

DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND
THE WEST UNDER THE LATE PALAIOLOGOI (1354-1453)

by

STAVROULA ANDRIOPOULOU

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies
Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
March 2010

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the diplomatic communication between the Byzantine Empire and the West during the last century of the empire's life from 1354 to 1453. The first chapter deals with ambassadorial travel to the West, studying land and sea routes, the season of travel, its speed and duration and the choice of vessel for the transportation of ambassadors to western destinations. The second chapter analyses diplomatic missions to the West, examining both the embassies themselves and the people involved in them, in an effort to create the profile of the late Byzantine imperial ambassador to the West. The third chapter examines specific diplomatic practices focusing both on the different characteristics of each emperor's reign, and on the late Palaiologan period as a whole. These three chapters are accompanied three Appendices comprised of three main databases that list the embassies of the period, the journeys of the ambassadors and the ambassadors themselves, and a series of tables and charts that further facilitate reading and comprehending the results of this study. Through my research into these aspects of late Palaiologan diplomatic practice, I aim to demonstrate that the late Palaiologoi combined traditional diplomacy and innovative methods, such as their personal involvement in embassies to the West, which reflect the dynamism of the late empire.

*To my family
for their unwavering love and support.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing a PhD dissertation can be an overwhelming experience, both frightening and exciting. I am therefore extremely grateful for being surrounded by wonderful people, family, teachers and friends, who were constantly supporting me, during this long process.

My sincere thanks and gratitude go to my supervisors, Dr Ruth Macrides and Dr Dimiter Angelov, for their support and advice. Thank you, for your patience, for showing faith in me and guiding me in the right direction. A warm thank you also to all the members of staff at the Centre of Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham for always being ready to offer advice and help, and for welcoming us postgraduate students to a wonderful academic community.

I feel extremely lucky for having around me an extremely supportive group of friends. A special thank you goes to Dr Fotini Kondyli for her understanding and constant support, and for always being available to talk about Byzantium until late into the night. To Dr Jonathan Shea and Rowenna Baldwin for being good friends and for

opening their home to me in the very difficult last months of my PhD. To Tanya and Sotiri for the long phone-calls from Greece and for listening patiently all those years. Finally, to all my fellow students at the University of Birmingham for their encouragement, which helped me survive the final months.

This PhD would never have been completed without the support of my partner, Dionysis. His contribution to this work extends far beyond the help he offered on the tables and charts of the Appendices. Thank you for sharing Birmingham with me, this experience would not have been the same without you. Finally, this thesis owes its existence to my parents, Niko and Pepi. There are no words sufficient enough to express my gratitude to you for everything you have given me. Thank you for being my inspiration.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum

Annales Estenses: de Delayto, I. *Annales Estenses*. Milan, 1731

Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó: Cerone, F., *La politica orientale d'Alfonso I d'Aragona*. Archivio storico per le province napoletane XXVII. Naples, 1902

ASI: Archivio Storico Italiano

Atiya, Nicopolis: Atiya, A.S. *The Crusade of Nicopolis*. London, 1934

B: Byzantion

BF: Byzantinische Forschungen

BMGS: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BS: Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines

BSI: Byzantinoslavica

BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift

Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*: Cecconi, E. *Studi storici sul concilio di Firenze*.
Florence, 1869.

Chalkokondyles: Chalkokondyles, Laonikos, *Historiarum Demonstrationes*,
ed. I. Bekker. Bonn, 1843

Chronicon Siculum: de Blasiis, J. (ed), *Chronicon Siculum incerti authoris ab a.*
340 ad a. 1396 in forma diary ex inedito codice Ottoboniano Vaticano.
Naples, 1887

Concilium Basiliense: Haller, J. et. al., *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und*
Dokumente. 8 vols. Basle, 1896-1936

Dennis, *Manuel II*: Dennis, G.T. *The reign of Manuel II Paleologus in*
Thessalonica, 1382-1387. Rome, 1960

ΔΙΕΕ: Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος

Diplomatari de l'Orient Català: Rubió i Lluch, A. *Diplomatari de l'Orient*
Català (1301-1454). Barcelona, 1947

Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum: Thomas, G.M. and Predelli, R.
Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive acta et diplomata res Venetas,
Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia. a. 1300-1454, 2 vols. Venice, 1880-99;
repr. New York, 1964

Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane: Müller, J. *Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e con Turchi fino all'anno 1531*. Florence, 1879; repr. Rome, 1966

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers

Doukas: Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker. Bonn, 1834.

ΕΕΒΣ: Ἐπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν

EHB: Laiou, A. (ed) *The economic history of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth centuries*, 3 vols. Washington D.C., 2002

EO: Échos d'Orient

Epistolae pontificiae: Hofmann, G. *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*. Rome, 1940-46

Foedera: Rymer, T. *Foedera, Convectiones Literae et cuiuscunque generic Acta Publica VIII*. London, 1709

Giovanni da Ravenna: Giovanni da Ravenna, *Opusculae varie*, ed. T. Kardos. Budapest, 1936

Gregoras: Gregoras, Nikephoros, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. Bonn, 1829-30

Iorga, *Notes*: Iorga, N. *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle* I-III. Paris, 1899-1902. IV-VI. Bucarest, 1915

JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies

JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

Kritoboulos: Kritoboulos, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, CFHB 22, ed. D.R. Reinsch. Berlin/New York, 1983.

Krekić, *Raguse* : Krekić, B. *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1961

Kydones, *Apology*: 'Demetrios Kydones, Apologie della propria fede: I. Ai Greci Ortodossi', ed. G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*. Vatican City, 1931

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Kydones, *Correspondance*, ed. Cammelli: *Demetrius Cydones Correspondance*, ed. G. Cammelli. Paris, 1930

Lecacheux, *Lettres d'Urban V*: Lecacheux, P. and Mollat, G. *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France*, I-II. Paris 1902, 1906

Manuel II, *Funeral oration*: Manuel II Palaiologos, *Funeral oration on his brother Theodore*, ed. J. Chrysostomides. Thessaloniki, 1985

Manuel II, *Letters*: Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus. Text, translation and notes*, ed. G.T. Dennis. Washington D.C., 1977

Marinesco, 'Relations': Marinesco, C. 'De nouveau sur les relations de Manuel II Paléologue (1391-1425) avec l'Espagne', *SBN* 7 (1953), 421-429

Mazaris: *Mazaris' Journey to Hades, or Interviews with dead men about certain officials of the imperial court*, eds. J. N. Barry, M. J. Share, A. Smithies, L.G. Westernick. Buffalo, 1975

MM: Miklosich, F. and Müller, J. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. 6 vols. Vienna 1860-1890 ; repr. Aalen 1962

Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium: Makuscev, V. *Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium*, I. Warsaw, 1874

Monumenta Hungariae Historica: Wenzel, G. *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* II. Budapest, 1875

Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Chrysostomides, J. *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries*. Camberley, 1995.

Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Ljubić, S. (ed) *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. II-IV. Zagreb, 1870-74

NE: Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων

ODB: Kazhdan, A. et al. (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. Oxford, 1991.

OCP: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

PG: Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeco-Latina*, Paris, 1857-66

PLP: Trapp, E. et al. *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna, 1976-1996

PP: Lambros, S.P., *Παλαιολογία και Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols. Athens, 1912-13

Pseudo-Kodinos: *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux. Paris, 1976

Pseudo-Phrantzes: *Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu. Bucarest, 1966

REB: Revue des études byzantines

Regesten: Dölger, F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453, V: 1341-1453*. Munich/Berlin, 1960

REI: Revue des études italiennes

RESEE: Revue des études sud-est européennes

RHE: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique

RSBN: Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici

SBN: Studi Bizantini et neoellenici

Sphrantzes: Sphrantzes. *Cronicon*, ed. R. Maisano. Rome, 1990

StVen: Studi Veneziani

Syropoulos: Syropoulos, Sylvester, *Les 'Mémoires' du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople, Sylvestros Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, ed. V. Laurent. Paris, 1971

Thiriet, *Régestes*: Thiriet, F. *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 3 vols. Paris/The Hague, 1958-61.

TM: Travaux et Mémoires

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies the diplomatic communication between the Byzantine Empire and the West during the last century of the empire's life from 1354 to 1453. Its main aim is to explore the different aspects of Byzantine diplomacy during this period, mainly focusing on the 'techniques of foreign relations':¹ the means of communication, the people involved in diplomatic activity and the main diplomatic practices. A variety of primary sources provide the basis for a comprehensive examination of late Byzantine diplomacy towards the West, revealing the ways and the time of ambassadors' travels, the vessels used, and the importance of these choices based on the economic and political context. My research also focuses on the profile of the envoys selected to play a key role in the diplomatic communication with the West, their significance in late Byzantine society and the impact of their actions on the shaping of events. Finally, it discusses the choices of the Byzantine emperors of this period in terms of political manoeuvring, and the most significant

¹ The term is attributed to F.L. Ganshof, *The Middle Ages. A history of international relations* (New York, 1970), 283 and has been used by D. Zakythinis in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d' Etudes Byzantines I* (Ochrid, 1961), 315 and A. Kazhdan, 'The notion of Byzantine diplomacy', J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the 24th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Cambridge, March 1990* (Aldershot, 1992), 6 and in order to distinguish diplomatic activity from foreign policy and international relations. See below for further analysis of these terms.

diplomatic practices that define their foreign policy in the years just before the empire's final demise in 1453.

The term 'diplomatic communication' or 'diplomacy' is employed here to define certain 'technical' aspects of communication with the West, the practical realisation of the foreign policy of the last Palaiologan emperors. And it is in that respect that diplomacy and foreign policy are differentiated from each other: The former has been defined quite clearly by Dionysios Zakythinos and it includes aspects, such as the travels of envoys and the exchange of missions, the profile of the diplomats, their instructions in their missions, as well as the execution of these instructions, and several other aspects that represent the 'how' in diplomacy.² Foreign policy, on the other hand, while not always easy to distinguish from diplomacy, mainly consists of the 'what' of diplomatic communications, the foreign relations themselves along with their results.³

The term 'West', used here to define the recipient of Byzantine diplomatic advances geographically and politically, includes primarily what is commonly referred to by texts and modern historians as the Latin West. This term usually focuses on the political entities in Italy, here primarily describing the maritime republics and in particular Venice and Genoa as well as the papacy; it is as such that it is placed in the centre of

² Zakythinos, *Actes*, 315.

³ Kazhdan, 'Notion of Byzantine diplomacy', 6.

this study. In addition, the term 'West' refers to political entities outside Italy that, in this period, were the targets of Byzantine diplomatic advances, such as England, France, the Spanish kingdoms and to a greater extent Hungary, even if they are treated in a less detailed manner. Finally, the term 'Latin West' can also include the people of the Roman Catholic faith, a use that also features here.

