchetti, e festini, […]; più intollerabile però è questo, che trattengono i loro Infanti schiavi di Satanasso molti mesi, et anni, privi del S[an]to Battesimo, aspettando comodità di compadre, come se non havessero havuto novi mesi di tempo.' Ibid., f. 79r/v.

[432] Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar in Constantinople, Rome 26.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 105r).

either for haughtiness, avarice or for idleness. Although he had tried on public and private occasions to convince the Latin Catholics of the harm this custom could cause, he did not succeed in eradicating it completely.[433] Already at the beginning of his letter, Teoli gives a possible explanation to the question as to why he did not succeed in his objective of eradicating the custom of procrastinating baptism and of celebrating it at home. The patriarchal vicar complained about the local members of the Latin Catholic community who had refused to obey him in spiritual issues and who did not acknowledge his authority as prelate.[434]

In my view, the cited letters reveal two distinct aspects, which emerged together and gave rise to persistent conflicts between the vicar Teoli and the Perots. Whether the conflict was restricted to the elite of the Perots or whether it involved also the other parts of the Latin Ottoman subjects is difficult to say. The ancient custom of procrastinating the baptism of the Latin infants at one's convenience and of organizing the ceremonies in private houses was strongly rooted in the local Latin community. Not only baptisms but also marriages, and in the case of prestigious local families, regular masses, were celebrated in private houses. To have a little chapel in a private house represented a status symbol for the local elite.[435] Moreover, it was far more comfortable to organize religious ceremonies at home instead of walking up to two or three miles in order to reach one of the parish churches, in particular with a new-born child. For the late 17th and the 18th centuries no more evidence has been found in the analyzed sources referring to the custom of delaying baptism. Yet, while the fact that lack of evidence in the sources does not prove that such cases no longer occurred, one can nevertheless presume that the rule of baptizing children as soon as possible was better established towards the end of the 17th century.

The Tridentine rule establishing that the infants had to be baptized *quamprimum,* as soon as possible, reflected the need on the part of the Catholic Church to ascertain the salvation of the new-born's soul. If the new-borns died before they could be baptized, they remained without name, had no solemn funeral ceremony and were not buried in the consecrated earth of a Catholic cemetery. Moreover, from the perspective of the believers, children who died without baptism represented a menacing presence believed to inflict damage on those living.[436] For the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, the implementation of the rule that baptism

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[433] Bonaventura Teoli, former patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 4.2.1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 279, f. 271v).

[434] Bonaventura Teoli, former patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 4.2.1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 279, f. 271r).

[435] Cf. Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 329.

[436] Prosperi, *Dare l'anima*, pp. 164-169; Idem, 'Salvezza delle anime', p. 35f.

had to be administered to new-born without any procrastination represented a priority and correspondingly. In European dioceses the concept of *quamprimum* was transformed in binding rules which varied between baptism on the day of birth and baptism at the latest eight days after birth. In cases of contravention, the parents were sanctioned by the parish priests. For instance, in the territory of the Papal States the non-compliance with the rules of immediate baptism could implicate imprisonment and the punishment with fines.[437] In the Constantinopolitan case there is no evidence for similar sanctions.

There are two possible explanations for the custom of the Latin Catholics procrastinating baptism. Firstly, it could be that the local Latin Catholics were influenced by the Greek tradition which did not know the definition '*quamprimum*'. Generally, in the Greek tradition, children were baptized either after eight days or even forty days after birth.[438] However, according to the letters from Constantinople, the local Latin Catholics tended to wait more than the terms designated by the Greek Church. A different explanation could be that the fear of losing unbaptized children was greater among the clergymen than among the local Latin Catholics in the middle of the 17th century. However, this would contradict the findings in research concerning the European Catholic territories, which emphasized the menacing power of the spirits of new-borns without baptism.[439]

The second aspect to emerge by the letters discussed is the power struggle between the local Latin elite and the patriarchal vicar. Since the beginning of the 1650s the cardinals of Propaganda Fide had tried to reinforce the authority of the patriarchal vicars to the disadvantage of the local position. Additionally, in those years, Teoli seriously challenged the privilege of the members of the local elite of administering ecclesiastic property.[440] The general refusal of the members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* to accept the vicar's authority has thus to be seen in this perspective. Finally, it is worth noting that the cardinals of Propaganda Fide showed a remarkably pragmatic attitude. While on the one hand they knew that it was difficult to eradicate ancient customs, on the other hand they were also aware of the described power struggle and did not want a further escalation of the conflict, and thus they enjoined Teoli to be prudent.

Whereas the power struggle between the Perots and the patriarchal vicars ended in the 1680s, the custom to celebrate baptisms in private houses did not. On the contrary, in the book of the convent and parish St. Peter and Paul of 1699 written by the Dominican missionary

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[437] Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit,* p. 520f; Prosperi, 'Battesimo e identità cristiana', pp. 56-58.
[438] Prosperi, *Dare l'anima*, p. 164.
[439] Ibid., p. 198-202.
[440] Cf. Bonaventura Teoli, former patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 4.2.1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 279, f. 271r). See also Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* p. 98; Villapadierna, 'Sagrada Congregación', p. 499f.

Antonino Guiducci, reveals that 'in this country, the sacrament of baptism is usually administered in private houses for the fear of being insulted by the Turks in the streets'.[441] Considering this remark, it is difficult to say if and to what extent walking through the streets of Galata and Pera with the new-born children in order to reach the parish church represented a real risk for Latin Catholic families. This indication of the danger Latin Catholics faced in the streets of Constantinople contrasts with other statements of Latin clergymen and ambassadors who used to underline the freedom of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople and the respect shown by the non-Catholic population of the city.[442]

One could also hypothesize that the reference to the difficulties Latin Catholics had to face within the Turkish environment represented an attempt of the Dominican missionary to rhetorically justify the fact that baptisms were celebrated in private houses against Roman rules. In the following description of a baptism celebrated by the Dominicans, the author appears eager to emphasize that everything, besides the place of the ceremony, was done according to the Roman Ritual. The first part of the ceremony took place outside the room where the altar had been arranged, and only after the exorcism were the godparents allowed to bring the baptized into the room, 'just as if it took place in the church'.[443] The Dominican missionary adopts in this case the local attitude towards baptisms in private houses in Constantinople as he did not criticize the custom. Yet he was well aware of the Roman standards and tried to limit the divergence by emphasizing that everything was done properly according to the Roman Ritual and by using points in his justifications which could hardly be contradicted by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide.

When in 1727 the patriarchal vicar Giovanni Battista Mauri was accused by the Capuchin missionary Angelo Maria da Roma of issuing licenses for baptisms in private houses without any need, he defended himself by pointing to external circumstances:

> 'In the third place I found here that for legal reasons permission was given to the Parish priests to baptize in private houses, as in the times of the plague or as in the midst of harsh winter with ice on the town-streets when there is danger of falling, and I have done the same.'[444]

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[441] 'In questo paese, ordinariamente s'amministra il sacramento del battesimo nelle case; per paura di qualche insulto per strada dei Turchi.' Libro Magistrale of St. Peter and Paul written by Antonino Guiducci, Constantinople 1699 (SPP, SP040, f. 40r).

[442] See chapter 2 of this thesis.

[443] Libro Magistrale of St. Peter and Paul 1699 written by Antonino Guiducci (SPP, SP040, f. 40r/v).

[444] 'Al terzo ho ritrovato qui, che per motivi legali si dava permissione a Parochi di battezzare in casa, come in tempo di peste, e di rigoroso inverno, e giaccio per esser le città montuose p[er] l'evidente pericolo delle cadute, et io ho praticato il med[esim]o.' Giovanni Battista Mauri, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 8.12.1727 (APF, SC Romania vol. 6, f. 276r).

Besides indications of the dangers for Latin Catholics in Constantinople, questions relating to the long tradition of the custom and, as in the letter of Mauri, external circumstances such epidemics of the plague or ice and snow on the streets were often used by the members of the Latin clergy, who knew they were violating ecclesiastic rules and needed to justify their actions in face of the members of the Curia in Rome. However, the sources reveal that in the period between 1622 and 1767 the situation regarding the administration of baptisms in private houses remained substantially the same. The members of the Latin clergy knew that it was against the rules, they tried to justify themselves plausibly and every now and again, the patriarchal vicars published a decree ordering to force the Latin Catholics to come to the churches for baptism. For instance, the patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona did so for the first time at the beginning of his office in 1732 and a second time towards the end of the period as patriarchal vicar in 1747.[445] Interestingly, the second publication of a pastoral letter was preceded by an instruction issued by the prefect of Propaganda Fide cardinal Vincenzo Petra, in which he ordered the vicar to finally implement the prohibition of administering baptism in private houses.[446]

However, it seems that the members of the clergy in Constantinople did not seriously try to enforce the rule of administering baptisms only in the parish churches. One important reason for their hesitation could be pressure from the members of the Latin community. One member of the clergy who seem to have tried to enforce the rule to administer baptism only in the churches was the patriarchal vicar Biagio Pauli who was in charge of the Latin community of Constantinople between 1750 and 1767. In his letter of resignation to the Latin Catholic community and the clergy in 1667, the patriarchal vicar Biagio Pauli expressed regret over the two major examples of malpractice among the Latin Catholics in Constantinople. The first was that the Latin Catholics retired from the church when a child needed to be baptized and wanted to celebrate the ceremony in their private houses. The second was that the Latin Catholics wanted likewise to celebrate marriages in their private houses and did not present themselves in the church for the official benediction later on. According to Biagio Pauli, the custom of celebrating the sacraments of baptism and marriage in private houses was nowhere

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[445] 'Intorno al Sagramento del Battesimo, essendosi introdotto l'abuso di amministrarlo frequentemente nelle case private, ho ordinato, che d'ora inanzi si amministrasse nelle chiese.' State of the mission by Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, Constantinople 15.11.1732 (APF, SOCG vol. 678, f. 378r); 'Che fuori delli casi di necessità non possa amministrarsi il S[anto] Battesimo, se non nella Chiesa, e ciascun Parroco nella sua Parrocchia, e che poi passata la necessità, si debbano le consuete cerimonie supplire in Chiesa.' Pastorale di Mons[igno]r Bona circa l'amminist[razio]ne de Sacramenti, e messe nelle case (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia vol. 3, p. 44).

[446] 'Non deve ella [Girolamo Bona, LB] parimente permettere, che i Parochi senza una precisa necessità assistino alli Matrimoni nelle case private, e nelle medesime conferiscano il Battesimo; […].' Istruzione ai Missionari di Levante circa l'assistenza agl'Appestati, Battesimi, Matrimoni, Pubblicazioni, Stato libero etc., cardinal Petra 14.5.1746 (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia vol. 3, p. 40).

in such wide use as in Constantinople. Finally, he urged the members of his community to correct the errors.[447]

This letter of the patriarchal vicar confirms not only that there was strong pressure on behalf of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople in favour of the administration of the sacraments of baptism and marriage in private houses but also that the patriarchal vicar did not have the effective means, or was not willing to use them, in order to constrain the Latin Catholics to pursue baptism only in the parish churches of Galata and Pera.

It is interesting to see that at the end of the 18th and in the first part of the 19th centuries similar discussions about the administration of the sacraments in private houses continued. Moreover, the arguments which were adduced by the missionaries in order to explain the infraction of the Roman rule remained equally the same. The fear of the Latin Catholics of being contaminated with the plague and of being insulted by the Turks was still at the centre of their argumentation. Oliver Jens Schmitt concludes that the Roman Curia had accepted the Costantinopolitan custom to celebrate in private houses until the end of the 18th century, whereas the cardinals of Propaganda Fide started to proceed resolutely against it in the 19th century.[448] From the examined sources it emerges however that the Curia in Rome had condemned the administration of sacraments in private houses already in the 17th and 18th centuries. But the Latin missionaries and vicars were generally not willing and did moreover not have the means with which to assert prohibition against the pressure of the local Latin Catholics.

In the following section, I shall examine another aspect of the post-Tridentine guidelines as applied in Constantinople: the obligation to turn to a parish priest for the administration of the three parish sacraments.

5.2.2. Parish priest or national chaplain?

After the Council of Trent, the parishes became important places for the ritual activity of the Latin Catholics. The most important task of the parishes was to administer the parish sacraments of baptism, marriage and extreme unction. Where possible, members of the secular clergy were in charge of the parishes, the three traditional parishes in Constantinople

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[447] Dimissione per causa di età: avvertimenti al clero ed al Popolo, Costantinopoli 1.9.1767 Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar (SMD, Copie delle decisioni, lettere pastorali e indulti quaresimali diretti alla venerabile Parrocchia di Santa Maria Draperis dai Reverendissimi vicari patriarcali 1725-1887).
[448] Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 329.

were administered by the Dominicans, the Conventual and the Reformed Franciscans, who defended their privileges with all available means.[449]

Whereas the rule of administering baptisms only in the parish churches was, as we have seen before, constantly infringed in Constantinople, it seems on the contrary that the rule according to which only parish priests could administer baptisms was respected – at least with regard to the ceremonies in private houses. There is no evidence for conflicts between the Dominican or Franciscan parish clergy and members of other orders, namely the Capuchins and Jesuits regarding this rule. The European ambassadors and their chaplains were the only ones who regularly and during many years challenged the prerogatives of the parish priests. In particular, the French and the Venetian, but occasionally also the Ragusan ambassadors claimed vehemently the right to administer the parish sacraments not only to the ambassadors and their families but to the whole entourage, regardless of whether the employees actually lived with them or not.[450]

In a letter written in 1660, the prefect of Propaganda Fide Antonio Barberini underlined that the French Capuchins who were in charge of the chapel in the French embassy did not have the right to baptize in their chapel without the permission of the parish priests. Moreover, he made it clear that the prerogatives of the missionaries should not be confused with the prerogatives of the parish priests.[451] In fact, already in 1655 the cardinals of Propaganda Fide had issued a decree in which they defined that the chaplains were not allowed to baptize and to administer the other parish sacraments in the chapels of the embassies, with the exception for the ambassador, his blood relatives and other persons living within the embassies. But the interpretation of the concept *domi degentibus,* which, in this specific context referred to persons living in the embassy, gave rise to discussions and conflicts.[452]

The following letter written by the prefect of Propaganda Fide cardinal Sacripante in 1707 exemplifies these discussions. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide had been approached with several questions related to the *domi degentibus* by the apostolic visitor David di San Carlo. He asked if the chaplains could baptize the children of valets and employees of the embassies, whose wives remained outside the palace of the embassy but who nevertheless took all the repasts together with the household of the ambassador and had a room within the palace

[449] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* pp.169-174; Villapadierna, 'Sagrada Congregación', pp.503-505.

[450] Villapadierna, 'Sagrada Congregación', p. 505.

[451] Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Bonaventura Teoli, patrirarchal vicar in Constantinople, Rome 16.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 105r/v).

[452] Cf. Conregatio generalis 14.2.1702 (APF, Acta vol. 71, f. 35r-36r); Congregatio generalis 5.7.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. f. 177r-178v); Congregatio generalis 2.8.1712 (APF, Acta vol. 82, f, 428r); Congregatio generalis 16.5.1719 (APF, Acta vol. 89, f. 181v); Congregatio generalis 24.11.1721 (APF, Acta vol. 91, f. 436r-440r).

where they occasionally slept. The answer of the Sacripante was a clear 'no'. Moreover, he emphasized that if the chaplain of an embassy asked a parish priest for the permission to administer a baptism and the answer was negative, he was not allowed to turn to the other parish priests with the same request.[453]

Whereas the cardinals of Propaganda Fide interpreted the concept *domi degentibus* somewhat narrowly, the chaplains continued to baptize the children of appreciated employees in the chapels of the embassies. As we will see, the cases reported from the parish clergy to the Curia in Rome were all very similar.

For instance in 1705, the chaplain of the Venetian bailo baptized the new-born daughter of the bailo's first dragoman in the Chapel of the Venetian palace. As the patriarchal vicar Gasparini reported, the bailo had acted himself as godfather of the infant. The vicar had unsuccessfully tried to convince the bailo to organize the baptism in one of the parish churches and by so doing to respect the ecclesiastic decrees.[454]

There are two typical aspects to note in this example. Firstly, it was the child of one of the principal officers who had to be baptized and secondly the Venetian bailo was chosen to be the godfather. Another case in the same year concerning the baptism of the infant of the first dragoman of the French ambassador Fonton was very similar. Fonton had asked the ambassador de Ferriol to be the child's godfather and wanted to celebrate the ceremony and the banquet in the chapel and the palace of the embassy. As de Ferriol reported to the French cardinal in Rome de Janson, he wanted to respect the ecclesiastic decrees and had asked the permission to celebrate the baptism in the embassy from the parish priests. The parish priests refused to give him the permission and decided that either one of the parish priests or the patriarchal vicar Gasparini should go to the embassy for the administration of the sacrament. Ferriol was annoyed over the refusal and intended to complain to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide about the incident.[455] In his opinion it was not acceptable for parish priests to refuse the permission for the Capuchins to baptize the infant of one of the main French officers, whereas they had conceded the permission to the chaplains of the Venetian embassy in a similar case. De Ferriol could not understand this decision, all the more as the chapel of the French embassy was bigger and more splendid than the chapel of the Venetian embassy and, even

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[453] Giuseppe Sacripanti, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to David di San Carlo, apostolic visitor, Rome 2.5.1707 (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 323r).

[454] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 23.4.1705 (APF, SC Romania vol. 4, f. 339r).

[455] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador in Constantinople, to cardinal de Janson in Rome, Constantinople 1.5.1705 (AEP, Correspondance Politique vol. 41, f. 131r).

more significantly, the French ambassador was far more important than the representative of any other European power.[456]

In his letter, de Ferriol referred to a similar case inside the Venetian embassy. Comparing the dates of Gasparini's complaint about the Venetian bailo and de Ferriol's letter with the complaints about the procedure of the parish priests and the patriarchal vicar, it emerges that the French letter was written a week after the first letter. Although Gasparini does not mention the name of the Venetian dragoman, it can therefore be presumed that Gasparini and the French ambassador referred to the same baptism in the Venetian embassy, although the two versions differ remarkably.

Whilst de Ferriol argued that the parish priests had conceded the permission for the Venetian baptism without any objection, Gasparini resented the bailo having baptized the infant without his permission. Could it be that de Ferriol had been informed wrongly by the parish priests or the bailo himself? This hypothesis is at least conceivable if we consider that at the beginning of the 18th century the quarrels about the parish rights between the French Capuchins and ambassadors and the parish priests, who traditionally had close links with the Serene Republic of Venice, culminated. It seems that Gasparini, the Roman representative on site, refused to accept both the French and the Venetian claims to extend the privilege of administering baptism in the national chapels to persons living outside the embassies.

Further evidence for the hypothesis that the claims of the ambassadors were part of a more general conflict within the Latin clergy about parish rights can be found in a document of 1711. In it, the parish priests attacked the French Capuchins harshly by writing that they would try to persuade the employees of the French embassy to choose the ambassadors as godfathers for baptisms and testimonies for marriages in order to increment the prestige of the ceremony and consequently of the families. Moreover, the Capuchins asked the parish priests for permission to administer the baptism in the chapel. As the requests were made on behalf of the French ambassador, the parish priests had difficulties in refusing because of the ambassador's power. The Capuchins answered that they had never tried to convince anyone to choose the French ambassador as godfather or testimony, the more so, because it was forbidden to choose the ambassador as godfather and they had accepted it. Nevertheless, they acknowledged that in the past, the French ambassadors had several times acted as godfathers and testimonies.[457]

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[456] Ibid., f. 131r/v.

[457] Copia tradotta in Italiano dell'Estratto in Francese delle doglianze de' trè Curatti di Pera, e di Galata portate alla Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide col lor memoriale in data delli 16. Agosto 1711 contro li Capuccini degl'Ambasciatori del Rè in Constantinopoli con le risposte alle dette doglianze, trasmesse dal

As far as the claim of the French ambassador is concerned, it can be said that they were part of the general claim for a French national parish in the chapel of the French palace. The constant attempts to extend the concept *domi degentibus* to the employees of the embassy, and further to the French Catholics in general, should be considered in this perspective. Whereas neither the Roman Curia nor the patriarchal vicar ever diverged from their narrow interpretation of *domi degentibus,* they did, however, leave some space for compromises. In fact, it was arranged between the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, the parish clergy, the Capuchins and the French ambassador that if the chaplains occasionally asked the parish priests for permission and gave them the alms they received for the administration of the sacraments, the parish priests could agree without losing their privileges. It can therefore be assumed that the French chaplains administered more or less regularly baptisms to children of the dragomans, the ambassadors and important French merchants.[458]

5.2.3. The choice of the godparents

Analysis of the sources has revealed that the ambassadors – and in particular the French and Venetian ambassadors – were frequently chosen to act as godfathers for infants of eminent employees of their households. Firstly, as also the parish priests pointed out, it was a symbol of prestige to have an ambassador as godfather. Moreover, through the creation of a spiritual affinity between the ambassador and the baptized, alliances between Ottoman members of the Latin elite and the European elite could be reinforced. It is not a coincidence that the majority of cases described in the sources concerned dragomans and their families. In fact, as Antoine Gautier and Marie de Testa have pointed out, in the 17th century veritable dragoman dynasties evolved. The members of the dragoman dynasties ensured their position of power within the Latin community with marriage alliances and strong connections to the European ambassadors.[459]

This finding is also confirmed by the information recorded in the parish registers of the embassy's chapel. For instance during the period in office of the French ambassador Pierre-Antoine de Castagnères, marquis de Châteauneuf (1689-1692), a daughter of the French dragoman Joachim Fonton was baptized by the Capuchins in the chapel of the embassy. The

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Sig[no]r Ambasciatore all'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal della Tremoille p[er] esser prodotte dall'Eminenza sua alla mede[si]ma Sacra Congregazione. (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 202v, 203r).
[458] Cf. (ACP, Série I Nr. 8-10).
[459] Antoine Gautier, Marie de Testa, 'Quelques dynasties de drogmans', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 105 (1991), pp. 39-102; Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 129.

Capuchins noted that the ambassador was the godfather, while the godmother was the wife of another French dragoman, Maria Fornetti.[460] Another record in the register of baptisms of the French chapel exemplifies that the alliances within the Latin Catholic elite in Constantinople were not restricted to one's nation. In 1737, an infant of the French merchant Bartholomé Meynard was baptized by the chaplains of the French ambassador. This time it was not the French ambassador Louis-Saveur, marquis de Villeneuve but the Venetian bailo Simone Contarini, who was the godfather of the child, whereas Villeneuve's wife acted as godmother.[461] The tendency of the Latin elite to reinforce their position by creating alliances corresponded to a general phenomenon, which has also been observed with regard to France and Venice in the 17th and 18th centuries.[462]

The ambassadors could not be the godfathers of every infant born in the Latin community. Nonetheless also the less privileged members of the Latin community chose the godparents for their children carefully. As Guido Alfani has pointed out, baptism and parenthood were very important in particular in urban areas, in order to facilitate professional and also social integration into the society.[463] This was of particular importance if the persons concerned had only recently moved to a city and had to integrate themselves and their families. As one of the characteristics of the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople was the high mobility of its members, the strategies of integration became even more important. It appears that besides baptism, marriage was equally relevant with regard to the personal and professional settling in a new urban environment.[464]

Moreover, there were other considerations which could guide the search of Latin Catholics for suitable godparents. Frequently, family members, close friends or neighbors were chosen in order to further reinforce the existing alliances with spiritual kinship.[465] There is only little evidence in the sources about the choice of godparents on behalf of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople. However, it is known that several times there were discussions between Constantinople and Rome as to whether members of the Greek Church could and should be the godparents for Latin Catholics and vice versa. For instance in 1660, the prefect of Propaganda Fide Antonio Barberini wrote to the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople that the Curia in Rome had repeatedly been asked by the members of the Latin clergy in Constantinople if it was allowed for Latin Catholics to choose Greek godparents for their

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[460] Registre baptêmes, mariages, sépultures (1689-1700) (ACP, Série I Nr. 9).
[461] Register des baptêmes (1736-1783) (ACP, Série I Nr. 10, f. 2).
[462] Chauvard, 'Parrainage et discipline tridentine à Venise', pp. 525-529; Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit,* pp. 356-359.
[463] Alfani, 'Parrains, *partecipanti*, et parenté', p. 192.
[464] Cf. for instance Smyrnelis, *Une Société hors de soi,* pp. 140-189.
[465] Gómez Carrasco and García González, 'Parents, amis et parrains, p. 411.

children, and if the Latin Catholics were allowed to be the godparents of Greek children. As Barberini remarks, he had already answered these questions, but he saw the necessity of doing it again:

'Since it has been asked again that [same question] which another time Your Excellency proposed, that is whether the Greeks may be godfathers at baptisms and confirmations of ours and vice versa the Latin [Catholics] at baptisms of Greeks, even though a full reply has already been given, the response is nonetheless that neither the one nor the other should be permitted, for the reason in particular so prudently observed by yourself of the absence of all that is claimed by the Church, which the more so should conceive abhorrence, insomuch as, for this malpractice, no truer motive can be discerned therein other than the particular interest for the gifts they may receive in consequence.'[466]

Apparently, the cases of inter-confessional godparenthood were rather frequent within the Latin community of Constantinople in the 1660s and the Curia in Rome wanted to avoid them. Moreover, it can be assumed that in stating that there was no hope of achieving the ultimate goal of the Catholic Church, Barberini intended to say that the Greek godparents of Latin Catholic children did not intend to convert to Catholicism and consequently could not ensure a contribution to the Catholic education of the godchildren.

In the 17th century, the confessional boundaries between the Latin Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Church were not yet very strict. In many places in the Ottoman Empire cooperation between Latin and Greek members of the clergy was very close and involved also the administration of sacraments. Consequently, the acceptance of godparents of another confession was rather high.[467] Nevertheless, as the Curia in Rome tried to implement stricter boundaries between the members of different confessions and as there was little hope of converting the non-Catholic godparents to Catholicism, Rome emphasized the prohibition of inter-confessional godparents. Similar was the attitude of the Roman Curia with regard to Protestant godparents for Catholic children in the confessionally-mixed European territories.[468]

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[466] 'Essendosi dimandato di nuovo quel, che una altra volta propose V[ostra] S[ignoria] cioè se i Greci possano essere Patrini ne battesimi et nelle Cresime de mostri, et all'incontro i Latini ne battesimi de Greci, ancorche già si sia pienam[en]te risposto, si replica nondimeno non doversi permettere né l'uno, né l'altro, per la cagione particolarm[en]te da lei stessa prudentem[en]te osservata della mancanza del fine in ciò preteso della Chiesa, il che in tanto maggiorm[ent]e deve aborrirsi, quanto, che non si scorge di cotesto abuso altro più vero motivo, che dell'interesse part[icola]re per i donativi, che ne ritraggono.' Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar, Rome 26.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 10v, 104r).

[467] Ernst Christoph Suttner, 'Die eine Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden: Zur Anerkennung der Taufe westlicher durch die orthodoxe Kirche im Laufe der Geschichte', *Anzeiger der Philosphisch-Historischen Klasse. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft* 127 (1990), pp. 1-46, p. 24f.

[468] Pizzorusso, 'Le fonti del Sant'Uffizio', p. 409.

Furthermore, as baptism was a sacrament, the active participation of members of other confessions implicated always forms of *comunicatio in sacris*, which designated the 'crossing of religious boundaries regarding the administration of the sacraments'.[469] A general prohibition of any form of *comunicatio in sacris* was issued by the Holy Office only in 1729. But already in the 17th century, as in our case, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide disapproved the custom of admitting Greek godparents to the baptism of Latin children and vice versa.

The consulted sources of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office do not reveal further cases concerning issues related to Greek godparents for the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the inter-confessional choice of godparents continued at least among the Perots. With regard to personal or professional alliances it is likely that members of the Latin Catholic community continued to have good reasons for choosing godparents of the Greek community for their children.

Contemporarily, the fact that towards the end of the 17th century the issue is no longer mentioned in the sources could be an indication for two bigger developments. In the first place, as Bernard Heyberger has pointed out in his study on the Syrian provinces, at the end of the 17th century a stronger confessional consciousness developed among the Catholic communities but also among the Eastern Churches. This development restricted the crossing of religious boundaries.[470] In the second place, the local Latin Catholics, who were strongly linked to the Greek community until the middle of the 17th century, oriented themselves increasingly towards the European Catholics and tried to establish new alliances with European members of the Latin community.

5.2.4. The baptism of Muslims and Jews

Another issue concerning interreligious practices with regard to the sacrament of baptism in Constantinople is the baptism of non-Christians. As mentioned before, Latin missionaries were not allowed to proselytize among Muslims; therefore baptisms of adult non-Christians who wanted to convert to Catholicism were very rare in Constantinople. Generally, the converts were sent to a Christian destination in order to follow the catechism lessons and then to be baptized. It happened for instance this way in 1748 when a Hebrew wanted to convert

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[469] Windler, 'Uneindeutige Zugehörigkeiten', p. 315.
[470] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*.

and was sent to Venice with the recommendations of the Venetian bailo in order to be baptized there in safety.[471]

In the whole Ottoman Empire it was highly dangerous for priests of all confessions to baptize Muslims as the apostasy of Muslims from their faith was punished by the authorities with the death sentence not only for the apostate but frequently also for the priests involved. The only exceptions were the baptisms of mortally ill Muslim children. Bernard Heyberger has pointed out that in the Syrian provinces a considerable number of sick Muslim children had been baptized by the missionaries. The missionaries went to the houses of Muslims when they were asked by the parents for medical treatment and usually administered the sacrament of baptism to the children. For the parents, the ritual performed by the Catholic missionaries was presumably a last-chance therapy, but in the perspective of the missionaries it represented the possibility of saving the souls of the innocent children without running a high risk. Presumably, the Muslim parents did not know exactly what the missionaries were doing and for them, the rituals of the missionaries were simply linked to the hope of finding a remedy against the illness.[472]

The practice was similar in the Ottoman Balkans, where Muslim parents had their children baptized not with the goal of raising them as Christians but rather in order to protect the children from evil spirits and physical diseases. In the perspective of the missionaries, as the possibility was very high that the baptized Muslim children would not reach the age of reason, those baptisms represented an important possibility to save the souls of many Muslim children. At the basis of these baptisms lay the conception that the sacrament of baptism was automatically effective if administered correctly and thus did not depend on individual choices or beliefs.[473]

Within the Roman Curia this procedure was controversial. The idea that the sacrament of baptism had almost magical efficacy against illnesses and evil spirits was widespread among the Catholics and also among members of other Christian confessions and Muslims.[474]

In his encyclical *Inter omnigenas* of 1744 to the clergy in Albania, Benedict XIV distinguished between the secret baptism of children of Muslim parents without the permission of the parents and baptisms of children with a Catholic mother and a Muslim father. Whereas baptism was forbidden in the first case, it was allowed to baptize in the

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[471] Bernardino Paoli di S. Orsola, Reformed Franciscan, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 24.4.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 522r).

[472] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orien,* p. 321.

[473] Marina Caffiero, 'Per una storia comparativa: l'inquisizione romana nei confronti di ebrei e musulmani in età moderna', in Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome, 2011), pp. 497-518, pp. 501-504.

[474] Ibid., p. 504f; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 25.

second case. The reason for this distinction was that if the mother was of Catholic faith, she could teach the children the basics of the Catholic faith.[475]

With regard to Constantinople, there is very little evidence for baptisms administered to Muslim children by Latin missionaries in the sources examined for this thesis. The only exception was represented by the children of Catholic female slaves living in the *bagni* of Constantinople or in private households with Muslim husbands, or free Catholic women living with Muslim husbands who had converted to Islam after the wedding. Already in 1671, the consultants of the Holy Office had decided that the children of a Catholic woman and a Muslim, frequently apostates from Christianity, could be baptized if both parents desired the baptism or if only the Catholic mother wanted her child to be baptized and regardless of whether the children were then raised in Muslim or Catholic faith.[476]

Whereas in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire baptisms of Muslim children were frequently administered, in Constantinople the situation was different. In all probability, the scope of action of the Latin missionaries was more restricted in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, in close proximity to the Ottoman political and religious central authorities, in other comparison with other parts of the Empire.