This definition and choice of the West as the subject of study, as it pertains to Byzantine diplomacy, presents certain methodological problems and poses limitations that ought to be clarified. First of all, it has been argued that a regional approach to the study of diplomatic practices, such as the one adopted here, could lead to a limited discussion of minor issues and distort the overall picture of the main characteristics of Byzantine diplomacy.⁴ However, I would tend to agree with Dimitri Obolensky's argument that such an approach is rendered necessary by the absence of a general work on Byzantine diplomacy.⁵ Such studies that are more limited geographically and chronologically can look more deeply into the several distinctive aspects of Byzantine diplomatic policies toward a specific recipient and form the starting point for a larger comparative study that will be able to combine them and discuss the bigger picture.

⁴ Zakythinos, *Actes*, 302; Kazhdan, 'Notion of Byzantine diplomacy', 3.

⁵ D. Obolensky, 'The principles and methods of Byzantine diplomacy' *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d' Etudes Byzantines* I (Ochrid, 1961), 45.

The second limitation in the use of the 'West' as a general term that defines a political and geographical unit comes from the rather obvious fact that the West in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was, of course, far from uniform and it consisted of many political entities. These political formations not only presented different characteristics in their own internal organisation but were also approached in different ways by the agents of Byzantine diplomacy.⁶ The first step to overcome this problem is, I believe, to address it by highlighting these differences and analysing the different diplomatic practices employed by the Byzantine emperors to each of these political formations, such as the papacy or Venice. However, we should also recognise that the 'West' as a unit, a geographical region comprised of a number of Christian nations, united in some limited respect under the pope, regardless of the individual practices that the Byzantine emperors might employ, represents the recipient of a more general aim of Byzantine diplomacy: at our period of study, that aim was realised in the efforts to obtain military and economic help in order to face the Ottoman threat.

In terms of chronology, the discussion within this study begins in 1354, the date that saw John V Palaiologos emerging as sole emperor of the Byzantine Empire after the removal of John VI Kantakouzenos from power. At that time, the situation of the Byzantine Empire was a grave one

⁶ Kazhdan, 'Notion of Byzantine diplomacy', 4.

on several levels. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Byzantium had suffered two civil wars, the second of which had more lasting and destructive effects. The Serbs and Turks, who had been invited to Byzantine territory as John Kantakouzenos' allies, pillaged the already weakened countryside, and a plague epidemic caused a major decrease in the population.⁷ At the same time, due to Serbian invasions, communication between the remaining territories of the Byzantine Empire, consisting only of Thrace, Thessalonike and its hinterland, the north Aegean islands, and the despotate of the Morea was disrupted, as central roads like the Via Egnatia fell out of use, isolating the major cities of the empire from the capital.⁸

The internal crisis within the Byzantine Empire only helped the already empowered Ottoman Turks, who, after they established themselves in Gallipoli in 1354, systematically marched against Thrace, occupying its main cities one after the other, weakened as they were by the constant civil wars of the previous period. The death of Stephen Dušan of Serbia in 1355 effectively led to the gradual collapse of his empire,

⁷ A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century', M. Jones (ed.) *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6: c. 1300-1415 (2000), 795-824; *eadem*, 'The agrarian economy, thirteenth - fifteenth centuries', in A. Laiou (ed), *The Economic History of Byzantium I* (Washington D.C., 2002), 316-17.

⁸ Communication between Thessalonike and Constantinople was being conducted only by sea since ca. 1341. A. Laiou, 'Η Θεσσαλονίκη, η ενδοχώρα της και ο οικονομικός της χώρος στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων', *Byzantine Makedonia, 324-1430* (Thessalonike, 1995), 189-90.

leaving no significant force in the Balkans to stop the advancing Turks.⁹ After several attempts of resistance, in 1371 Serbia became a vassal of the Ottomans and Byzantium soon followed.

Therefore, on a first level, the significance of 1354 as a turning point for the empire lies on the fact that it entered an era when it was even more threatened by the Turks, who had established themselves in Europe, while at the same time it exited the two civil wars in a grave condition. On a second level, the beginning of John V's reign is a turning point, as far as this study is concerned, because it also marks a shift, if not a clear change, in the foreign policy of the empire. Diplomatic activity toward the West had a very specific target from then on, that also existed in the preceding period but had not been defined as clearly: it is now aimed at obtaining military and financial help against the Ottoman Turks, usually by promoting an alliance of western Christian powers against them and by negotiating the conditions for a union between the eastern and western Churches.

As far as the military help from the West is concerned, there are two examples of Westerners offering aid to Byzantium against the Turks in the first half of the fourteenth century. First, in 1303, the Catalan company, a band of professional soldiers, who had fought at the side of King

⁹G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, trans. from German J. Hussey (Oxford, 1968), 533-534.

Frederick II of Sicily against Charles of Anjou, were hired by Andronikos II to fight against the Turks in Asia Minor. Despite the catastrophic results that their presence in the empire caused later, they represented a large western force of 6,500 men, who provided military support to the Byzantines.¹⁰ Secondly, the anti-Turkish alliance of 1332-1334 provided a fleet with ships from Venice, the pope, France, Rhodes and Cyprus, which won a victory against the emir of Karasi near Adramyttion. This alliance was a product of long-term negotiations, beginning as early as 1325 with the initiative of Venice. It has been argued that the papacy opposed the Byzantine involvement in this undertaking unless it was accompanied by a union of the Churches.¹¹ However, it appears that in the early stages of its formation in 1332, this league included Byzantium, although by 1334 Byzantium had opted out of the alliance. Angelike Laiou convincingly argues that the league of 1332 had been purely a political alliance against the Turks, moved by a secular power, Venice, which realised for the first time the more extensive threat that the Turkish advancement could present for the future of Western Europe.¹²

The subject of union between the eastern and western Churches was an issue of discussion for most Palaiologan emperors and was often

¹⁰ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, 492 - 498; D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (London, 1972; repr. Cambridge, 2002), 129-140.

¹¹ Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 173-74.

¹² A. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: the background to the anti-Turkish league of 1332-1334', *Speculum* 41 (1970), 374-392.

intertwined with the subject of military help. Therefore, Michael VIII, the first Palaiologan emperor, had made an attempt at ecclesiastical union at the Council of Lyons (1274) in order to avert not a threat from the East but from the West, that of Charles of Anjou. This union was quickly renounced by Andronikos II and in fact most of his successors until the mid-fourteenth century had been reluctant to discuss and accept such an undertaking. John V Palaiologos, after becoming sole emperor in 1354, systematically sought help from the West, hoping to rouse a crusade against the Turks, who were rapidly advancing in his territory. At the same time he combined these requests with a discussion for ecclesiastical union with the pope, creating a link between the issues of Union and western help against the Turks.

Finally, John V's reign introduces a significant innovation in diplomatic activity. John V was the first Byzantine emperor to visit a western monarch and the papacy in order to plead for help before the political powers of Europe. In 1366, John V went to Buda in order to meet with Louis, king of Hungary and in 1369, he travelled to Rome and then Venice in order to pursue both issues, Church union and help against the Turks. This unprecedented action of the Byzantine emperor acting as a self-appointed ambassador, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, was to create a pattern for the emperors who followed, developing it into a diplomatic practice that characterises this late period.

For the examination and analysis of diplomatic activity towards the West the information derives from a variety of written sources.

Official documents are the most significant type of primary source used in this study, since they are the texts dealing directly with diplomatic activity. Their deliverance constitutes the main responsibility and purpose of an ambassadorial mission and they represent the product of the envoys' negotiations. Since we are dealing primarily with the official diplomacy conducted by the head of the Byzantine state, the emperor, all official documents, such as chrysobulls, and the correspondence of the last Palaiologoi with western rulers are of particular interest. These are mainly the documents incorporated in the work of Franz Dölger, which lists and categorises all types of imperial documents, and in Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller's edition of Byzantium's diplomatic communication with Venice and Genoa, as well as in other editions of documents that pertain to the diplomatic communication between Venice and Genoa.¹³ The western sources of this type include the letters written by the pope to the Byzantine emperor, as they are recorded in the editions of papal

¹³ F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, V: 1341-1453 (Munich/Berlin, 1960); F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. 6 vols (Vienna, 1860-1890; repr. Aalen, 1962); J. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries* (Camberley, 1995).

correspondence pertaining to Byzantium and the Christian East¹⁴ and the diplomatic treaties, correspondence and deliberations of the assemblies of the Italian maritime republics compiled in various editions.¹⁵ Of great significance are also editions that incorporate the correspondence of Byzantine emperors with other western rulers, such as those of the Spanish kingdoms, as published by Lluçh¹⁶.

On a first level, these documents provide useful information on the names of the ambassadors that took part in several negotiations, and in the general diplomatic activity and communication between Byzantium and the West. Through them we can trace the journey of imperial envoys, the time of their travel, and often establish their presence in the papal court or in the Italian republics with relative safety, thus sketching an

¹⁴ A. Tautu, *Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342-1352)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III, vol. 9 (Rome, 1960); *Acta Innocentii PP. VI (1352-1362)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III, vol. 10 (Rome, 1961); *Acta Urbani PP. V (1362-1370)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III (Rome, 1964); *Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370-1378)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III, vol. 12 (Rome, 1966); *Acta Urbani PP. VI (1378-1389)*, *Bonifacii PP. IX (1389-1404)*, *Innocentii PP. VII (1404-1406) et Gregorii PP. XII (1406-1415)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III, vol. 5, t. 1 (Rome, 1970); *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378-1394)*, *Benedicti XIII (1394-1417)*, *Alexandri V (1409-1410) et Johannis XXIII (1406-1415)*. Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo. Series III, vol. 13, t. 1 (Rome, 1971).

¹⁵ J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531* (Florence, 1879); G.M. Thomas and R. Predelli (eds) *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive acta et diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia a 1300-1454*, 2 vols (Venice, 1880, 1889; repr., 1964); N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1899-1915); R. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3 vols (Bologna, 1931-1950); F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 3 vols (Paris/The Hague, 1958-61); G.G. Musso, *Navigazione e Commercio Genovese con il Levante nei Documenti dell' Archivio di Stato di Genova (Secc. XIV-XV)* (Rome, 1975); C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance. Édition et présentation des documents* (Paris, 1987).

¹⁶ A. Rubió i Lluçh, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1454)* (Barcelona, 1947).

outline of the route of their journey. They provide an insight into the duration and content of negotiations, help form a clearer view of the political and economic activities of the parties involved, and explore the density and frequency of communication between Byzantium and the West. In addition, imperial and papal correspondence, dealing primarily with issues of ecclesiastical union, reflects the policies and political choices of the senders, which are further illuminated by the timing of the mission and the careful phrasing of their demands and main points. What is more, the documented communication between Byzantium and the Italian republics, especially Venice and Genoa, offers a further insight on the political and economic relations of these political entities with the Byzantine Empire.