The following case, a remarkable and somehow typical Ottoman family story, reported by the French Capuchins, indicates the dangers related to the baptism of Muslims. In 1734, the Capuchins found the registration of a marriage administered in 1717 on a loose sheet. The Capuchins who had been present at the time had to confirm that the act of marriage was valid. They did so and continued to explain that the marriage had not been regularly registered because of the complex family history. The bride-groom was a native Latin Catholic who had converted to Islam years before and had then made a career in the Ottoman service on the island of Naxos. The bride was a Greek subject of the Ottoman sultan. In 1717, the Capuchins married the couple in their chapel after the groom had returned to his original religion, and after the bride had converted to Catholicism as well. On the day of the wedding, the Capuchins baptized the couple's three children, who previously had been officially raised in the Muslim faith. The Capuchins explained that they had written the act of marriage only on a loose sheet and had not left any written note of the abjurations and the baptisms because if the Ottoman authorities had learned about it, the family, probably also the Capuchins and possibly the whole French nation would have been in danger of repressive Ottoman

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[475] Caffiero, 'Per una storia comparativa', pp. 506-508.
[476] *Dubia* and *Resolutions* from the councilor of the Holy Office to Mario Alberizzi, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Rome 19.9.1671 *(APF, Fondo Vienna vol. 56, f. 34r-35r).*

measures.[477] As apostasy from Islam was absolutely forbidden in the Ottoman Empire, the father and the children had to continue to pretend publicly their affiliation to Islam but had to practice Catholicism privately.

As seen in this chapter, the sacrament of baptism was almost exclusively administered to the members of the Constantinopolitan Latin Catholic community, as it was too dangerous to approach Muslims with the intention of conversion. The sources examined in this chapter reveal that it could be very difficult to actually implement the Roman rules of administering baptisms only in the parish churches in contrast with an ancient local custom. Ultimately, the priority of the clergy on site was to administer baptism rites to the Latin Catholic children and so they did not insist on celebrating the sacrament in the parish churches. The opposition of the parish priests and the Curia in Rome was much more accentuated with regard to the claim of the European ambassadors to baptize the children of their employees in their chapels. However, also in such cases the conflicts frequently resulted in a pragmatic compromise, which was more or less accepted by all parties. Finally, it has been demonstrated that the choice of the godparents was a pivotal issue. Whereas the Ottoman Latin elite tried to reinforce the alliances with the European elite, for the other Ottoman Latin Catholics alliances with members of the Greek community could indeed be advantageous.

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[477] 'Nous F[rère] Romain de Paris Custode des Missions de Grèce, et nous F[rères] Hiacinthe François de Paris, et François d'Hesdin anciens custodes des mêmes missions, attestons que l'extrait cy dessus est tiré, pro ut jacet, d'une feuille volante qui s'est trouvée dans le livre des mariages, baptêmes et enterrements de l'Eglise Royale et Parossial de S[ain]t Louis à Pera, et qu'il nous est connû, que l'acte du mariage de Germain Roger, avec Maria Kamateri, ne fut pas inséré dans le Registre, parce que le dit Roger ayant apostasié, et exercé même la charge de Vaivode de Naxie, depuis qu'il avoit embrassé la Religion Mahometane, et la ditte Maria Kamateri étant née sujette du Grand Seigneur, et élevée dans la religion Grecque, le retour du Mari à la Religion Chrétienne, et l'abjuration de la femme des hérésies des Grecs, qui précéda le dit mariage, auroit pû occasionner quelque avanie à la nation, si les Turcs en avoient été informés ; et que c'est la raison pour laquelle le dit acte de mariage n'a été reçu, que sur une feuille volante, et qu'on n'a pas osé même laisser aucun vestige par écrit de l'abjuration du dit Roger et de la dite Kamateri ; non plus que du Baptême de trois de leurs enfants qui étoient nés Musulmans, et qui furent baptisés le même jour, que leur père et mères firent abjuration, […].' Extrait de mariage de Germain Ruggery et de Marie Kamateri, baptême des trois enfants, 1713 and 1734 (ACP, Série H, Nr. 17).

6. Between social and sacramental practice: the marriage of Latin Catholics in Constantinople

At the beginning of the year 1683, Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, wrote a letter to the prefect of the Congregation for Propaganda Fide Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni in which he delineated in detail the complex family history of Giuseppe Mazza, a Conventual Franciscan from Galata.

According to the letter, towards the middle of the 17th century, Giuseppe's father Giacomo Mazza – a surgeon from Seville – arrived as a slave in Constantinople. After several years he was released on payment of a ransom and married a Latin Catholic woman born in Pera with Venetian origins. The couple had three children, Giuseppe Mazza and his two sisters. According to the patriarchal vicar, one of Giuseppe's sisters married a Greek Orthodox man, while his second sister was the widow of a highly considered local Latin Catholic. After the death of his first wife, Giacomo Mazza married another Latin Catholic from Pera. Giacomo's second wife had a daughter from a previous union with a Venetian who had converted to Islam years before. After losing two houses and almost his entire fortune in a fire in 1660, Giacomo Mazza decided to work as a surgeon for an Ottoman official on the Crimean peninsula. There, continued the patriarchal vicar, Giacomo Mazza fell in love with a Turkish woman and was jailed after the relationship was discovered by the woman's parents. According to Ottoman law, a non-Muslim man having a sexual relationship with a Muslim woman was obliged to convert to Islam or, in the case of refusal, was sentenced to death. Giacomo Mazza decided not to convert and died from strangulation. The patriarchal vicar emphasized that the Franciscan friar Giuseppe Mazza was related by marriage to the most important Latin families of Pera. For instance, one of his cousins was married to a former *chargé d'affaires* of the French embassy. The patriarchal vicar did not know if Giuseppe Mazza had any Muslim relatives – members of the family who had converted to Islam. He then went on to say that having Muslim relatives did not bring disgrace to the local Catholic families of Pera. [478]

This letter written by the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini constitutes important evidence of the complexity of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople. One of its main characteristics was mobility. Firstly, there was geographic mobility between Europe and the Ottoman Empire and also within the Ottoman Empire. The capital city of the empire attracted Europeans but also Ottoman Catholics of the Greek islands and other regions.

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[478] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 9.1.1683 (APF, SC Romania, vol. 2, f. 436r/v, 438r).

Secondly, there was also high social and religious fluidity in the Ottoman society as a whole and in the Latin Catholic community.[479]

Marriage in Latin families is the subject matter of interest in this quoted passage, as it allows us to identify the types of marriages and their most relevant religious, political and socioeconomic factors influencing them in the late 17th and 18th century-Constantinople. In the first instance we can see that there were marriages among Latin Catholics. With regard to their legal status, a distinction should be made between marriages among European Catholics, marriages among Perots and marriages between Europeans and Perots. In the second place, there were mixed marriages between Christians of different confessions, in particular between members of the Latin Catholic and Greek Orthodox community. In the third place, there were cases of mixed marriages between Catholic women and Muslim men.

In the first part of the chapter I shall concentrate on marriages within the Latin community and analyse how the pluri-religious environment of Galata and Pera challenged the Roman Curia's attempt to implement the marriage rules of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church in the Latin community of Constantinople between the 1650s and the 1750s. In the second part of the chapter, I shall investigate different cases of mixed marriages between persons of different Christian confessions (*mixtae religionis*) and marriages between a Christian and a non-Christian spouse (*disparitatis cultis*) in Constantinople. By analysing the correspondence between the patriarchal vicars and missionaries in the Ottoman capital city and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office in Rome, it is possible to reconstruct the local practices concerning marriages. Moreover, the attitudes of the local and Roman clergymen towards these practices will be illustrated. At the centre of interest are the continuities and changes with regard to mixed marriages in Constantinople and divergences between the local clergy and the members of the Roman Curia, as well as between the cardinals of different Roman congregations.

6.1. Latin marriages between the *Tametsi* decree and Ottoman marriage law

The religious minorities of the Ottoman Empire were organised according to their religious affiliation. This system guaranteed to minorities freedom of worship and the right to handle religious and to a certain extent juridical affairs according to their own rules. The rites of

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[479] See Eldem, 'Istanbul', pp. 135-206.

passage like baptism, marriage and funerals were generally celebrated in conformity with the respective religious traditions.[480]

According to Ottoman practice, Latin Catholics were thus commonly supposed to marry in compliance with Catholic marriage rules. Therefore, it is important to briefly delineate the marriage rules that were applied in the Catholic parishes after the Council of Trent.

The discussion on the sacrament of marriage at the Council of Trent began in 1547 during sessions in Bologna and ended in 1563 in Trent with the approval of the decree *Tametsi*. This decree emphasized the sacramental nature of marriage and assigned the control of marriage to the church: a marriage had to be contracted by the parish priest in the presence of at least two witnesses after the publication of the banns for three Sundays preceding the ceremony, and finally the marriage had to be registered in the parish records.[481]

The requirements for a valid marriage as established by the decree were the result of long discussions between members of the clergy with diverging opinions. Before the Council of Trent, the mutual consent of the spouses and the absence of canonical impediments to marriage sufficed for the contraction of a valid marriage. Thus, the presence of a priest was not necessary and the marriage could be celebrated publicly – with or without a priest – but also privately or secretly, as the spouses themselves acted as ministers of the sacrament of marriage.[482]

It was precisely this possibility of contracting secret marriages, called clandestine marriages, that stood at the centre of the discussions at Trent. Clandestine marriages were often contracted in order to circumnavigate parental opposition, and there were frequent doubts on the validity of the unions because the mutual consent given only in the presence of the spouses was difficult to prove. The pre-Tridentine ecclesiastic jurisdiction in the field of marriage was criticized on the one hand, by the reformers for whom marriage was not a sacrament but a civil contract and on the other hand, by secular rulers.[483] It is important to note here, however, that the Catholic Church was aware of the problematic nature of clandestine marriages. Already during the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the members of

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[480] See Valensi, 'Inter-Communal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliations in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth centuries)', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39/2 (1997), pp. 251-269, p. 260f.

[481] Cecilia Cristellon, 'Does the Priest have to be there? Contested marriages before Roman tribunals, Italy, Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 3 (2009), pp. 10-30, p. 11; Daniela Lombardi, *Storia del matrimonio dal Medioevo ad oggi* (Rome, 2008); Idem, 'Fidanzamenti e matrimoni dal concilio di Trento alle riforme settecentesche', in Michela de Giorgio and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (eds), *Storia del matrimonio* (Rome, 1996), pp. 215-247; Diego Quaglioni, 'Sacramenti destestabili. La forma del matrimonio prima e dopo Trento', in Diego Quaglioni and Silvana Seidel Menchi (eds) *Matrimoni in dubbio. Unioni controverse e nozze clandestine in Italia dal XIV al XVIII secolo* (Rome, 1996), pp. 61-79.

[482] See Quaglioni, 'Sacramenti destestabili', p. 70.

[483] Lombardi, 'Fidanzamenti e matrimoni', 219.

the Curiahad established the obligation for spouses to announce their intention to marry publicly. But as clandestine marriages remained valid anyway, the rule remained largely unobserved.[484]

With the *Tametsi* decree, the Catholic sacrament of marriage was still based on the mutual consent of the couples; nevertheless, the validity of the contracted marriage depended afterwards on a public and solemn ceremony celebrated by the parish priest. Thus, after the Council of Trent, the role of the priests and bishops was of crucial importance. In accordance with the intention of the council fathers, the *Tametsi* was thought to end the problems of uncertainty related to the formation of marriage ties; nevertheless, in the specific realities of the parishes all over the Catholic world, the implementation of the *Tametsi* led to a large number of questions and doubts concerning the validity of contracted marriages.[485]

As the *Tametsi* decree did not become effective automatically but only 30 days after its public proclamation, the question of whether the decree had been published in the parishes of Constantinople and thus had to be observed was crucial in the handling of marriages in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Since there was no clear proof of the publication of the *Tametsi* in Constantinople, this uncertainty led to repeated discussions between the missionaries in the Ottoman city and the Curiain Rome as to whether the rules should be applied.

In 1635, Propaganda Fide referred the uncertainty over the enforcement of *Tametsi* to the Congregation of the Council. The cardinals established that the *Tametsi* decree was valid in Constantinople even though there was no clear evidence of its public proclamation. The decision was primarily based on the fact that the norms of the *Tametsi* had already been observed for 60 years, and this consuetudinary practice amounted to a formal proclamation.[486]

Nevertheless, between 1668 and 1672, the French Jesuit missionaries raised the question of the validity of the *Tametsi* decree in Constantinople during the years of quarrels between the Jesuits on the one hand, and the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi together with the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries on the other hand. The Jesuits were accused of having publicly declared that the *Tametsi* had never become valid due to the lack of proof of its publication. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to send a copy of the decree of 1635 to the General of the Jesuits in order to end this discussion about its validity.[487] It is not a coincidence that

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[484] Cristellon, 'Does the priest have to be there?', p. 11.
[485] Ibid., p., 13; Lombardi, 'Fidanzamenti e matrimoni', p. 221.
[486] Congregatio generalis 19.5.1635 (APF, Acta vol. 10, f. 235v).
[487] Congregatio generalis 8.3.1767 (APF, Acta vol. 36, f. 34v-37v); Congregatio generalis 28.5.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 85r/v); Congregatio generalis 2.6.1670 (APF, Acta vol. 39, f. 11r); Congregatio generalis 7.11.1672 (APF, Acta vol. 42, f. 252v-260v); Answers of the Jesuit missionaries in Constantinople to the secretary of Propaganda Fide Costantinopoli, 7.2.1671 (ARSI, Gallia vol. 104, nr. 41, f. 134r-140v).

the French Jesuits doubted the validity of the *Tametsi* in Constantinople. In fact, France did not ratify the *Tametsi* but developed a strict French procedure of marriage, which established that the French state had ultimate cognizance of marital acts in France.[488] The rejection of the *Tametsi* was seen as part of the Gallican liberties which denied the authority of the Roman pontiffs over French temporal affairs. Accordingly, the position of civil courts for marital matters was strengthened, whereas in most European states the ecclesiastical courts or consistories were competent in marital matters.[489]

The position of the Roman Curiaaccording to which the *Tametsi* was valid for the Latin Catholics in Constantinople was confirmed by an instruction written by Benedict XIV in 1754 for the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, in which he emphasized that the observance of the rules set by the *Tametsi* decree by custom was equivalent to its public proclamation.[490] The fact that Benedict XIV continued to discuss the validity of the *Tametsi* in the second half of the 18th century leads to the assumption that the ambiguities regarding the publication of the *Tametsi* persisted.

However, marriage according to the precepts of the Catholic Church was not the only possibility for Latin Catholics in Constantinople. As the members of the Latin communities did not live isolated from the Ottoman reality, they could also choose to marry in the presence of an Ottoman judge or a clergyman of other Christian denominations. Marriage before an Ottoman judge was possible because in the Qur'an doctrine, it constituted a private contract between two persons and not a religious act.[491] As we will see further on, these options led to numerous doubts concerning the validity of such unions.

6.2. Marriages within the Latin community

6.2.1. Local rites in wedding ceremonies

In the second half of the 17th century, marriages among local Latin Catholics were frequently discussed by the missionaries and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide because of practices that were contrary to the norms of the *Tametsi*.

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[488] Sarah Hanley, 'The Jurisprudence of the Arrêts: Marital Union, Civil Society, and State Formation in France, 1550-1650', *Law and History Review* 21/1 (2003), pp. 1-40, pp.5-14.
[489] Ibid., p. 20.
[490] '[…], benché non vi sia prova che nella Città di Pera sia stato pubblicato il Decreto del Concilio di Trento, essendo però ivi vigente la consuetudine, che i matrimoni de Latini Cattolici si facciano avanti il Prete Cattolico, il che equivale alla pubblicazione del Concilio, ciò deve esattamente mantenersi, […].' Instruction of Benedict XIV to Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar, Sopra i matrimoni misti di Costantinopoli e sull'osservanza del can[one] Tametsi 30.11.1754 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St. UU 17, nr. 22).
[491] Josef Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht der christlichen Kirchen, der Mohammedaner und der Juden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Staaten im Vorderen Orient* (Frankfurt a.M., 1973), p. 87.

Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar between 1653 and 1663, reported in 1660 on scandalous customs during marriage celebrations and asked the cardinals in Rome to support him in the prevention of these instances of malpractice. According to the patriarchal vicar, the wedding ceremony was actually rather Greek than Roman Catholic. In particular, he mentioned the involvement of the spouses in the benediction of Eucharistic bread and wine. Teoli emphasizes that the worst transgression of the Roman Catholic marriage norms consisted in the absence of any expression of consent by the bride. After the priest had asked the bride several times if she agreed to the marriage without getting an answer, a person present in the church would lower the bride's head with force in the sign of consent. Furthermore, Teoli pointed to the fact that it was common among local Latin Catholics to go to the Turkish hammam on Saturdays and the day before their weddings whereas they did not attend masses, with the explanation that the churches were too far away. In the hamman, they sang traditional Turkish nuptial cantilenas and enjoyed themselves with Turkish clamour.[492]

The cardinals of Propaganda Fide discussed the account of the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople and decided to reply that they would try to find an effective remedy against the described improper conduct in consultation with the counsellors of the Holy Office.[493] In his response to the patriarchal vicar, the prefect of Propaganda Fide wrote in a preliminary remark that, unfortunately, the local circumstances in Constantinople made an effective intervention in order to eliminate superstitious customs difficult, if not impossible.[494]

Andrea Ridolfi – Teoli's successor – brought similar practices to the attention of the cardinals in Rome in 1664. Again, the main issues concerned the consent of the bride to the wedding and the presence of Orthodox 'superstitious' elements in the Catholic ceremony. The local prelate explained that the priests would ask the bride three times if she consented to the marriage, but the brides did not express their consent either with words or with signs. A woman standing behind the bride would 'bow her head with an almost violent movement' in the sign of consent.[495]

The denial of an expression of consent on the part of the bride contrasted sharply with the Catholic conception of marriage, which was based on the exchange of mutual consent. The origin of this custom is not clear, as mutual consent was also the foundation of Greek

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[492] Congregatio generalis 16.3.1660 (APF, Acta vol. 29, f. 81r).

[493] Ibid., f. 82v).

[494] Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propanda Fide, to Monsignor Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar in Constantinople, Rome 26.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 106r/v).

[495] 'Nel celebrare i matrimoni dopo la triplicata interrogat[io]ne sopra il consenso, la sposa non risponde, mà standogli una donna dietro, gli mette la mano in capo, e gliela fa chinare, quasiche violentemente. Al che si aggiungono molte longhe cerimonie et facti della superbia de Greci, […]' Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 33v).

marriages.[496] The refusal of any expression of consent by the bride thus came from another source. One possible explanation for this custom could be that the Muslim environment had strongly influenced the social structure of the local Catholics. Moreover, in the Islamic marital law, the consent did not have to be coercively given by the women themselves but could also be given by a substitute.[497] However, this hypothesis is challenged by the fact that there is little evidence for practices within the Perots community which could be ascribed to the Islamic culture.

Details on the Greek elements in the celebration of Latin marriages were described by Ridolfi three years later in 1667. After returning from his mission in Constantinople, the Conventual Franciscan Gasparo Gasparini – nominated patriarchal vicar in 1678 – wrote a detailed account of the religious and sacramental practices among the Latin Catholics in Constantinople. This list of instances of improper conduct was sent to Ridolfi, who was asked comment on them.[498] With regard to marriage practices, Ridolfi wrote that he had obliged the Latin clergymen to strictly observe the Roman standards with a decree. He nevertheless acknowledged that there were still several superstitious elements in the celebration of marriages. For example some priests used to put their stole – generally, it was the recipient of Holy Orders who wore the stole – on the shoulders of the couple, tied the hands of the couple with the stole or veiled the eyes of the spouses with it. According to Ridolfi, these disputable practices were set down in a very ancient collection of nuptial rites. Furthermore, Jewish and Muslim persons frequently assisted the celebration of Catholic marriages and were thus present during the administration of the sacrament. Ridolfi emphasized that in theory the Roman Curia had to prohibit this transgression of religious boundaries with a decree. However, he recommended that the cardinals should better abstain from sending such a decree in order to prevent inter-religious tensions which might arise if the Roman Catholic Church adopted a stricter attitude towards the local practice of people of other confessions and religions attending marriage ceremonies.[499]

In this case, we find that a missionary criticised the attitude of the prelate towards different divergent practices in Constantinople, claiming that he was not strict enough and that observation of the Tridentine norms should be more closely enforced. In his reply, the prelate pointed out that a stricter attitude could endanger the local social balance. Marriages were important for both, the individuals and the community, since they fostered an interfaith

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[496] See, Ermanno Orlando, 'Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins in late medieval Italy', *Thesaurismata* 37 (2007), pp. 101-119, p. 113.
[497] Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht*, p. 92f.
[498] Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 34v-37v).
[499] Congregatio generalis 8.3.1667 (APF, Acta vol. 36, f.36v).

sociability in the pluri-religious hood. This shows us, therefore, that the presence of non-Catholics during marriages of Catholics reflected how relations extended beyond denominational boundaries in everyday lives in Galata. In addition, the integration of Greek or Muslim rituals in the Catholic nuptial practices shows that the local Latin Catholics were at least partially familiar with the practices of other religious groups. Presumably, this was not only the case as regards nuptial rituals but was also true for other sacraments and religious celebrations. Furthermore, the persistence of pre-Tridentine elements in the wedding ceremony until the 1660s shows how difficult it was for the missionaries to substitute long-established nuptial rituals with new rituals prescribed by the post- Tridentine Catholic Church. However, after 1667, there is no further evidence for similar marriage rituals. It is thus probable that the new nuptial rituals as presented by the missionaries were gradually accepted and incorporated.

Different was the situation with regard to the local custom of celebrating marriages prevalently in private houses. As the discussions and processes of reasoning correspond to the analysis concerning the celebration of baptism in private houses, I will only briefly elaborate on the most important aspects. During the whole period under examination, the custom of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople of marrying in private houses remained an issue in the correspondence between the vicars and missionaries in Constantinople and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome. The infraction of the Roman rules was justified in the first place with the fear of being assaulted by Muslim or Greek Orthodox believers on the way to the church. In the second place, external circumstances like epidemics of plague, severe illness, state of war, the distance between the houses and the churches and finally ice and snow on the streets were used for justification. Finally, the members of the clergy emphasized several times that they would rather celebrate marriages in private houses in order to avoid worse malpractice, such as, for instance, marriages in the absence of the parish priest.[500] Just as in the case of the sacrament of baptism, the members of the Roman clergy in Constantinople were not willing to enforce and most probably did not have the means to enforce the Roman precept according to which marriages had to take place in the parish churches.

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[500] Congregatio generalis 8.3.1667 (APF, Acta vol. 36, f. 36r); Libro magistrale of St. Peter and Paul written by Antonino Guiducci, Istanbul1699 (SPP, SP040, f. 43r); Congregatio generalis 7.10.1726 (APF, Acta vol. 96, f. 401r/v); Congregatio generalis 15.3.1728 (APF, Acta vol. 98, f. 174r/v); Congregatio generalis 18.11.1765 (APF, Acta vol. 135, f. 420v/421r); Pastorale di Mons[igno]r Bona circa l'amminist[razio]ne de Sacramenti, e messe nelle case (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia vol. 3, p. 44); Istruzione ai Missionari di Levante circa l'assistenza agl'Appestati, Battesimi, Matrimoni, Pubblicazioni, Stato libero etc., cardinal Petra 14.5.1746 (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia vol. 3, p. 40); Dimissione per causa di età: avvertimenti al clero ed al Popolo, Costantinopoli 1.9.1767 Biagio Pauli, patriarchal vicar (SMD, Copie delle decisioni, lettere pastorali e indulti quaresimali diretti alla venerabile Parrocchia di Santa Maria Draperis dai Reverendissimi vicari patriarcali 1725-1887).

6.2.2. Dispensations for consanguinity and spiritual affinity against the narrowness of the marriage market

One of the main issues raised by the missionaries in the second half of the 17th century concerned the narrowness of the marriage market for Latin Catholics. One important option for Latin Catholics to broaden their marriage market was to cross denominational boundaries and marry outside their own community. In the Constantinopolitan case, mixed marriages between Latin women and Greek men and vice versa were, in fact, very common. The missionaries and prelates did not completely reject mixed marriages, but if possible, they tried to support marriages between Latin Catholics. Especially during the 17th century, the fear that the small Latin Catholic community would be assimilated by the larger Orthodox community was widespread among Latin Catholics and among the Latin clergy.[501]

For instance in 1664, the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi wrote that the number of local Latin Catholics was decreasing due to the ongoing extinction of families. He saw the main task of the Latin mission in Constantinople as being that of keeping the Latin Catholics within the 'true' faith. One of the vicar's most important aims was to promote Catholic marriages, for instance with papal dispensations for the impediments to marriage of consanguinity and spiritual kinship. In particular, dispensations for consanguinity were pivotal in the eyes of these clergymen because, as they repeatedly reported, the Latin Catholics who were subjects of the sultan were all related to each other.[502]

The fear that the Latin community could be assimilated by larger communities was indeed not unfounded. As has already been demonstrated, from the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople to the middle of the 17th century, the number of local Latin Catholics dropped constantly to about 300-500 persons. The promotion of marriages within the Latin community was thus not only a goal of the Latin clergymen but also of the members of the community.

In the 1680s, the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini explained to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide why marriages between local Latin women and members of the European merchant and diplomatic delegation were rather rare. Firstly, it was not advantageous for European men to marry local Catholic women because they were usually poor and had small dowries. Secondly, according to Gasparini, European Catholics hesitated to marry local women because of their different legal status. In general, outlined Gasparini, Catholic subjects of European powers lived for only a certain period of time in the Ottoman Empire and returned to Europe with their wife and children. They were also entitled to leave

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[501] Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 289.
[502] Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 32v); Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar to the secretary of Propaganda Fide, Edoardo Cibo, Constantinople, 14.2.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 143r).

Constantinople at any moment during wars. Marriage to an Ottoman subject, by contrast, could mean becoming an Ottoman subject as well, and thus being obliged to pay the *cizye* – the poll tax for Jewish and Christian persons living under Muslim rule; it also meant losing the right to move back to Europe with their families.[503]

During the 17th century, in fact, marriage with an Ottoman subject resulted in the definitive settling and integration of the European subject in the Ottoman Empire. This integration could be desirable under certain circumstances – for instance, in order to trade within the local Ottoman market – but, in general, the members of the European *nations* preferred the option of going back to Europe after a period spent in the Ottoman Empire. In particular the French authorities exerted strict control over the marriages of the members of the French *nation*. Whereas in the 17th century, members of the French *nation* did not have the right to get married in Constantinople, after the beginning of the 18th century they could do so with the permission of the French ambassador. If a member of the French nation married without permission an Ottoman Latin woman, after 1728 he risked losing the privilege of trading in the Ottoman Empire and being sent back to France. Besides France's attitude towards marriages between French and Ottoman Latin subjects, also the other European *nations* tried to prevent such unions in order to avoid financial and legal issues with the authorities of the Ottoman Empire regarding heritage or the legal status of the children.[504]

A further reason for the relatively small number of marriages between local and European Latin Catholics was the cultural differences between the Greek-speaking Ottoman Catholics and the Italian-, French-, English-, German- or Dutch-speaking Europeans. Several European observers pointed out the advanced assimilation of the Perots into the Greek community. For instance the English traveller George Sandys referred to the Perots as 'Greek Genoese' at the beginning of the 17th century.[505] Similarly, the Jesuit missionary Robert Saulger mentioned the Perots by using the term 'Greek Franks' in 1664.[506] Still at the beginning of the 18th century, the apostolic visitor David of San Carlo noted that the local Catholics were 'good Catholics but after all they were Greeks'.[507] The process of assimilation was also reflected in the main language of the Perots. Whereas traditionally Italian was the most common language among the Perots, at the beginning of the 17th century, the Greek language had become

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[503] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 14.2.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 142r/v).

[504] Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*, p. 62f.

[505] Sandys, *A relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 78.

[506] Auguste Carayon (ed.), *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant* (Poitiers, 1864), p. 101.

[507] 'Li sudetti Perotti di Rito Latino sono quaranta Case incirca, sono buoni Catt[olic]i ma p[er] il resto sono Greci.' David di San Carlo, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 3.8.1700 (APF, SC Romania vol. 4, f. 29v).

dominant.[508] During the 18th century, these linguistic and cultural differences decreased under the guidance of the members of the multilingual dragoman families, who built an important link between local and European Catholics.[509]

Moreover, an increasing number of local Catholics were exempted from Ottoman jurisdiction and instead lived under the protection of a European power. Thus, the legal difference in marriage between local and European Catholics disappeared, which eventually promoted marriages between them.[510]

In the second half of the 17th century, requests for papal dispenses for consanguinity and spiritual affinity can be found in the archives of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office. The requests were generally sent by the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and then transmitted for an evaluation to the Holy Office. These requests are interesting as far as their content is concerned and, moreover, they give us more detailed information about the communication and collaboration between the clergy in Constantinople and the Curia in Rome.

Particularly well documented and exemplary is the case of Jean Baptiste Imbault and Annette de Bourg. With a letter written on the 1st February 1687, Imbault asked the patriarchal vicar Gasparini for permission to marry his first cousin Annette. He added that the dispensation was important for them in order to remain in the community of the Roman Catholic Church and not to fall into the 'widespread false practices of the environment'.[511] By quoting the 'dangers' in the Ottoman context, he evoked the clergy's concern over 'losing too many souls' to other religious communities. The same argumentation was used by the vicar in his request for a dispensation of consanguinity to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome. According to the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini, in the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople, almost everyone was related to each other, and thus in the current case it was practically a miracle that the couple had taken the official route to ask for a dispensation instead of turning to a Greek priest or the Ottoman *qadi*, or even living in concubinage. At the end of the letter, he expressed the hope of receiving an answer as soon as possible.[512] Nine months later, Gasparini enjoined the cardinals in Rome to send the answer regarding the dispensation soon, because the couple could become impatient and decide to marry without

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[508] See Durstler, 'Education and identity', p. 291.

[509] Schmitt, *Levantiner,* p. 221; for the history of the dragoman dynasties cf. Hitzel, *Istanbul et les langues Orientales*; Testa and Gautier, *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*.

[510] See Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, p. 139.

[511] Imbault to the patriarchal vicar, Gasparini, Costantinopoli 1.2.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 144r).

[512] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Constantinople 14.2.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 143r).

any dispensation despite his efforts.[513] In fact, the counsellors of the Holy Office had decided already in May to concede the dispensation but the answer had been submitted to Propaganda Fide only at the beginning of September.[514]

It is not known when exactly the dispensation arrived in Constantinople but presumably the couple had to wait for it for around one year. That a long waiting period for the papal dispensation could endanger the intention of a couple to wait was underlined by the patriarchal vicar. Even if the correspondence between Constantinople and Rome was fast as compared for instance with the missions in Japan, China or even Tibet, the institutional procedures in Rome required time and contemporarily broadened the scope of action of local actors.

The argumentation used by Baptiste Imbault and the patriarchal vicar Gasparini is characteristic for the second half of the 17th century as it reflects the mentioned fear that the Latin Catholic community could be absorbed by the larger Greek community.