Narrative histories are also significant sources of information for this study. Writing in the fifteenth century, the four historians of this period are George Sphrantzes, Doukas, Laonikos Chalkokondyles and Kritoboulos of Imbros. These four historians emerge to the forefront of Byzantine historiography in the middle of the fifteenth century, writing almost exclusively after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. It is perhaps characteristic of the turbulent preceding period that there is a large gap in historiography after the end of the works of John VI

Kantakouzenos and Nikephoros Gregoras until that of the four authors mentioned above.¹⁷

George Sphrantzes was born in Constantinople in 1401. His father was in the service of Thomas Palaiologos, son of Manuel II, and the author himself was placed in the service of the Palaiologan family from an early age, being very close first to Manuel II and then to John VIII, and especially to Constantine XI. He served as a court official and as an ambassador in several diplomatic missions. His work, the *Chronicon Minus*, covering the period 1401-1477, basically coincides with the author's life and is written in the form of memoirs. At the centre of the narration are the main political and military events of the last years of the Byzantine Empire, following closely the actions of the last two Palaiologan emperors and the workings of the late Byzantine court both in Constantinople and Mistras.¹⁸ Doukas, born in the Asia Minor, was in the service of the Genoese Gattilusi family, rulers of Lesbos. In this capacity, he often travelled to Constantinople and experienced personally some of the events

¹⁷ D.M. Nicol, 'AD 1354-Annus fatalis for the Byzantine Empire', W. Seibt (ed), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit. Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien, 30 November bis 3 Dezember 1994)* (Vienna, 1996), 163-169.

¹⁸ The work of Sphrantzes has been preserved in two versions: *Chronicon Minus* and *Chronicon Maius*. Today it is generally accepted that the *Minus* is the original work of Sphrantzes, while the *Maius*, which is more extended and detailed is said to have been written by Makarios Melissenos towards the end of the sixteenth century. R-J. Loenertz, "Autour du 'Chronicon Maius' attribué à Georges Phrantzès", *Miscellanea Gionanni Mercati* 3 (Studi e Testi 123, Vatican City, 1946), 273-311; *Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966); V. Grecu, 'Georgios Sphrantzes. Leben und Werk. Makarios Melissenos und sein Werk', *BSI* 26 (1965), 62-73; A. Savvides, *Ο Βυζαντινός Ιστοριογράφος του ΙΕ αι. Γεώργιος Σφραντζής* (Athens, 1982); *Cronicon*, ed. R. Maisano (Rome, 1990)

before the siege of Constantinople and after the fall of the Byzantine capital. His account is also centred around the fall of the Byzantine Empire and covers the period 1341-1462.¹⁹

Laonikos Chalkokondyles was an Athenian aristocrat, with links to the ruling Florentine family of the city. He spent many years in the Peloponnese, gaining first-hand experience of the events there during the years 1435-1460 and probably left after the Turkish conquest and settled in Italy. His account records the rise to power of the Ottoman Turks and places them at the centre of his narration in the period 1298 - 1463.²⁰ The Ottoman Turks are also the main focus of Kritoboulos, a member of the leading family in the island of Imbros and later a governor of the island, appointed by the Ottomans. His history covers the period 1451-1467.²¹

There are several views one can adopt while trying to categorise these authors in order to examine how they viewed the political, social and economic situation of the empire at the time. Firstly, it is interesting to

¹⁹ Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, CSHB, 20, 21, ed. E. Bekker (Bonn, 1834); ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958); ed. and trans. B. Karalis (Athens, 1997); W. Miller, 'The Historians Doukas and Phrantzes', *JHS* 46 (1926), 63-71; V. Grecu, 'Pour une meilleure connaissance de l' historien Doukas', *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Paris, 1948), 128-141.

²⁰ *Historiarum Demonstrationes*, CSHB, 44, 48, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1843); *Historiae*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922-27); W. Miller, 'The last Athenian historian: Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *JHS* 42 (1922), 36-49; A. Wifstrand, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, der letzte Athener. Ein Vortrag* (Lund, 1972); *Λαόνικου Χαλκοκονδύλη, Βυζαντίου Αλωσις. Αποδείξεις Ιστορίων: Αποδείξεις Ιστορίων Η' [380 (201P)-403B (214P)]*, ed. N. Nikolouides (Athens, 2006).

²¹ N.P. Andriotes, 'Κριτόβουλος ὁ Ἴμβριος καὶ τὸ ἱστορικὸ τοῦ ἔργου', *Ελληνικά* 2 (1929) 167-200; *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, CFHB 22, ed. D.R. Reinsch (Berlin/New York, 1983); N.V. Tomadakes, *Περὶ Αλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453): Δούκα-Κριτοβούλου, Σφραντζή-Χαλκοκονδύλη* (Thessalonike, 1993).

note that the authors often discuss the same issues from a different geographical perspective according to their own interests and experiences. Chalkokondyles is centred around Athens, his place of origin, the Peloponnese and Italy but offers information on England, France and the Balkans, as well as the borders of the Byzantine Empire during its final years and the extent of the Turkish dominions. Doukas on the other hand is firmly situated in the Asia Minor and the Genoese Lesbos, while Sphrantzes is particularly interested in the Peloponnese, where he was in the service of the despot Constantine Palaiologos, and in Constantinople, when Constantine became emperor. Kritoboulos' focus lies on the events of the fall of the imperial capital in 1453 and its effects on the islands of the North Aegean, especially Imbros.

On another level, a further classification of these authors looks into their political views and personal position towards the Latin West and by extension the Ottomans. Their inclinations towards or opposition to the West, either from a political or ecclesiastical point of view, greatly affected their appreciation of the events they were narrating. Doukas, who had lived most of his life in the service of the Genoese of Lesbos, can be considered pro-Latin, a supporter of ecclesiastical union with the West.²² Sphrantzes, who had the benefit of a close relationship with three

²² The terms pro-Latin and pro-Ottoman as well as the classification of the primary sources as such are discussed in depth in N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: politics and society in the late empire* (Cambridge, 2009).

emperors, Manuel II, John VIII and Constantine XI, expressed the hope in his writings that ecclesiastical approach with the West could benefit Byzantium but appeared to have changed his mind, later viewing it as one of the causes of the fall of Constantinople.²³ A completely different view is expressed by the historians Kritoboulos and Chalkokondyles. Kritoboulos placed the fall of Constantinople at the centre of his study but dedicated his work to Mehmed II and accepted the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire as the unavoidable political reality of his time. Similarly, Chalkokondyles wrote his history from the viewpoint of the history of the rise of the Ottoman Turks.

In addition to these four narratives, extremely significant for this study is the work of Sylvester Syropoulos, a high ecclesiastical official, who recorded his experiences from the Council of Ferrara-Florence in the form of *Memoirs*.²⁴ The intimate knowledge deriving from his high position in ecclesiastical ranks and his own personal experience as a patriarchal envoy provided Syropoulos with the essential information to produce an account of numerous diplomatic missions to the Pope, Venice and Hungary, a vivid description of the journey of the Byzantine delegation to Italy in order to attend the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) and

²³ Sphrantzes, XIII, 4-6.

²⁴ J. Gill, 'The 'Acta' and the Memoirs of Syropoulos as History', *OCP* 14 (1948), 303-355; V. Laurent (ed. and French translation), *Les Mémoires du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)* (Paris, 1971); for an English translation and commentary of Book IV of Syropoulos' *Memoirs* also see www.syropoulos.co.uk.

back, and a detailed report of the council itself. The value and appeal of his text for this study derives mostly from the 'inside information' that he provides for the members of the Byzantine delegation, and from the variety of other topics that could be of interest within his text, such as conditions of travel, speed and safety of sea journeys, material culture and aspects of everyday life, ceremonial and reception of an embassy, and important prosopographical information on the imperial and patriarchal ambassadors.

The third category of primary sources includes literary texts other than narratives, primarily letters. Byzantine epistolography offers products that are usually written in a stylised language and manner, with elements of rhetoric and imitation of classical examples.²⁵ There is a variety of types of letters, exploring the different levels of literary styles and topics. In the late Palaiologan period, this tradition is still present; however the letters and their writers seem to be more attached to contemporary events.²⁶ Therefore, these letters, combined with the knowledge of the author's and the recipient's backgrounds and status, often give an insight on political and social issues of the time, including little but valuable information on embassies and their travels, names of ambassadors, and, often, a comment on the political and economic context of a diplomatic mission.

²⁵ H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία Α'* (Athens, 1991), 303-357.

²⁶ I. Ševčenko, 'Nikolaus Cabasilas. Correspondence and the treatment of late Byzantine literary texts', *BZ* 47 (1954), 50.

The intellectuals of the late fourteenth century often corresponded in writing with each other, and the majority of the letters preserved reveals a somewhat limited circle of people.²⁷ Of these, the most important for this period are the letters of Demetrios Kydones.²⁸ One of the leading intellectuals of his time, Kydones served as *mesazon* and was a close friend and advisor of Manuel II Palaiologos. He was an avid supporter of political and ecclesiastical union with the West, converting to Catholicism some time before 1365.²⁹ Of particular interest are his diplomatic activities in furthering the cause of eastern-western union as he was part of John V's retinue to his journey to Rome in 1369.³⁰ Also of great importance for the understanding of Byzantine foreign relations and policy of the late period are the writings of Manuel II Palaiologos with emphasis on his correspondence with Demetrios Kydones.³¹ Among other personalities that shared Kydones' views on matters of union with the West are his

²⁷ Ševčenko, 'Nikolaus Cabasilas', 50-51.

²⁸ Demetrios Kydones, 'On accepting Latin aid', *PG*, vol. 154, cols. 961-1008, 1009-1036; 'Demetrios Kydones, 'Apologie della propria fede: I. Ai Greci Ortodossi', in G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Vatican City, 1931); R.-J. Loenertz (ed), *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance*, 2 vols (Vatican City, 1956-60); R.-J. Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès. I: De la naissance à l'année 1373', *OCP* 36 (1970), 47-72; *idem*, 'Démétrius Cydonès. II: De 1373 à 1375', *OCP* 37 (1971), 5-39; F. Kianka, *Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324-c. 1397): Intellectual and diplomatic relations between Byzantium and the West in the fourteenth century* (PhD. dissertation, Fordham University, 1981); *eadem*, 'Byzantine-papal diplomacy: The role of Demetrius Cydones', *International History Review* 7 (1985), 175-213; *eadem*, 'Demetrios Kydones and Italy', *DOP* 49 (1995), 99-110.

²⁹ O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355-1375* (London, 1972), no 5, 363.

³⁰ Kianka, 'Kydones and Italy', 99.