A dispensation for spiritual affinity was issued for the case of a couple in 1707. Giovanni Lodovico Meinarde, a Latin Catholic of French origin but living in Constantinople wanted to marry his equally Latin god-daughter Margarita Favre from Constantinople. According to Lodovico Meinarde, his god-daughter came from an impoverished family and he argued that it would be very difficult for her to find another Catholic man willing to marry her. Moreover, emphasized Meinarde, she could be forced by the family's desperate financial situation to marry an Orthodox or even a Muslim man. The patriarchal vicar Galani supported the request with the same argumentation and, furthermore, he asked for himself the right of authorising dispensation in cases of spiritual kinship in Constantinople. This request was, however, rejected by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide.[515]

This case points out the economic aspects of marriage. In fact, economic influences played an important role in the marriages. This is not a particularity of the Latin community in Constantinople but also in Europe. With marriage, a couple constructed a household and incorporated the investments allocated by the respective families. Thus, the marriage of the children was financially important for a family in order to assure the inheritance line for the family capital. Wealthy families had therefore a high interest in marrying their children and advantageously.[516]

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[513] Patriarchal vicar Gasparini to the prefect of Propaganda Fide Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Constantinople 5.11.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 162r).
[514] Session of the Holy Office 5.11.1687 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St. MM 3 d, f. 290r, 291v).
[515] Congregatio generalis 14.3.1707 (APF, Acta vol. 77, f. 68r).
[516] Sarah Hanley, 'Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies* 16/1 (1989), 4-27, 12.

In medieval and early modern Europe women had two alternatives, marriage or a life in a female monastery. Only during the Catholic reformation did some congregations of nuns re-orient their convents away from a contemplative life towards nursing, teaching or social work. By so doing alternative careers for women were created.[517]

In the context of Constantinople this development did not take place, and as female monasteries did not exist in the Ottoman Empire, the Latin Catholic women had no alternative other than marriage.

As the sources reveal no further details related to the positive evaluation of requests for papal dispensation for consanguinity and spiritual affinity, it is difficult to reconstruct the reflections and discussions of the cardinals of the Holy Office regarding the single cases. However, it can be presumed that the arguments of the patriarchal vicars in Constantinople who saw the dispensations for consanguinity and spiritual affinity as an important instrument against mixed marriages and, therefore, against the loss of members of the Latin Catholic community, were received favourably within the Roman Curia.

Nevertheless, besides the official way of asking and waiting for papal dispensations, the members of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople had other options for celebrating a marriage despite canonical impediments. These options are outlined in the following discussion.

6.2.3. Non-Catholic ministers for Catholic marriages

In 1684, the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini submitted a request for the dispensation of consanguinity written by Bartolomeo Fabris from Pera to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. The father of Fabris' first cousin Catarinetta had converted to Islam 14 years earlier and had left his wife and four daughters without any financial support. As a result of the girl's poverty and fear of her Muslim father, no Latin Catholic man was interested in marrying her or any of her sisters. Fabris added that he was willing to marry Catarinetta in order to protect her honour and virtue. Furthermore, Catarinetta's father would accept the marriage of his daughter with his nephew because of the kinship ties between them. Finally, Bartolomeo argued that he would be able to protect Catarinetta's younger sisters once he was her husband. Fabris finally emphasized that he was moved by Christian charity as he wanted to save his cousin from the danger of sin and disgrace.[518] The cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided at

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[517] Ibid., 25.
[518] Bartolomeo Fabris to the pope Innocent XI, Constantinople 1684 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 29r); Congregatio generalis 20.4.1684 (APF, Acta vol. 54, f. 42r/v).

the end of April in their monthly meeting to forward the case to the Holy Office. For unknown reasons, no answer was forthcoming in Constantinople and, two years later, Gasparini informed the cardinals of Propaganda Fide that Catarinetta had meanwhile married a 'heretic' after two years of waiting. Moreover, the marriage had not been celebrated by a Catholic priest but by a Greek priest or an Ottoman *qadi*.[519]

Indeed, Greek Orthodox clergymen or Ottoman judges represented a widely used option for Latin couples and, as we shall see, mixed couples who had to deal with an impediment to marriage or for the marriages of mixed couples. Thus, the situation of concurrence as regards the offer of spiritual assistance opened up a set of alternatives to the Latin Catholics, while limiting the exertion of influence of the Catholic Church. For the Catholic Church, marriages between two Latin Catholic persons contracted in the absence of the parish priest were not valid because the rules of the *Tametsi* were not respected.

For instance, in 1668, marriages '*alla turchesca*', contracted in the presence of the Ottoman *qadi* were addressed by the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi. In the view of the Latin prelate of Constantinople, the Latin Catholics used the possibility of marrying with a simple signature at the Ottoman court in order to cohabit with their concubines without risking sanctions on behalf of the Ottoman authorities. The only remedy available for the prelate to punish such unions was excommunication. However, concluded Ridolfi, excommunication did not prevent one single marriage of Latin Catholics '*alla turchesca*'. In their monthly meeting, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to elaborate a convenient remedy.[520] However, it is unlikely that the cardinals were actually able to give the patriarchal vicar an efficient remedy as their influence was almost inexistent in cases like the present one, which involved the Ottoman authorities.

Furthermore, several letters reveal that there were cases in which Latin missionaries advised couples wanting to get married to make use of alternative celebrants if there were problems with a Latin marriage.[521] During the period under examination, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide reasserted several times that the only possibility for Latin Catholic couples to contract a valid marriage was to marry in the presence of the parish priest. Couples who did not comply with this rule had to separate. The execution of this sanction revealed itself as strongly problematic with regard to the social life of the Latin community. It was pointed out

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[519] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople, 14.2.1687 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 142r).

[520] See congregation generalis 23.1.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 16r/v). The situation was similar in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. See Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 76.

[521] See for instance Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Constantinople 23.4.1688 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 188r).

by missionaries and prelates that the separation of married spouses who already had one or more children was very difficult because it inevitably led to astonishment and incredulity among Christians of other denominations as well as among Muslims. Furthermore, the missionaries considered that declaring marriages contracted by Greek Orthodox priests, Protestant ministers or the Ottoman civil authorities invalid was not helpful to the relations between the Latin and other religious communities.[522] In general, clergymen and the couples willing to bring their marriages into accordance with the Catholic Church tried to find a solution that would avoid a long separation of the couple.

For instance in 1690, the case of a Latin Catholic named Giacomo Fornaro was brought before the cardinals of the Holy Office. Fornaro had lived for many years in an adulterous situation with a married Latin woman. After the woman's husband had gone to Cairo where he converted to Islam, Fornaro decided to marry his beloved. According to Fornaro, it was ancient practice in the Ottoman Empire that in the case of conversion to Islam of one spouse, the Christian marriage would be annulled. The patriarchal vicar Gasparini objected to the marriage because of the impediment of adultery and thereupon Fornaro married the woman *'alla Greca'* – in the presence of a Greek Orthodox priest – after being advised to do so by a missionary.[523] As a consequence, Fornaro and his wife were excommunicated and lived without any spiritual care until the death of the first husband of Fornaro's wife. Thereafter, Fornaro wanted to be readmitted to the sacraments and asked for permission to celebrate the wedding again but this time before his parish priest. The cardinals of the Holy Office decided that the Greek marriage was invalid for the Catholic Church and that therefore the couple had to live separately for a short period of time that was to be defined by the vicar in order to eliminate the impediment of crime. Thereafter, the marriage could be celebrated before the parish priest.[524] The sources do not reveal how long the couple had to live separated but presumably, the patriarchal vicar limited the separation to a very short period.

This case is interesting in several respects. Firstly, the representatives of the Catholic Church were confronted with a *fait accompli* in the sense that the marriage had been contracted years earlier by an Orthodox priest and, since that time, the couple had lived together as a married couple and had several children. It was thus in the interest of the church to reintegrate the family into the local church notwithstanding the transgression of canonical rules.

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[522] Voti e dubbi relativi a varie questioni legate alle attività di Propaganda Fide 1759 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St. RR 1 b, nr. 1).
[523] Session of the Holy Office 23.1.1690 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St. MM 3 d, f. 819r-820r).
[524] Ibid., f. 820r.

However, it should be underlined that the Orthodox priest celebrated the marriage according to the Orthodox matrimonial canon law. Whereas in the Latin Catholic Church marriages were indissoluble, the Orthodox Church recognised the possibility of divorce in cases of adultery, apostasy, prolonged disappearance of a spouse, prolonged imprisonment, illness or the opposition of the family.[525] From an Orthodox perspective, the conversion to Islam and the prolonged absence of the woman's first husband were two sufficient conditions for a divorce, and consequently the new marriage between the woman and Fornaro could be celebrated.

Furthermore, in this case, the missionaries acted more as members of the local church than as representatives of the Roman standards by advising Fornaro to turn to an Orthodox priest for the marriage. Presumably, in the eyes of the missionaries it was preferable that the couple live as a recognized married couple in Constantinople, at least in the eyes of the Greek and Ottoman authorities, rather than continue to live in concubinage.

As this case involved two Latin persons, the marriage celebrated by a non-Catholic minister, and thus not by the parish priest, the marriage was not valid. Moreover, for the Catholic Church, two persons who had committed adultery could not contract a valid marriage as adultery represented an impediment of crime. The only remedy was a papal dispensation.[526]

It can thus be said that the option of contracting marriage before a Greek Orthodox minister or Muslim *qadi* was repeatedly used by Latin Catholics who had to deal with an impediment to marriage. The members of the Latin community were well aware of the options which the multi-religious environment could offer them. Moreover, through the possibility of choosing between different options, the Latin Catholics were in a strong position towards the local Latin clergy. If the clergy did not want to celebrate a marriage, they could 'turn to the competitors'. If, at a later date, they wanted to be reconciled with the Catholic Church, the clergy had a great interest in being indulgent. This indulgence was firstly due to the hope of the members of the clergy to not lose the involved members of the Latin community to the more numerous and important Orthodox community. Secondly, ecclesiastic sanctions against Latin Catholics who were at the same time integrated into the larger Ottoman environment of Galata and Pera could lead to incomprehension and tensions with the Ottoman and Greek authorities.

An episode from 1708 shows that it was also possible for Catholic priests to represent an option for non-Catholic couples wanting to get married. The Conventual Franciscan Rocco da

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[525] See Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht*, p. 66; Orlando, 'Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins', p. 109ff.
[526] Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht*, p. 30.

Scio had celebrated the marriage of a Protestant couple and, according to another missionary, this wedding had provoked a scandal among the Latin Catholics. The friar was accused of having celebrated a wedding which neither the Protestant minister nor the Greek Orthodox priest had wanted to contract because of doubts regarding the single state of the bride-groom. According to the usual practice in similar cases, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide asked the patriarchal vicar Raimondo Galani for more information on the case. [527] In his answer, Galani wrote back that the wedding had indeed caused astonishment and scandal among the Latin Catholics. Rocco da Scio affirmed that he had based his decision to celebrate the wedding on several texts written by authoritative authors and that he had acted with the consent of his superior. Moreover, the Protestant minister was unable to celebrate the wedding himself for an indisposition and had expressed his consent to the Catholic ceremony. Finally, the secretary of the ambassador of Great Britain confirmed on oath that both spouses were unmarried and the marriage took place. The cardinals discussed the case and expressly underlined that the decrees of the congregation specifically prohibited the celebration of non-Catholic marriages by Catholic priests.[528] For the missionary Rocco da Scio the marriage did not have further consequences and he carried out his duties until at least 1721 as parish priest of the parish of St. Mary Draperis.[529]

6.3. Mixed marriages: risk or opportunity?

6.3.1. The impediment of *mixtae religionis*

Although the *Tametsi* decree did not directly refer to mixed marriages, it nevertheless influenced their practice. After Trent, the validity of a contracted marriage depended on its public celebration by the Catholic parish priest with the objective of condemning any forms of clandestine marriages. As Catholic priests were prohibited from contracting mixed marriages (*mixtae religionis*), they had to be contracted by ministers other than the parish priests and thus were, in the perspective of the Congregation of the Council, by definition clandestine and accordingly null. Therefore, in order to contract a valid marriage, the non-Catholic spouse had

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[527] Congregatio generalis 6.2.1708 (APF, Acta vol. 78, f. 82v/83r).

[528] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 19.7.1708 (APF, SOCG vol. 564, f. 18r); Copia dell'originale della Fede fatta dal Signor Segretario dell'eccellentissimo Signore Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra, Constantinople 31.3.1707 (APF, SOCG vol. 564, f. 23r/v); Congregatio generalis 2.10.1708 (APF, Acta vol. 78, f. 601r/603r).

[529] Giovanni Battista Maui, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.3.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 632, f. 166v).

to convert to Catholicism before the marriage could be contracted or a papal dispensation had to be issued.[530]

Whereas the Congregation of the Council in particular repeatedly insisted on the clandestinity and consequently nullity of mixed marriages, the cardinals of the Holy Office and Propaganda Fide had a more pragmatic perspective on mixed marriages. As a general rule, the Holy Office declared mixed marriages as valid but illicit: valid because common baptism was sufficient in order to contract marriage, and illicit because the Catholic spouse risked being influenced by the heresy of the non-Catholic spouse and deliberately defied the rules of the Catholic Church.[531] As we will see for the case of Constantinople, this diverging attitude of the Roman congregations and the tendency of evaluating every single case of mixed marriages left the local members of the clergy considerable room for interpretation and scope of action.[532]

In the archives of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office there are no requests for papal dispensations for mixed marriages between Catholics and Greek Orthodox or Catholics and Protestants from the years of 1660 to 1760. As mentioned above, the correspondence between the clergy in Constantinople and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome shows that mixed marriages nevertheless existed in Constantinople. The more or less strict observance of the prohibition of mixed marriage on the part of the clergy in Constantinople gave rise to regular discussions with the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office in Rome.

In particular among the members of the clergy in Constantinople, the hope was widespread that mixed marriages could promote the conversion of the non-Catholic spouses and consequently of their children to Catholicism. In the perspective of the missionaries, if, on the contrary the marriages were contracted before an Orthodox priest, the children were almost always raised in the faith of the father, and thus in the Orthodox faith.[533] However, in their responses the cardinals of Propaganda Fide firmly emphasized the prohibition of mixed marriages. This phenomenon was evidentially not limited to the case of Constantinople, but also rather common in other territories, where two or more confessions cohabited.[534]

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[530] E.g. Cecilia Cristellon, 'Unstable and Weak-minded' or a missionary? Catholic women in mixed marriages (1563-1798)', in Karin Gottschalk (ed.), *Gender Difference in European Legal Cultures. Historical Perspectives* (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 1-12, p. 3; Paul W. Werth, 'Empire, Religious Freedom, and the Legal Regulation of "Mixed" marriages in Russia', *The Journal of Modern History* 80 (2008), pp. 296-331, p. 305f.

[531] Cristellon, 'Unstable and weak-minded' or a missionary?, p. 3f; Orlando, 'Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins', p. 102; Pierroberto Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio e la questione dei matrimoni misti nella casistica delle congregazioni romane', *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009), pp. 75-94, pp. 80–93.

[532] Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio', p. 93.

[533] Congregatio generalis 14.1.1659 (APF, Acta vol. 28, f. 12r).

[534] For the European context See Cristellon, 'Unstable and weak-minded' or a missionary?'; Bertrand Forclaz, '"Le foyer de la discorde?" Les mariages mixtes à Utrecht au XVIIᵉ siècle', *Annales HSS* 63/5 (2008), pp. 1101–1123; Dagmar Freist, 'Crossing religious borders: The experience of religious difference and its impact on mixed

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There were also critical voices among the clergy in Constantinople regarding the hopes associated with mixed marriages. An important statement against mixed marriages was repeatedly given by the Capuchin missionary Angelo Maria da Roma between 1721 and 1726. The missionary attacked the widespread practice of the patriarchal vicars and the majority of missionaries of allowing and celebrating weddings between Latin Catholics Greek Orthodox and, less frequently, Protestants without conversion of their non-Catholic spouses. In his view, the Latin clergymen's justification that in so doing, the danger of apostasy from Catholicism would decrease and the children of mixed couples could be raised in the Catholic faith, was unsustainable. According to him, on the contrary, Catholics frequently converted to the faith of their non-Catholic spouses and he did not remember one single case of mixed couples in which the children were raised as Catholics. Angelo Maria da Roma further had the cardinals consider that the Greek Church was quite powerful, and consequently, prenuptial arrangements requiring daughters to be raised in the faith of the mother and sons in the faith of the father were never observed and the children were all raised in Orthodox faith.[535]

It should be underlined that the authorities of the Greek Orthodox Church, just like the other Orthodox Churches, held a negative attitude towards mixed marriages. Indeed, marriages between a Greek Orthodox and a Catholic spouse had to be contracted by an Orthodox priest, and both spouses had to pledge that the children would be raised in the Orthodox faith.[536] Moreover, the position of the Greek Orthodox Church was stronger than that of the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople at the time. On the one hand, the Greek Orthodox Community was significantly larger than that of the Latin Catholic Church. On the other hand, the sultans had strengthened the position of the Greek Orthodox Church, and in particular, of the patriarch of Constantinople, whose position within the Ottoman administration corresponded to the rank of a provincial governor.[537] It becomes evident that in this constellation of power, the influence of the Latin Church on mixed marriages between Latins and Greeks was thus indeed rather limited.

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marriages in Eighteenth-Century Germany', in C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist and Mark Greengrass (eds), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 203–223; Dagmar Freist, 'One body, two confessions: mixed marriages in Germany', in Ulinka Rublack (ed.), *Gender in early modern German history* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 275–304; Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Intimate negotiations: Husbands and wives of opposing faiths in Eighteenth- Century Holland' in Dixon, Freist and Greengrass, *Living with Religious Diversity*, pp. 225–48; Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, 2005).

[535] Angelo Maria da Roma, Capuchin missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 27.12.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 635, f. 84r/v); Congregatio generalis 19.5.1722 (APF, Acta vol. 92, f. 281v/282r); Congregatio generalis 7.10.1726 (APF, Acta vol. 96, f. 400v/401r).

[536] Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht*, p. 58f; Werth, 'Empire, religious freedom, and the legal regulation of "mixed" marriages in Russia', pp. 300–306.

[537] Gilles Veinstein, 'L'Islam ottomano nei Balcani e nel Mediterraneo', in Maurice Aymar (ed.), *Storia d'Europa. L'Età moderna, secoli XVI-XVIII* (Turin, 1995), pp. 57–82, p. 69f.

The cardinals of Propaganda Fide took the issues raised by Angelo Maria da Roma seriously and asked the patriarchal vicar Giovanni Battista Mauri for a reply. The vicar stated that during his vicariate he had not conceded one single dispensation for marriages between Catholics and Protestants, with the result that the marriages had been contracted by Orthodox priests. He added that an investigation into the parish records had shown that his predecessor had issued two dispensations for the marriages of Catholic women with Anglican men. Moreover, he assured that he had tried to prevent these unions while at the same time admitting that it was difficult. According to the vicar, the main problems were the impossibility of a peaceful married life because of the differences of rites and the dissolubility of marriage in the Greek Orthodox Church.[538]

In fact, the dissolubility of marriage in the Orthodox Church was one of the major points of conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. Whereas in the Catholic Church marriages were indissoluble, and thus the idea of divorce was non-existent, divorce was an option for Greek Orthodox couples. Under certain circumstances, as in cases of adultery, apostasy, prolonged disappearance of a spouse, prolonged imprisonment, illness or family opposition, a divorce could be requested. This difference of jurisdiction implied that Latin Catholics who had contracted marriage according to the Orthodox rite could divorce and remarry at a later point in time.[539]

In his reply to the cardinals in Rome, the patriarchal vicar Mauri emphasized that the Latin clergy could not effectively prevent mixed marriages, as mixed couples could turn to Orthodox priests to celebrate their wedding. Indeed, Orthodox priests, Protestant ministers and Ottoman *qadis* represented an important alternative for mixed couples or Latin couples who were confronted with an impediment to marriage. Marriages before non-Catholic ministers regularly led to doubts and discussions between the clergy about the validity of the mixed marriages.

6.3.1.1. Discussions about the validity of mixed marriages

The different positions of the clergy members in Constantinople and Rome can be illustrated with a case from 1668. The patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi wrote to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome that he had refused to celebrate the marriage of a Catholic woman with a 'heretic' man. Thereupon, continued Ridolfi, the couple had turned to an Orthodox priest who celebrated the couple's marriage. Consequently, the woman was

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[538] Congregatio generalis 15.3.1728 (APF, Acta vol. 98, f. 172v/173r).
[539] See Prader, *Das religiöse Eherecht*, p. 66; Orlando, 'Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins', p. 109ff.

suspended from the sacraments by the patriarchal vicar. One year later the vicar gave the woman absolution and a dispensation for the marriage after she had been in danger of death, and the couple had ratified once again their mutual consent in the presence of their parish priest and two testimonies.[540]

The cardinals of Propaganda Fide discussed the case and observed two problematic points in the procedure of the prelate: they first pointed out that the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi had absolved a woman living in concubinage and second, that he had issued a dispensation for a mixed marriage without having the necessary competence. The cardinals emphasized that the patriarchal vicar did not have the authority to issue dispensations for mixed marriages, and they pointed to a decree issued by the Congregation of the Council in 1637 whereupon mixed marriages could only be celebrated in Constantinople if the non-Catholic spouse was willing to convert to Catholicism before the marriage. In all other cases, a dispensation for the marriage could only be conceded by the pope.[541]

This case shows that the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi was either not completely aware of the Roman position towards mixed marriages, or perhaps more likely, he was not willing to comply with the Roman rules. This impression is reinforced by the fact that in his own description of the case he seems convinced of having acted according to the position of the Curia, or at least he believed that he had good reasons for his actions. From the Roman perspective, however, he had transgressed one of the most important precepts regarding mixed marriages: conceding a dispensation for a marriage notwithstanding the fact that the Protestant spouse did not intend to convert to Catholicism. Interestingly, the patriarchal vicar was criticised for having absolved the Latin woman from living in concubinage. This shows that the cardinals of Propaganda Fide judged marriages contracted by the Orthodox priest as null. Thus, in this specific case, the cardinals adopted the Congregation of the Council's more rigid attitude towards mixed marriages and not the Holy Office's more pragmatic principle that mixed marriages were always 'valid but illicit'.[542]

Moreover, it is interesting to see that Ridolfi was forced to outline the case to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide after he had been accused by a missionary of administering the sacraments to a Latin woman who lived in concubinage.[543] It seems indeed rather typical for Constantinople that the supposed transgression of a vicar or missionary was reported to Rome by other members of the Latin clergy. It is unknown whether such reports were signs of the

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[540] Congregatio generalis, 23.1.1668 (APF, Acta vol. 37, f. 16r/v).
[541] Ibid.
[542] Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio', pp. 80-93.
[543] Congregatio generalis 8.3.1667 (APF, Acta vol. 36, f. 36r).

clergymen's strict compliance with Roman standards or rather a strategic action to discredit another member of the Latin clergy.[544]

Nevertheless, the patriarchal vicar's attempt to find a way to reintegrate the Latin Catholic woman in the Latin community without causing clamour was from his perspective reasonable. In fact, theoretically, couples who did not marry in compliance with the rules lived in concubinage and had to be separated. The execution of this sanction revealed itself as strongly problematic with regard to the social life of the Latin community. It was pointed out by missionaries and prelates that the separation of married spouses who frequently already frequently had one or more children was extremely difficult because it inevitably lead to incredulity among the Christians of other confessions as well as among Muslims which could lead to the accusations to the Ottoman authorities. Furthermore, the missionaries considered declaring invalid those marriages contracted by Greek Orthodox priests, Protestant ministers or the Ottoman authorities invalid as being unhelpful to the relations between the Latin and other religious communities.[545]

In fact, the question related to the validity of mixed marriages contracted by non-Catholic religious and civil authorities in confessionally-mixed territories where eventually the Catholics represented only a minority was a recurring one, and had to be approached pragmatically to avoid interconfessional conflicts.[546]

As we have seen, divergent attitudes towards the practice of mixed marriages existed among the Roman Curiaand among the vicars and missionaries in Constantinople. This situation is not limited to the Constantinopolitan case but reflected the Roman policy of evaluating every single case individually in its specific context. On the one hand, the rather cautious legislative action of the Holy Office in matters related to mixed marriages preserved the high adaptability of the Catholic Church to local circumstances and left the local clergy a significant scope of action. On the other hand, the uncertainty led to numerous doubts and contested cases.[547]

After the 1740s, with the pontificate of Benedict XIV (1740-1758) the legislation action of the Curiaincreased. This strongly affected the way in which mixed marriages were handled. According to the documents dealing with the evaluation of marriage cases by the Holy Office, before the pontificate of Benedict XIV every single case had been judged individually. The

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[544] Cf., Windler, 'Katholische Mission und Diasporareligiosität', p. 212.

[545] Voti e dubbi relativi a varie questioni legate alle attività di Propaganda Fide 1759 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St., RR 1 b, nr. 1).

[546] For the Dutch case see Forclaz, 'Les mariages mixtes à Utrecht au XVIIᵉ siècle', pp. 1109ff.

[547] Cf. Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio', pp. 87–91.

instruction written by the pontiff to the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople in 1754 – which in the intention of the pontiff should have definitively removed every possible doubt about mixed marriages – can be seen as a turning point in this regard. With his instruction he intended to 'illuminate' the vicar with regard to mixed marriages in Constantinople and the observation of the *Tametsi* decree.[548]

The patriarchal vicar Paoli wrote a letter containing three questions that concerned mixed marriages to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, who forwarded the questions to the pontiff Benedict XIV. The vicar's letters make it clear that he confounded mixed marriages between members of different Christian confessions (*mixtae religionis*) with mixed marriages (*disparitatis cultis*). Moreover, the vicar was dubious about the validity of mixed marriages contracted by Protestant or Orthodox ministers. He wanted to know if the Catholic spouse of a mixed marriage could be admitted to the sacraments and if mixed marriages could be dissolved to allow the Catholic spouse to remarry a Catholic person. Finally, the vicar asserted that he had publicly reaffirmed the prohibition for Latin Catholics to marry non-Catholics.[549]

The fact that the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople confused the difference between marriages between a baptised person and a non-baptised person (*disparitatis cultis*) and marriages between two baptised persons (*mixtae religionis*) is remarkable. As has already been shown, for the Catholic Church, the baptism of both the spouses was the basis for a valid marriage. From the vicar's questions, it seems that he had at most a partial understanding of the Roman position with respect to mixed marriages. It is thus not surprising that the pontiff intended to illuminate the patriarchal vicar with an instruction.

Initially, the pontiff explained the difference between *disparitatis cultis* and *mixtae religionis* marriages and emphasized that whilst in the first case the marriages were always null, in the second case they were 'valid but illicit'.[550] The principle that mixed marriages between Catholic and non-Catholic Christians were 'valid but illicit', which had been definitively established by Benedict XIV in the *Costituzione Benedettina* in 1741 for the regulation of mixed marriages in the Dutch provinces, was therefore expanded to

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[548] 'Istruzione di Papa Benedetto XIV al Vicario Apostolico di Costantinopoli sopra i matrimoni misti di colà e sull'osservanza del can[one] Tametsi. Trasmessa a M[onsi]g[nor]e Segr[etar]io di Propaganda lo 30 N[ovem]bre 1754. Avendo letto le Carte ammesse, e considerata la lettera dei 28. Di [Settem]bre dell'anno corr[en]te 1754 scritta dal Vic[ari]o Ap[ostoli]co di Costantinopoli ci sembra di esso abbia bisogno d'essere illuminato.' (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St. UU 17, Nr. 22).
[549] Congregatio generalis 21.5.1759 (APF, Acta vol. 129, f. 234v-235v).
[550] 'Confonde il d[ett]o Vic[ari]o la disparità del Culto colla professione di una falsa Religione, quando la disparità del Culto ha luogo in un matrimonio che si fa fra un contraente battezzato ed un altro contraente non battezzato, e la Professione di falsa Religione è quando ambedue i Contraenti sono battezzati, ma uno p[er] esempio è Cattolico, l'altro è Scismatico o Eretico. Essendo nullo il matrimonio nel primo Caso, e nel secondo essendo valido, ma illecito; […]'. Istruzione di Papa Benedetto XIV al Vicario Apostolico di Costantinopoli sopra i matrimoni misti di colà e sull'osservanza del can[one] *Tametsi* (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St., UU 17, nr. 22).

Constantinople. The papal edict facilitated mixed marriages insofar as Christians of other denominations were exempted from observing the *Tametsi*. According to the pontiff, mixed marriages were valid even if the rules defined by the *Tametsi* were not observed. Nevertheless, mixed marriages remained prohibited by the Catholic Church and were therefore illicit.[551]

Benedict XIV then continued the instruction by emphasizing that a Catholic person who married a non-Catholic person committed a grave sin. Nevertheless, after confessing the sin with real contrition, the Catholic person could be reconciled with the Church.[552] In the most important paragraph of the instruction, the pontiff briefed the patriarchal vicar on the general attitude he was supposed to adopt towards mixed marriages:

> 'These are established principles and it is as well that the Apostolic Vicar should bear them constantly in mind and [in view of the fact that] marriages between Catholics and Schismatics or Heretics are frequent and will become ever more frequent, he should not misunderstand this, nor spread doubts where there are none, it seems as well to let him know that since [these marriages] are contracted without his knowledge and since he is unable to impede them, he must act accordingly, as all good Ecclesiastic superiors do in those Countries in which similar forms of marriage are frequent; that is to say, <u>he should not set about impeding them but let things go their way, and consider them as valid, although illicit, him being unable to [show more] than simple tolerance or permission of a lesser evil so as to avoid one greater</u>.'[553]

In this paragraph, the pontiff outlined his rather pragmatic approach towards mixed marriage, which broadly coincided with the practice that the Holy Office had already adopted previously. In territories where members of different denominations coexisted, it was impossible to prevent mixed marriages, and thus the Catholic Curiawas forced to compromise on the subject. By considering mixed marriages as valid – what the pontiff described as allowing the lesser evil – the major problem of the high number of Catholics living, according to the Catholic Church, in concubinage could be solved. However, this attitude once again

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[551] Cf. Forclaz, 'Les marriages mixtes à Utrecht au XVIIe siècle', p. 1110; Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'I dubbi sui sacramenti dalle missioni "ad infedele": percorsi nelle burocrazie di Curia', *MEFRIM* 121/1 (2009): 39–61, p. 58; Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio', p. 92.

[552] Istruzione di Papa Benedetto XIV al Vicario Apostolico di Costantinopoli sopra i matrimoni misti di colà e sull'osservanza del can[one] *Tametsi*. (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St., UU 17, nr. 22).

[553] 'Queste sono massime certe, ed è bene, che il Vic[ari]o Ap[ostoli]co le abbia sempre presenti ed esponendo esso, che sono frequenti e sempre più saranno frequenti i matrimonio fra Cattolici e Scismatici, o Eretici, acciò non prenda equivoco, e non sparga oscurità ove non sono, sembra bene il fargli sapere, che contraendosi senza sua saputa, e non potendo esso impedirli si regoli, come si regolino i buoni superiori Eccl[esiasti]ci nei Paesi, ne' quali simili matrimoni sono frequenti; cioè <u>che non s'accinga ad impedirli, li lasci correre, li tenga per validi, benché illeciti non potendosi in tutto ciò valutare, che una semplice tolleranza, o permissione di un male minore per evitare uno maggiore</u>.' Ibid.

evidences the Curia's limited scope of action regarding the implementation of Roman standards.

In the rest of the instruction, Benedict XIV stressed that with the principle 'valid even though illicit' regarding mixed marriages, conflicts with other religious communities could be prevented. In conclusion, the pontiff repeated that the *Tametsi* decree was in effect applied in Constantinople and that marriages within the Latin community had to be celebrated according to the rules of the *Tametsi*. Finally, Benedict XIV advised the patriarchal vicar to adhere closely to his instruction and to not take into consideration previous instructions to avoid misunderstandings.[554]

The pontiff's instruction did not have the desired effect of removing the doubts and ambiguities that existed concerning the handling of mixed marriages in Constantinople. On the contrary, the correspondence and the disputes between the Ottoman capital and Rome increased. In 1757, a councillor of Propaganda Fide wrote a memorandum in the name of the congregation's Prefect Cardinal Spinelli, who wanted to communicate his discontent about the situation in Constantinople to the cardinals of the Holy Office. According to the prefect of Propaganda Fide, despite the high number of decrees enacted by the Curia, the doubts and malpractice were far from being resolved because of the faithful's frivolity and the missionaries' reprehensible tolerance. In the name of Cardinal Giuseppe Spinelli, he proposed to tighten measures for Latin Catholics living in mixed marriages and to punish Catholic clergymen who attended the celebration of mixed marriages with suspension from the priest's office.[555]

In this case it was again the prefect of Propaganda Fide who demanded stricter rules from the cardinals of the Holy Office with regard to mixed marriages. The request was discussed by three prestigious members of the Holy Office, who came to the unanimous conclusion that it had to be rejected.[556] In his particular statement, the councillor Giuseppe Assemani argued that the circumstances of the specific place and moment had to be taken into consideration as well as the persons involved, and that thus general prohibition was impossible.[557] Moreover, Assemani underlined the fact that mixed marriages could not be completely prohibited in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, whereas in other regions with a confessionally-

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[554] Ibid.

[555] Memoriale from Propaganda Fide to the Holy Office 3.9. 1757 (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St., M 3 b, nr. 21, f. 779r-780r).

[556] Ristretto de' tre voti fatti da Monsig[no]re Assemani, Mons[igno]re Castelli e P[ad]re Ganganelli fatto dall'Abb[ate] Dionisi qualificatore del S[anctum] O[fficium], undated (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St., M 3 b, XV, f. 781r-790r).

[557] Osservazione generale sopra la communicazione in divinis de' cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici, written by Giuseppe Assemani, undated (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St, M 3 b, XV, f. 791r) .

mixed population, such as the German territories, mixed marriages were allowed. He concluded by reminding the prefect of Propaganda Fide that since the attendance of Catholic priests at the celebration of mixed marriages was not punished with suspension anywhere, there was no reason for doing so in Constantinople.[558]

This document is of high interest because it clearly goes against the general assumption that the cardinals of Propaganda Fide tended to adopt a more indulgent attitude than the members of the Holy Office towards mixed marriages. The argumentation underpinning the decision was detailed, and several decrees issued for different regions were mentioned by the councillors of the Holy Office. The procedure adopted in this case can be seen as an example of the more systematic legislative action of the Curia since the middle of the 18th century. The deliberations of the pontiff and the members of the Curia in Rome are interesting when analysing the discussions within the church hierarchy on *mixtae religionis* marriages.

As already seen before, the councillor of the Holy Office Giuseppe Assemani was a Syrian Maronite who was born in the Ottoman Empire and was therefore aware of the constraints of the Ottoman environment. The more pragmatic attitude of the Holy Office may be astonishing in a first moment, in particular if one considers that the confessional boundaries were tighter in the middle of the 18th century compared to a hundred years before. As Christian Windler has pointed out, one important element in the pragmatic attitude of the councillors of the Holy Office is the high relevance of decrees issued by the Roman congregation. In fact, a decree of the Holy Office defined the doctrine of the Catholic Church and was thus, once issued, universally valid. In cases like the mixed marriages, or more generally the *communication in sacris*, the Holy Office preferred not to risk its authority by issuing decrees that could not be implemented in the local context. In this way, the Holy Office could maintain the precepts of the post-Tridentine church on a normative level and contemporarily adapt to the constraints of the local circumstances on a more practical level.[559]

In the years after Benedict XIV's instruction, the different ways in which the prelate of Constantinople and the bishop of Syros handled mixed marriages led to some uncertainty within the Latin clergy of the places involved. It was the bishop of Syros Giacinto Giustiniani who reported the following story to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in 1759: a young man called Marino, resident in Constantinople fell in love with a Greek Orthodox woman. They celebrated their marriage in the presence of a Greek Orthodox priest and several testimonies

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[558] Osservazione particolare sopra l'Istruzione circa la comunicazione in divinis de' Cattolici con gli eretici, e scismatici: e circa il matrimonio, che si contrae da' Cattolici co' medesimi written by Giuseppe Assemani, undated (ACDF, Sanctum Officium, St. St, M 3 b, XV, f. 796v).
[559] Windler, 'Konfessionelle Ambiguität', pp. 336-339.

because it was not possible to obtain the dispensation for a Catholic ceremony without the woman converting to Catholicism. According to Giustiniani, Marino tired of his wife after a short period of time, left her and went to Syros. Once on the island of the Greek archipelago, he not only refused to go back to his wife but asked, furthermore, for a dispensation for a new marriage. The bishop of Syros continued his story by explaining that Marino was well aware of the fact that the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople Biagio de Pauli had declared that mixed marriages contracted before a non-Catholic authority were null. So, while the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople imposed separation on the spouses of mixed marriages, he himself insisted on the validity of these marriages and thus tried to prevent separation. In the rest of the document, the bishop of Syros described the terrible scandal that this situation led to among the seculars, who were convinced that the two prelates belonged to different religions. According to the prelate, this situation of confusion limited, furthermore, the already restricted authority of the prelates and led to a set of possibilities for the members of the Latin community: those who wanted to live undisturbed with a woman married with a Greek ceremony could move to the islands of the Greek archipelago; those who, on the contrary, were tired of marriage with a Greek Orthodox person could move to Constantinople, where the marriage would be declared null and marry again. Moreover, it was also possible for a resident of Syros to go to Constantinople to have a mixed marriage annulled and then to go back to Syros for a second wedding. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide admonished the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople in their answer to him, to follow the instruction of Benedict XIV strictly and thus not to declare mixed marriages contracted by non-Catholic authorities as null.[560]

It is remarkable that Biagio de Pauli, who had received the instruction of Benedict XIV in 1754 because he confused the impediment of *mixtae religionis* and *disparitatis cultis*, this time confused the concept of 'valid but illicit'. From Benedict's instruction it clearly emerges that mixed marriages were always valid but always illicit.

This case is an example of the way in which members of the Latin community were able to react to conflicts within the clergy regarding ecclesiastic rules and to take advantage of the same. In the context of the Greek islands – former Venetian territories – where the coexistence of the Latin and Greek communities was close and frequently conflicting, the different positions of two bishops could have serious consequences. In fact, here more than in Constantinople, mixed marriages between Greeks and Latin played an important role in social

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[560] Congregatio generalis 21.5.1759 (APF, Acta vol. 129, f. 240r-241r).

balance.[561] This balance was questioned by the practice of the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople of annulling mixed marriages.

As we have seen, the local *marges de manoeuvre* of the Latin Catholics and the members of the Latin clergy were considerable. The members of the Catholic community were well aware of the options which the multi-religious environment could offer them. In fact, they turned frequently to Orthodox or Protestant clergymen and also to Ottoman *qadis* in order to circumvent rules which had been set down by the Catholic Church. Moreover, through the possibility to choose between different options, the Latin Catholics were in a strong position towards the Catholic clergy on site. If the Latin clergy did not want to celebrate a marriage, they could turn to their 'religious competition'. If, at a later date, they wanted to be reconciled with the Catholic Church, the clergy had a great interest in being forgiving. In addition, the Latin Catholics in Constantinople managed to derive benefits from the frequently inconsistent positions within the Latin clergy. At the same time, the members of the clergy had also a considerable scope of action. The Roman Curiawas far away and only a very small part of the missionaries' activities was reported to the cardinals in Rome. Presumably, numerous mixed marriages were contracted by the clergy in Constantinople without leaving any traces in the correspondence between the clergy on site and the cardinals. Furthermore, both missionaries and patriarchal vicars were able to shape the cases on which they had to report. As regards the position of the members of the Roman Curiait can be said that, on a normative level, they strictly rejected the contraction of mixed marriages. However, on a more practical level, their attitude was far more pragmatic.

6.3.2. The impediment of *disparitatis cultis*: marriages between Muslims and Catholics

Mixed marriages between Latin Catholics and Muslims were considerably less frequent in Constantinople than mixed marriages between Christians of different denominations. Massive religious obstacles made mixed marriages between Latin Catholics and Muslims rare, especially considering that the Ottoman system implied religious difference as well political and social barriers.[562] It should be added, however, that in other regions of the Ottoman Empire – in particular in the Eastern European and Balkan territories – where the Muslim population was not in the majority, this kind of mixed marriage was far more frequent than in

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[561] See Schmitt, *Levantiner*, 131.
[562] Ibid., p. 453.

Constantinople. Under these constellations, the relations between Muslims and Catholic and Orthodox Christians were closer than in the central lands of the Ottoman Empire where Islam prevailed.[563]

According to the Islamic marriage law, mixed marriages between Muslim men and Christian women are possible whereas marriages between Muslim women and Christian men are forbidden. This law reflects the patriarchal basis of Islamic family law. Parental power was in the hands of the husband who had to guarantee for the Muslim education of the children of mixed marriages. Furthermore, Christian wives were precluded from inheriting and thus the family remained within the Muslim society.[564] Contrary to Muslim marriage law that permitted mixed marriages on the basis of the quoted preconditions, for Catholic matrimonial law, marriages between Muslims and Christians were invalid. In fact, the common sacrament of baptism was seen as the first requirement for a valid marriage.[565]

With regard to Constantinople two different types of mixed marriages can be distinguished: first, marriages of Catholic slaves and their Muslim masters and second, mixed marriages between two originally Catholic – and thus baptised – persons after the conversion of the husband. Regarding the first case, there is little information on the lives of the Catholic female slaves who served in private households and frequently married their Muslim masters. Often, those women lived in houses outside Galata, completely isolated from other Catholics and without spiritual care.[566]

In contrast to the Catholic slaves in private houses, the slaves detained in the *bagni* of the Ottoman capital were assisted by two Jesuit missionaries. According to the superior of the Jesuit mission, the prohibition of celebrating *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages in 1660 prevented numerous apostates from returning to Catholicism. For this reason, the Jesuit asked the cardinals of Propaganda Fide for the permission to dispense couples from the impediment of *disparitatis cultis* for himself and his successors. However, the request was rejected by the cardinals of Propaganda Fide.[567]

The request submitted to Rome by the superior of the Jesuits in Constantinople evidences that the missionary saw in mixed marriages between Latin Catholics and Christians who had previously converted to Islam an important occasion to reconcile the converts with

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[563] See Marina Caffiero, 'L'Inquisizione romana e i Musulmani: le questione dei matrimoni misti', *Cromohs* 14 (2009), pp. 1-10, p. 4f; Ibid., 'Per una storia comparativa', pp. 509-515; Veinstein, *Islam ottomano,* p. 68; p. 82.

[564] Joseph Prader, *Il matrimonio in oriente e in occidente* (Rome, 2nd ed., 2003), p. 84.

[565] Scaramella, 'I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio', p. 80.

[566] Father Tarillon, a Jesuit returning from Constantinople estimated in 1714 that about 20,000 Catholics were enslaved in the households of wealthy Ottomans. This number seems excessive, but it shows that there was a high number of Catholics spread all over the city and that it was quite difficult to establish their number. See Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* p. 158.

[567] Congregatio generalis 16.3.1660 (APF, Acta vol. 29, f. 176r/v).

Catholicism. Several studies have shown that conversions to Islam were frequent among the slaves in the *bagni* of the sultan in Constantinople. Generally, the converts hoped to improve their situation by becoming Muslims.[568]

Nevertheless, the majority of the apostates remained in the *bagni* after converting and they continued to live together with Catholic slaves. Consequently, the Jesuit missionaries in the *bagni* were confronted with mixed couples wanting to get married. It is important to make clear, however, that the marriages between Catholics and Christians who had converted to Islam were not typical *disparitiatis cultis* marriages, as the converts were actually baptised persons. Nevertheless, these marriages were considered invalid by the cardinals of Propaganda.

Cases of marriages that became mixed after one spouse's conversion to Islam were frequent in Constantinople as well as in the whole Ottoman Empire. The cases reported from Constantinople by the Latin missionaries involved, without exception, men who converted to Islam while their wives remained Catholics. The patresfamilias' conversion had drastic consequences not only for the converts, but also for their families. For instance, in 1684 Bartolomeo Fabris asked for a papal dispensation for the impediment of consanguinity in order to marry his first cousin Catarinetta. The supplicant explained that his uncle, Catarinetta's father had converted to Islam in Aleppo years ago and had left his wife with four daughters in Constantinople without any aid. If he was allowed to marry his cousin Catarinetta, concluded Fabris, he could not only improve the situation of his spouse but of the whole family.[569]

The conversion to Islam of patresfamilias whose families had to struggle with poverty left their family members in a difficult situation. The situation of the converts' wives was frequently difficult because the husband's conversion often meant the loss of economic stability as well as the danger of being pushed towards apostasy. Furthermore, the marriages remained valid after the husband's conversion, and thus the women did not have the possibility of marrying again to assure their own livelihood and that of their children. In fact, for the Roman Catholic Church, the marriages in question were contracted between two baptised persons and were thus indissoluble. From the perspective of the Curia, the separation of table and bed of these mixed couples was preferable but by no means corresponded to the dissolution of the unions.[570]

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[568] See Bartolomé Bennassar, 'Conversion ou Reniement? Modalités d'une adhésion ambiguë des chrétiens à l'Islam (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)', *Annales HSS* 43/6 (1988): 1349–1366, p. 1359f.

[569] Bartolomeo Fabris to the pope Innocent XI, Costantinople, 1684 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 29r).

[570] Caffiero, 'L'Inquisizione romana e i Musulmani', p. 4.

Nevertheless, Catholic women who wanted to remarry after the conversion and the abandonment of their husbands had the possibility to do so by referring to the Orthodox clergy. As already discussed above, the Greek Orthodox Church granted divorce under certain circumstances. Apostasy and prolonged absence were only two reasons for which a couple could be divorced in favour of the innocent party to make a new marriage possible.[571]

Latin clergymen tried to help those families spiritually and, if possible, financially, in order to prevent the entire families' apostasy. Another strategy of the missionaries was to send the wives or at least their children to Catholic territories. In the 1680s the Conventual Franciscan Giuseppe Mazza tried, for example, to send two grand-daughters of his stepmother to Europe after their apostate father had become principal dragoman of the Sublime Porte. The missionary further explained that the apostate had regularly expressed the intention of allowing his daughters' departure.[572]

This case is evidence of the fact that one family member's conversion to Islam did not necessarily imply a total rupture with the Christian family and environment.[573] On the contrary, in numerous cases mixed couples lived together and raised children despite their different religious beliefs. This particular constellation raised important questions among the missionaries in Constantinople and in the whole Ottoman Empire about the attitude the clergymen had to adopt towards these unions. In 1671, the Holy Office forwarded a list of advice to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, which was to be sent to the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire to clarify some doubts of the missionaries regarding the admission to the sacraments of the Catholic spouse of *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages. In a note for the secretary of Propaganda Fide Federico Baldeschi, the assessors of the Holy Office emphasized that the advice contained 'not general definitions or resolutions made by His Holiness or of the Holy Congregations of the Holy Office or Propaganda Fide, but just simple instructions to guide the missionaries and other ministers in the contingency of the present doubts'.[574]

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[571] Orlando, 'Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins', p. 109f.

[572] Giuseppe Mazza, Conventual Franciscan, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Pera, 10.4.1684 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 18r).

[573] Jocelyne Dakhlia, '"Turcs de profession"? Réinscriptions lignagères et redéfinitions sexuelles des convertis dans les cours maghrébines (XVIᵉ-XIXᵉ siècles)', in García-Arenal, *Conversions islamiques*, pp. 151–71, p. 156; Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions chez les chrétiens orientaux', p. 249; Bernard Heyberger, 'Se convertir à l'islam chez les chrétiens de Syrie aux XVIIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles', *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (1996): 133–52, p. 141ff.

[574] '[…] non si mandino come definizioni, ò risoluzioni fatte dalla Santità Sua, ò dalle S[acre] Congreg[azio]ni del S[ant] Off[izio] ò di Prop[agand]a fide, mà solam[en]te come un'Istrutt[ion]e semplice con la quale nell'occorrenza de Dubii dati debbano essi missionari, et altri ministri governarsi.' From the Holy Office to the secretary of Propaganda Fide Federico Baldeschi, 19.9.1671 (APF, Fondo Vienna vol. 56, f. 34r).

Thus, also regarding the impediment of *disparitatis cultis*, the Holy Office assessed every single case individually and tended to avoid absolute resolutions.

The first question raised by the missionaries regarded whether they were supposed to hear the confessions and give absolution to Catholic men and women married with Muslims.[575] At least in Constantinople there were only cases of Catholic women married to Muslims because Islamic law prohibits the marriage of Muslim women to non-Muslim men. In their answer, the cardinals of the Holy Office distinguished between Catholics married to a Muslim and Catholics married to a Christian person who had converted after the marriage. Whereas Catholics in the first case had to be excluded from the sacraments, in the second case they were admitted to the sacraments.

Furthermore the missionaries asked if Catholic women married to Turkish men had to be separated from their husbands and moreover, 'if the same has to be done with those women married to Christians, who later on repudiated [the Christian faith], and there is no hope that being in those parts they return to the Christian faith.'[576] Again, in the answer a clear distinction is made between marriages of Catholic women to Muslim men which, in the perspective of the Catholic Church could not be valid because of the impediment to marriage of *disparitatis cultis* and the marriages that became mixed after the conversion to Islam of the husband. As there could not be a valid marriage between a Catholic and a Muslim, for the church the cohabitation ended up being concubinage. As far as the second case is concerned, the cardinals answered that the cohabitation of the spouses could continue if there was no danger of apostasy for the Catholic women. According to the cardinals it was the responsibility of the missionaries to determine if the women's faith was in danger.[577]

With regard to *disparitatis cultis* marriages the clear dogmatic prohibition was challenged by the complex reality of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire in general. For the most part, the problems of *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages were similar to those concerning mixed marriages between Christians of different confessions. The Catholic Church declared marriages between Muslims and Catholics invalid but at the same time, those unions contracted before the Ottoman *qadi* were perfectly valid for the Ottoman authorities. It was thus impossible for the Catholic clergy to impose the separation. Moreover, the main goal of the missionaries was to maintain at least the Catholic spouse in the 'right' faith and additionally there was always the hope of converting the Muslim part of the couple to Catholicism. Besides, in the case of *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages, the fear of pushing

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[575] Ibid., f. 34r.
[576] Ibid., f. 34r.
[577] Ibid., f. 35r.

the Catholic spouse to conversion in case of a too severe attitude was widespread among the missionaries.

In spite of all difficulties and doubts on the part of the Catholic Church, mixed marriages between Muslims and Catholics were an example for peaceful coexistence. The boundaries between Muslim and Catholic communities were not insuperable. It is important to make clear, however, that in Constantinople mixed marriages between Muslim men and Catholic women – at least outside the context of captives – appeared to be far less frequent than in other territories of the Ottoman Empire.

It is not possible to determine the exact number of mixed marriages involving Latin Catholics contracted in Constantinople between the 1660s and the 1760s. Only a small part of the missionaries' activities was reported to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome. Presumably, numerous mixed marriages were contracted by the Latin clergy in Constantinople, or by Orthodox or Protestant ministers, without leaving any traces in the correspondence between the local clergy and the Roman Curia. In fact, the pluri-religious environment offered the Latin Catholics alternative options if they were confronted with an impediment to marriage and contemporarily limited the Latin clergy's influence.

The missionaries' attitudes toward the *mixtae religionis* and *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages were ambivalent. On the one hand, there was the hope of converting the non-Catholic spouse and consequently the couple's children to Catholicism; on the other hand, there was the fear of losing too many Catholics to the Orthodox, Muslim or Protestant community. Whereas, generally, the clergy in Constantinople emphasized the potential benefits of mixed marriages, there were critical voices among the clergy as well, requesting stricter observance of the Roman rules.

In addition, the attitude of the Roman Curiawas everything but consistent. In several cases, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide applied the stricter attitude of the Congregation of the Council, which declared mixed marriages as null because the cardinals of the Holy Office generally adopted the opinion that mixed marriages were valid but illicit. In the complex reality of Constantinople as well as in other confessionally-mixed territories, a more pragmatic attitude was simply inevitable.

7. Funerals in Constantinople: the regular visibility of Latin Catholics in the streets

Funeral rites and more generally rites related to death were of crucial importance both for members of religious communities and for the official representatives of the ecclesiastic hierarchies. As Nicolas Standaert has pointed out in his path-breaking study on the cultural exchange between China and Europe, funeral rites were not only religious ceremonies with sacramental character but also public manifestations and expressions of a community practice.[578] This applies to the case of Constantinople as well, where we find manifold meanings of rituals related to death and burial. Whereas the Extreme Unction represented the actual sacrament, the chapter will not be narrowly confined to the sacramental practice but will take into consideration the set of rituals related to deaths and funerals. As we will see, through funeral rituals the Latin Catholics had regular visibility in the city, which otherwise they had only on the occasions of the most important holidays like Easter or Christmas.

In this chapter, I shall examine the forms of this visibility in the city streets, how the visibility emerged over time, and I shall try to work out if the public character of funeral rituals led to contacts between Latin Catholics and members of other religions and confessions. I shall investigate whether there were specific characteristics of the Latin funerals in Constantinople in the 17th and 18th centuries and whether the directions of the Roman ritual were followed or not. Finally, I shall examine to what extent the members of the clergy had the prerogative of interpreting the funerals and which other actors figured prominently in the shaping of funeral ceremonies. Of particular interest in this regard are the conflicts that could be provoked by the differing visions within the clergy or between members of the clergy and the laity. As in the perspective of the Latin Curia, death and funeral rituals were relevant with regard to the intention of implementing a proper Catholic way of life, it seems appropriate to briefly delineate the development of Latin Catholic funeral rituals before and after the Council of Trent before turning to the other questions.

7.1. The clericalization of death and funeral rituals in the Catholic Church

Catholic funerary rituals had remarkably changed from medieval times to the 17th century. Traditionally, Christian funeral ceremonies were characterized by a high local variety, the lack of written prescriptive texts and the central role of the lay mourners in the rituals. On the contrary, in the 17th century, the central role in the organization and shaping of funeral rituals

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[578] Cf., Standaert, *The interweaving of rituals*.

was held by the members of the Catholic clergy and in particular by the priests and the missionaries who were in charge of the Latin parishes. The clergy's prominent role, developed over centuries, was further strengthened and institutionalized with the Council of Trent. This evolution culminated in the written definition of funerary rituals within the framework of the Roman Ritual. It was distributed and applicable in every diocese of the Roman Catholic world and it contained instructions regarding sacramental celebrations but also regarding processions and benedictions. The Roman Ritual had been commissioned during the Council of Trent, was finally published in 1614 and turned out to be one of the most important prescriptive texts of the universal Latin Catholic church.[579]

The central role of the members of the clergy in the funerary rituals is remarkable. As Philippe Ariès has pointed out, the family and friends of the deceased were no longer the main actors in the funerals, but had to relinquish the leading role to the members of the clergy, in particular to the parish priests and members of mendicant orders, who became the new experts in death and consequently in funerary rituals. At this point, it is not surprising that the main act of a funeral consisted in a Requiem mass in the church.[580]

The post-Tridentine Catholic conception of death and funeral and the rituals related to it has specific characteristics. The fourth and fifth chapters of the Roman Ritual contain information for priests and missionaries concerning their duties in the case of death and the ceremonies after death. It includes instructions for the administration of the sacrament of Extreme Unction, for the visitation of the sick, for the assistance to the dying and finally the accomplishment of the actual funeral rite, the obsequies. Moreover, the Catholic priests found therein information regarding the sequence of the ritual actions, the dress code for the celebrations and, last but not least, the prayers for the different stages of the funerary rituals.[581]

The first of the rituals was the sacrament of Extreme Unction, conferred to Catholics in the last moments of their lives, when death seemed to be imminent. Before the Extreme Unction, sick persons had to confess their sins and receive the viaticum or last communion. Whereas the sacrament of Penance had remission of sins as its purpose, the sacrament of the Extreme Unction was supposed to remove the last remnants of sin from the dying. The oil used had to

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[579] Ibid., pp. 26-36; Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of the Christian burial* (London, 1977), p. 71f.

[580] Philippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris, 1977), p. 161; see also Richard Rutherford, 'Funeral Rites', in in Thomas Carson et al. (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2nd ed., 2003) vol. 6, pp. 30-33; Muir, *Rituals in Early Modern Europe*, p. 31.

[581] Standaert, *The interweaving of rituals*, p. 26.

be consecrated by a bishop and the sacrament could only be properly administrated by a priest.[582]

The emphasis on the existence of purgatory between heaven and hell was probably the most important innovation of the Council of Trent with regard to the sacrament and the rituals of deaths and funerals. Up until the church's effort of catechization from the late 16th century onwards, there had existed only the two options of heaven or hell after death for both believers and the members of the clergy. However, the idea of purgatory as introduced by the Council of Trent was not an early modern invention but had subsisted since early Christian times. Pope Gregory I, known as Gregory the Great, made the most important contribution to the formation of the concept of purgatory in the late 6th century. Those Christians souls who were neither absolutely bad (*non valde mali*) and thus condemned to eternal pain in hell nor absolutely good (*non valde boni*) and thus admitted to paradise, were sent to an intermediate place – purgatory – for a probationary period. During this probationary period in purgatory, the bereaved could intervene with their prayers and actions in favor of those suffering in purgatory.[583]

Thus, the important status of the idea of purgatory in the Latin Catholic Church led to a wide range of intercessory practices and rituals for the suffering souls. There was for instance the possibility to commission masses for the dead, to acquire indulgences, to donate money to the poor and to join confraternities. Of particular importance for the believers was to observe the commemoration of All Faithful Departed on 2 November.[584]

The doctrine of purgatory defined the Latin Catholic position as opposed to the Protestant and Orthodox Churches. Calvinists believed that it was clear immediately after death whether someone was saved and sent to paradise or rather condemned to eternal suffering in hell. Consequently, they rejected the Catholic doctrine of purgatory.[585] With regard to the Eastern Churches, the differences are less radical. For the Orthodox Church, purgatory did not exist, as it was considered an innovation of the Latin Catholic Church. In opposition to the Protestant Churches, the Orthodox Church promoted prayers for the dead.[586]

The confraternities of laymen became another characteristic element of post-Tridentine Latin Catholic funerary ceremonies. The tasks of the confraternities were manifold. In the first place, affiliation with a confraternity was a kind of assurance in relation to the hereafter,

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[582] J.P. Mc Clain and M. Donohue, 'Theology of Anointing of the Sick', in Thomas Carson et al. (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2nd ed., 2003), vol. 1, pp. 480-484.
[583] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort,* p. 153f.
[584] Ibid.; Keith P. Luria, 'Separated by death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional Boundaries in Seventeenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001), pp. 158-222, p. 193.
[585] Luria, 'Separated by death?', p. 194.
[586] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 522f.

insofar as the confrères prayed for the dead and the members were buried in the confraternity's chapel. In the second place, the confraternities collected alms and assisted the poor both spiritually and financially. In the third place, the confraternities warned their members that life could end at any time and coincidentally offered means that could facilitate the transition from this world to the beyond.[587] Members of the secular and regular clergy and confraternities propagated the importance of being prepared for death and introduced new forms of spiritual exercises, which had to be practiced regularly. The second hope connected with these forms of devotion was to be able to defy the danger of the plague and other calamities and thus lengthen one's life.[588]

A further important element of post-tridentine Latin Catholicism was the solemn ecclesiastic procession which brought the corpse from its home to the church. Whereas in ancient times, cemeteries had been located outside the city walls, from the 7th century onwards, they were built around new and previously existing churches and were consequently located in the centres of the cities.[589] Therefore, as a general rule, the processions led from the home of the deceased to the parish church within the same district of the city.

At the head of such a typical procession walked several servers, who carried the cross. They were followed by the members of the clergy, who walked in pairs in front of the coffin and held lighted candles in their hands. Particularly in urban areas, the participation of poor men and women and orphan children with candles and torches was an integral part of the procession. The procession was closed by lay participants who followed silently, deep in prayer.[590]

The funerary processions could vary considerably according to the social status of the deceased. Wealthy Catholics could choose the place of burial. Despite important reservations on the part of the Roman Curia, burials in churches were extremely popular in Catholic Europe up to the second part of the 18th century. In the period after the Council of Trent, the Curia tried to reinforce the interdiction the burial of wealthy lay persons on a large scale in churches. The Curia did not want to allow such burials in the churches because they were usually based on birth privileges and financial or social power instead of piety and virtue. Nonetheless, the Curia did not succeed in implementing the interdiction of church burials. For instance in France, almost fifty percent of the urban population was buried in church at the end of the 17th century.[591] Only in the course of the 18th century, it became less desirable to be

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[587] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, pp. 82-85; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 526.
[588] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 525f.
[589] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, pp. 40-44.
[590] Ibid., p. 165; Standaert, *The interweaving of rituals*, p. 27.
[591] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, p. 53-57.

buried inside the churches. To share the common burial place of the cemeteries with people of lower social status bore witness to the modesty of upper class members. In fact, the number of church burials decreased considerably.[592]

Finally, as an effect of the Council of Trent, one can observe a growing importance of the writing of testaments in the Catholic Church from late medieval times to the end of the 18th century. Writing the last will was not just a private act and was generally certified and implemented by testimonies. In the first place, a testament helped to settle the estate of a deceased person and was thus important to prevent contentions among the heirs. In the perspective of the church, testaments were crucial in order to pass over to eternal life, knowing that the profane things had been regulated. Moreover, it was common practice for wealthy Catholics to donate at least a part of the fortune to the poor members of the community. These works of mercy were supposed to increase the probability of rising to heaven after death. In Europe, testaments were also used by Catholics in order to define the place of burial and to arrange the details of the funerary procession and ceremony.[593]

On the whole, the described elements of the Tridentine Church defined the Roman Catholic position with regard to death and funerary rituals and diverged clearly from the Protestant and Orthodox position. It should be emphasized, however, that the variety of rituals and customs did not end with the distribution of the Roman Ritual but continued to exist contemporarily. There was a clear stress on uniformity but local particularities and ancient customs were difficult to overcome. As will emerge in the following, the members of the Catholic clergy in Constantinople had to deal with the rules of the Ottoman Empire and the broad set of rituals offered by other religious communities.

7.2. Funeral processions and the *campo dei morti* in Constantinople

The analysis of the sources revealed that issues concerning funerals and the related sacraments and rituals were much less an issue in the correspondence between Constantinople, Rome and Paris compared with marriage.[594] Nevertheless, there are manifold interesting elements to highlight concerning the funeral rituals in Constantinople.

A first reference in my sources to the Catholic cemetery in Constantinople can be found in the report of Pietro Demarchis, bishop of Santorini, who visited the city's Latin Catholic

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[592] Ibid., p. 86.
[593] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, pp. 188-190; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 533-536.
[594] The sacrament of Extreme Unction and the related rituals were generally less present in the records of the Holy Office than marriage and baptism. See Pizzorusso, 'Le fonti del Sant'Uffizio', p. 409.