³¹ *Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus. Text, translation and notes*, ed. G.T. Dennis (Washington D.C., 1977); J. Chrysostomides (ed), *Manuel II Palaeologus, Funeral Oration on his brother Theodore; Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes* (Thessalonike, 1985).

student, Manuel Kalekas and the very important diplomat and scholar, Manuel Chrysoloras.³²

Diplomatic activity, as an important expression of Byzantine foreign policy throughout its long history, is a topic that has attracted the interest of a large number of scholars and its different aspects have been much studied. However, it has been said that ‘the diplomacy of the Byzantine Empire still awaits its historian’, a comprehensive study, which will include the relations with numerous nations and will provide a full analysis of its means and ends.³³ Corroborating to that statement is the fact that, as far as I could find in my readings, there is only one general study covering the subject of Byzantine diplomacy as such throughout the whole Byzantine period. Entitled *Byzantine Diplomacy*, this monograph provides a chronological overview of Byzantine diplomacy, categorised in three periods, and an analysis of the main practices through the presentation of individual missions and the career of well-known Byzantine envoys.³⁴ While extremely valuable as introductory reading on the subject, the authors have embraced a general and descriptive approach, in an attempt to provide the reader with a general understanding of the workings of

³² R.-J. Loenertz (ed), *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas*, (Vatican City, 1950); G. Cammelli, *Μανουήλ Χρυσολωράς*. Trans. D. Vlame (Athens, 2006).

³³ Obolensky, ‘The principles and methods of Byzantine diplomacy’, 45.

³⁴ Z. Udalcova, G. Litavrin, I. Medvedev, *Βυζαντινή Διπλωματία*, trans. (from Russian) P. Materi, D. Patelis (Athens, 1995).

Byzantine diplomacy, and its connection to Byzantine imperial theory and world view.

As far as the theoretical aspects of Byzantine diplomacy are concerned, in terms of its definitions, and its means and ends, invaluable are the contributions of D. Obolensky and D. Zakythinis in the proceedings of the 7th International Conference of Byzantine Studies,³⁵ who discuss what can be defined as diplomacy and which aspects of foreign policy are connected with it, while also focusing on the methodology that is more suitable to approach a general study on Byzantine diplomacy; their debate on the subject has proven invaluable for this study. On the same level are the papers of Alexander Kazhdan and Nicholas Oikonomides in the volume on Byzantine Diplomacy based on the papers from the 24th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies.³⁶ Oikonomides' article, in particular, pertaining exclusively to the analysis of the means and ends of late Byzantine diplomacy, successfully summarises the key points and raises the main questions on the development and characteristics of late Byzantine diplomacy that form the core of this study. Further, Evangelos

³⁵ Obolensky, 'Principles and methods of Byzantine diplomacy'. The paper by D. Zakythinis, which is included in volume I of the proceedings was not presented to the Conference as a separate contribution but emerged from his response to Obolensky's paper. See also the response by G. Moravcsik in the same volume.

³⁶ Kazhdan, 'Notion of Byzantine diplomacy'; Oikonomides, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 1204-1453: means and ends', 73-78. The proceedings of the Spring Symposium also contain other significant contributions by many distinguished scholars on specific aspects of Byzantine diplomacy, such as Byzantium and Others, chronological phases of Byzantine diplomacy, the sources on diplomacy, social aspects, diplomacy and art.

Chrysos discusses the evolution of Byzantine diplomacy and provides an overview of its methods and principles, while he suggests a chronological study of Byzantine diplomacy based on the relations between Byzantium and the several nations, which affected its policies.³⁷

Among the articles and monographs that analyse Byzantine diplomacy, or certain aspects of it, the most common approaches to the subject are to limit the focus point either to a specific time period or to a certain region, or in most cases both. That is the case with two monographs by Telemachos Lounghis and Irene Christou, dealing with a subject matter very similar to this study's but in a much earlier period.³⁸ Another approach is adopted by the collective volume entitled 'Byzantine Diplomacy: a Seminar', which includes articles that discuss the theory – the principles and methods – of Byzantine diplomacy, but mostly focus on the foreign relations and diplomatic practices toward certain recipients, such as the papacy or Western Europe, including a section on Michael

³⁷ E. Chrysos, 'Η βυζαντινή διπλωματία. Αρχές και μέθοδοι' in S. Patoura-Spanou (ed), *Διπλωματία και Πολιτική. Ιστορική προσέγγιση*, (Athens, 2005) 57-69. This volume includes the proceedings of two sessions on diplomacy, the first one focusing on the history and evolution of diplomatic practices and the second on the practices and foreign relations of Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first session had the general title: 'Διπλωματία: η ιστορία και η λειτουργία της έως τη σύγχρονη εποχή' (May, 2002-2003) and the second focused on a more specific theme: 'Διπλωματία και Διεθνείς Σχέσεις της Ελλάδος, 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αι.' (May, 2004).

³⁸ T. Lounghis, *Les ambassades Byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)*, (Athens, 1980) and E. Christou, *Εργα και ημέρες Δυτικών απεσταλμένων στην Κωνσταντινούπολη από την εποχή της Εικονομαχίας ως το Σχίσμα, 726-1054* (Athens, 2000).

VIII's multifaceted diplomacy.³⁹ At the same time, several articles focus on an overview of late Byzantine diplomacy or specific aspects of Byzantine foreign policy, such as the works of Sophia Mergiali-Sahas⁴⁰ and Elizabeth Malamut.⁴¹ Nike Koutrakou has also written important articles offering a study of Byzantine diplomatic traditions and practices through an analysis of the terminology used in the primary sources, looking into consistencies and inconsistencies in the history of Byzantine diplomacy and also on the use of rhetoric as a tool in middle Byzantine diplomacy.⁴² Finally, several articles discuss specific facets of diplomacy, such as treaty making, espionage and the role of prisoners in several periods, especially before 1204.⁴³

³⁹ S. Lampakis, M. Leontsini, T. Lounghis, V. Vlysidou, *Byzantine Diplomacy: a Seminar* (Athens, 2007).

⁴⁰ S. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415), an ideal model of a Scholar-Ambassador', *BS* 2, s. 3 (1998), 1-12; *eadem*, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West and his office during the 14th and 15th centuries: a profile', *BZ* 94 (2001), 588-604; *eadem*, 'Byzantine emperors and holy relics: use, and misuse, of sanctity and authority', *JÖB* 51 (2001) 41-60; *eadem*, 'Το άλλο πρόσωπο της αυτοκρατορικής διπλωματίας: ο Βυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας στο ρόλο του πρεσβευτή το 14^ο-15^ο αιώνα', *Βυζαντικά* 25 (2005-6), 237-259.

⁴¹ E. Malamut, 'Les ambassades du dernier empereur de Byzance', *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron. TM* 14 (Paris, 2002), 429-448 ; *eadem*, 'De 1299 à 1451 au cœur des ambassades byzantines' in C. Maltezos, Peter Schreiner (eds), *Βυζάντιο, Βενετία και ο ελληνοφραγκικός κόσμος (13^{ος}-15^{ος} αι.)* (Venice, 2002), 79-124.

⁴² N. Koutrakou, 'Logos' and 'pathos' between peace and war: rhetoric as a tool of diplomacy in the middle Byzantine period', *Θησαυρίσματα* 25 (1995) 7-20; *eadem*, 'Βυζαντινή διπλωματική παράδοση και πρακτικές. Μια προσέγγιση μέσω της ορολογίας', in Patoura-Spanou, *Διπλωματία και Πολιτική*, 89-129.

⁴³ D. Miller, 'Byzantine treaties and treaty making, 500-1025 A.D.', *BSI* 32 (1971), 56-76; N. Koutrakou, 'Diplomacy and espionage: their role in Byzantine foreign relations, 8th-10th centuries', *Graeco-Arabica* 6 (1995), 125-144; S. Patoura-Spanou, 'Όψεις της βυζαντινής διπλωματίας', in *eadem*, *Διπλωματία και Πολιτική*, 131-164.

In addition to these works that are directly connected with the issue of diplomacy, there are several studies examining the life and activities of individual emperors, which also analyse their foreign policy towards the West and others. These works include, for the period pertaining to this study, the monographs of Oscar Halecki on John V Palaiologos, John Barker's and George T. Dennis' books on Manuel II, and Donald Nicol's book on Constantine XI.⁴⁴ Extremely important, for the undertaking of this dissertation, are also studies pertaining to social and economic subjects, and especially with regards to Byzantine-western relations. In this respect, invaluable are the works of Laiou and Oikonomides, as well as the several articles included in the *Economic History of Byzantium*, covering all aspects of economic activity.⁴⁵

The present study sets as its central theme Byzantine diplomacy as the more 'practical' expression of late Byzantine foreign policy, within a specified regional and chronological limit: Diplomatic communication with the West in the last hundred years of the empire's life, 1354-1453. The

⁴⁴ Halecki, *Un empereur*; G.T. Dennis, *The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Rome, 1960); J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus: A study in late Byzantine statemanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1968); D.M. Nicol, *The immortal emperor: the life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last emperor of the Romans*. (Cambridge, 1992).

⁴⁵ N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins a Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siecles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979); A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine economy in the Mediterranean trade system, thirteenth-fifteenth centuries', *DOP* 34-35 (1982), 177-222; *eadem*, 'The Greek merchant of the Palaiologan period: a collective portrait', *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 57 (1982), 96-132; A. Laiou (ed), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century* (Washington D.C., 2002).

main aspiration is to examine some of the 'techniques of international relations', while at the same time acknowledging that the aspects of diplomatic activity covered here have been selected as characteristic examples that promote our understanding of the subject but are not exhaustive. Further, this study focuses exclusively on the diplomacy practiced by the head of the Byzantine state, the emperor in Constantinople, and does not examine the diplomatic advances toward the West made by other centres of Byzantine power, such as Thessalonike (at the time of Manuel II's rule) or the Despotate of Mystras. At the same time, this study does not touch upon the relations between Byzantium and its northern or eastern neighbours, focusing solely on a region with different characteristics from the others. In both these points, this was a conscious choice in the hope that these limitations will provide the opportunity for a more thorough analysis in the future.

The first chapter of this study deals with the means of ambassadorial travel to the West. After first the Serbian and then the Turkish expansion to areas belonging to the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople was gradually isolated and separated from the road network connecting it to other major cities, such as Adrianople, Didymoteichon, Thessalonike. It is interesting, therefore, to identify the limitations of land travel and explore the few examples of embassies that choose to follow that route in their journeys to the West. Sea travel has a central place in this section, as the ambassadors'

main choice of travelling to their western destinations. The time of travel, its speed and duration, the difficulties and obstacles that appeared along the way, and the choice of vessel for the transportation are analysed, in the effort to sketch the main route of an imperial embassy towards Italy and other western powers. Finally, the personal visits of the Byzantine emperors to the West are studied as cases of exceptional journeys.

The second chapter examines the diplomatic missions to the West during this period in two ways: firstly by looking at the embassies themselves in terms of their external characteristics, such as size, in conjunction with their destination. Secondly, by turning towards the people involved in the process of dispatching a diplomatic mission. A database comprised of all the embassies and ambassadors to the West during the period 1354-1453 includes primarily the number of envoys taking part in a mission, the names of the ambassadors and the personal information that the sources provide on them. Therefore, in the search for the criteria qualifying one to be an imperial ambassador, I explore aspects, such as their lineage and family background, social status, title and position in Byzantine hierarchy, and their relationship with the emperor. The main aim is to create the profile of the late Byzantine imperial envoy to the West, studying the patterns that appear, and any signs of evolution and change in the office of the ambassador during a period of a hundred years.

Finally, the third chapter explores the main diplomatic practices employed in diplomatic communication with the West during the last century of Byzantium and the focal aspects of the emperors' policies toward their western neighbours. This chapter begins with a more detailed overview of the historical context of the period under study, focusing on the diplomatic practices of each individual emperor. Further, it analyses specific aspects of diplomatic communication, aiming to explore issues of continuity in practices, such as diplomatic gifts, marriages and ecclesiastical union, and to explain how these practices evolve and are adapted to the political, economic and social context of this late period. Finally, the focus also turns to the choice of the late Byzantine emperors to act as their own ambassadors and to the effects of this practice, as a significant innovation in the history of Byzantine diplomacy.

The three chapters that analyse the main subject of this thesis are accompanied by three main databases, and a series of tables and charts that further facilitate reading and comprehending the results of this study. The first database records the date, recipient, purpose and number of ambassadors taking part in each embassy to the West, while the second one provides the necessary information for the ambassadors' journeys to the West, recording the destination and the important dates that show the departure and arrival of each mission. The third database lists the names

and information on the envoys that took part in these ambassadorial missions.⁴⁶

In terms of the transliteration of Greek terms into English, I have employed a Greek transliteration of Byzantine names and terms, i.e. Palaiologos instead of Palaeologus, while I have adopted the use of the modern English form for some common first names, such as John, instead of Ioannes. Similarly, I am also using the common English form of well-known place names, such as Constantinople.

⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion between ‘embassies’ and ‘journeys’, as used in this study, see Appendix Endnotes.

CHAPTER I: TRAVEL AND LOGISTICS

The Byzantine ambassadors' journeys to the West during their diplomatic missions to the Italian maritime republics, the papal curia and the courts of Western Europe are the main focus in the first chapter of this study. It aims to analyse several aspects of travel from Constantinople to the West in the second half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries, such as the means of travel, the vessels used by the ambassadors for their voyages, and the itinerary followed, both on land and sea. Further, it examines the time of the year during which these journeys took place and the speed of travel, while also taking into account the different factors, political or economic, that affected these different components of a journey.⁴⁷

The starting point for this aspect of my research has been to identify, study and analyse the references to all individual diplomatic missions to the West during the period 1354-1453 that I could assemble from my reading of the several primary sources. Invaluable during this process were the two databases that I was able to compile, one recording the

⁴⁷ In the present chapter the political importance of the emperors' choices, the significance of certain western powers, such as Venice and Genoa, as well as a more general historical context are mentioned only in passing, when they pertain to the particular subject of ambassadorial travel. A more detailed analysis of such subjects is presented in Chapter III.

diplomatic missions within the period, and the other providing the necessary information on the ambassadors' journeys.⁴⁸

The main limitations in this section derive first and foremost from the scarcity of information provided in official Byzantine or western documents, letters and narrative texts, concerning the details of travelling. Very rarely does one source discuss all aspects of a journey and it has often been entirely impossible to discover such information. Therefore, the database provides the basis for comparison of this fragmented and limited information in order to draw some tentative and preliminary conclusions. Further, there are limitations concerning the geographical extent of the region examined for the analysis of the road and sea networks. Exclusive emphasis is placed on issues of travelling in the southeast Mediterranean and the southern Balkan Peninsula. This chapter does not examine the road networks of Western Europe, leading, for instance, from Venice to France or England; these parts of the envoys' journeys are mentioned in the present study only when they involve aspects such as documents of safe conduct provided by Western rulers to the Byzantine ambassadors or other issues such as safety and speed of travel.

In studying the Byzantine ambassadors' journeys to the West, I aim to analyse the logistics of diplomatic activity and also to examine how these different components of a journey (vessels, speed, duration) affect the

⁴⁸ See Introduction, n. 46.

diplomatic communication, that is, the mission itself and possibly its outcome, and whether the journey was, in turn, affected by the political significance of the mission, its urgency or its recipient. Finally, the closer study of the journeys of the Byzantine ambassadors to the West also looks into the late Byzantine state, and its limitations and capabilities of providing practical support for its diplomatic corps, during the last hundred years of its existence.

During the period 1354-1453 the emperors John V, Manuel II, John VIII and Constantine XI Palaiologoi sent embassies to twenty-three (23) different destinations in Western Europe.⁴⁹ These destinations of embassies and the frequency of missions sent to a specific recipient vary from emperor to emperor, as they correlate to the specific political choices of each emperor in matters of foreign policy. This aspect will be studied in more detail in Chapter III, dealing with the diplomatic practices and policies of each emperor. What is of more interest in the present chapter is that the ambassadors sent in these missions completed a total of a hundred and fourteen (114) journeys from Constantinople to the West and back, travelling to twenty destinations.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ These are: Ancona, the anti-pope, Aragon, the Council of Basle, Burgundy, Castile, the Council of Constance, Denmark, England, Ferrara, Florence, France, Genoa, Germany, Hungary, the Italian cities that Manuel II visited during his journey to the West, Navarre, Poland, the papacy, Portugal, Ragusa, Siena, Venice. See Appendix A, Chart 3.5.

⁵⁰ These are: Ancona, Aragon, Avignon (pope and anti-pope), Basle, Bologna (anti-pope), Florence, France, Genoa, Hungary (Buda, Prague, Ulm), [Italy], Naples, Poland, Ragusa, Rome, Siena, Venice, Viterbo (pope). See Appendix B, Chart 3.5.

The Italian peninsula seems to feature most prominently in the list of destinations of diplomatic journeys. Byzantine ambassadors travelled primarily to Venice, with thirty-nine (39) total diplomatic journeys reaching that destination. The papal court was another very popular recipient of Byzantine embassies, but the actual location varied according to the situation of the papal curia, due to the several problems that the papacy underwent during the period under consideration. Therefore, Byzantine ambassadors have met with popes in Rome, but also in Avignon and Viterbo, while the anti-popes in Avignon and Bologna also received embassies from the Byzantine emperor, in that case Manuel II, on a more limited level. Other Italian cities also feature in the list of destinations, such as Genoa, Florence, Ancona and Siena. The Dalmatian city of Ragusa was in close diplomatic communication with the empire, especially during the reign of Constantine XI. The Byzantine emperors also dispatched ambassadors to most western courts during the period under consideration; embassies were travelling to Hungary, Poland, the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon (and Naples), Navarre and Castille, Portugal, France, England and Denmark.

1. The ambassadors' journeys

1.1 Routes and itineraries

Land routes

The issue of land travel during this period is determined by the political and economic circumstances that affect the road network of the Byzantine Empire. The road network that connected Constantinople with the remaining imperial territories in the Balkans was complex, linking together the main urban centres of the empire, as well as providing routes for the use of armies, merchants, travellers, and, quite often, diplomats. The alignment of the road network remained more or less stable throughout the centuries, with the major routes remaining in existence, even though their maintenance and use changed according to the political circumstances of each period.⁵¹

A brief mention of the four major routes that ran across the Balkans is required in this short overview. The Via Egnatia was the most important commercial and military road axis in the empire. It led from Constantinople all the way to the Adriatic Sea, near Dyrrachion, via major

⁵¹ A. Avramea, 'Land and sea communications, fourth-fifteenth centuries', *EHB* 1 (2002), 57-58, 65.

areas such as Selymbria, Christoupolis, Thessalonike.⁵² The *basilike odos* or imperial route ran from northwest to southeast, passing via Philippoupolis and Adrianople before reaching the capital. It was one of the main arteries leading to the West, as it was the road that the First, Second and Third Crusades had followed.⁵³ Finally, the Axios route ran from the Danube, headed south to Skopje, leading to Thessalonike, where it met the Via Egnatia,⁵⁴ while the Strymon route began at Sofia, followed the Strymon River, through Melenikon and Serres, and joined the Via Egnatia around the area of Christoupolis near the coast.

At the end of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries there are accounts of land journeys in personal letters, which give a sense of the difficulties of land travel and present its dangers. These are very useful, as no such detailed descriptions of diplomatic land journeys to the West survive from the subsequent period, which is of more interest to us. Theodore Metochites in his *Presbeutikos* portrays the difficulties of a land journey in winter, with rain, heavy winds and snow blocking the road, as he travelled from Constantinople to Thessalonike and from there to Serbia in 1298-1299.⁵⁵ Travelling around 1310 from Thessalonike to

⁵² Avramea, 'Land and sea communications', 68-72.

⁵³ Avramea, 'Land and sea communications', 65-66.

⁵⁴ J. Haldon, *Warfare, state and society in the Byzantine world 565-1204* (London, 1999; repr. London, 2003), 55-66.

⁵⁵ Methochites, *Presbeutikos*, in K. Sathas (ed), *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* I, 154-193; text also in L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'empire Serbe. Lekralj Milutin* (Thessalonike, 1978), 89-119.

Constantinople by sea, Thomas Magistros explained his reasons for not choosing to travel by land, following the Via Egnatia: The journey was dangerous due to extreme weather conditions; however, the main danger was the frequent and sudden attacks by Turks in the area.⁵⁶ Finally, Nikephoros Gregoras, in a letter, narrates the journey during his embassy to Serbia in 1326, providing valuable information on the route, the natural obstacles that he and his companions encountered on the way, as well as other dangers of the journey such as from thieves.⁵⁷ All three of these examples refer to journeys undertaken during a period when a significant section of the road still passed through Byzantine territory. However, especially in the case of Thomas Magistros, they help highlight the difficulties of land travel, which would have only been accentuated further in later periods when significant parts of the road network were under enemy control.

In the Balkans, the physical morphology of the area and the continuous settlements of different peoples, and the conflicts between them, often disrupted communication through the main road arteries.⁵⁸ In the second half of the fourteenth and the first of the fifteenth centuries, the territories

⁵⁶ M. Treu, 'Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Magistros', *Festschrift C.F. W Müller* (Leipzig, 1900), 5-30 (text: 5-18); A. Karpozelos, 'Ταξιδιωτικές περιγραφές και εντυπώσεις σε επιστολογραφικά κείμενα', in N.G. Moschonas (ed), *Η επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1993), 524-529; I. Dimitroukas, 'Το ταξίδι του Θωμά Μάγιστρου: μια επανεξέταση' *Σύμμεικτα* 10 (1996), 164.

⁵⁷ Nikephoros Gregoras, *La correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*, ed. R. Guiland, (Paris, 1927), 43.

⁵⁸ Avramea, 'Land and sea communications', 64-65.

of the empire shrank considerably: after the two destructive civil wars, and the Serbian and Turkish conquests, a large part of the land network had fallen out of use or had passed into enemy territory. The most characteristic example is that of the Via Egnatia, especially its eastern section that connected Constantinople to Thessalonike; communications began to decrease already from the 1320s, while after 1341 there are no references to the use of Via Egnatia for transportation between Constantinople and Thessalonike, and scholars have argued that the two cities communicated only by sea.⁵⁹

From the second half of the fourteenth century onward the majority of the embassies travelling to the West preferred to follow a sea route in order to reach their destinations, mainly in Italy. However, there are fragmented references to land travel, or at least examples of travelling via an alternative route, which included a leg of land travel. This is the case for three (3) journeys during the reign of John VIII, dispatched to the Hungarian king, Sigismund, in Ulm and Buda, and to the Council of Basle.