Churches in 1622 on behalf of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. In his report, he primarily pointed to the limitations with which the Latin Catholics had to cope, despite the conceded freedom of worship. The administration of the Extreme Unction was done according to the Roman Ritual but lacked the necessary decency, as it was not allowed to carry a crucifix for the processions of the dead and was forbidden by the Ottoman authorities to bury deceased members of the community in the Catholic Churches: burials could only take place in the common cemetery, which was far away from the churches.[595]

In fact, the cemetery, called '*campo dei morti*' (field of the dead), was situated outside the city walls at the end of the long street winding through the district of Pera. The cemetery had existed already in the 16th century and had originally been destined for the burial of victims of the plague before it became the common burial ground for the Latin Catholics of the city.[596] In the Ottoman Empire, not only the cemeteries of the non-Muslim communities but also the Muslim cemeteries were situated outside the city walls. Until the 1740s, Muslims as well as members of other religious communities needed the sultan's permission in order to bury inside the walls. Correspondingly, only a small number of privileged persons, regardless of their religious affiliation, were buried inside the city walls. Towards the middle of the 18th century, the sultan and the highest Ottoman authorities ceased and the number of tombs within the city increased.[597]

Whereas Demarchis emphasized the restrictions of the Catholic activities, other authors pointed to the great visibility that the Latin community usually had when burying their members. Around the year 1630, the clergyman Mauri della Fratta gave a description of the Latin funeral processions. At the head of the procession walked the members of the regular clergy with torches in their hands. They were followed by the coffin, the family members and friends of the deceased. The procession went through the principal roads of Galata and Pera from the church to the cemetery and was accompanied by religious chants.[598]

It is however remarkable that participants in the Catholic funeral ceremonies could walk with lighted torches, chanting through the streets, considering that it was not given that Latin religious ceremonies could be publicly celebrated in the streets of Constantinople. In fact, processions during the day were generally forbidden by the Ottoman authorities and processions at night-time could only take place with a particular authorization on behalf of the

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[595] Pietro Demarchis, apostolic visitor and bishop of Santorini, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 26.11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, f. 122v).

[596] The cemetery was situated in the area of the present Taksim square. It was removed in the 19th century in the course of the city's expansion. Cf., Marmara, *La communauté Levantine de Constantinople*, pp. 158-164.

[597] Nicolas Vatin, 'L'inhumation *intra-muros* à Istanbul à l'époque ottomane' in Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Les ottomans et la mort. Permanences et mutations* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 157-174, pp. 158-166.

[598] Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Relatione dello stato della cristianità*, pp. 87-89.

Ottoman authorities. At the beginning of the 18th century, the patriarchal vicar Galani pointed for his part to the magnificence of the Latin funeral processions in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire:

> 'The magnificence of the burials of the dead is still remarkable, as they perform the function with lavish expenses according to the possibilities and rank of those involved. All this is done in great liberty, as in Christian territories, except that they do not bear the cross; nor is there any danger of a minimum of insolence on the part of the Turks, but rather they admire the pomp, the order of things and the devotion.'[599]

In the description of Raimondo Galani, we find another interesting element regarding the burial places. Galani wrote that the dead were either buried in the common cemetery or in the Latin churches of the city.[600] As compared to the texts written in the first half of the 17th century, there was a development from a strict prohibition from burying the dead inside the churches to the possibility of doing so in extraordinary cases and to the habitual burial of important members of the community inside the churches towards the end of the 17th century.

For instance, in 1679, the representative of the Habsburg Empire in the Ottoman Empire obtained permission from the grand vizier to bury his predecessor Hoffmann inside the church of St. Francis. In his letter to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome, the patriarchal vicar Gasparini emphasized that the permission for burial inside the churches was very difficult to obtain and that it could be dangerous just to ask for it. However, in this case, continued the vicar, the representative of the Habsburg Empire did not want to follow the customs of the Ottoman Empire and thus asked the vizier for the precious privilege. Against the expectations of the vicar the desired permission was conceded. Gasparini explained the unexpected decision of the Ottoman grand vizier as a show of respect on the part of the Ottoman officials towards the imperial representative and the Emperor.[601]

The same privilege was conceded six years later on the occasion of the death of the French ambassador Guilleragues. The dragomans of the French embassy informed the *caimacam*, the governor of Galata and Pera, of the death of Guilleragues and they wrote to Paris that the Ottoman official had shown consternation hearing the news. The *caimacam* expressed his sorrow for the loss of a valuable and respectable man and immediately sent a messenger to the

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[599] 'E notabile ancora la magnificenza nel seppellir i morti, praticandosi la funtione con spesa grande secondo la possibilità, e qualità delle persone. Il tutto si fa con grande libertà, come nella C[rist]ianità, eccettuato, che non si porta la croce; ne vi è pericolo, che da Turchi si facci minima insolenza, anzi ammirano la pompa, l'ordine, e la divotione.' Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 7.5.1708 (SOCG vol. 562, f. 385v).

[600] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 7.5.1708 (SOCG vol. 562, f. 385v).

[601] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 20.9.1679 (APF, SOCG vol. 477, f. 202r).

grand vizier in order to obtain permission of the same to bury the deceased ambassador inside the church, as chosen by his family. Finally, the late ambassador Guilleragues was buried the day after his death in the church of the French Jesuits, St. Benedict.[602]

The case of the two former ambassadors buried inside the Latin churches with extraordinary permission issued by the grand vizier constitutes further evidence for the prestige the diplomatic representatives of important European powers could enjoy at the Sublime Porte. Moreover, the two examples show that Ottoman law could be very strict but that there was generally room for negotiation. In particular, this was the case if the negotiating partner was prestigious as in the two examples given. Finally, there is evidence for a general relaxing of the regulation towards the end of the 17th century. The changing attitude of the Ottoman authorities towards permission for burial inside Latin churches can be evidenced with a decree issued by the sultan in favor of the Franciscans in 1688. The decree stipulated that the friars were allowed to inter members of the Latin Catholic community inside St. Francis.[603]

Another important reference to burials inside churches is contained in the *Libro Magistrale* of St. Peter and Paul of the Dominicans dating back to June 1699, which listed the main tasks and activities of the Dominican parish. One of the Dominicans' tasks as parish priests was precisely to celebrate the funeral of deceased Latin Catholics. From the text it can be discerned that members of aristocratic and wealthy families could be buried inside the church of St. Peter and Paul.[604] This suggests that burials of prestigious Latin Catholics inside the church St. Peter and Paul were perhaps not frequent but nevertheless an accepted practice.

This impression is confirmed if we move forward to the middle of the 18th century. In his report on the churches, convents and customs of the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople, the patriarchal vicar Francesco Girolamo referred to the general rule that the Latin Catholics were buried in the cemetery outside the city walls. He then mentioned that there were three tombs in St. Peter and Paul of the Dominican parish, where prestigious members of the community could be buried. The Reformed Franciscans had a grave inside their church of St. Mary Draperis, which was well sealed with a marble slab. This grave was used for the burial of persons of outstanding conduct and devotion, or in cases of particular

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[602] French dragoman Fontaine to the court of Louis XIV in France, Constantinople 25.3.1685 (AEP, Correspondance Politique: Turquie vol. 17, f. 119v, 120r).

[603] Gasparo Garparini, patriarchal vicar, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 15.8.1688 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 209r).

[604] Libro Magistrale of St. Peter and Paul written by Antonino Guiducci, Constantinople 1699 (SPP, SP040, f. 47v).

occurrences.[605] As the Dominicans had themselves written in the *Libro magistrale* that prestigious members of the community were buried inside the church and that there were no chapels and graves for single persons as in Europe, we can presume that also the three tombs of St. Peter and Paul were common graves as well. According to Biagio Pauli in 1765, there were graves in the parish churches of St. Peter and Paul, St. Antony of Padua and St. Mary Draperis for parishioners who paid in order to be buried inside the churches.[606]

Different was the situation in the churches of the French Jesuits and Capuchins, where there were tombs for prestigious personalities of French origin or with a strong link to the French *nation*. In the first place, in St. Benedict and St. Louis were the tombs of the French ambassadors who died during their mission to Constantinople.[607] In the church of St. Louis there was moreover the heart of the ambassador Pierre Puchot, seigneur de Clinchamp, marquis et comte des Alleurs, who died in 1716 in Paris and wished his heart to be preserved in the Chapel of the French embassy in Pera.[608] Moreover, St. Louis was the burial place for the inhabitants of the French embassy and of high functionaries of the French ambassador like Pierre Fonton, first dragoman of the ambassador Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes in 1754.[609] Finally, as the superior of the Capuchins in St. Louis pointed out in 1729, Latin Catholics could pay for a burial place in the church.[610]

On the contrary to the ambassadors, the patriarchal vicars of Constantinople and missionaries who died in Constantinople were either buried in the *campo dei morti* or in the communal graves of the parish churches.[611]

It is impossible to find out the actual number of church burials in Constantinople in the 18th century. As a general rule, however, the dead were buried in the cemetery outside the city wall. Nevertheless, occasionally burials in the Latin churches took place: in exceptional cases such as the death of an ambassador in the 17th century, and in the more frequent cases of funerals for prestigious or exemplary members of the community. It appears that in the case of Constantinople, the graves in which several persons without individual tombstones could be buried provided a practicable solution. All in all, the sources suggest that it became less complicated to obtain permission for a church burial from the end of the 17th century onwards.

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[605] Francesco Girolamo, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.8.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 531r-533r).

[606] Hofmann, *Il vicariato di Costantinopoli*, pp. 170-175.

[607] Gabriel-Joseph de Guilleragues was buried in St. Benedict in 1685, Roland Puchot des Alleurs in St. Louis in 1754. Cf. Belin, *La Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 315.

[608] Histoire du cœur du vicomte d'Andrezel à St. Louis (ACP, Série G, Nr. 21-25).

[609] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople,* p. 315.

[610] Etat de la mission de S.t Louis remis au R[évérend] S[eigneur] François d'Hesdin custode qu'en a pris possession le 31.8.1729 (ACP., Série P, Nr. 25).

[611] Marmara, *La communauté levantine de Constantinople*, pp. 391-393.

Moreover, there was the possibility to receive a permanent allowance to bury in the churches with the intervention of a European ambassador. Nevertheless, burials inside the churches remained much less frequent than in Europe in this period.[612]

In the next pages, I shall examine two cases of extraordinarily splendid funerals in Constantinople – the funeral of the imperial representative Hoffmann in 1679 and the funeral of the Croatian countess Ilona Zrínyi in 1703 – and finally the ceremonies for the death of the French queen Maria Theresa in 1684. The examples show how the Latin Catholic elite used the funerals in order to mark its presence in the public space of the city and how funerals could also be a political statement.

7.2.1. For the glory of God and in honour of Christianity: examples of magnificent funeral ceremonies

On September 14th 1679, at three o'clock in the afternoon numerous clergymen, the entourage of the ambassadors from France, Venice, Holland, Ragusa and Genoa together with other gentlemen waited on the shore of Galata for the arrival of the coffin with the corpse of the late imperial representative Hoffman. As the imperial embassy was located in the district of Stamboul on the other side of the Golden Horn, the coffin and the imperial entourage had to be conveyed to Galata with numerous small boats. Once they had landed, 700 torches were distributed and lighted and finally the procession towards the church of St. Francis could begin. It was the eyewitness Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar in Constantinople, who wrote a very detailed report on Hoffman's funeral.[613]

According to Gasparini, the procession was organized in the following way: at the head walked seventy-two janissaries in pairs, dressed in their traditional uniform, followed by two trumpets and twelve squires who were dressed in turquoise liveries and also walking in pairs. After them came twelve squires of the imperial entourage who were dressed in yellow silk liveries and a horse covered with cloth in the sign of mourning. The vicar remarked that the Turks sighed at the sight of the horse. The horse was followed by sixty-six servants and dragomans of the European embassies and eighteen members of the regular and secular clergy who were wearing liturgical garments. The corpse was carried by eight squires in red clothes and chaperoned by the members of Hoffman's family, ten servants in mourning and twelve brothers of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament with torch-lights in their hands. The coffin

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[612] See, Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort,* p. 91.
[613] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople, 20.9.1679 (APF, SOCG vol. 477, f. 202r).

was covered with gold brocade and the corpse was dressed in a *chimere* of brocade, which was lined with a sable, a velvet cap also lined with sable and with a plume covered with diamonds from the emperor's treasure. Moreover, there was a conspicuous silver crucifix between the hands of the corpse. The procession was closed by the commander of the janissaries, the ambassadors of France, Venice, Holland and Poland and their first dragomans together with some secretaries, four members of the Society of Jesus and 126 merchants. Gasparini concludes his description of the procession with a short list of the most eminent absentees: the English ambassador and the French Capuchins. According to the patriarchal vicar, the English ambassador did not participate because of some sort of contention he had with his French counterpart, and the Capuchins wanted to comply with their privileges which exempted them from public functions.[614]

Gasparini continues his description of the funeral narrating the details of the procession all the way through the district of Galata. It lasted two and a half hours and passed for instance by the tribunal of the *voivode* and by several mosques. The streets, shops, doors and windows were crowded with innumerable persons of all nations who sought to get a glimpse of the magnificent procession. As the janissaries led the processions respectfully and orderly, there were no inconveniences at all and the procession was observed in almost complete silence. The only thing to be heard, continued the vicar Gasparini were the sighs of female Christian slaves who could not stop weeping when they saw the crucifix on the corpse and heard the chants of the priests and friars. Gasparini was undecided as to whether they wept for the destiny of the imperial representative Hoffman or for their own misery. When the procession arrived in front of St. Francis, the square was so crowded with curious Turks that the participants of the funeral ceremony had difficulty entering the church. In the church, the

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[614] 'Precedevano a doi a doi 72 Jannizzari con habiti e bastoni segni soliti distintivi di quella milizia; seguivano doi trombetti coperti a bruno, dodici staffieri sempre col med[esim]o ord[in]e, con livree di seta turchini; 12 del Sig[no]re Resid[ent]e a livrea di seta gialla, un cavallo vestito di coroccio (a q[ues]ta vista sospiravano i Turchi), sei seg[retari] de Rep[ubbli]ca Ragusea 4 di Genova, 10 d'Olanda, 16 porta lettere di Venetia, sei seg[retari] del med[esim] o e 10 di Francia, poi l'interpreti, uno di Ragusa doi di Genova tre d'Olanda cinque di Venetia, 3 di Francia. Indi 6 P[ad]ri della famiglia di Terra S[an]ta, doi Riformati, sei Con[ventua]li, 4 Domenicani, il curato di S[an] Franc[es]co con colta stola e piviale, poi con cotta, mozzetta e croce pettorale assistito da cinque preti secolari parim[en]te con cotte. Veniva il cadavere portato da otto staffieri a vicendo con livrea di panno rosso, famiglia del defonto, all'ritorno 10 camerieri del med[esim]o vestiti da lutto, e 12 fratelli della Comp[agni]a del Sanctissimo Sacram[en]to con torce d'esta alle mani; La Bara miravasi ornata di broccato d'oro, il cadavere vestito di zimarra dell'istesso materiale, foderata di zibellini, col culpacco di velluto e zibellini, e pernacchia guarnita di diamanti del tesoro di S[ua] M[aest]à Cesarea, e sopra l'petto fra le mani alla vista di tutti, un crocifisso d'argento ben grande di rilievo; Venivano dopo il cognato del defonto, un interprete cesareo, uno di Polonia, e suo Inviato, l'Interprete primario di cesare col capitan della guardia de Jannizzari, finalm[en]te l'Ill[ustrissi]mo Sig[no]r Residente, li doi Segr[eta]ri di Francia e Venetia, li sotto seg[reta]ri de med[esi]mi, doi Sig[no]ri d'Olanda, 4 P[ad]ri Gesuiti, e 126 Sig[no]ri e mercanti in questa funzione non intervennero gl'Inglesi per qualche competenza con francesi; né li Pri Cappuccini per mantenere i privilegi delle missioni, che dicono, gl'assentino dalle pubbliche funzioni.' Ibid., f. 202r/v, 201r. (The pagination of this letter is unusual. First folio 202r/v, then it continues on folio 201r/v.)

coffin was placed on a raised platform and after the obsequies it was buried in front of the main altar. Gasparini concludes his detailed report with the sentence: 'Everything for the glory of God and in honor of Christianity'.[615]

The reason why the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople Gasparini wrote such a particularized account of Hoffman's funeral is because it was extraordinary in many respects. In the first place, simply the number of the participants of the procession was impressive. Summing the numbers given by Gasparini, it appears that at least 370 persons escorted the corpse carrying 700 torches from the shore of Galata to the church of St. Francis. Furthermore, the procession began at the imperial embassy in Stamboul, the main district of Ottoman Constantinople, and crossed the Golden Horn. This fact is actually worthy of note considering that Latin Catholic public ceremonies usually did not leave the districts of Galata and Pera. Moreover, the participants of the funeral in honor of the imperial representative consisted not only of the political and religious elite of the Latin Catholic community. With the Dutch ambassador and his entourage the representatives of a non-Catholic power were present and, at the same time, the absence of the English delegation was noticed, explained by the vicar with some contentions between the English and the French. This leads to the assumption that Gasparini would have expected the presence of the English *nation* at the funeral and, therefore, that there were principally good relations between the European *nations* also beyond confessional boundaries.

Moreover, the splendor of the liveries, garments and clothes that contributed to the magnificence of the procession was extraordinary compared with usual funeral processions. The conspicuous crucifix in Hoffman's hands is another important detail. In fact, as seen before, it was normally not allowed to show the crucifix in public. The permission to carry a crucifix and to bury Hoffman inside the church of St. Francis, as well as the numerous presences of janissaries indicate the respect that the Sublime Porte showed for the deceased imperial diplomat.

Gasparini's report focuses on the magnificent procession and the curiosity it created among the inhabitants of Galata, in particular among Muslims. Considering the size and splendor of the procession it seems very probable that there was a large attendance in the streets.

In summary, Hoffman's funeral represented a perfect opportunity for the Latin Catholics and the European presence to occupy for a couple of hours and in broad daylight the streets of Galata and to rouse the attention of the public. It is for the same reason that the report of Hoffman's funeral was edited by Georg Hofmann and used for instance by Elisabetta

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[615] 'Tutto a glo[ri]a dil Sig[no]re et honore della Christianità.' Ibid., f. 201r.

Borromeo in order to illustrate that the Latin Catholic community in Constantinople was not confined to the churches.[616]

The burial of Ilona Zrínyi in 1703 represents another interesting case of a funeral procession in Constantinople. Ilona Zrínyi was a Croatian Latin Catholic countess, who had played an active part in the uprising of Hungarian noblemen against the Habsburg Empire. After the defeat of the rebels and the treaty of Carlowitz, Ilona Zrínyi and her husband Imre Thököly, the actual leader of the revolt, had to go into exile. They first lived in Galata and afterwards moved to Nicomedia, where the countess died in February 1703.[617] The corpse of the countess was brought by sea to Constantinople, as she wanted to be buried in the church of the Jesuits of St. Benedict. This time, the event was reported by the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol. Ferriol begins his account with the following words: 'There has been nothing more remarkable since the Turks have been the masters of Constantinople, than what happened at the funeral of the princess Zrínyi', thereby underlining the extraordinariness of the event.[618]

The corpse of the countess was awaited on the shore of Galata by the patriarchal vicar Gasparini who wore pontifical vestments, and the members of the regular and secular clergy. When the corpse arrived, psalms were chanted and then the procession towards the church, which was 2,000 steps away, began. As well as the clergymen, the members of the French *nation* and the household of the French ambassador escorted the corpse of the Croatian countess to St. Benedict carrying large torches made of white wax. The procession crossed several squares crowded with Turks, who, according to Ferriol, showed great respect for the funeral procession. The windows and streets of Galata were so crowded with people observing the procession that Ferriol had the impression that the whole of Constantinople had

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[616] Cf. Borromeo, *Les catholiques à Constantinople*, p. 237f; Hofmann, *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli,* pp. 75-77.

[617] In the second part of the 17th century there were several uprisings in the Hungarian territories. One important force was a troop called Kuruc, which was conducted by Imre Thököly. The troop was allied with the Ottoman Sultan although the final aim of the rebels was a sovereign Hungarian state. During the siege of Vienna Thököly's troops were active in southern Hungary. After the defeat in Vienna, the rebels lost almost all conquered territories. For three years Ilona Zrinyi defended the fortress of Munkács in north-eastern Hungary against Imperial troops and became a heroic figure in Hungary. The treaty of Karlowitz (1699) stipulated that Hungary was part of the Habsburg Empire and Thököly and Zrinyi were exiled to the Ottoman Empire. See Jean Bérenger, 'L'Empereur Léopold Ier et la défense de la chrétienté au début des années 1680', in Tollet, *Guerres et paix en Europe centrale*, pp. 405-426, p. 405f; Bérenger, 'La politique ottoman de la France', p. 112f; Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians. 1000 years of Victory in Defeat* (Munich, 1999), pp. 131-141.

[618] 'On n'a rien veu encore de plus remarquable depuis que les Turcs sont maistres de Constantinople, que ce qui s'est passé à l'enterrement de la P[rince]sse Cekely.' Charles de Ferriol to the French court, Constantinople 1.3.1703 (AEP, Correspondance Politique: Turquie vol. 39, f. 85r). In the source, the countess is called Cekeley corresponding to the French version of the name of the second husband Thököly. In Hungarian her name is written as Ilona Zrinyi, in Croatian as Jelena Zrinska.

come. There was a burial chamber inside the church and on the walls, the emblem of the countess together with the banners of Hungary and Transylvania were attached. According to Ferriol, the church was almost too small for the numerous clergymen and a part of his and Prince Thököly's entourage. The ceremony was performed in great order and freedom corresponding to the kindness and the devotion of the countess Zrínyi. Ferriol concludes his account by underlining that the costs of the funeral ceremonies were very high, that the Prince of Thököly would not have been able to afford it and that he, Ferriol, had offered financial assistance.[619]

The funeral of the countess Zrinyi differed form Hoffman's in several aspects. Whereas the funeral of the internuntius Hoffman could be characterized as a funeral that involved at least the whole Latin Catholic elite, the funeral of the countess Zrinyi appears to have been a French issue.

In fact, the French ambassador shared the costs with the husband of the deceased Zriny, who otherwise would not have been able to bear the expenses of such a pompous funeral. Moreover, it seems that Ferriol had invited the entire French *nation* and the regular clergy to attend the funeral procession, whereas there is no evidence for the presence of representatives of other European powers. The French effort for the funeral can be explained in view of the political contentions between the French king and the Habsburg emperor. As already mentioned before, the countess Zrinyi and her husband Thököly had been important activists in the Hungarian uprising against the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 17th century before they were defeated and exiled to the Ottoman Empire. The Habsburg emperor was the main opponent of the French king at the end of the 17th century and consequently, enemies of the Habsburg such as the couple Zrinyi/Thököly were good allies of the French king who intended to keep an important part of the imperial military forces occupied in Eastern Europe. Louis XIV was in contact with Imre Thököly and other leaders of the Hungarian uprising against Lepold I. The support granted by the French king to the rebels consisted generally in financial assistance and rhetorical professions of sympathy.[620]

Therefore, to bring the corpse of the countess Zrinyi, a heroine in the fight against the Habsburg, from Nicomedia to Constantinople in order to organize a solemn funeral for her in the presence of the entire French *nation* was clearly a political action. As Imre Thököly and Ilona Zrinyi fought for years in alliance with the troops of the Ottoman sultan, the Ottoman authorities had good reason to approve a magnificent funeral and the burial inside a Latin

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[619] Charles de Ferriol to the court of Louis XIV, Constantinople 1.3.1703 (AEP, Correspondance Politique: Turquie vol. 39, f. 85r-86r).
[620] Bérenger, 'La politique ottoman de la France', p. 112; Lendvai, *Hungarians*, p. 132-142.

Catholic Church. More complicated was the position of the patriarchal vicar Gasparini. He celebrated the solemn funeral of a woman who was an ally of the Ottoman sultan against the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the main allies of the Roman pontiff.

Comparing the accounts of the two funerals, the account of the French ambassador Ferriol appears to be very similar to the account of Gasparini twenty-four years earlier. Both emphasize that the streets of Galata were crowded with curious non-Catholics, and in particular with Muslims, who showed respect and seemed impressed by the splendor and solemnity of the Latin Catholic funeral procession. As with the Easter and Corpus Domini processions, the reaction of non-Catholics was used in letters from Constantinople to Rome and Paris as a rhetorical device in order to reinforce the information they wanted to transmit. This message was: if even the Muslims showed respect and were impressed, the funeral ceremony had really been extraordinary.

Likewise, the ceremony for the death of the French queen Maria Theresa in 1684 was organized by the French ambassador Ferriol, who believed that 'it was his duty and of the glory of the French king to celebrate the funerals with all the magnificence possible in a city like Constantinople where all sorts of *nations* lived'.[621] Under the guidance of the ambassador himself, the chapel of St. Louis in the French embassy was decorated with black cloth, the insigna of the queen, fleurs-de-lys and numerous silver candelabrums with white candles, also decorated with the insigna of Maria Theresa. The mass was celebrated according to the ceremonial for crowned heads by the patriarchal vicar Gasparini in the presence of the superiors of the religious orders in Constantinople and all the missionaries who held lighted church candles in their hands. The French ambassador was accompanied by his family, his dragomans, officers and servants as well as by the French merchants. Further funeral services were celebrated in the days after the first ceremony in the churches of the Jesuits, the Capuchins in Galata, the Conventual Franciscans and the Dominicans. For the occasion each church was decorated similarly to St. Louis and accompanied by a choir of missionaries and musicians playing music which had been composed especially for the funeral ceremony. The wife and daughter of Ferriol attended all celebrations together with the dragomans and officers and they were accompanied from the French embassy to the churches by Ottoman janissaries.[622] Ferriol described how the funeral ceremonies were 'followed with admiration

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[621] 'Monsieur le Comte de Guilleragues avant appris la mort de la reine vers le commencement de Fevrier de cette année 1684 par des lettres expresses de la cour, il crut estant dans un pais estranger ou il y a de toutes sortes de nations, qu'il estoit de son devoir et en quelque façon de la gloire du Roy d'en célébrer les funérailles avec toute la magnificence qu'il lui seroit possible dans une ville comme Constantinople, […]' Relation de ce qui s'est passé à Constantinople pour les funerailles de la Reine de France Marie Therese written by Charles de Ferriol, ambassador, undated (AEP, Correpondance Politique vol. 17, f. 21r).
[622] Ibid., ff. 21v-23v.

by the Venetians, English and Dutch as well as by the people of the country like Greeks, Armenians, Jews and a high number of prestigious Turks who had never seen anything similar'.[623]

In the perspective of the French ambassador, the ceremonies for the death of the French queen had two main goals. In the first place, it was an occasion to outline the influence and the prestige of the French king and the French *nation* in Constantinople and, in the second place, the celebrations showed the magnificence of the Catholic Church in close association with the French king. In fact, the whole Latin clergy and all Latin churches were mobilized for the funeral of the French queen.

The funeral processions of the imperial internuntius Hoffman, the countess Zrinyi and the queen Maria Theresa were remarkable events in quantity and quality. However, also more modest funeral ceremonies provided the Latin Catholics with regular visibility in the streets of Galata and Pera and therefore served to attract a broader public to Catholic rites. The procedure was substantially the same, although more humble.

Funeral processions were important opportunities to extend their ritual and religious activities to the public space of Galata and Pera and thus to mark their often precarious presence in the public space. This was important for the small Latin community with regard to the Muslim majority but even more with regard to the Greek Orthodox Church. The magnificence of the processions, repeatedly emphasized by the vicars and ambassadors, was an important element of the Catholic's public presence. One of the main goals was to impress the members of the other confessions and religions with the Latin Catholic splendor. Indeed, the audiovisual impact of such funeral processions with chanting and lighted torches must have been important. The main promoters of such extraordinary funeral ceremonies were the ambassadors, and in particular the French ambassador, whereas the patriarchal vicars and missionaries were the main actors of the actual ceremonies.

Similarly to the Easter and Corpus Christi processions, the funeral processions and ceremonies reflected the importance of the baroque piety dedicated to mass manifestations in the public space.[624]

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[623] 'Les Anglois, les Hollandois, les Venitiens, et les gens du pais comme Grecs, Armeniens, Juifs, et un grand nombre des principaux Turcs y accourrirent et admirerent avec étonnement l'ordre et la dépense bien entendue de ces funérailles à quoi ils n'avoient encore rien vu de semblable.' Ibid, f. 23v.
[624] See Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 359f.

7.3. The sacramental dimension of the funerals

The sacramental dimension of the funeral rituals was of fundamental importance for the post-Tridentine Latin clergy but also for the Latin Catholics. As already mentioned, it was important in the whole Catholic world to be prepared for the passage from this world to eternal life. An essential condition in order to attain salvation was to receive the sacraments, and in particular the last rites connected with death which consisted in confession, viaticum and Extreme Unction.[625] According to the letters written by the clergy in Constantinople, the vast majority of Catholics died after having received the sacraments of the last rites. As written in the letters from Constantinople to Rome and in the parish registers, a person 'passed away equipped with all the sacraments of the church'.[626]

In the *Libro Magistrale* of the Dominicans written at the end of the 17th century we there is a detailed description of the procedure regarding the administration of the last rites. Before going to the sick or moribund Latin Catholic, the parish priests had to assure themselves that the sick person had not received the sacraments of the last rites before. If this was not the case, the parish priest put on his surplice and stole and took with him the holy sacrament, the holy oils and the other liturgical objects needed to prepare a little altar in the sick man's house with the help of a second friar. After the confession, the communion and the Extreme Unction were administered when the patient showed signs of being moribund. As the Dominican author wrote, everything was done according to the Roman Ritual.[627]

This procedure changed slightly during the 18th century. Whereas at the end of the 17th century the priests showed themselves in the streets wearing liturgical clothes, according to the Dominican Vincenzo Calomati, they could no longer do so in the second half of the 18th century. The information on the procedure of the 18th century is provided in the *Libro del Convento,* which was written in 1782 and is comparable with the earlier version regarding the structure. The author of the *Libro del Convento* wrote that the Dominicans would bring the viaticum secretly, under cover and without any light, in order to avoid public attention in the streets. The situation could be particularly problematic if the house of the sick man was far away from the convent in Galata. The Dominicans did not wear the cotta and the stole in the streets and often only brought along the stole because of the problems which could arise among the 'heretic' and 'infidel' populations. The author then explains that only one priest went to the sick man and not two as in 1700. In the eyes of the author, this change reflected

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[625] Ibid., pp. 525-530; Maher, 'Jesuits and Ritual in Early Modern Europe', p. 196f.
[626] 'Passato a miglior vita munito di tutti sacramenti della chiesa.' Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 20.9.1679 (APF, SOCG vol. 477, f. 202r).
[627] Libro Magistrale of St. Peter and Paul written by Antonino Guiducci, Constantinople 1699 (SPP, SP040, f. 46r).

the devotion and the modesty which the administration of the last rites required. Finally, the Dominican acknowledges that they could not follow the Roman Ritual entirely with regard to the last rites. The reason for the non-compliance with the Roman Ritual was not the weak will of the Dominican missionaries but the insurmountable difficulties they were faced with in Constantinople.[628]

Exactly as in the case of baptisms and marriages it is very difficult to say to what extent the situation became more complicated and dangerous for the Latin missionaries in the second half of the 18th century. However, there are several indications that the presence of the Latin Catholics in the streets of Constantinople was more restrained in the second half of the 18th century compared to before the 1750s and during the period of the Tanzimat reforms in the 19th century.[629]

An important aspect of the sacramental practice of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church was represented by the parish registers. The parish registers were kept by the three parish priests of the city, the Dominicans, the Conventual friars and the Franciscan friars, as they were responsible for the administration of the parish sacraments of baptism, marriage, Extreme Unction and burial. This was in conformity with the Council of Trent that had decided that the parishes should become important centres of the devotional life of a Latin Catholic.[630] In addition to the three traditional parishes, the Capuchins were allowed to administer the parish sacraments to the French ambassador, whose family and members of the entourage actually lived in the embassy, and who therefore also kept parish registers.[631]

As already discussed in the chapter on national parishes, the situation of the parishes in Constantinople was complicated and led repeatedly to quarrels between the members of different religious orders and also between the clergy in Constantinople and the Curia in Rome. Until the 1720s, the parishes did not have boundaries and consequently, the Latin Catholics could choose in which parish they wanted to receive the sacraments; as such there existed a kind of competition between the parish priests and other missionaries and member of the clergy.