In January 1434 three Byzantine ambassadors, Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, the monk Isidore and John Dishypatos, were sent to complete two (2) diplomatic missions, one (1) to Sigismund of Hungary, who was in

⁵⁹ A. Laiou, 'Η Θεσσαλονίκη, η ενδοχώρα της και ο οικονομικός της χώρος στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων', *Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία, 324-1430 μ.Χ.* (Thessalonike, 1995), 183-194; Avramea, 'Land and sea communications', 72.

Ulm at the time, and one (1) to the Council of Basle.⁶⁰ The three envoys were initially meant to leave Constantinople after November 1433,⁶¹ but were delayed due to bad weather.⁶² They finally set out in January, accompanied by the ambassador of the Council of Basle to Constantinople, Alberto de Crispis. In a letter to the Council, de Crispis described the hardships of their journey and the route that they had followed, indicating that they had sailed along the Black Sea and then continued their journey overland, crossing Wallachia and Hungary, reaching Buda some time in the late spring of 1434.⁶³

⁶⁰ HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124): The numbers in the parenthesis indicate the number of the embassy in Appendices A and B, and will be used hereafter in order to facilitate finding an embassy in the tables of embassies and journeys. For an explanation of the code given to each embassy in the database see Appendix Endnotes.

⁶¹ John VIII issued his instructions to the ambassadors in a document dated 11 November 1433: A. Theiner and F. Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum Graecae et Romanae* (Vienna, 1872), no 44.

⁶² This is relayed in another letter that John VIII dispatched to Basle around the same time, in late November or early December 1433, to apologise for the delay of the Byzantine ambassadors: E. Cecconi, *Studi storici sul concilio di Firenze* (Florence, 1869), no XVI: ‘...laetati fuimus valde et magnum habuimus gaudium, et secundum vestram voluntatem et petitionem elegimus et misimus nostros ambassiatores excellentes, qui, cum recessi fuissent a nostra civitate cum navi simul cum vestris ambassiatoribus, reversi fuerunt navitae et cum magno periculo a procellis et turbatione maris.’

The envoy carrying that letter, Antonio de Suda, reached Basle in May 1434: J. Haller et al., *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Dokumente* (Basle, 1896-1936) I, 334.

⁶³ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XXVI. The letter was written in Ulm on 25 June 1434, a few days before the embassy reached Basle: ‘Quanquam die 18 ianuarii multa passi fuimus iter nostrum peragendo, in mari maiori, procedendo per Walachiam Moldaviensem, succedendo utique in itinere nostro et cum contramite Tyciam ante forum qui dicitur *Abbad* in regno Hungariae, ex casu inopitato, confidentes per famam publicam ac per personas fide dignas nullam diffidentiam habere, immo tuti et secure absque ullo dubio, iter nostrum progredere, ibique invasi per spoliatores sive per armigeros Iohannis Banni de Marot totaliter spoliati fuimus in rebus et in bonis nostris, ita et totaliter, simpliciter et absolute, quod 86 equi et currus denudate nobis remanserunt, et sicut in puris naturalibus nati reducti fuimus. Attamen, divina favente clementia, Budam pervenimus in vigilia festi Pentecostes. Itaque querela posita coram domino archiepiscopo Strigoniensi et aliis episcopis praelatisque et baronibus; itaque operates fui,

The other two journeys that follow a similar route are even less detailed. In November 1434, George and Manuel Dishypatos were sent to Pope Eugenius IV in Florence, and to the Council of Basle.⁶⁴ The two envoys reached Basle in spring 1435 and found there the three ambassadors mentioned in the previous example. While on their journey from Constantinople to Italy and then to Basle the envoys travelled by sea via Venice, on the return journey Manuel Dishypatos separated himself from the other ambassadors and returned via Hungary some time after 30 April 1435.⁶⁵ Finally, in the case of an embassy to Sigismund in 1437,⁶⁶ Syropoulos mentions that the Byzantine envoy, again Manuel Dishypatos, had been sent to Sigismund and had to travel for forty days from Hungary, through Serbia and Macedonia, in order to deliver the reply of the king.⁶⁷

quod provisio facta est ambassiatoribus, non omnibus de ducentis ducatis, pro itinere nostro perficiendo usque Basileam.'

⁶⁴ POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128).

⁶⁵ J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1958) 60.

⁶⁶ HUN1437 (138).

⁶⁷ Syropoulos, III, 20: 'Εν τούτοις ἔφθασε καὶ ὁ Δισύπατος κὺρ Μανουήλ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σιγισμούντου σταλείς, καὶ διὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐκ τῆς Οὐγγρίας διὰ τῆς Σερβίας καὶ Μακεδονίας σπουδαίως ἐλθὼν καὶ προκινδυνεύσας <ἑαυτὸν> ἵνα φθάσῃ καὶ ἐξαγγείλῃ τὴν συμβουλήν τοῦ τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν βασιλέως.'

Sea routes

The database of embassies in the period under consideration contains more examples of ambassadors conducting their journeys by sea, in order to reach their destinations to the West. However, the descriptions of details concerning the route followed or the intermediate stops along the journey are rare. This problem can be partly addressed by examining the destinations of the journeys themselves, as they help us offer some suggestions on the possible routes that the envoys followed in their several journeys westward.

a. The route to Spain

The last four Palaiologan emperors sent a total of eighteen (18) embassies to the Aragonese royal family (both in Spain and Naples),⁶⁸ two (2) to Castile,⁶⁹ two (2) to Navarre⁷⁰ and one (1) to Portugal.⁷¹ Twelve (12) of the eighteen (18) embassies to Aragon were what we call in this study

⁶⁸ Appendix A, Table 1.1: AR1370 (17), AR1383 (24); Table 1.2: ARCASTNAV1400a (48), ARCAST1401-03a (54), ARNAV1404-05a (64), AR1404 (67), VENFRENGARa-POP1407-10d (76), AR1414 (83), AR1416 (90), AR1419 (96); Table 1.3: AR1437 (136), AR1447 (167), Table 1.4: POPAR1449b (170), AR1451 (176), VENPOPFERAR1451d (180), AR1452 (188), AR1453i (192), AR1453ii (194); Chart 3.5.

⁶⁹ Appendix A, Table 1.2: ARCASTNAV1400b (49), ARCAST1401-03b (55).

⁷⁰ ARCASTNAV1400c (50), ARNAV1404-05b (65).

⁷¹ POR1401 (51).

actual journeys from Constantinople to Aragon;⁷² from these, six (6) were actually sent to Aragon itself,⁷³ while six (6) went to Naples.⁷⁴ The remaining embassies are diplomatic missions sent by Manuel II at the time of his being in Paris, during his personal journey to the West (1399-1403), and as such cannot be calculated as separate journeys.

The route that the envoys could have followed to Saragosa is not known from the sources. The only clear reference to a sea journey from Constantinople to Aragon comes from a letter Manuel II had written to Martin I of Aragon on 23 October 1407,⁷⁵ explaining that he was replying to an earlier letter of Martin (dated 17 August 1405), because his previous reply was lost.⁷⁶ That first reply of the Byzantine emperor was being conveyed back to Martin I by his own ambassador Peter de Quintana, but it never reached its destination, as the ship carrying the envoy sank on the way back to Aragon. Manuel II's letter finally reached Martin I in 1410, delivered by his ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras.⁷⁷

⁷² Appendix B, Chart 3.5.

⁷³ Appendix B, Table 1.1: AR1383 (24); Table 1.2: ARNAV1404-05a, b (64, 65), AR1404 (67), AR1414 (83), AR1416 (90), AR1419 (96).

⁷⁴ Appendix B, Table 1.3: AR1437 (136), AR1447 (167), AR1451 (176), AR1452 (188), AR1453i (192), AR1453ii (194). Alfonse V of Aragon was also king of Naples for the period 1442-1458. Therefore, all the embassies sent to 'Aragon' in the last years of John VIII's reign and during the reign of Constantine travelled to Naples, instead of actually going to Saragossa, capital of Aragon in Spain. The 1437 embassy is also counted among the ones that went to Naples, since Alfonse V was already in Italy by that time.

⁷⁵ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, DCXCIV.

⁷⁶ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, DCLXXXVI.

⁷⁷ Appendix A, Table 1.2, VENFRENGARa-POP1407-10d (76).

b. The route to Venice

The majority of the embassies to the West during the hundred-year period under study were dispatched to Venice; fifty-six (56) embassies out of a total of one hundred ninety-four (194).⁷⁸ The same is also true for the journeys of the envoys from Constantinople, thirty-nine (39) of which went to Venice in order to complete a diplomatic mission there. In some cases, the Byzantine ambassador could also be entrusted with a mission to a second destination, but Venice was the first stop in his journey.⁷⁹ An examination of the journeys undertaken during the reign of each emperor reveals that journeys that had Venice as their first destination were the most common for the ambassadors of all the emperors, except John VIII's. In his case the most frequent destination for the envoys' journeys were Rome and Florence, since the majority of his embassies were sent to the papacy.⁸⁰ However, it is not known whether the ambassadors travelled to these destinations directly or reached them by sailing to Venice first.

The route that ships followed when travelling from Constantinople to Venice is easier to trace, especially when looking into the routes of the Venetian commercial galleys. These galleys travelled usually in convoys and sailed from Venice to different destinations in the Eastern

⁷⁸ Appendix A, Chart 3.5.

⁷⁹ Appendix B, Chart 3.5.

⁸⁰ Appendix B, Chart 3.3.

Mediterranean and the Black Sea engaging in trading activities; such were the galleys of Romania, the galleys of Alexandria and of Beirut, the galleys of Flanders.⁸¹ The galleys of Romania usually would sail down the Adriatic and the Ionian, stopping at Corfu, sometimes at Patras, certainly at Methone or Korone in the south-western Peloponnese, Negroponte, sometimes Thessalonike or islands like Lemnos and then Constantinople.⁸² From there they would continue on their journey to the Black Sea, to ports such as Tana and Trebizond.

If we accept, as will be argued below, that Byzantine ambassadors often travelled aboard Venetian galleys on their way to the West, the route of the commercial galleys of Venice, with small variations, could present a possible suggestion for the route of the envoys' journeys to Venice, but also to other destinations in Italy. This is further supported by references to intermediate stops during these sea journeys to or from Constantinople, places where Venetian galleys would normally stop, such as Negroponte and Methone. In 1383 the Byzantine ambassador Andronikos Sebastopoulos was returning to Constantinople on a Venetian galley and he had to stop at Negroponte.⁸³ On their way back from their embassies to Pope Martin V and Venice in 1430, the two Byzantine ambassadors,

⁸¹ Michael of Rhodes, http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/michaelofrhodes/ships_galleys.html.

⁸² F. Thiriet, 'Les itinéraires des vaisseaux vénitiens et le rôle des agents consulaires en Romanie Greco-Vénitienne aux XIVe-XVe siècles', in R. Ragosta (ed), *Le genti del mare mediterraneo* I (Naples, 1981), 591-592.

⁸³ VEN1382-83 (23): Kydones, *Correspondance* II, no 264, 267.

Markos Iagares and Makarios Makres, took the opportunity to disembark from the Venetian galley on which they were travelling in the Morea, in order to inform Thomas Palaiologos that his brother, Emperor John VIII conferred upon him officially the title of despot.⁸⁴

c. The route to other Italian cities, England, France and Hungary

Apart from Naples, which has been considered as part of the embassies dispatched to Aragon, and Venice, which is examined separately, there were several other destinations of journeys in Italy, such as Ancona, Bologna, Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Viterbo. The silence of the diplomatic sources does not allow us to ascertain whether or not the Byzantine ambassadors travelled directly to these destinations from Constantinople. Only in one case do we know that an embassy travelled first to Ancona before continuing on to its primary destination, Rome, in order to visit Pope Martin V.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ POPVEN1430a, b (116, 117); Zakythinos, *Despotat* I, 211 ; Sphrantzes, XXI, 5: 'Καὶ τῷ αὐγούστῳ μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐπαναστρέψαντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κύρ Ἰωάννου πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Μαρτίνον πρέσβεις (ὃ τε Μάρκος ὁ Ἰαγρός καὶ μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης καὶ ὁ μέγας πρωτοσύγκελος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πνευματικὸς Μακάριος ὁ Μακρὺς ὀνομαζόμενος, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος κατὰ τε λόγον καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ σύνεσιν) ἐποίησαν ὀρισμῶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεσπότην τὸν αὐθεντόπουλον κύρ Θωμᾶν.'

⁸⁵ POPVEN1430a, b (116, 117); They arrived in Ancona on 20 April 1430 (*Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium*, tom.I, vol.I, 162-3) and from there made their way to the pope. They were in their second destination, Venice, before 19 July 1430 (Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 2209).

Ten (10) of the journeys to the West that were directed to the above destinations travelled via Venice, either on their way to their destination or on their return journey or both, usually given permission to board Venetian galleys.⁸⁶ These journeys are differentiated from journeys that travelled to Venice for the specific purpose of conducting a diplomatic mission with the Venetian senate, since the Byzantine ambassadors were only using Venice as an intermediate stop on their way to other destinations.

The presence of Byzantine envoys in Venice when travelling from Constantinople to their destinations in the West is attested in four (4) of these ten (10) journeys.⁸⁷ In 1367 a large eight-member Byzantine embassy to Pope Urban V joined Paul, archbishop of Smyrna and papal envoy to Constantinople, and Amedeo of Savoy, who was returning to the West after his expedition in the East. Their journey began from Pera and from there they sailed to Gallipoli, Negroponte, Methone, Durazzo, Ragusa and finally Venice, following the exact same itinerary as the convoys of the commercial Venetian galleys of Romania.⁸⁸ While in Venice, the senate granted them a right of passage in order to continue their journey to

⁸⁶ Appendix B, Table 1.1 POP1367 (11), POP1374-75i (21), Table 1.2 HUN1395-96 (34), FRENG1397-98a, b (35, 36), FR1397-98 (37), Table 1.3 HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124), POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128), POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131), POP1437 (140), HUN1444 (160).

⁸⁷ POP1367 (11), POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131), HUN1444 (160).

⁸⁸ E. Cox, *The green count of Savoy. Amadeus VI and transalpine Savoy in the fourteenth century* (Princeton, N.J. 1967), 235.

Viterbo, where the pope was preparing for his entrance to Rome.⁸⁹ The Dishypatoi brothers, George and Manuel, made their way to Pope Eugenius IV in Florence by way of Venice in 1434-1435, as is attested by a letter that Christopher Garatoni, the papal legate, who was accompanying them, sent to the pope from Venice, announcing their arrival there.⁹⁰ In 1435-1436 the envoy of the Council of Basle to Constantinople, Henry Menger, was entrusted with the responses of Emperor John VIII and Patriarch Joseph II to both Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basle, and reached his two destinations via Venice, as is known from a letter that he wrote from Venice on 2 January 1436.⁹¹ Finally, the Byzantine ambassador to Hungary in 1444 was certainly in Ragusa in April 1444, where he was granted further right of passage and was given the necessary letters that would guarantee that he could continue his journey to Venice, and from there to Hungary.⁹²

It appears that it was equally common for Byzantine ambassadors to pass by Venice on their return journeys to Constantinople, as is the case in four (4) of the ten (10) journeys that travelled via Venice.⁹³ During two

⁸⁹ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 160, n. 4.

⁹⁰ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XLIV: 'Sed redeo, pater sancte, illustrissimi Imperatoris ordine, mecumque sunt duo oratores sui, qui ad pedes Tuae Sanctitatis venturi sunt, ut solum quae per me tractata et conclusa sunt videant et audiant per Tuam Sanctitatem confirmari.'

⁹¹ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no LXXV: 'Secundo ianuarii cum galeis ad civitatem Venetiarum, Dei gratia, vivus, sed non sanus, reversus sum.'

⁹² B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1961), no 1041, 1042.

⁹³ POP1374-5i (21), HUN1395-96 (34), FR1397-38 (37), HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

embassies, one to the pope (1374-75) and one to Buda, Hungary (1395-96), the Byzantine envoys had to return by way of Venice in order to board a Venetian galley for their journey back to Constantinople. In the first case, Philippos Tzykandyles was granted permission to travel on a Venetian ship to Constantinople in 1374-1375,⁹⁴ while in the second case, Manuel Philanthropenos was granted a right of passage on Venetian galleys on the request of Sigismund of Hungary in 1395-1396.⁹⁵ Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos returned via Venice from his mission to France, on the recommendation of the French king, written on 28 June 1398.⁹⁶ Finally, the Byzantine envoys who were sent in two separate embassies, the first to Hungary and Basle, and the second to Pope Eugenius IV and Basle shortly afterward, all departed for their return journey from Basle together, accompanied by representatives from the Council in April 1435.⁹⁷ They were supposed to depart for Constantinople from Venice, but because of the plague they were forced to board the ships in Pola on 8 August 1435.⁹⁸

In two (2) cases, in 1397-1398 and in 1434-1435, the Byzantine ambassadors travelled to their respective destinations via Venice, and also followed the same route in order to return to the capital. Nicholas Notaras travelled via Venice on his way to France and England in 1397-1398, as in

⁹⁴ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 307, n. 2.

⁹⁵ Thiriet, *Régestes* I, no 900, 901.

⁹⁶ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 149.

⁹⁷ Only one of the Byzantine envoys, Manuel Dishypatos, followed a different route, leaving Basle just before this larger group and returning to Constantinople via Hungary.

⁹⁸ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no LI.

April 1397 he was granted the privilege of Venetian citizenship.⁹⁹ On his return journey, the king of France wrote to Venice to recommend him on 22 July 1398,¹⁰⁰ and Notaras probably boarded the Venetian galleys in September, together with Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, the Byzantine ambassador to France at the same time.

These examples indicate the importance of Venice, not only as a significant destination of Byzantine diplomatic missions there, but also as an entry-way to the West and a starting point for the journeys back to Constantinople. Ambassadors often tended to consider Venice as an acquired stop during their journeys to the West, even in cases when they were not entrusted with a mission there. An obvious observation would be that the advantaged geographical location of Venice made it an obvious choice as the first stop for journeys to other Italian cities, such as Florence, Rome, Naples, to France and England and to Hungary. This is especially evident in a journey in 1451, when the Byzantine ambassador Andronikos Bryennios Leontares travelled first to Venice and then made his way to Ferrara, Rome and Naples.¹⁰¹

More importantly, however, these examples highlight the control that Venice exercised of the maritime routes to the West during the late

⁹⁹ See Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix XII, for the text that granted Notaras the privilege of Venetian citizenship.

¹⁰⁰ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 150.

¹⁰¹ VENFERPOPAR1451a, b, c, d (177, 178, 179, 180).

Palaiologan period. When sailing the Aegean from Constantinople to Italy, it was almost impossible to ignore the Venetian colonies, such as Negroponte or Methone, that were very common ports for the replenishment of supplies and for trade activities. This becomes even more evident in the case of the 1367 embassy to the pope, when, even though they were travelling with the predominantly Genoese fleet of Amedeo of Savoy, they still followed the typical route of the Venetian galleys.¹⁰²

1.2 Vessels

The vessels used to carry the imperial ambassadors to their several destinations in Western Europe are scarcely mentioned in the diplomatic texts that form the sources for this study. The term usually used in Latin documents is *galea*, most probably referring to galleys, and in particular Venetian galleys.¹⁰³ On one occasion the size of the galley was indicated by

¹⁰² Venice had provided six galleys for the expedition of Amedeo of Savoy to the East, while the majority of his fleet was comprised of Genoese ships. Cox, *The green count*, 210-212. In the present section the importance of Venice is viewed only from the point of view of travelling and its significance as an entry way to the West. For a more complete analysis of the importance of Venice in this period as a diplomatic destination, see Chapter III.

¹⁰³ For example, the two ambassadors of John V travelled to Avignon in 1355 in a 'small galley': 'cum parva galea', Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* I, 334:21. Similarly in 1435, Henry Menger, who carried a letter on behalf of John VIII, writes: 'Secundo ianuarii cum galeis ad civitatem Venetiarum, Dei gratia, vivus, sed non sanus, reversus sum.' Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze*, no LXXV. A later letter of John VIII clarifies that this ambassador travelled 'cum galeis venetorum'. Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze*, no LXXIV. See

mentioning that the Byzantine ambassadors reached their destination on a small galley, 'cum parva galea'.¹⁰⁴ Translating the original Latin terms, in his *Régestes*, Thiriet uses the term 'galée' or 'galère',¹⁰⁵ galley, presumably corresponding to the word 'galea', while he also employs the term 'galliotte byzantine' to describe a vessel, which was possibly of a smaller size.¹⁰⁶

Byzantine sources mostly favour the words 'κάτεργον' and 'τριήρις'. Sphrantzes uses 'κάτεργον'¹⁰⁷ to describe ships, interchangeably with the word 'καράβιον'.¹⁰⁸ In one instance, the term 'γαλιώτα' is also employed, in order to describe the ship Constantine XI used to travel from Constantinople to the Morea, while, in one more occasion, he also uses the word 'πλοιάριον'.¹⁰⁹ Kydones mentions in a letter that the Byzantine ambassador boarded a Venetian galley in order to travel back to Constantinople from his mission in 1383, using the term 'τριήρις τῶν Βενετίκων' to describe the vessel.¹¹⁰ Finally, Syropoulos in his description of the fleet that transported the Byzantine delegation from Constantinople

also, C. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*. Vol III (Basle, 1762), 461, entry: galea.