Repeatedly, the parish clergy drew the attention of the Curia in Rome to the widespread practice of regular and secular priests who used to administer the viaticum and the Extreme Unction to sick members of the Latin community without permission and without referring it to the parish priests. Even worse, they listened to the confession of Catholics affected by any

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[628] Libro del Convento of St. Peter and Paul, Vincenzo Calomati, Constantinople 1782 (SPP, SP042, f. 30r/v).
[629] Schmitt, *Levantiner*, p. 328.
[630] Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation', pp. 51-70.
[631] See chapter 4.2.3.2.

kind of illness and tried then to convince them to receive the viaticum and the Extreme Unction even if the believers' lives were not in danger. Moreover, it was criticized that numerous Catholics received the sacraments of the last rites several times and also in cases of benign diseases. According to the letters of the parish clergy, the last rites were even administered to absolutely healthy women. At the basis of this custom lay the fact that priests who administered the sacraments to the parishioners received alms from the latter and the parish priests in Constantinople relied at least partly on those alms for their support. In their answers, the cardinals of the Roman Curia were adamant that the standards of the Roman Ritual should be observed in the administration of the last rites as well as in the administration of the other sacraments and that they had to be administered only by the parish priests.[632]

Precisely because the Latin clergy insisted heavily on the importance of the last rites in view of the passage to the eternal life, Latin Catholics agreed willingly to receive the sacraments more than once and without life-threatening situations. Presumably, in their eyes, the repetition of the sacrament would only increase its positive effects. However, in the eyes of the clergy, the sacraments had to be administered exactly according to the precepts of the Roman Ritual. Without strict execution, the sacrament was invalid and consequently without effect.[633]

The recurring outbreaks of plague represented one of the most frequent dangers for the population of Constantinople in the 17th and 18th centuries. Whereas at this time the outbreaks of plague became less frequent in Europe, in the Ottoman Empire and in Constantinople as well the plague was still a strong threat for the population.[634] In his travel account, the French botanist and traveler Pitton de Tournefort reported that the plague was one of the major problems for the Constantinopolitan population, that the Ottoman authorities were unable to adopt measures capable of limiting the devastating effects of the plague and for this reason as many as 1,200 people died in one day.[635]

For the members of the Latin clergy, the plague was a double challenge: they were subjected to the plague as every other inhabitant of the city, but they also had the important task of administering the last rites to the moribund suffering from the plague and of

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[632] Cf., Congregatio generalis habita 21 Juli 1664 circa Romaniam (APF, CP vol. 20, f. 100r/v); Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 8.2.1667 (APF, Acta vol. 36, f. 35r); Giuseppe Maria Giustiniani, general vicar of the Constantinopolitan congregation of the Dominicans and parish priest of St. Peter and Paul, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople, February 1670 (APF, SC Romania vol. 1, f. 287r).
[633] Broggio et al., 'Le temps des doutes', p. 7.
[634] Cf. Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 526; Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'Empire Ottoman 1700-1850* (Leuven, 1985), pp. 30-47
[635] Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage*, vol. 1, p. 181.

celebrating the funeral ceremonies. The spiritual assistance of the sick and moribund was undoubtedly one of the main tasks of the members of the Latin Catholic clergy on a normative level. This explains why the neglect of this important pastoral duty was often used in the letters from Constantinople to Rome in order to discredit unpopular members of the clergy or even unpopular religious orders.

A letter written to the pontiff by the French ambassador in Constantinople Charles de Ferriol in 1705 confirms this suggestion. According to Ferriol, the plague was devastating and caused an extremely high number of victims. In these circumstances, the French Capuchins and Jesuits showed an impeccable zeal in favor of the Latin Catholic plague victims. Contrary to the exemplary conduct of the French missionaries, the Italian parish priests would neglect this important task and as a result, numerous Latin Catholics died without having received the last rites. Ferriol proposed that this problem could be solved if the French Capuchins were in charge of the parish in Pera and the French Jesuits of the parish in Galata.[636]

The French demand for the foundation of a parish administered by the Capuchin culminated exactly in the years 1705 and 1706. In fact, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide convoked exceptional sessions in order to discuss the French claim. The failures of the traditional Franciscan and Dominican parishes with regard to the assistance of the plague sufferer constituted an important element in the argumentation of the French ambassador and Capuchins for a French foundation.[637]

On other occasions, the Capuchins were accused for their part of neglecting spiritual assistance during the plague. This time it was the patriarchal vicar Gasparini who wrote to the cardinals in Rome informing them that he had unsuccessfully asked the Dominicans, Capuchins and the Franciscans of the Holy Land for help. Whereas the Conventual Franciscans buried the dead and the Jesuits went to the *bagni* to confess and administer the sacraments to the sick captives, the other orders did not want to intervene, notwithstanding the pressing necessity due to the high number of sick and moribund Catholics. Since the Capuchins were not in charge of a parish, they did not automatically have the obligation to administer the last rites to the sick. However, as the prelate of Constantinople asked them for help, they would have had the same moral commitment as the parish priests.[638]

The tendency of the missionaries to keep away from the sick made the prefect of Propaganda Fide write orders to the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire in 1746. Cardinal

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[636] Congregatio generalis, 15.3.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 48v).

[637] Congregationi Particolari tenute sopra l'eretione della Chiesa de Cappuccini di Cos[tantino]poli in Parrocchia sotto li 24 luglio 1705 e 23 Marzo 1706. (APF, CP vol. 31, f. 143r-199r).

[638] Gasparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 7.10.1686 (APF, SC Romania vol. 3, f. 132r).

Vincenzo Petra expressly underlined that 'it is disgraceful behavior of the missionaries to abandon the plague sufferer without any spiritual assistance and to simply assign a secular priest for the administration of the sacraments to the plague sufferers'.[639] The missionaries, continued cardinal Petra, were actually supposed to increase their zeal and their compassion during the plague in order to distinguish themselves with particular merit. If the missionaries were nonetheless not willing to put their lives at risk in order to not leave the sick parish members without assistance, they had at least to appoint a sufficient number of priests for the administration of the sacraments. However, concluded the prefect of Propaganda Fide, the missionaries who lacked the necessary zeal would be accountable to God for the Latin Catholic who died without receiving the last rites.[640]

This short excerpt is exemplary for the role of the missionaries during episodes of the plague. On a normative scale, the missionaries were expected to expand their spiritual activities but, in practice, a high number of missionaries tried to limit the danger of contracting the plague by avoiding contact with sick persons. It appears that the prefect of Propaganda Fide was aware that it was unlikely that this situation would change radically with his instructions; and for this reason, he proposed a remedy. If the missionaries could assure that not even one Latin Catholic died without the last rites by appointing enough priests, then they could refrain from visiting the sick. The main objective of the Curia was clearly to assure that every single Latin Catholic died after having read the last rites.

The members of the regular order were not exempt from the danger of contagion. In particular the Jesuits, who administered the last rites to the captives in the *bagni*, and the parish clergy, who was for the same reason in constant contact with the sick, complained regularly of the losses in their convents and asked the Curia in Rome to send new missionaries to replace the victims of the plague.[641]

In Constantinople as elsewhere, there was no efficient remedy against the plague in the 17th and 18th centuries. The only possibility to escape the danger of contagion was to leave the city of Constantinople and stay in the rural areas until the plague abated. The privilege of having a second house in the countryside was reserved for the elite of the population and in this case to the elite of the Latin Catholics. As a member of the Latin clergy wrote in 1733, ambassadors, consuls and important collaborators, such as for instance the first dragomans could escape

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[639] Istruzione ai Missionari di Levante circa l'assistenza agl'Appestati, Battesimi, Matrimoni, Pubblicazioni, Stato libero etc., Rome 14.5.1746, Vincenzo Petra, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar of Constantinople (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchica vol. 3, p. 40).

[640] Ibid.

[641] Cf. for instance, Congregatio generalis 27.7.1694 (APF, Acta vol. 64, f. 132r/v); Congregatio generalis 20.3.1696 (APF, Acta vol. 66, f. 69v); Congregatio generalis 12.2.1704 (APF, Acta vol. 74, f. 33r/V); Congregatio generalis 18.7.1718 (APF, Acta vol. 88, f. 408v).

from the city. As the members of the Latin Catholic elite did not want to remain without spiritual assistance, they asked to employ the spiritual services of the missionaries who acted as chaplains.[642] Different was the situation of the less privileged members of the community who had to stay in Galata and Pera. For instance in 1743, the household of the French ambassador was heavily struck by the plague with seven deceased servants. The patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona who furnished this information also emphasized that every kind of commerce was prevented because of the plague.[643]

Another remedy against the plague, which corresponded to the classical forms of devotion at the beginning of the 18th century, was proposed by the Capuchins in Constantinople. They intended to found a confraternity dedicated to St. Roch, who was traditionally invoked against the plague in the chapel of St. Roch of their church in Galata. The Capuchins wanted to plead for St. Roch's help against the plague, which affected the city of Constantinople frequently.[644]

However, in the course of the 18th century, more practical measures were undertaken by the patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona in 1738 in order to reduce the risks of contagion. He wrote and distributed an order among the members of the clergy in Constantinople. In the instruction, the patriarchal vicar expressing his conviction according to which a good pastor was not only responsible for the spiritual but also for the physical health of his fold. Consequently, he wanted to avoid the high risks of contagion represented by the large crowds of members of the clergy and family members of the deceased, which were typical for the funeral ceremonies. For this reason, the vicar ordered that during episodes of the plague, the bodies of the dead were to be transported privately and without the participation of the clergy, with the exception of the parish priest, to the cemetery. Afterwards, it was at the family's discretion to order a solemn funeral mass in the church with numerous participant and pomp, as was usually the case.[645]

All in all, the plague represented one of the major challenges for the population of Constantinople during the 17th and 18th centuries. The main offer of the Latin Catholic Church consisted in administering the last rites to the moribund believers and in burying the dead.

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[642] Congregatio generalis 1.6.1733 (APF, Acta vol. 103, f. 215r).

[643] Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 14.10.1743 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 149v/150r).

[644] Congregatio generalis 14.6.1706 (APF, Acta vol. 76, f. 146r). The cardinals of Propaganda Fide agreed with the foundation of the confraternity.

[645] Francesco Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar, Dispositioni relat[ivi] alla Peste, Constantinople 1.112.1738 (ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia vol. 3, p. 48). A copy of the instruction can be found in the archives of the convent of St. Maria Draperis in Istanbul (SMD, Copie delle decisioni, lettere pastorali e indulti quaresimali diretti alla venerabile Parrocchia di Santa Maria Draperis dai Reverendissimi vicari patriarcali 1725-1887, p. 1).

This means they used the remedies of the church in order to facilitate the passage from this world to eternal life. In the 18th century, this offer was extended to spiritual and secular measures, which were supposed to also have prophylactic effects. Although pastoral care was theoretically at the centre of missionary activity during the plague, numerous members of the clergy were rather occupied with assuring their own survival. This discrepancy between normative prescriptions and the actual behavior of the missionaries on the spot was then used within the clergy as a tactic for delegitimizing opponents.

In the next pages, I shall finally analyze to what extent funeral rituals led to interreligious contacts or to the adoption of elements which were not part of the Latin Catholic tradition.

7.4. Funerals and inter-religious contacts

The apostolic visitor Demarchis wrote in 1622 that Latin Catholic women used to call female wailers, *lamentatrici,* for the funerals of their family members. Demarchis prohibited this custom explicitly and threatened the parish priests with three months' suspension if they celebrated a funeral in the presence of wailers.[646] As the custom was again mentioned in the letters from Constantinople in the 1660s, it can be presumed that the prohibition was not implemented successfully. In fact, the patriarchal vicar Bonaventura Teoli sent a whole list of improper actions carried out regarding the funeral rites to the cardinals in Rome. According to Teoli, the procession over the distance of three miles from the Latin district of Galata to the cemetery was not long enough for numerous Latin Catholics, who wanted to make a long detour within Galata in order to pass by the largest number possible of houses of the district. The same procedure was claimed during the plague, despite the danger of becoming infected. Moreover, according to the vicar Theoli, there was a widespread habit of crossing Turkish cemeteries chanting the requiem and of calling Jewish wailers not only for the wake in private houses, but also for the actual burial in the cemetery.[647]

In their answer to the patriarchal vicar Teoli, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide underlined that the custom of crossing Turkish cemeteries with Latin Catholic funeral processions was absolutely unacceptable and that the vicar had to ensure that it was stopped. With regard to

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[646] Pietro Demarchis, apostolic visitor and bishop of Santorini, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 26.11.1622 (APF, Visite vol. 1, f. 139v).
[647] Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 16.3.1660 (APF, SOCG vol. 277, f. 79v).

the participation of Jewish wailers, the Holy Office had to be consulted in order to define the appropriate measures.[648]

From a letter written by Teoli after his retirement from the office of patriarchal vicar in 1664 we know that he was confronted with strong resistance when he tried to enforce the prohibitions. Teoli reported that he had succeeded in removing the custom of crossing Turkish cemeteries with firmness and determination but that before the members of the Latin community accepted it, they had threatened to use the authority of the Ottoman *qadi* against him. On the contrary, he did not have the same success with regard to the Jewish wailers. He had tried to remove the custom by means of the confessors but, as, according to Teoli women were more obstinate than men, he did not attain the success he hoped for.[649] As a consequence of this failure, Teoli's successor, Andrea Ridolfi was informed that he had to eradicate the custom of the Latin women to call Jewish wailers for funeral ceremonies because it was completely inappropriate.[650]

Presumably, the custom of calling female wailers was difficult to eradicate because professional wailers had been an important element in funeral ceremonies for centuries. Whereas in Europe, the tradition disappeared in the late Middle Ages, in the Mediterranean it persisted until Early Modern times.[651] For instance, among the Maronites in the Syrian provinces, the tradition of calling expert wailers persisted even up to the beginning of the 18th century.[652] The fact that in the 1660s the Latin women called Jewish wailers was probably due to the fact that the tradition of wailers was strong in the Jewish community and the wailers were thus the actual 'specialists' for funeral ceremonies.

As there is no further evidence in the sources for this custom after 1664, it can be presumed that the Jewish wailers disappeared from the Latin funeral ceremonies in the second half of the 17th century. It is more difficult to say why the Latin Catholics made a habit of crossing Turkish cemeteries during funeral processions, all the more as, according to the patriarchal vicar, there was no necessity of doing it but it was just a display of magnificence.[653]

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[648] Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar in Constantinople, Rome 26.6.1660 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 101r, f. 106r).

[649] Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 4.2,1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 279, f. 271r/v).

[650] Antonio Barberini, prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar in Constantinople, Rome 1.3.1664 (APF, Lettere vol. 40, f. 323v).

[651] Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, p. 145.

[652] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 532.

[653] Bonaventura Teoli, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, 4.2,1664 (APF, SOCG vol. 279, f. 271r).

At the beginning of the 18th century superstitious practices regarding funeral ceremonies were reported by the patriarchal vicar Raimondo Galani. Participants of funeral ceremonies did not go to see friends or family members whilst returning from the cemetery to their houses because they were afraid of bringing ill luck to them. Moreover, continued the vicar, after a funeral returning participants stepped over the door sill, made a few steps into the house, returned to the door and finally entered the house. Galani intended to eradicate such and similar superstitions with the help of predication, confession and catechism.[654] In this case it is not known whether only the Latin Catholics practiced these rituals or whether they were part of an inter-confessional set of practices.

It is worth noting here that practices such as those described by Galani were widespread also among the Catholics in Europe. The basis for this kind of practice was the constant menace of the living environment in the medieval and early modern world. Magical or, in the perspective of the Roman Curia, superstitious practices could canalize fears about the uncertainty of the existence in this world into concrete actions.[655] The fact that the Latin Catholics attended a Catholic funeral ritual and made use of some kind of magical practice in order to avoid adversities soon after the religious ceremony was emblematic for the Early Modern Catholic world. There was actually no clear frontier between religious and superstitious practices among the members of the Catholic community.[656]

There are cases of Catholics who called for Greek priests in the case of illness instead of calling for the Latin missionaries. Consider, for instance, the case of the wife of a French merchant which almost led to conflicts between the patriarchal vicar Raimondo Galani and the Greek authorities in 1711. The woman, who was of Greek origins, called a Greek priest during a severe illness in order to confess her sins and to receive the sacrament of the Extreme Unction. When the patriarchal vicar heard about it, he went to the French ambassador Ferriol who reported the story to the French cardinal de la Tremoille in Rome, and asked for a decree on the part of the ambassador, which would have prohibited the French members and protégés of the Latin community from calling Greek priests for the last rites. Moreover, the vicar wanted to publish the decree in every Latin church of Constantinople. Ferriol proposed to desist from the publication of the decree and to remedy with the help of the Latin confessors but the patriarchal vicar published the prohibition anyway. Galani prohibited the Latin

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[654] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 7.5.1708 (APF, SOCG vol. 562, f. 387r).

[655] See for instance Britta Echle, 'Magisches Denken in Krisensituationen', in Hartmut Lehmann and Anne-Charlotte Trepp (eds), *Im Zeichen der Krise. Religiosität im Europa des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 189-201.

[656] Ibid.

Catholics of Galata and Pera from calling for Greek priests for prayers and the administration of sacraments and also from attending Greek ceremonies, which the Greek clergy practiced in the surroundings of Constantinople. Those who did it anyway risked being excommunicated. Ferriol concluded his report by emphasizing that the publication of the prohibitions could have awful consequences for the Latin community in a city like Constantinople as well as in other cities in which Latin missionaries were active. According to Ferriol, the patriarch of Alexandria who was occasionally in Constantinople heard of the decree and told the French ambassador that it had caused irritation among the Greek authorities.[657]

The harsh reaction of the patriarchal vicar suggests that it was not the first case in which a Latin Catholic called for a Greek priest or attended Greek ceremonies. The woman in question in this case was of Greek origins. In the perspective of the patriarchal vicar she was part of the French, and thus belonged to the Latin community of Constantinople after she had married a French Catholic. Nevertheless, the episode illustrates that her relations to the Greek community had remained tense. She lived between the Greek and Latin communities and for her the decision of calling a Greek instead of a Latin priest was probably a spontaneous decision taken on the spur of the moment. She knew the Catholic as well as the Greek offer and opted for the Greek one. Similarly, the Greek offer of religious ceremonies could attract local Latin Catholics who shared everyday life with the members of the Greek community. Unfortunately, the sources do not say what kind of Greek ceremonies were attended by members of the Latin community and whether the custom of attending Greek ceremonies was limited to persons with family links to the Greeks or whether the Greek spiritual offer was also attractive for the whole Latin community. Considering what has been said so far, we can presume that the case was stronger in the 17th than in the 18th century. Because of linguistic barriers it is unlikely that European Latin Catholics attended Greek ceremonies.

Following Bernard Heyberger, the local customs illustrated in this chapter and previously in the chapter concerning marriages could also be explained with a set of common practices which was shared not only by different Christian communities but also by Muslims and Jews and which tended to disappear with the intensified activities of European missionaries towards the end of the 17th century.[658] As the mentioned customs no longer appear in the missionaries' letters from Constantinople from the last decades of the 17th century onwards, we can presume that the development was similar in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire.

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[657] Charles de Ferriol, French ambassador, to cardinal de La Tremoille in Rome, Constantinople 1.6.1711 (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 192v-193v).
[658] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 155-180.

Different forms of crossing religious boundaries will also be at the centre of the next chapter.

8. The crossing of religious boundaries in Constantinople

Changing religious belief, rituals and at the same time social practices was the most evident case of crossing religious boundaries in Constantinople as well as elsewhere. Especially in the sociological context, conversions are normally defined as a fundamental turning point in the life of an individual. In this perspective conversion implies a radical change from one system of belief to another.[659] Recent historical research has brought to light a far more complex reality. Cases of religiously motivated conversions did exist but often other elements played a more important role in the decisions of individuals. For instance a specific social context, familial tensions or political and economic ambitions could lead persons to convert to another religion. Furthermore, in the majority of the cases conversion did not lead to a complete break with the original religious belief and values. On the contrary, conversions often led to religious ambiguity, partial assimilation and multiple conversions.[660]

It has been underlined by Mercedes García-Arenal that the Ottoman Empire is a particularly favourable region for the study of conversions. On the one hand the pluri-religious society of Constantinople and several other regions of the Ottoman Empire and, on the other hand, the relative religious tolerance of the Ottoman sultans promoted inter-religious contacts and, at the same time, conversions. Moreover, mobility was an essential aspect which could promote conversions. The Ottoman Empire as well as Europe were worlds on the move particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries. By travelling, men and also women crossed cultural and religious borders and entered into contact with different religions.[661] A part from geographical mobility, in the Ottoman Empire social stratification was less rigid than European societies at the time and thus offered a set of possibilities to non-Muslims converting to Islam.[662]

This social and religious fluidity was in contrast to the ambitions of the authorities of Christian churches which were striving for religious demarcation. In fact, one of the main aims of the Latin missionaries was to prevent the Latin Catholics from changing their religion.

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[659] Kim Siebenhüner, 'Conversion, mobility and the Roman inquisition in Italy around 1600', *Past and Present* 200/1 (2008), pp. 5-35, p. 29f.

[660] See Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions'; Claire Norton, 'Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire', *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 7 (2007), pp. 25-39; Siebenhüner, 'Conversion, mobility and the Roman inquisition'; Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation'; Frauke Volland, 'Konfession, Konversion und soziales Drama: ein Plädoyer für die Ablösung des Paradigmas der "konfessionellen identität"', in Kaspar von Greyerz et al. (eds), *Interkonfessionalität-Transkonfessionalität-binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität* (Gütersloh, 2001), pp. 91-104.

[661] See Ricarda Matheus, 'Mobilität und Konversion: Überlegungen aus römischer Perspektive', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 85 (2005), pp. 170-213.

[662] García-Arenal, 'Introduction', in Idem, *Conversions islamiques*, p. 13

Not only ecclesiastic but also secular authorities tried increasingly to control the religious affiliation of their subjects. For Latin Catholics living in their small community a conversion to the larger and more powerful Orthodox or Muslim community could imply an improvement in economic situation and, furthermore, could guarantee access to a series of privileges. This option was particularly interesting for Ottoman subjects but nevertheless could also appeal to European Catholics who wanted to start a new life – *rifarsi una vita* – in the Ottoman Empire.

As regards the conversion of non- Catholics to Catholicism, it should be specified that Ottoman law limited the apostolic action of the Catholic Church. In the capitulations between Mehmed II and the Genoese of Galata stipulated after the conquest of the city in 1453, the Sultan acknowledged freedom of worship to the Latin Catholics with certain constraints, including the strict interdiction to proselytise among the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire.[663] The activities of the Curia in the territories of the Ottoman Empire were based on these capitulations. As any kind of proselytism was forbidden, the action of the Catholic Church was limited to assisting the Christian minority: especially to Latin Catholics but also to unified Oriental Churches, 'schismatic' – members of the Greek Orthodox Church –, and 'heretics' – members of Protestant Churches. The reconciliation of Greek-Orthodox and Armenians to the Catholic faith was an important aim of the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. They were not very successful in achieving this aim, but their attempts nevertheless led them into conflicts with the Ottoman and the Orthodox authorities.[664]

It is, however, important to understand that conversions were only one possible consequence of interreligious contacts. In many other cases these contacts led rather to trans-communal experiences than to conversions. The close cohabitation of members of different religions promoted the borrowing of social practices and the sharing of customs among persons of different religious affiliation.[665]

With regard to the Latin Catholics in Constantinople we have already seen in the chapters about baptism, marriage and death rituals that there were numerous cases of shared practices between members of different confessions and religions. One further example of such practices involves the local Latin women, who not only celebrated Catholic holy days but also Greek Orthodox holy days:

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[663] See Villapadierna, 'La Sagrada Congregación', p. 496.

[664] Lucette Valensi emphasizes that the religious identities acquired at birth were strong and that thus conversions were rare. Cf. Valensi, 'Inter-Communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 255.

[665] Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions'; Norton, 'Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 25-39; Siebenhüner, *Conversion, mobility and the Roman inquisition;* Valensi, 'Inter-Communal relations and changes in religious affiliation'; Volland, 'Konfession, Konversion und soziales Drama'.

'The Latin women worship not only our holy days, and on the right day, but also the holy days of the Greek rite and the shared [holy days, LB] on the days of the Greek. On the contrary, the Greeks never observe our holy days and so they hold the supremacy for false credence.'[666]

Interestingly, the main problem the Patriarchal vicar saw in this custom was that the members of the Greek Orthodox community did not celebrate the Catholic holy days. The Vicar feared that this constellation could reinforce the claim of supremacy on the part of the Greeks. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided that this practice could be tolerated as long as only Latin women took part in the celebrations of the Greek community.[667]

This practice evidences that local Latin women were in contact with women of the larger Greek Orthodox community in their everyday life. Celebrating religious holy days together with the latter presumably had social reasons. More important than specific religious content was the experience of shared sociability. Important holidays like for instance Easter or Christmas were celebrated publicly in the streets of Galata and Pera and were thus also important social events. The desire of Catholic women to share key moments of the Greek community with which they were closely linked was probably the main reason for this practice. Whereas women had an important role in the social life in Galata and Pera, in the eyes of the cardinals in Rome, their role was of minor importance. Decisive was the conduct of Latin men. It seems however unlikely, that Latin men did not get involved in any way in the celebrations of Greek holy days.

As mentioned before, in 1606 the Gregorian calendar was introduced to the Latin community in Constantinople and this decision had the consequence that Latin and Greek religious holy days no longer took place on the same day. At this moment in time, the members of the *Magnificent Comunità di Pera* were contrary to innovation exactly because it would increase the barriers between the members of the different confessions.[668] According to the letter by Ridolfi, the local Latin Catholics had continued also to contrast the prohibition on behalf of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide to celebrate the holy day together with the Greek community, which demonstrates once again how difficult it was to implement innovation that had been decided in Rome in the actual local context.

This example demonstrates as well as the numerous other examples that Latin Catholics were in constant contact with members of other religions and that they were aware of the

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[666] 'Le Donne Latine santificano non solo le n[ost]re feste, e nel prop[ri]o giorno, ma anche le feste del rito greco, e le comuni nei giorni dei Greci. Per il contrario i Greci non osservano mai le feste secondo il nostro, e così si stabiliscono nella loro falsa credenza di primato.' Congregatio generalis 4.2.1664 (APF, Acta vol. 33, f. 33v).
[667] Ibid., f. 34v.
[668] Belin, *Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 168f.

traditions of others. Furthermore, the religious communities used to celebrate the main holy days on the streets of the city's districts and to be part of it was important for the social life of the Catholics. Thus, it appears that in Galata and Pera in the second half of the 17th century, the religious boundaries were still rather permeable and as such the local *marges de manoeuvre* were notable, conversions not being the only possible form of crossing religious boundaries.

In this chapter I will briefly outline the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches. In the centre are thereby the relations with the Greek Orthodox Church. After discussing very briefly the different reasons which could urge Latin Catholics to convert to Islam I shall focus on one particular aspect related to conversions: the phenomenon of the veneration of martyrs for the Christian faith. On the basis of some particularly interesting cases I will highlight the role of the Latin missionaries and vicars in Constantinople as well as the interactions between Rome and Constantinople. Moreover, the veneration of martyrs enables us to also gain some insight into the relations between the different religious communities.

8.1. Becoming 'Frank' in Constantinople: Contested conversions to Catholicism

In her study on conversions to Catholicism in the Middle East, Lucette Valensi arrives at the conclusion that the number of members of the Eastern Churches who converted to Catholicism was insignificant. According to Valensi between 1627 and 1767 in the Palestinian provinces the annual number of conversions to Catholicism recorded by the Franciscans was between eight and eighteen persons a year.[669] The situation in Constantinople appears to be similar with regard to the Greek Church, whereas there was a high number of Catholic Armenians in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, who were repeatedly subject to persecutions on behalf of their patriarch and the Ottoman authorities. The reasons for the hostile attitude of the Ottoman authorities towards conversions to Catholicism can be found in the communal organisation of the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. The non-Muslim subjects were registered in their *ta'ifa* – called *millet* in the 19th century. This communal organisation assured the collection of taxes for the sultan and at the same time the judicial, religious and educational circumscription of the non-Muslims.[670] Thus, if an Ottoman subject changed religion it contemporarily changed his community of affiliation in the Ottoman system. As the

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[669] Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 254.
[670] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient,* p. 63-67; Valensi, 'Inter-Communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 260f.

Latin Catholics depended on a foreign and also hostile power, the Roman pontiff, they were not one of the officially accepted religious communities of the Ottoman Empire.[671]

One of the main aims of the Roman Curia with regard to religious missions in the Ottoman Empire after the Council of Trent consisted in the reconciliation of the 'schismatic' Eastern Churches with the Roman Catholic Church.[672] For instance in 1678 the secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith Urbano Cerri wrote that the struggle against heresy and schism had to be the main field of activity for the Latin missionaries in the different territories of mission. In a further report in 1765 this normative claim remained almost unchanged.[673]

At the beginning of the 17th century, when the Latin missions became more important in Constantinople, the relations between the Greek and Latin Churches were characterized by general cooperation in the Ottoman Empire.[674] In particular the Jesuits and Capuchins were very active in their attempts to achieve the union of the Greek Church with Rome. Their strategy consisted in working with individual Orthodox Christians and often with members of the Orthodox elite in order to pursue their goal. Furthermore, in the 17th century, the schools of the Jesuits and Capuchins were attended not only by Latin Catholic boys but also by Greek boys.[675] It is not a coincidence that the form of education offered by the Latins was particularly interesting for members of the Greek elite. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the Greek Church had lost its places of higher education and struggled in the following century in order to rebuild the education system anew. For this reason, until the first half of the 17th century, the Latin Catholic and Protestant higher education available in Europe remained appealing to the Greeks. Emblematical for the European influence on the Greek hierarchy is the struggle between the two patriarchs Kyrill Lukaris and Kyrill Kontaris in the first half of the 17th century. Whereas Kyrill Lukaris had close relations with Calvinist Geneva, Kyrill Kontaris had studied in the school of the Jesuits in Constantinople.[676]

This situation changed during the second half of the 17th century, when the position of the Greek Orthodox Church was strengthened with the development of a new Greek elite, the Phanariotes.[677] To prevent members of the Greek community from converting to Catholicism was critically important for the Orthodox elite and they were successful in doing so. In their

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[671] Valensi, 'Inter-Communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 261.
[672] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 232f.
[673] Ibid., p. 230-232; Valensi, 'Inter-Communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 260.
[674] Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Das wechselvolle Verhältnis zwischen den Kirchen des Ostens und des Westens im Laufe der Kirchengeschichte* (Würzburg, 1996), p.84f.
[675] Dursteler, 'Education and identity', p. 297f; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 82-84.
[676] Suttner, *Das wechselvolle Verhältnis zwischen den Kirchen des Ostens und des Westens*, p. 73f.
[677] Suttner, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kirchenunion*, p. 239.

argumentation, the Latin missionaries pursued a subversive policy against the Ottoman sultan by asserting that the conversion to Catholicism was equivalent to becoming 'Frank'. Becoming 'Frank' meant being exempted from paying the poll tax for non-Muslim subjects and thus basically leaving the Ottoman society by changing citizenship while continuing to live in the Ottoman Empire.[678]

Whereas the Capuchins and Jesuits were rather optimistic with regard to the union of the Catholic and Greek churches at the beginning of the 17th century, one hundred years later the members of the Latin clergy in Constantinople were generally rather sceptical about the possibility of reconciling the Orthodox Church with Rome. Members of the Latin clergy used to characterize the members of the Greek Orthodox community as being extremely hostile towards the Latin Church. This view is well expressed in the report of the Apostolic Visitor David di San Carlo in 1700:

> 'As far as the rest of the Greeks are concerned, these lead a scarcely better life than the Turks, actually, in some things even more scandalous because they are not very devout and negligent in frequenting the Church on holy days; since on working days almost no-one goes [to church, LB], they are given to drinking wine and iniquitous deeds; [….] they are perfidious towards the Latins, liars, malignant and deceitful and in all this it emerges that of their Greek faith their Bishops, Priests and Monks are most ignorant, knowing not how to read and the prayers are learned by heart when children without understanding what they say; they are most conceited but yet just as cowardly in spirit and despicable; [….] Only a very few of them are really Catholics, also for the hate and aversion they demonstrate towards the Latins [….]. From all that is said above it can be seen how difficult is the Union of the Greek Church with the Latin, notwithstanding some have claimed to represent this as easy and feasible, and in these times I judge it to be morally impossible [….].'[679]

In this extract it is possible to identify widespread concepts used by Latin clergymen to describe the Greek Orthodox community: the Greeks lived scandalous lives, were perfidious, ignorant and driven by hate towards the Latin community, which made a Union impossible. In

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[678] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 155f; Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 261.

[679] 'In quanto al restante de Greci, questi menano una vita poco migliore de Turchi, anzi in alcune cose più scandalosa p[er]che sono poco devoti, e negligenti in frequentare le Chiese ne giorni festivi; poiché ne giorni di lavoro quasi nessuno si accosta; sono molto dediti al vino et al vitio nefando; […], sono p[er]fidi contro li Latini, bugiardi, maligni doppi et ingannatori, et in tutto si verifica di loro Greca fides li loro Vescovi Preti, e Monaci sono ignorantissimi non sapendo neppur leggere, e le orationi, che fanno le imparano a mente da fanciulli senza intendere ciò che dicono; sono superbissimi ma altrettanto d'animo vile, e obietto; […] In pochiss[i]mi si fanno veram[en]te Cattolici; si p[er] l'odio et anco avversione che hanno alli Latini […]. Da tutto il sopra detto si può scorgere quanto difficile sia l'Unione della Chiesa Greca colla Latina, con tutto che qualcheduno habbia preteso rappresentarla facile, e fattibile, ed in questi tempi la stimo moralm[en]te impossibile […].' David di San Carlo to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 3.8.1700 (APF, SC Romania vol. 4, f. 36r-37r).

his report the Apostolic Visitor emphasized the distance between Catholics and Greek Orthodox. As already mentioned in the first part of the chapter, in the daily lives of Latin Perots the contours of this distance are not so sharp at the beginning of the 18th century. There are two main reasons for the negative attitude of the Latin clergymen against the Greek Orthodox Church. In the first place, the hopes of the Latin clergy in Constantinople as regards the success of reconciling members of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome foundered. But probably more important was the close relation of the Orthodox elite with the highest rank of the Ottoman administration. As the Greeks acted as dragomans at the Sublime Porte their influence on the Ottoman officials, Viziers and sultans was remarkable. Between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuies, Greek patriarchs and other dignitaries accused Latin missionaries several times of conspiring against the sultan by trying to win Ottoman subjects over to Catholicism.[680]

For example, in 1702 the sultan issued a decree to his regional officers. He ordered that Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte should not have the permission to convert to Catholicism and to leave their original community. The administrators had to observe the activity of Latin clergymen who were present in the Ottoman Empire. These clergymen were accused of having tried to seduce and deceive members of the Greek, Armenian and other Eastern Churches in the name of the pope to whom they were closely linked. Those who had already changed denomination were forced to go back to their original religious community.[681] He continued by stating that the missionaries had disseminated turmoil among his subjects and they had come to his Sublime Porte in order to complain about the Latin missionaries.[682] Also the end of the imperial decree is of particular interest: the sultan commanded that his officers should identify those Latin clergymen who acted against this prohibition, register their names and send the information to the Sublime Porte. He then underlined that his provincial officers were responsible for the material integrity of the Latin clergymen. Whoever tried to use the pretext of prohibited proselytism for taking money and other material property of the priests risked being punished.[683] With this emphasis on the personal and material integrity of the Latin clergymen, the sultan confirmed the existent capitulation with the French king which guaranteed freedom of movement and protection for Latin priests and missionaries.

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[680] Cf. Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation', p. 61.
[681] Tradutione del Commandamento del Gran Sig[no]re, Adrianopoli gli ultimi di Sefer 1114, che vuol dire alla Christiana verso 20.7.1702, (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 26r.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.

The moment in which this decree was issued is not casual. In the last years of the 17th century and the first years of the 18th century, a growing number of Catholic Armenians lived in Constantinople. The reconciliation of numerous Armenians with Rome led to conflicts with the authorities of the Armenian Apostolic Church and also of the Greek Orthodox patriarch in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.[684]

The offer of education of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Constantinople was initially the main reason for the numerous conversions of Armenian bankers and merchants to Catholicism. However, the position of the Catholic Armenians was particularly difficult as they did not have their own churches and thus had to worship in Catholic Churches or in their private homes and, furthermore, they were forced to go to the Armenian Apostolic Church for baptisms, marriages and burials. This situation led to complicated situations of *communication in sacris*.[685] The complex situation was reported in 1720 by the patriarchal vicar Giovanni Battista Mauri who estimated that 20,000 Catholic Armenians lived in Constantinople, of whom 5,000 attended exclusively the Latin Catholic churches, 9,000 attended both, the Latin Catholic and Armenian Apostolic Churches and finally 6,000 were secret Catholics, who never entered a Latin Catholic church.[686]

This situation was unsatisfactory for both sides and therefore, in the first half of the 18th century, the relations between the Latin Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic Church further deteriorated. This development is reflected in other decrees issued by the Catholic and Ottoman authorities. In 1722, the ottoman sultan Ahmed III published a decree which forbade his subjects to convert to Catholicism and ordered those who had already converted to return to their original religious community. Moreover, the Latin missionaries were forced to limit their attention to the 'Franks' living in Constantinople.[687] On the part of the Catholic Church, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide issued a decree in 1729 which prohibited the *communicatio in divinis* of Catholics with 'heretics' and 'schismatics'.[688] This decree concerned primarily the Armenian converts to Catholicism and led to a general deterioration of the relations between the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The

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[684] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 178-185. The history of the Catholic Armenian Church in Constantinople is highly interesting and much more research should be undertaken in this field. Issues related to the *Communicatio in sacris* between the Catholic and Apostolic Armenian is just one possible research topic. However, within the framework of my project it is not possible to analyze the Catholic Armenian community.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Stato della Religione by the patriarchal vicar Pier Battista Mauri, Constantinople 28.3.1721 (APF, SOCG vol. 632, f. 165 r/v)
[687] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 155.
[688] Suttner, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kirchenunion*, pp. 245-255.

contentions culminated in 1755, when the Eastern Patriarch defined that the rite of Latin baptism, and consequently the other sacraments were invalid.[689]

Thus, from a Roman perspective, the attempts to achieve Union of the Greek Orthodox with the Catholic Church failed lamentably. Moreover, the Catholic Armenians in the 19th century managed to form a separate Catholic Armenian *millet*.[690]

8.2. Conversions of Latin Catholics to Islam

There were several reasons that could lead Catholics to the decision of converting to Islam. The first reason was that being part of the majority religion implicated privileges. In fact, conversion to Islam could give the converts access to a position in society otherwise unattainable for non-Muslims. Therefore, the desire of increasing social and economic opportunities was an important incentive for local Catholic men to convert. During the continuous conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg and Safavid Empires in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman state increasingly identified Islam with state politics. In the perspective of the Ottoman authorities the conversion of a former non-Muslim person was interpreted as proof of loyalty to the Ottoman state and opened the doors to the higher ranks of state service. Furthermore, there was another privilege reserved for Muslims to which converts aspired: they were exempted from the poll tax. This constellation led to an increasing number of conversions of male members from elite Christian families in the 17th century.[691]

This tendency is also observable within the Latin community of Constantinople. In 1683, the Patriarchal vicar Gasparini wrote a list to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide of the Muslim relatives of important Perots:

> 'Draperis had two renegade brothers-in-law, one alive and the other who died, Testa and de Negri one [brother-in-law] alive; Dimitrasco Timoni one dead, Drago Danè a son who was alive, all who were known to me, and these are the main ones of the town; they show no shame for having Turkish relations in the family, but rather boast of it to be respected, and all wear the turban at home, […].'[692]

In this short citation, Gasparini lists five of the most powerful families in Galata and Pera. On the one hand their family members traditionally served European diplomats as dragomans

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[689] Ibid., p. 255.
[690] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 224.
[691] Cf., Norton, 'Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire', p. 31.
[692] 'Il Draperis hà havuto doi cognati rinnegati uno vivo l'altro morto, li Testa, e li de Negri uno vivente; Dimitrasco Timoni uno morto, Drago Danè un figliolo vivente tutti a me noti, e questi sono i principali del paese; Non tengono essi vergogna d'haver Turchi parenti, anzi ne fanno gloria per esser rispettati, e tutti loro portano in Casa il turbante, […].' Gasaparo Gasparini, patriarchal vicar, to Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 9.1.1683 (APF, SC Romania, vol. 2, f. 438r).

and, on the other hand, they held the most important offices within the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*. Unfortunately there is no information on the professions of the converts. It would be interesting to see if they reached high positions in the Ottoman administration, in any case a presumable hypothesis.

Apparently, the conversion of a family member broadened the social network of the whole family through closer contacts to the Muslim population. Furthermore, the extract can be seen as an example of the fact that conversion to Islam did not imply a total rupture with the Christian family and environment. On the contrary, there was a proliferation of new social relations while the old social network continued to function. Even contacts with members of the Christian clergy were not excluded after the conversion.[693]

An important exterior sign of the affiliation to Islam was the white turban which was reserved for Muslims, as also the right to wear green clothes and a white turban, the main signs of distinction, and they were generally enforced in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The information given by the Patriarchal vicar as regards the turban is very interesting: family members of the converts wore the turban at home. The fact that the vicar added the information 'at home' is significant and leads to the conclusion that they could not wear it in public but only in private and that they were well aware of this limit. One possible interpretation of the habit of wearing the turban at home could be that they wanted to emphasize the relations they had with the Muslim elite of Constantinople through a Muslim family member.

The largest number of conversions to Islam involved Catholic captives who hoped to improve their situation by changing their religion. Particularly frequent were conversions of Catholic women and children serving in private houses who had no contact with Latin clergymen and other Catholics.[694] These conversions normally took place in the private houses of the Muslim masters. The converts had to pronounce the Muslim declaration of belief 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger' (*lā 'ilāha 'illallāh, Muḥammad rasūlu-llāh*)' in the presence of several testimonies and to raise the right index finger.

There existed also an important number of men who left Europe due to a situation of economic hardship and difficult social situations or even a criminal past, with the intention of starting a new life in the Ottoman Empire after conversion to Islam. In particular the

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[693] See Dakhlia, '"Turcs de profession"?', p. 156; Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions', p. 249; Idem, 'Se convertir à l'islam chez les chrétiens de Syrie', p. 141ff.
[694] Bennassar, 'Conversion ou Reniement?', p. 1359f.

authorities of French and Italian port cities attempted to control the flow of adventurers who wanted to travel to the Ottoman Empire.[695]

In the perspective of the Roman Curia, the Latin clergy but also of the whole Latin community in Constantinople, the phenomenon of Latin regular and secular clergymen who converted to Islam was a conspicuous problem. Generally, the voluntary conversion of a free Christian or Jew was seen as proof of the superiority of Islam towards the two other monotheist religions. This message of superiority was more powerful in the case of conversions of clergymen.[696] On the contrary, it was humiliating and alarming for the members of the Catholic community if 'even' priests converted to Islam.

The conversion of Catholic priests or friars to Islam led to intense joy on the part of the Muslim authorities and population and to consternation among the Latin Catholics. In 1721, the patriarchal vicar Giovanni Battista Mauri reported a 'deplorable' case of a Capuchin's conversion to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. The Capuchin Matteo da Roma had arrived in Constantinople three months before his conversion and according to Mauri, had appeared to be a good missionary. Nevertheless, he had decided to convert to Islam, which was 'solemnly and joyously celebrated by the Muslims'.[697]

An important and recurring aspect of Matteo's conversion is the importance of mobility. The Capuchin friar had arrived from Europe only two months before his conversion. It is important to make clear that mobility was an integral element in the life of a missionary. Nevertheless, just as in the case of secular persons, the distance from their monastic community and the option of changing their life in a new environment without constrictions of the holy orders could induce clergymen to change their religion. In the conclusion of the letter, the patriarchal vicar Mauri hypothesizes on the possible reasons of the Capuchin's conversion. According to him, the often conflicting co-habitation of French and Italian friars could represent a valid explanation for the conversion.

Frequently, members of the regular clergy arrived in the Ottoman Empire after having escaped from their province. In 1714, two Observant Franciscans of the Holy land who had escaped from their Corsican province arrived in Constantinople, converted to Islam and, according to the patriarchal vicar, endangered the superior of the Franciscan convent of custody of the Holy Land in Constantinople and the whole Latin community by letting the vizier have a counterfeit letter from their Constantinopolitan superior. In this letter – written

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[695] See for instance Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*, pp. 59-61

[696] Cf. Tijana Krstić, 'Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-narratives of conversion to Islam in the age of confessionalization', pp. 35-63, pp. 59-61.

[697] Giovanni Battista Mauri, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 28.1.1721 (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 477r).

secretly by the two apostates on behalf of the superior – they let the superior offer assistance to the two converts in case they should return to Catholicism. By so doing they denounced their former superior for promoting the apostasy of Muslims. This crime was, as we have already seen, severely punished by the Ottoman authorities. The letter led to the imprisonment of the Franciscan superior and of a merchant and his servant who were involved in the delivery of the letter. The case was resolved after the intervention of the French ambassador and the consul of the republic of Ragusa.[698]

There were repeated cases of converts who wanted to convert back to Catholicism after a certain period of time, for instance, captives after their ransom or remorseful apostates who wished to be reconciled with the Catholic Church. Generally, these persons were sent by the clergy to Europe as quickly as possible in order to avoid reprisal on behalf of the Ottomans. There were, however, cases of apostates who wanted to convert publicly back to their original Christian religion.

8.3. The veneration of martyrs in Constantinople in the 17th and 18th century

Between 1672 and 1674, the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi wrote several letters to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in which he reported the story of a young Greek named Niccolò. According to the estimate of the patriarchal vicar, the Greek boy was about seventeen years old and had moved to Constantinople from the Greek city of Karpenisi, where he worked in the food store of a relative. Moreover, reported the vicar, Niccolò attended the local Turkish school of the district where he studied Turkish and Arabic. He appeared to be very talented in the learning of the languages and it was actually his talent which proved to be his undoing since his Muslim teacher and schoolfellows had become jealous of him. Ridolfi reported that one day his teacher asked Niccolò to read some sentences in Arabic in order to demonstrate his progress in the presence of several witnesses. Niccolò did as he was told and read, without hesitating, the Muslim profession of faith. Thereafter, the Turkish witnesses exclaimed that he had converted to Islam and brought him to the Ottoman judge, the *qadi*. According to Ridolfi, Niccolò denied the accusation, emphasizing that he was a Christian and intended to die as a Christian. Despite his protests, Niccolò was circumcised and the *qadi* asked him several times to confirm his conversion to Islam by using first menaces and then promises of a magnificent future. Niccolò remained firm in his conviction that he would never apostatize from the faith of Jesus Christ, on the contrary that he had always said he wanted to die as a Christian, and

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[698] Raimondo Galani, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Pera 8.5.1714 (APF, SC Romania vol. 5, f. 280r/v).

was consequently thrown into prison. According to Ridolfi, in the space of one week in prison Niccolò was tortured and asked again twice by the *qadi*, if he had changed his mind. As this was not the case, Niccolò was brought in front of his relative's store and decapitated for the crime of apostasy from Islam. The patriarchal vicar Ridolfi pointed out that all the Christians from Constantinople followed Niccolò's execution and he was venerated by everyone for his constancy in faith. The veneration was further increased through the fact that the body remained on the floor in front of the shop for three days and guards controlled that no one could approach the corpse. After three days, the Ottoman officials allowed the Christians to bury the body according to the Christian tradition. Moreover, at the place of execution, the Christians collected the earth soaked with Niccolò's blood and preserved it. Ridolfi reports he went himself to the place of execution during the first three days after Niccolò's death and he was allowed to touch the wound at the neck. In conclusion, the patriarchal vicar asked the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome to inform the pontiff Clemens X about Niccolò's martyrdom and consequently to initiate a process which should officially confirm the martyrdom.[699]

The cardinals acknowledged Ridolfi's report and asked him to send the necessary information to prove that Niccolò was a member of the Greek Catholic and not of the Greek Orthodox community. Without this information, they could not proceed with the matter.[700] The vicar's answer remained very vague and is in many respects remarkable. In fact, Ridolfi answered that it was possible that Niccolò was a Catholic as he did not have the time to learn about the Orthodox errors besides his work and studies.[701] The cardinals of Propaganda Fide were not satisfied with this reply and asked to see the extract from the baptismal register of Niccolò. Ridolfi replied that for three reasons it was impossible to have this proof: in the first place, the Greek Church did not have baptismal registers, in the second place, Niccolò's city of birth was far away and in the third place it was dangerous to ask too insistently for information as the Greek patriarch was also interested in the case of Niccolò.[702] Subsequently, the cardinals of the Curia investigated the case no further.

On the basis of this case several aspects emerged regarding the attitude of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide and of the clergy in Constantinople towards modern martyrs, often called

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[699] Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 30.10.1672 (APF, SC Romania vol. 1, f. 395r; Congregatio generalis, 20.3.1673 (APF, Acta vol. 44, f. 146v-147v); Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of the Holy Office, Constantinople 7.2.1674 (APF, SOCG vol. 447, f. 263r/v).
[700] Edoardo Cibo, secretary of Propaganda Fide, to Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, Rome 20.3.1673 (APF, Lettere vol. 61, f. 24r).
[701] Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 8.5.1674 (APF, SOCG vol. 451, f. 45v).
[702] Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 18.5.1675 (APF, SOCG vol. 453, f. 361r).

'neo-martyrs'. The term neo-martyr means 'new witness' in Greek and was predominantly used in order to designate Orthodox Christians who were executed by the Ottoman authorities for apostasy from Islam. In the majority of the cases, those involved were men who had converted to Islam for economic, social or private reasons and who had later publicly returned to their Christian faith. Islamic law stipulated that apostasy from Islam was to be punished with a death sentence. Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, the Orthodox Church canonized numerous neo-martyrs, of whom one is Niccolò, or as he is called in the Greek tradition, Nicholas of Karpenision. The Greek historian Demetrios Constantelos counted 89 official neo-martyrs in the whole Ottoman Empire between 1600 and 1799.[703]

The cases of neo-martyrs were important for the Greek Church for two reasons: in the first place, the neo-martyrs gave the Church means to demonstrate that Greek Orthodox Christians were so firmly in their faith that they were ready to die for it. In the second place, the neo-martyrs were examples of warning for the Ottoman Christians. In the perspective of the Orthodox Church, conversion to Islam could either lead to eternal damnation or martyrical death.[704] Not only Greek Orthodox but also Christians of other confessions such as Latin Catholics were executed for apostasy from Islam. However, the neo-martyrs were particularly important in the Orthodox tradition.

Whereas Islamic law principally prohibited the coercive conversion of Christians and Jews, the example of Niccolò demonstrates that there were cases in which Christians were tricked by Muslims into reading or pronouncing the Muslim profession of faith. However, conversion to Islam was only one aspect of the manifold religious contacts in the Ottoman Empire and that the majority of the Christians who converted to Islam did so of their own free will.[705]

Cases of conversions attained through coercion or trickery were more frequent in moments of crisis of the Ottoman Empire. As already mentioned with regard to the fire of 1660, the reign of Mehmed IV was such a moment of crisis. Under these circumstances the piety of the Kadızadeli movement developed, which promoted conversion of the self, of the fellow Muslims and of non-Muslims. Contemporarily, the sultan and his entourage advanced a

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[703] Demetrios J. Constantelos, 'The "neomartyrs" as evidence for methods and motives leading to conversion and martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire', *The Greek orthodox theological review* 23 (1978), pp. 216-234, pp. 221-231; Tijana Krstić, 'Neomartyrs', in Bruce Masters and Gabor Agoston (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2009), p. 429f; Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Neomartyrs of the Ottoman period 1437-1860* (New York, 2000).

[704] Eleni Gara, 'Neomartyrs without a message', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/2006), pp. 155-176, pp. 155-157.

[705] Heyberger, 'Frontières confessionnelles et conversions', pp. 245-258; Krstic, *Contested conversions to Islam*; Norton, 'Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 25-39; Valensi, 'Intercommunal relations and changes in religious affiliations ', pp. 251-269.

campaign of Islamization of non-Muslim space in Constantinople.[706] The sultan himself for instance promoted the conversion of Christian and Jews along his hunting trails. Between the 1670s and the end of the reign of Mehmed IV, there were converts in the places where the sultan hunted.[707] Between 1661 and 1676 there was a peak of cases of neo-martyrs in Constantinople and other territories of the Ottoman Empire. The members of the Kadızadeli movement had a general influence on the *qadis* and other Ottoman officials who were consequently less tolerant than usual.[708]

From this perspective, it is at least conceivable that Niccolò's teacher could have been a follower of the movement and aspired to the Islamization of Christian people. Finally, the Ottoman *qadis* had to decide if the conversions achieved with coercion or trickery were valid. In the fatwas, legal opinions of prestigious Muslim jurists, of the 16th and 17th centuries it emerges that generally conversions which resulted from tricking non-Muslims into pronouncing the Muslim profession of faith or from drunkenness were valid. However, the singular *qadi* had a certain amount of room for interpretation.[709]

As the case of Niccolò demonstrates, public executions of apostates attracted a vast and confessionally-mixed public. In fact, Andrea Ridolfi was not the only European observer to report the execution of Niccolò. The French travellers Antoine Galland and the secretary of the French ambassador François Pétis de la Croix both described the case of the Greek martyr.[710] In particular de la Croix wrote a very detailed report. According to him, the case of Niccolò had already attracted a high number of Christian and Muslim spectators when he was detained in the court of the prison. Moreover, de la Croix reported that the Greek patriarch managed to obtain permission to visit Niccolò in prison and to administer the viaticum to him. According to de la Croix it was also the Greek patriarch who offered the Ottoman authorities a substantial amount of money in order to get permission to bury the body whereas normally the bodies of apostates were thrown into the sea. The body of the neo-martyr was finally buried in front of a Greek chapel on an island close to Constantinople.[711]

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[706] Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, p. 245.
[707] Ibid., p. 195.
[708] Marinos Sariyanis, 'Aspects of "Neomartyrdom": Religious Contacts, "Blasphemy" and "Calumny" in 17th century Istanbul', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/2006), pp. 249-262, pp. 250-252.
[709] Krstić, 'Neomartyrs', p. 430. In Constantinople, the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini reported in 1680 the case of a eighteen-year-old Greek, who had converted to Islam when he was drunk and finally was beheaded for apostasy from Islam. Again, the patriarchal vicar was not able to tell if the Greek was of Orthodox or Catholic faith.
[710] Pétis de la Croix, *Etat présent des nations et églises Grecque, Arménienne, et Maronite en Turquie*, pp. 213-246; Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, pp. 200f and 221f.
[711] Pétis de la Croix, *Etat present des nations et églises Grecque, Arménienne, et Maronite en Turquie*, pp. 213-236.

From the description of de la Croix emerges clearly that according to him Niccolò was a member of the Greek Orthodox Church and that the Greek patriarch had played an important role in the story. This in marked contrast to the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi: in his letters he uses predominantly the term Christians whereas in other letters he distinguishes clearly between the members of different confessions. In the reasoning of the patriarchal vicar, the fact that it was not possible to prove the confessional affiliation of Niccolò was sufficient evidence to start a trial. He frequently pointed to the complex and often ambiguous boundaries between the different confessions. In fact in the 1670s the boundaries between the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Church were not yet well defined; only in 1750 were the two separate churches to be defined more clearly.[712] Nevertheless, from the reports it emerges that the Greek claim to Niccolò was stronger than the Catholic one and finally the Greek authorities canonized Nicholas of Karpenision and he was officially venerated as a neo-martyr.

It is furthermore remarkable that the patriarchal vicar Andrea Ridolfi, by his own account, went himself to the place of execution and even touched the wound at Niccolò's neck. This action of the patriarchal vicar had a highly symbolic aspect for the Latin Catholics in Constantinople as well as for the cardinals in Rome in view of increasing the significance of the martyrdom.

It may be assumed that in this specific case as well as in other similar cases, the patriarchal vicars and the Latin missionaries were exposed to the pressure of the Latin Catholic community. The veneration of martyrs for the Christian faith went beyond confessional boundaries and was furthermore independent from official recognition on behalf of the Roman Curia. Whenever the Christians managed to buy the body of one executed for apostasy from Islam, it was buried on the islands near the city and the tomb became a place of pilgrimage for Christians of different confessions.[713] Research concerning the veneration of post-Tridentine Europe shows that in the 16th century there was a wave of Christian martyrs of different confessions in Europe and in particular in the Low Countries, France and England in the following the Reformation. Also in the European territories, Catholics did not wait for official recognition in the form of canonization by the Roman Curia before acknowledging the martyrs.[714]

Whereas the Greek Orthodox Church promoted the veneration of the neo-martyrs in the Ottoman Empire, the Roman Curia and in particular the Sacred Congregation of Rites, tried to

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[712] Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 398-403.

[713] Jean Maurice Fiey, 'Martyrs sous les ottomans', *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983), pp. 387-406.

[714] Brad S. Gregory, 'Persecution and martyrdom', in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Reform and Expansion 1500-1660* (Cambridge, 2007), vol. 6, pp. 261-282, pp. 261 and 280.

control the canonization processes with standardized and institutionalized investigations. The pontiff Urban VIII was a central figure in the development of centralized processes of canonization in the first half of the 17th century. At the centre of the stricter regulations stood the widespread custom of venerating persons who had neither been beatified nor canonized on behalf of the Catholics. With the new procedure, the pontiff intended to limit these spontaneous excesses of devotion and prohibited the veneration of persons who had not been canonized.[715]

Three basic requirements had to be fulfilled in order to initiate a process for martyrdom: in the first place, the martyr had to have died, in the second place, the execution had to have been motivated with 'rancour against the Christian faith', and in the third place, the martyr had to have voluntarily accepted death in defence of the Christian faith.[716]

The most important figure in the process was the Roman pontiff who had to decide whether a process for beatification and canonization could be initiated. If this was the case witnesses had to be interrogated and reports on the life, virtues and miracles of the candidate had to be examined. After the first round of interrogations and gathering of information, the pontiff decided if a process *in specie* could be started and, if this was the case, new interrogations and investigation were accomplished.[717] Of critical importance for the codification of the procedures for beatification and canonization was Benedict XIV. He consolidated the prerogatives of the Roman pontiff in the process and determined the hierarchical sequence of beatification and canonization. In the perspective of Benedict XIV, the Congregation of Rites and the Roman pontiff were not to create new cults but approve existing veneration of the church members. Moreover, Benedict XIV was rather sceptical towards supernatural events, which he subjugated to verification on the basis of the *ratio*. Contemporarily this attitude had to be compatible with the necessity of miracles for the process of beatification and canonization. Benedict XIV developed the concept of a *devozione regolata*.[718] There was, however, a contradiction in the procedure of the Catholic Church with regard to the initiation of processes for beatification and canonization. Whereas on the one hand, the veneration of a person who had not been acknowledged by the Holy See was

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[715] Stefan Samerski, *"Wie im Himmel so auf Erden"? Selig- und Heiligsprechung in der Katholischen Kirche 1740-1870* (München, 2001), pp. 69-71.

[716] T. Gilby, 'Theology of Martyrdom', in T. Carson et al. (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2nd ed., 2003), vol. 9, p. 314f, F.X. Murphy, ' Martyrium', in T. Carson et al. (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2nd ed., 2003), vol. 9, pp. 315-317.

[717] Samerski, *"Wie im Himmel so auf Erden"?*, p. 73f.

[718] Ibid., pp. 74-77; see also Mario Rosa, 'Prospero Lambertini tra "regolata devozione" e mistica visionaria', in Gabriella Zarri (ed.), *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin, 1991), pp. 521-549, p. 530.

forbidden, on the other hand the existence of veneration represented a necessary requirement for the process.

Returning to the case of Niccolò, in the perspective of the patriarchal vicar Ridolfi, in order to initiate a process it was crucial to have the permission of the pontiff Clement X. If the permission was issued, the scope of the local actors was rather high. On the one hand, the witnesses could be instructed by the vicar and, on the other hand they could agree in advance on the narrative strategy. Ridolfi was aware of the impact and fascination that cases such as Niccolò's execution had on the Latin Catholics of Constantinople. Contemporarily he knew that the Roman Curia was rather sceptical towards the neo-martyrs and he tried to conciliate the local desideratum for Christian Glory and the Roman standards with regard to the beatification and canonization of martyrs.

However, also the common veneration of martyrs had its limits. In 1680, the patriarchal vicar Gasparo Gasparini informed the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome that he had composed a letter, which he then distributed among the Latin convents and ambassadors and in which he prohibited the veneration of a Greek priest from Mount Athos. According to Gasparini the priest was 'one of the worst schismatics' and he had been executed after he had glorified the Christian religions in the public streets while insulting Islam.[719] Gasparini criticized the numerous Latin clergymen who asserted that the Orthodox priest was a martyr in order to maintain the Latin Catholics in the Catholic faith. Accordingly he wrote in his letter to the convents and ambassadors that 'neither a heretic nor a schismatic can be called true martyr even if they died for some true moments'.[720]

In this case, for Gasparo Gasparini the boundaries between the religious communities had been overstepped. Whereas in the case of Niccolò one could presume that he was Catholic, in the case of a priest from Mount Athos this doubt did not exist and therefore, the patriarchal vicar could not consent to the veneration of the martyr, even if it was done in order to maintain the Catholics in their faith.

A novice of the Conventual Franciscans of Constantinople was involved in a similar situation as Niccolò in 1673. The novice was born in Chios and was thus an Ottoman subject and he had to travel from the convent of St. Francis in Constantinople to another convent of

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[719] 'Che un certo Monaco Greco di Monte Santo frà i peggiori Scismattici, lodando la legge Christiana, e biasimando quella de Turchi, sia stato fatto morire.' Congregatio generalis 23.1.1680 (APF, Acta vol. 50, f. 32v).
[720] 'E p[er]che alcuni Religiosi Latini lo pubblicavano Martire p[er] mantenere i Cattolici in Santa Fede, haveva il med[esim]o Vic[ari]o Patriarcale data fuori una scrittura, e mandatone copia a pubblici rappresentanti, nella quale provava, che ne l'eretico, ne il Scismatico, benché morissero p[er] qualche articolo vero, possono chiamarsi veri Martiri.' Ibid., f. 32v, 33r.

the same order in Chios, in order to recover an important letter; on his way still in the Constantinopolitan area he:

> '[…] came across some Turks who attacked him by calling him a Dog, he responded that he was not a Dog but a Muslim which in the Turkish language means 'true believer'; testimony was taken from bystanders that he had said 'Muslim', also heard by an Imam which means the parish priest of the district, and they took him to an Emir, guard of the prison and the following morning to the Caimacan, and they interrogated him as to the meaning of the word Muslim, and he answered that it means one who righteously believes what he should believe and that he was Muslim as a Christian, […].'[721]

After this statement he was put into prison again and the Turkish guards repeated every day to the novice that he risked death if he continued to deny his conversion to Islam. The patriarchal vicar continued by reporting that the novice had been transferred to another prison and when he crossed the streets saying a rosary, numerous persons – Christians and Muslims – observed the scene. Andrea Ridolfi concluded that the life of the novice depended on a misunderstanding. The patriarchal vicar had reported the case to the Venetian bailo Guerini who then tried to liberate the novice with a generous present to the Ottoman authorities but he had already been in prison for around six weeks.[722]

Whereas the novice used the contended term 'Muslim' in a figurative sense – the one who believes the right thing –, the Muslim witnesses and officers perceived it as a conversion to Islam. It seems rather strange that a person who was born in Chios and was thus familiar with the Ottoman context did not consider that the term Muslim was only used referring to Islam. One possible explanation could perhaps be found in a certain kind of syncretism between the Christian and Islamic religion in the Mediterranean of the 17th century which was able to obliterate the differences between the two religions, as has been observed for instance by Bernard Heyberger and Lucette Valensi for the Syrian and Palestinian provinces.[723]

The case quoted above shows that there were also contentious encounters between Christians and Muslims. Targets of Muslim attempts to achieve conversion to Islam frequently involved boys or male adolescent Christians who were Ottoman subjects. As the

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[721] '[…] s'incontrò in alcuni Turchi, che lo attaccarono con dirli Cane, egli rispose che n[o]n era Cane, ma'Monsulmano, che in lingua Turcha significa vero credente, pigliarono testimonianze da circostanti, d'haver detto esser Monsulmano e tra altri da un iman, che vuol dir paroco della Contrada lo condussero da un Emir custode delle Prigioni, e la mattina seguente dal Caimacan, l'interogorno che cosa vuol dir Monsulmano, rispose che p[rim]a voce sig[nifi]ca uno che crede rettam[en]te quello si deve credere, e che egli come Christiano era Monsulmano, […].' Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 21.6.1673 (APF, SC Romania vol. 1, f. 406r).

[722] Ibid.

[723] See for instance Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, pp. 161-167; Scaraffia, Lucetta, *Rinnegati: una storia per l'identità occidentale* (Roma, 2002); Valensi, 'Inter-communal relations and changes in religious affiliation'.

case of Francesco da Scio happened in the same period of Niccolò's case one possible explanation for the episode could be that the Muslims were influenced by the Kadızadeli movement and therefore were eager for confrontations with Christians, who they intended to convert. A Franciscan novice was a conceivably easy target for them, as he was alone and identifiable as a Catholic clergyman. Furthermore, the example emphasizes once again the importance of diplomatic representatives for the Latin Church and its members in Constantinople and the whole Ottoman Empire. Whereas the prelate of Constantinople had no influence on the involved Ottoman authorities, the Venetian bailo had diplomatic and even more importantly financial means of exerting pressure on the Ottomans. It could be presumed that the involved Ottoman authorities used the case of the novice in order to gain financial benefit from it. As there is no further evidence of the case, we can presume that the novice was not sentenced to death but liberated after the intervention of the Venetian bailo. The main reason for this outcome was probably that the novice had not pronounced the Islamic profession of faith and that, therefore, the Ottoman authorities could not apply the mentioned fatwas. It is probable that the involved Ottoman officials finally decided to exchange the novice for money.

A case which reveals that the Latin missionaries and vicars had rather ambiguous attitudes towards Latin Catholics who were executed after conversion to Islam and the following return to Catholicism was reported in the same years. Such episodes could in fact endanger the Latin missionaries and even the local Latin Catholic Church. The members of the clergy tried thus to remain detached from the question of apostasy from Islam of formerly Catholic persons and to remain in the background.[724]

8.3.1. The precarious role of Latin missionaries in cases of apostasy from Islam

In 1672, the Dominican missionary Barnaba Ausperghi reported the story of Carlo Tarugi of Senigallia to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide. The Dominican was on his way from Constantinople to Chios together with five Conventual Franciscans. On the 15th August 1672, they made a stop in Gallipoli near Constantinople, in order to celebrate mass for the Assumption of Mary in the private chapel of a Catholic resident. According to Ausperghi, on their way from the port to the chapel, the friars were followed by a man in white clothes and a turban on his head. Ausperghi – who asked for information about the man – was told that his name was Carlo Tarugi, he was a priest and that he had converted to Islam three days earlier.

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[724] Valensi, 'Inter-communal Relations and Changes in Relgigious affiliation', p. 268.

When they arrived at the chapel of the Catholic resident, Carlo Tarugi knelt down in front of the Dominican, confessed his public apostasy and asked for the absolution *in mortis articulo*. After he had received the absolution, Tarugi told the Dominican that he wanted to 'go immediately to the *qadi* in order to pay for the pains of his error with his blood'.[725] At this point Barnaba Ausperghi and the Franciscans asked Tarugi not to go to the *qadi* until their departure from Gallipoli in order that the clergymen would not be put in danger.[726]

There are several interesting elements in the story of Carlo Tarugi. Firstly, the information of the public conversion underlines the symbolic importance of Tarugi's apostasy for the Ottoman authorities. As seen before, the conversion of a priest was particularly significant for the claim of superiority of Islam. Secondly, the story of Tarugi is a further example for the high level of mobility in the Mediterranean in early modern times. One hypothesis for Tarugi's motivation may be found in a volume written in 1796 by Emanuele Lucidi. The author wrote a history on the town of Ariccia near Rome, where Carlo Tarugi had been member of the cathedral chapter. According to Lucidi, Carlo Tarugi had hoped to be consecrated bishop after several appointments in the Roman Curia and more specifically in the service of cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, who was also the prefect of Propaganda Fide after 1671. According to Lucidi, this promotion did not take place and Tarugi, consumed with frustration and rage, had travelled from Rome to the Ottoman Empire in order to change religion.[727]

Thirdly, the fact that the missionaries asked Tarugi to wait until their departure reflects the difficult situation of Latin clergymen with regard to the conversion of Muslims. One of the fundamental conditions for the acceptance of Catholic clergymen on Ottoman ground was exactly the prohibition of any proselytism among Muslims. If the missionaries were accused by the Ottoman authorities of hiding persons who intended to apostatize from Islam and thus of promoting the Catholic faith among Muslims, they risked being told to choose between conversion or death penalty as well.[728] For this reason, in the present case, the missionaries did not want to be associated with Tarugi's decision of changing religion. However, from Ausperghi's letter it appears that the Dominican missionary did not really try to convince

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[725] '[…] disse voler andare dal Cadi subito per pagar col sangue la pena del fallo.' Barnaba Ausperghi, Dominican missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 29.8.1672 (APF, SOCG vol. 439, f. 15r, 20r).

[726] Patriarchal vicar monsignor Ridolfi forwards a letter of Barnaba Ausperghi, Dominican missionary, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 12.9.1672 (APF, SOCG vol. 439, f. 15r).

[727] Emanuele Lucidi, *Memorie storiche dell'antichissimo municipio ora terra dell'Ariccia, e delle sue colonie di Genzano e Nemi* (Roma, 1796), p. 454-459.
Consulted online: http://books.google.ch/books?id=P5dbQkx_IbYC&pg=PA454&lpg=PA454&dq=carlo+tarugi.
Last access, 15.7.2013.

[728] Valensi, 'Inter-communal Relations and Changes in Religious affiliation', p. 268.

Tarugi to leave the Ottoman Empire and furthermore he charged an acquaintance to follow up the case of Carlo Tarugi.

The Dominican Barnaba Ausperghi and his entourage left Gallipoli on the 16th of August and on the same day, Tarugi went to the *qadi* in order to declare that he was a Catholic Christian. In a report to Barnaba Ausperghi, the patriarchal vicar of Constantinople and the representatives of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, the eyewitness described the last days of Carlo Tarugi. He was confined to jail, tortured and repeatedly asked by the *qadi* whether he had changed his mind. As this was not the case, reported Ausperghi's observer, when the *qadi* was convinced of Tarugi's constancy in faith, he sentenced him to death. Tarugi was beheaded in front of the arsenal in the presence of numerous Muslims and non-Muslims by a renegade from Candia and finally his body was thrown into the sea. The renegade kept the head of the executed Latin Catholic and offered it for a lot of money to the Latin community. Together with his report, the eyewitness sent some dust which was impregnated with Tarugi's blood to Constantinople.[729]

Again, in this last part of the narration, there are several interesting elements. The *qadi* sentenced Tarugi to death for apostasy from Islam as according to Islamic law. Before executing the sentence, the *qadi* tried for several days to change Tarugi's mind with the forms of torture designed for apostasy and asked the priest three times whether he had changed his mind. By so doing, the *qadi* adhered to the Islamic rule which defined three chances to return to Islam.[730] The decapitation took finally place on a Friday at noon and thus on the day of collective prayer in the mosques. This choice was not fortuitous. On Fridays Muslims are gathered for prayer and it is the weekly Muslim holy day. Moreover, Tarugi was beheaded by an apostate Christian who had converted to Islam. These elements point to the fact that also the execution was carefully planned and staged. The message of the superiority of Islam was transmitted not only to the present Muslims but also to the numerous Christians who attended the public execution. By decapitating Tarugi and by throwing his body into the sea, the Ottoman authorities denied Tarugi any respect. In fact, in the Ottoman Empire decapitation represented the most infamous version of execution. Moreover, in Islam similarly to Christendom, respect for a dead body and the importance of a burial were held in high regard.[731]

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[729] Andrea Ridolfi, patriarchal vicar, forwards a letter of Barnaba Ausperghi to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 12.9.1672 (APF, SOCG vol. 439, f. 15r/v).

[730] Krstić, 'Neomartyrs', p. 430.

[731] Matei Cazacu, 'La "mort infâme". Décapitation et exposition des têtes à Istanbul, XVe-XIXe siècles', in Vatin, *Les ottomans et la mort*, pp. 245-289, pp. 245-248.

The head was preserved by the executioner and immediately gained great importance for the Catholics as evidence of Tarugi's martyrdom. Evidently, the renegade who grasped the head was well aware of the importance of relics for Catholics and intended to capitalize on that fact. Moreover, the priest who attended the execution and other Christians gathered a little of the dust that was soaked with Tarugi's blood. An indication of the vivid reactions among Latin Catholics in Constantinople is the fact that Antoine Galland, a French Orientalist who was present at the time in Constantinople reported the story of Tarugi's apostasy and death in elaborate detail. [732]

In 1673, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide decided to initiate a process for the martyrdom of Carlo Tarugi in order to verify that the person in question really died for his faith. For this reason, the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople had to interview several persons who were informed of the facts. One of them was the Dominican friar Barnaba. The procedure was defined by the members of the Congregation of Rites who had to decide whether it was authentic case of martyrdom. The patriarchal vicar of Constantinople who had the assignment of collecting information on the case sent the documents to Rome in 1676.[733] However, Tarugi was neither beatified nor canonized. Nevertheless, Lucidi – in his volume of 1796 – refers to Carlo Tarugi as an official martyr who was venerated in Ariccia.[734] Thus, in this case the official recognition was not issued, yet independently from the process or canonization at the Curia in Rome, for the Catholics in Constantinople and Tarugi's city in Italy there was no doubt that Carlo Tarugi had died as a martyr.

Even if the Dominican missionary Barnaba Ausperghi did not want to be associated with the decision of Carlo Tarugi to die for his Christian faith, he nevertheless did everything he could in order to guarantee that the execution was reported and relics were collected and brought to Constantinople. The main intention behind this procedure was clearly the objective of promoting the canonization of the martyr.

Whereas so far the cases of conversion and presumed martyrdom happened without exception in the 1670s and 1680s, there are also isolated cases in the 18th century. One particularly spectacular case was reported in 1748 by the patriarchal vicar Girolamo Bona, a Conventual Franciscan and a Reformed Franciscan.[735] A twenty-year-old man from Lodi

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[732] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, pp.197-199.

[733] Congregatio generalis 4.5.1676 (APF, Acta vol. 46, f. 94r).

[734] Lucidi, *Memorie storiche dell'antichissimo municipio ora terra dell'Ariccia,* p. 454-459.

[735] Giuseppe Maria Danè, Conventual Franciscan, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 15.1.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 500r); Relazione del Martirio seguito in Pera di Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Cairo Lodigiano by Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 24.1.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, ff. 510r-511r); Bernardino Paoli da Sant'Orsola, Reformed Franciscan, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 24.4.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, ff. 522r-523r).

named Giovanni Battista Cairo arrived on the Dardanelles on a Venetian ship together with other soldiers. Due to repeated quarrels with his skipper and other soldiers, he used the stopover on the Dardanelles in order to go to the Ottoman *qadi* and convert to Islam 'according to the usual formalities of the sect'.[736] As he immediately regretted his conversion to Islam, he declared in a public square that he was a Catholic, that he had converted in a moment of desperation and that he was ready to give his blood for the right faith. Thereafter he was put in prison, tortured and brought to the place of execution only a few days later. However, he was not beheaded because one of the most prestigious Muslims present in the square wanted to free him and give him another chance to confirm his conversion. According to Bona, the soldier from Lodi accepted from fear and was brought to Constantinople where he was invited to go before the Grand Vizier. Before presenting to the Vizier, Cairo wanted to go the convent of the Jesuits, where a Jesuit missionary advised him not to go to the Vizier but to take a ship to Europe in order to live as Catholic. Cairo did not follow the advice of the Jesuit and again declared in a square of Constantinople that he wanted to take off his turban and die as a Christian. After several days of torture, Cairo changed his mind yet again and confirmed his conversion. Hence, he was adopted by a influential Ottoman official, who left him free movement in Constantinople and promised him a splendid future. During the thirty days or so after his liberation, he went again to the hospice of the Jesuits and of the Reformed Franciscans and even to the Venetian embassy where he said that he wanted to die for his Catholic religion. The missionaries and bailo told him not to go to the *qadi* but to leave for Europe. Cairo refused to do so and decided to walk through the main streets of Stamboul in European clothes. There, he was immediately recognized and put into prison and, after, several days in prison he was decapitated in front of the Hagia Sophia, where a huge crowd had convened. At the end of his letter, the patriarchal vicar acknowledged that his main source was the first dragoman of the French ambassador Fonton. According to Bona, the history of Cairo added glory to the Latin mission of Constantinople as well as to the Catholic faith as a whole.[737]

Whereas the involved Latin clergy and the Venetian bailo had advised the apostate to escape to Europe rather than be executed in Constantinople, when he finally was decapitated, he was celebrated as a martyr. This case illustrates how the Ottoman authorities were not *a*

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[736] Relazione del Martirio seguito in Pera di Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Cairo Lodigiano by Girolamo Bona, patriarchal vicar to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Constantinople 24.1.1748 (APF, SC Romania vol. 8, f. 510r).

[737] Ibid., ff. 510r-511r.

priori eager to execute young apostates from Islam but rather tried to convince them to remain Muslims.

As we have seen, the conversions to Islam, public return to the Christian faith and executions of members of the Christian community were followed and perceived beyond religious boundaries. Similarly, the veneration of the constancy of the executed was not limited to the single confessions. The Greek authorities complied with the desideratum of glory for the Greek Church in the Ottoman Empire with the tradition of the neo-martyrs. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the missionaries and vicars in general promoted the canonization of martyrs despite the reservations of the Roman Curia. However, after the 1680s there are no further cases in which Latin clergymen tried to bring Greek martyrs into the Catholic Church with the explanation that the martyrs could actually be Catholic. This development corresponds to the observation that the boundaries of the different confessions were better defined from the end of the 17th century onwards. The example of the modern martyrs in Constantinople is a further demonstration of how local dynamics were difficult to control on behalf of the Roman Curia. Nonetheless, not one of the mentioned Latin martyrs was canonized.

9. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to work out how the Latin missionaries in Constantinople coped with the recurring tensions between the local religious cultures, characterized by the pluri-religious Constantinopolitan environment, and the requirements of the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic Church. In chapter two I identified the specificities of the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople. Thereby, the heterogeneity with regard to the legal status and cultural background emerged as two fundamental aspects. Moreover, the position of the Latin Catholics and the Latin places of worship in the space of the Ottoman district of Galata and Pera have been identified. Despite the fact that the Latin Catholic community represented a tiny minority within Ottoman Constantinople, the members of the community nevertheless enjoyed significant visibility in the streets of Galata and Pera during Easter and Corpus Domini processions. Until the 1750s, the religious practices of the Latin Catholics were thus not confined to their private houses and churches but also had the possibility of appearing on the streets. However, towards the middle of the 18th century the presence of the Latin community in the public space became limited as a result of Muslim and Greek Orthodox pressure. The spiritual care of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople during the period under examination was almost exclusively in the hands of the European regular clergy which predominantly originated in France, Venice or the Papal States.

In chapter three I analyzed one of the important developments in the 17th century, the diminishing of the local Latin representation within the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople. Emblematic for the weakening of the local position was the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, illustrating that the representation of the local Catholics was not sufficiently influent in order to be able to resist the pressures from the patriarchal vicars and the cardinals of Propaganda Fide who wanted to put the administration of the Constantinopolitan churches in ecclesiastic hands. The members of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* could not effectively protect the interest of the Latin Catholics and the Latin churches in the city as they did not have the necessary influence over the Ottoman authorities.

This lack of influence was also due to the particular position of the Latin Catholic community, which was not comparable with the institutional entrenchment of the other non-Muslim communities. As a consequence, there was the tendency on the side of the eminent local Latin families to seek European protection. By so doing, at least the elite of the local Latin Catholics established increasingly close ties with the European diplomatic and merchant missions. Between the 1650s and the 1680s the representatives of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* applied several times to high Ottoman authorities against the nomination of a patriarchal

vicar with Episcopal dignity for Constantinople. For the first half of the 18th century, the sources do not reveal any further attempts of the representatives to defend themselves against the Roman representative by making an appeal to the high Ottoman authorities. This fact can be taken as a further evidence for the increasingly close ties between the elite of the Ottoman Latin Catholics and the representatives of the European powers.

It would, however, be misleading to assume that the disempowerment of the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* represented an important success of Propaganda Fide and the patriarchal vicar in Constantinople in their efforts to bring about centralization. Without the strong support granted by the French ambassador to the patriarchal vicar Gasparini, the conflict would probably have lasted for more time and it is questionable whether Gasparini would have been able to enforce the decree of Propaganda Fide which gave the administration of church property to the members of the clergy in the absence of such a strong ally. Contemporary to the power struggle in Constantinople between the representatives of the local Catholics, supported by the Venetian ambassadors, and the patriarchal vicar, supported by the French ambassador, the relations between the pontiff Innocent XI and Louis XIV were extremely difficult due to the quarrels about regalian rights and the four articles which were passed by the general assemble of the French clergy in 1682 confirming the limitation of the pontiff's authority in the French territories. Even though the conflict between Rome and Paris was not directly reflected in Constantinople, an increasing French influence over the patriarchal vicars and the Latin Catholic Church corresponded to the intention of promoting the Gallican Church also outside the French territories.

In chapter four I elaborated that effective diplomatic protection was fundamental for the religious orders in Constantinople in order to protect the churches and convents against the Ottoman authorities. This was particularly the case after the fires which frequently destroyed large numbers of houses and also the churches and convents. The patriarchal vicars and the congregations of the Roman Curia were not able to assure the clergy's protection and the church's safety and were therefore forced to accept diplomatic protection of European powers and in particular of France. Between the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century the Dominicans and Franciscans who traditionally were under Venetian protection changed their diplomatic affiliation. During the War of Candia (1645-1669) and the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) the Venetian bailo di not reside constantly in Constantinople and the negotiations with the Ottoman authorities regarding privileges for religious orders were accordingly difficult. Whereas the Dominicans and the Conventual friars accepted French protection, the Observant friars were under Dutch protection.

As we have seen, the French protests against the Dutch and thus 'heretic' protection of a Catholic order were extremely vehement whereas the protests of the Curia remained restrained. The attitude of the Curia can be explained with the fact that the pontiffs and cardinals wanted to confine the Gallican influence in Constantinople and that they thus were willing to accept Dutch protection. Moreover, it is important to consider here that the Curia did not have the necessary influence and means in order to coerce the Observant Franciscans to change diplomatic protection.

The vehement attitude of the French ambassadors and Louis XIV against the Dutch protection reflected in the first place the conflicting relations between the two European powers at the end of the 17th century and the strictly negative attitude of Louis XIV against Protestants in particular after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Moreover, this case shows that the religious orders were indeed rather pragmatic when it came to the protection of their churches and convents.

Also the attempts of the French ambassadors on behalf of Louis XIV and Louis XV to achieve the establishment of a 'national' French parish under the guidance of the French Capuchins or Jesuits reflected the claim for Gallican liberties in France. By establishing a French parish the French members of the Latin community could be guided according to the French tradition and by so doing, Roman control could be defied. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide supported by the respective pontiffs never did accept the French claim for national parishes. However, it would be erroneous to conclude that the Latin Catholic Church in Constantinople maintained the aspired autonomy from secular powers. On the contrary, the disposition of 1722 in which the cardinals of Propaganda Fide ordered, after being incited to do so by the patriarchal vicar, the superiors of the religious orders not to introduce any innovation without the approval of the French ambassadors, shows emblematically just how limited the ecclesiastic autonomy was.

Issues related to the diplomatic protection in its different manifestations were in the focus of chapter four. The main reason for the importance of diplomatic protection was the particular status of Latin Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. The Latin Catholics did not have a head of the community within the Ottoman Empire, unlike the communities of Eastern Churches and Jews. Moreover, the Latin Catholics were subject to the authority of the Roman pontiff who was an antagonist of the Ottoman sultan and who did not have any direct influence in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the diplomatic protection of the members of the clergy, churches and members of the Latin community stood actually at the basis of the Latin presence in the Ottoman Empire. This local precondition is important in order to explain the

very limited scope of action of the Roman Curia and the missionaries in Constantinople and consequently, the acceptance of French influence in ecclesiastic issues.

The tension between Roman standards and the local requirements was particularly strong with regard to the administration of sacraments. As related to the sacrament of baptism in chapter five it has been shown that it turned out to be very difficult to implement the Roman rule that baptisms had to be administered in the parish churches and not in private houses. Between the 1650s and the 1750s, the custom of administering baptisms in private houses did not change. On the one hand, the custom was deeply rooted within the local Latin community and, on the other hand, the members of the clergy in Constantinople did not try to enforce the rule insistently but rather justified the custom with the local conditions. The cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome did not have the means of enforcing it and contented themselves with reminding the clergy in Constantinople that it was forbidden to administer baptism in private houses. If the issue of baptisms in private houses was discussed, it was mostly because single members of the clergy in Constantinople objected to the custom in their letters to Rome. This fact endorses the hypothesis that claims for a more strict observance of the Roman standards emerged also within the clergy in the Ottoman capital city.

With regard to the sacrament of baptism, the claim of the French Jesuits and Capuchins together with the French ambassador for a French 'national' parish, where the French children could be baptized by French members of the clergy emerged again. The resistance of the Latin clergy in Constantinople had prevalently financial reasons. One of the main sources of income for the orders who traditionally administered the Latin parishes, the Dominicans and the Observant and Conventual Franciscans was indeed the administration of the sacraments. The resistance on the side of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide has to be seen in the context of the claims for Gallican liberties by the French king and clergy. Finally, the conflict was resolved by a pragmatic compromise, which did not restrict the privileges of the parish priests but, at the same time, gave the French ambassador the possibility to ask for permission to baptize in the chapel of the French embassy, which was generally granted.

As compared to other territories of the Ottoman Empire, in Constantinople cases of ill Muslim children baptized by the Catholic missionaries are absent in the sources. This fact leads to the conclusion that the religious boundaries were stricter in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire than elsewhere. The only exception was represented by the children of Catholics who had converted to Islam. But also these cases were only marginally present in Constantinople. The immediate proximity of the political and religious centre of power of the

Ottoman Empire reinforced the boundaries between the Latin missionaries and the Muslim population of Constantinople.

The fact that the Ottoman elite of Latin Catholics, in particular the dragomans and other high officials of the embassies, would choose the ambassadors and their wives as godparents in the second half of the 17th century corroborates the hypothesis that the local Latin elite tried to reinforce the alliances with the European elite in Constantinople. For the more modest local Latin families, alliances with members of the Greek community were important with regard to the choice of godparents and the missionaries only occasionally opposed it.

As shown in chapter six on the sacrament of marriage, the *Tametsi* decree was applied in Constantinople and thus, generally, the weddings of the Latin Catholics were accordingly celebrated. Nevertheless, the multi-religious environment of Constantinople offered the Latin Catholics various alternatives to the Catholic Church. In particular in the case of weddings, couples who wanted to get married despite some reservations or impediments on behalf of the Latin clergy could turn to the ministers of other Christian confessions or the Ottoman *qadi*. It can be said that the members of the Latin Catholic community of Constantinople were generally aware of their options and consequently, they were in a strong position towards the Catholic clergy in Constantinople. If the Latin clergy did not want to celebrate a marriage, they could turn to the ministers of other confessions and religions. If, at a later date, they wanted to be reconciled with the Catholic Church, the clergy had a great interest in being indulgent.

Similar was the case with regard to the practice of mixed marriages. It is not possible to determine the exact number of mixed marriages involving Latin Catholics contracted in Constantinople between the 1650s and the 1760s. Only a small part of the missionaries' activities was reported to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome. Presumably, numerous mixed marriages were contracted by the Latin clergy in Constantinople or by Orthodox or Protestant ministers or Ottoman judges without leaving any traces in the correspondence between the local clergy and the Roman Curia. The missionaries' attitudes towards the *mixtae religionis* and *disparitatis cultis* mixed marriages were ambivalent. On the one hand, there was the hope of converting the non-Catholic spouse and consequently the couple's children to Catholicism; on the other hand, there was the fear of losing too many Catholics to the Orthodox, Protestant or Muslim community. Whereas generally, the clergy in Constantinople emphasized the potential benefits of mixed marriages, there were critical voices among the clergy as well, requesting a stricter observance of the Roman rules.

In addition, the attitude of the Roman Curia was everything but consistent. In several cases, the cardinals of Propaganda Fide applied the stricter attitude of the Congregation of the Council, which declared mixed marriages as null, since the cardinals of the Holy Office generally adopted the opinion that mixed marriages were 'valid but illicit'. The attitude of the Holy Office prevailed definitively with the pontificate of Benedict XIV.

The visibility of the Latin Catholics on the streets of Galata and Pera was one of the main issues present in the letters written from Constantinople to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in Rome in relation with funeral practices analysed in chapter seven. In fact, with the exception of processions on highly religious holy days, which had to take place at nights, the Latin Catholics were only allowed to use the streets of Galata and Pera for religious ceremonies for funeral processions. This visibility in the streets of Galata and Pera was an important issue for the members of the Latin clergy and also for the diplomatic representatives. The descriptions of extraordinary funerals written by the patriarchal vicar Gasparini and the French ambassador Ferriol highlighted the splendour and solemnity of the procession of important members of the Latin community and pointed to the impact of the processions on the non-Catholic population of the district. Funeral processions were thus important opportunities for the Latin Catholics to extend their ritual and religious practice to the public space of Galata and Pera, and thus to mark therein their often precarious presence.

With regard to the sacramental level of the last rites and funeral ceremonies, the difficulty of controlling who administered the sacrament to whom, was frequently an issue in the correspondence between Constantinople and Rome. Again, there was the claim of the French missionaries and ambassadors who wanted to administer the last rites to the French members of the community. Particularly challenging was the situation with regard to the administration of the last rites during epidemics of the plague which were still frequent in Constantinople during the 17th and 18th century. Here again a discrepancy emerges between the normative level of the missionaries activities and the practical level. It transpires from several letters that the missionaries would rather try to save their own lives instead of assisting the sick and the dying as they were supposed to do.

A strong social element was implicit in the rites of passage of baptism, marriage and last rites which frequently was at least as relevant in the everyday life of Constantinople as it was on a strictly sacramental level. The social element of the rites of passage led to close contacts between Latin Catholics and non-Catholics, in particular members of the Eastern Churches and Protestants. As pointed out in chapter eight, these contacts only occasionally led to the conversion of Latin Catholics to another confession or another religion and vice versa. The

sources refer predominantly to trans-communal practices in the 17th century and concern primarily the local members of the Latin community and to a lesser degree the European Latin Catholics who were generally less integrated in the Ottoman society. It became apparent that in the everyday life of seventeenth-century Constantinople, there were no clear boundaries between the members of different Christian confessions. During the 18th century this situation changed and there existed a clearer distinction in particular between the Latin Catholic and Greek Orthodox community. On the contrary to other territories of the Ottoman or Persian Empire, the relations between the Latin Catholic missionaries and the representatives of Protestant powers were less close. The presence of Protestant ambassadors and ministers and Catholic ambassadors and priest resulted presumably in the transfer of confessional antagonisms from Europe to the Ottoman Empire.

As outlined in chapter nine, the union of the Eastern Churches with the Roman Catholic Church was initially one of the main goals of the missions in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Near East. The number of converts to Catholicism remained extremely modest and nevertheless led to severe conflicts with the Orthodox and Armenian authorities which applied to the Ottoman authorities in order to prevent conversions to the Catholic Church. At the apogee of the conflicts between Orthodox Greeks and Latin Catholics, the Orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem decreed in 1755 that the Greek Orthodox Church should no longer accept Latin baptism as valid.

In particular during the 17th century, numerous Ottoman Latin Catholics passed to the Orthodox Church without formal conversion but within confessionally-mixed families, the Latin Catholics started to attend the Orthodox functions and rituals. The situation was different for the conversions to Islam of Latin Catholics, and in particular of Latin clergymen, which were staged in the streets and squares of the city with the participation of a large public. The participation of the public became particularly evident in the spectacular cases of Christian apostates who returned to their original religion and were sentenced to death by the Ottoman authorities.

The conversions, trials and executions of Christian apostates in Constantinople were followed inter-confessionally. In particular between the 1670s and 1680s there were several cases of predominantly Greek neo-martyrs, which in all probability must be related to the forms of piety as diffused by the Kadızadeli movement. As we have demonstrated, the veneration of the martyrs' constancy in faith knew no confessional boundaries. The Greek Orthodox authorities in the Ottoman Empire complied with the need for glory of the Orthodox community with the tradition of neo-martyrs. In this constellation, the missionaries and

patriarchal vicars supported the canonisation of martyrs within the Catholic Church despite the reservations of the Roman Curia. Interestingly, the patriarchal vicars tried several times to appropriate the Greek martyrs to the Catholic Church by pointing to their unclear confessional affiliation. On the contrary to the attitude of the clergy in Constantinople, the Roman Curia did not follow such cases. Nevertheless, the veneration of Greek martyrs in Constantinople by Latin Catholics and members of the clergy could not be prevented. The cases of the martyrs of the 17th century are thus another example to demonstrate the fact that the Curia in Rome exerted at most partial control over local matters.

The Latin Catholic parishes of Constantinople were basically administered according to the requirements of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, which was represented by the predominantly European missionaries. Local elements rooted in the sharing of religious practices between the different communities had mainly disappeared towards the end of the 17th century. However, as has been shown, there remained however several deviations from the Roman rules, such as for instance the contacts with members of other Christian Churches and the administration of the sacraments in private houses. The missionaries and patriarchal vicars acted generally as representatives of the Latin Catholics in Constantinople and tried to justify the deviations with the local conditions that rendered the deviation inevitable. It should be specified however that demands for stricter compliance with the Roman rules were also initiated by missionaries in Constantinople. The *marges de manoeuvre* of the clergy was remarkable in Constantinople and it did not disappear in the 18th century, but with intensified correspondence between Constantinople and Rome, increased legislative activity under Benedict XIV and stricter control of the missionaries' activities on behalf of the French ambassadors, the scopes of action became narrower.

Whereas on the one hand the Roman pontiffs and congregations remained firm on a dogmatic level, they nevertheless adopted an extremely pragmatic attitude on a more practical level. The assumption that the congregation of the Holy Office would represent a stricter attitude than Propaganda Fide has been disproved. As the decisions of the Holy Office had more weight than the decisions of Propaganda Fide, the evaluations were done with extreme caution. It should be made clear that the Curia was forced to adopt its pragmatic attitude due to the lack of influence. The pontiffs and cardinals in Rome simply had no means of coercion which would have been necessary to enforce the rules. In the case of Constantinople, the strong position of the French ambassadors and the multi-religious structure of the city further limited the influence of the Roman Curia on the Catholic community. The fact that the

'religious concurrence' was institutionally and quantitatively stronger than the Latin Catholic Church in the Ottoman capital city enhanced these limitations even further.

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