¹⁰⁴ See above, n. 103.

¹⁰⁵ Thiriet, *Régestes* I, no 901.

¹⁰⁶ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1362.

¹⁰⁷ Sphrantzes, XIII, 2, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Sphrantzes, XXVI, 1; XXIX, 1.

¹⁰⁹ See Sphrantzes, XXII, 9 and XL, 12.

¹¹⁰ Kydones, *Correspondance* II, no 267.

to Italy in 1437 mainly uses the words 'κάτεργον', 'τριήρις' and 'ναύς'.¹¹¹ The three words are applied interchangeably throughout the text, but it is possible that in most cases they were used to denote specifically a galley, either a war galley or a Venetian great galley.¹¹²

Almost all the references to ships in the documents indicate that ambassadors to the West often travelled aboard Venetian galleys, most probably commercial ones. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, Venetian shipbuilders have adapted the military galleys to create a commercial ship that combined oars and sails, was lightly armed and bigger in size than war galleys.¹¹³ Venetian great galleys had three rows of oars on each side and the capacity to carry a crew of approximately two hundred men. They had storage space intended for the transportation of cargo and animals, but also indicated space for passengers and special quarters for officers. Most of the crew, including the oarsmen, participated in the defence of the ship if the need arose. In fact the size of the crew of a galley indicated the difference between an 'armed' and an 'unarmed' galley. To be considered 'armed' a galley should have a crew of at least

¹¹¹ Syropoulos IV, 1, 2.

¹¹² This is indicated also by the fact that Venetian great galleys in the fifteenth century were triremes, therefore the word 'τριήρις' could actually be a technical term, as opposed to just a classicizing tendency of the writer. Moreover, the term 'κάτεργον' implies a 'worked' or oared ship, therefore possibly a galley. For a more detailed discussion of the terminology concerning ships in Syropoulos, see <http://www.syropoulos.co.uk/ships.htm>.

¹¹³ F.C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Connecticut, 1975), 7.

sixty men.¹¹⁴ Significant developments in the design and construction increased the size and seaworthiness of this type of galley, making it easier for such ships to avoid coastal travelling if needed and to be able to hold larger quantities of provisions, especially water.¹¹⁵

There are nine (9) examples in our database that show that it was common for Byzantine ambassadors to be offered a place on a Venetian galley, either on their way to the West or on their return journey to Constantinople.¹¹⁶ In all of these nine (9) cases of journeys the ships were mentioned as being galleys, and I am of the opinion that we are mostly dealing with the new type of ship described above, the Venetian great galleys, that travelled mostly in convoy. As will be explored in the section that deals with the season of travel, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century it was possible for Venetian merchant ships to make the journey from Venice to Constantinople and back as often as twice a year.¹¹⁷ The fact that some of the ambassadorial journeys to the West often coincide with the journeys of the Venetian commercial convoys offers

¹¹⁴ F.C. Lane, *Venice, a maritime republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 48-49.

¹¹⁵ J. Pryor, *Geography, technology and war. Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 647-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), 44.

¹¹⁶ Journeys that were conducted on Venetian galleys on the way to the West: POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131), POP1437 (140). Journeys that involved Venetian galleys on the return to Constantinople: POP1374-75i (21), HUN1395-96(34), FRENG1397-98a, b (35, 36), FR1397-98(37), VENPOPVEN1420a, b, c (97, 98, 99), HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124). Finally, on the journey POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128) Venetian galleys were the means of transport both on the way to the West and on the return to Constantinople.

¹¹⁷ Lane, *Venice*, 120.

further proof that Venetian great galleys possibly were one of the most common means of transport for Byzantine envoys.

As I have already argued above, Byzantine ambassadors sometimes travelled via Venice on their way to their destination in the West, without necessarily having to conclude a diplomatic mission in Venice itself. In most of these cases, the sources specifically mention that the Byzantine envoys go to Venice, seeking transportation on a Venetian galley, without concluding any further negotiations there. For example in 1374-75, after concluding his mission to Pope Gregory XI in Avignon, the Byzantine envoy Philippos Tzykandyles travelled to Venice and was granted permission to board a Venetian galley in order to return to Constantinople.¹¹⁸

However, when we are dealing with embassies that travel first to Venice, in order to complete a mission there, it is very rare to have a specific mention concerning the means of transport. In fact, only in one case of an embassy to Venice is it explicitly mentioned that the Byzantine ambassador travelled on a Venetian galley. In 1420 Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes completed a mission to Venice and one to Pope Martin V, and then returned to Venice in order to arrange the transportation of the future wives of John VIII and Theodore II of Morea, Sophia Montferrat

¹¹⁸ POP1374-75i(21).

and Cleope Malatesta.¹¹⁹ The personal journeys of the emperors, especially those of Manuel II in 1399 and John VIII in 1424, which will be examined in more detail in section 2 of the present chapter, offer further examples of Venetian galleys being used as a means of transport, when Venice was also included in the recipients of the mission. Therefore, in the question that arises concerning the vessels used by the ambassadors with missions directed at Venice, we could assume that these were also Venetian galleys, even if they are not explicitly mentioned as such. In fact, I would suggest, that most sources do not specifically indicate the use of a Venetian galley when Venice was the first destination of an embassy, because whenever Venice was a factor in an ambassadorial journey, whether as a recipient of an embassy or as an intermediate stop, Venetian galleys were most probably always involved in the transportation of the ambassadors.

If that were indeed the case, it would mean that the thirty-nine (39) journeys to Venice that included a diplomatic mission there used as means of transport Venetian galleys, unless mentioned otherwise. Adding to that number the embassies mentioned above as explicitly using Venetian galleys for their transportation to the West, we could suggest that fifty-seven (57) out of a total one hundred-fourteen (114) journeys were conducted aboard Venetian vessels; in other words, Venetian galleys

¹¹⁹ VENPOPVEN1420a, b, c (97, 98, 99); Iorga, *Notes I*, 306-307.

represented the main means of transport across the Aegean for more than half of the Byzantine ambassadors' journeys to the West.

Alternative routes to the West, such as the one via the Black Sea and the Danube, provide us with the opportunity to explore the possibility of ships of a different origin being used to transport Byzantine ambassadors to the West. As mentioned above,¹²⁰ from the three journeys that use this alternative route only one, that to Sigismund of Hungary and to the Council of Basle in 1434, offers details on the route and the means of transport: the envoys sailed along the coasts of the Black Sea until they reached the Danube delta, then sailed on the river Danube reaching Buda, and then Ulm, which was the first destination of their mission.¹²¹ There is no explicit mention of the vessels on which these ambassadors travelled, in order to cross the Black Sea; however, we could suggest that these ships could have been of Genoese origin. The Genoese had established their presence in the Black Sea mainly with the treaty of Nymphaion, signed in 1261 between Genoa and the Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos.¹²² Apart from their colony of Pera on the other side of the Golden Horn from Constantinople, the Genoese had established trading centres in all sides of the Black Sea, such as Sinopi, Caffa, Kilia, Licostomo,

¹²⁰ See above p. 31-36.

¹²¹ HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124); Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze*, no XXVI. See above, n. 63.

¹²² Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 33-34.

Vicina.¹²³ Therefore, it would be logical if the ships that transported the Byzantine ambassadors to the mouth of the Danube, possibly in the town of Kilia, were Genoese.

The examples presented above indicate that the two Italian maritime republics, Venice and, most probably Genoa in fewer occasions, provided the means of transport for Byzantine ambassadors to the West. However, we should also explore the possibility that Byzantine ambassadors also embarked on their journeys aboard Byzantine ships. The Byzantine fleet had disintegrated already from the time of Andronikos II, who had been forced to disband it for several reasons. It had never recovered since, despite the efforts of Andronikos III and John VI Kantakouzenos to rebuild and revive it, in the hopes that it could oppose the Latins of Constantinople, especially the Genoese, and also play a decisive role in the struggle against the Turks.¹²⁴ Thomas Magistros, sailing from Thessalonike to Constantinople around 1316-18 mentions the existence of a small fleet that patrolled the area around Constantinople.¹²⁵ The existence of remnants of a Byzantine fleet during a period closer to the one studied here is also attested by Pseudo-Kodinos, who mentions the office of the

¹²³ Balard, *La Romanie génoise I*, (Rome, 1978), 32-33; *idem*, 'Gênes et la mer Noire (XIIIe-XVe siècles). *Revue Historique* CCLXX (1983), 31-54 ; repr. in M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIIIe-Ve siècles)* (London, 1989); D. Deletant, 'Genoese, Tatars and Rumanians at the mouth of the Danube in the fourteenth century', *The Slavonic and East European review* 62.4 (1984), 512-513.

¹²⁴ H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 382-3.

¹²⁵ Dimitroukas, 'Το ταξίδι του ρήτορα Θωμά Μάγιστρον', 170-1.

megas doux, commander of the imperial fleet,¹²⁶ and also another official, *tou bestiariou*, with 'marine' duties: whenever the emperor was on a campaign at sea, this official was in charge of a special ship, carrying the emperor's wardrobe; this ship was supposed to follow closely the emperor's personal ship.¹²⁷

In our list of ambassadorial journeys to the West there are only two explicit mentions of ships other than Venetian galleys being used to transport envoys. The first one is the embassy of 1355 to Avignon by the ambassadors Nicholas Sigeros and Paul of Smyrna.¹²⁸ It is only known that the two ambassadors arrived to their destination in a small galley, '*cum parva galea*',¹²⁹ without indicating the origin of the galley or the name of the port to which they sailed. While entirely possible that this galley was Venetian or Genoese, it also opens the question whether it could be of Byzantine origin.

The second example in our database, the embassy of Manuel Kabasilas to Genoa in 1389 provides the only specific mention of a Byzantine ship transporting the Byzantine ambassador to the West. Kabasilas, a

¹²⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, 167: 'Ο μέγας δούξ, ὡσπερ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸ φωσάτον ἅπαν κεφαλή, οὕτω κατὰ θάλασσαν οὗτος.'

¹²⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, 186: 'Ο βεστιαρίου ἔχει ὑπηρέτημα θαλάσσιον. Τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκστρατεύοντος ἄρχει οὗτος τοῦ τὸ βεστιάριον φέροντος κατέργου, ἀκολουθεῖ τε κατόπιν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατέργου.' Both these vessels are referred to as *κάτεργα*, but there is no further indication as to what types of ships they could have been.

¹²⁸ POP1355 (2).

¹²⁹ Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* I, 334:21.

Constantinopolitan merchant, was given the mission to transport to Genoa 5,421 mines of grain on an imperial ship of unknown type.¹³⁰ However, this embassy, the only such transaction of its type to explicitly name the ship used as Byzantine, can only provide us with the possibility that Byzantine vessels were also used as means of travel to the West for the Byzantine ambassadors on other occasions.

1.3 Season of travel

Before the 'nautical revolution'¹³¹ of the fourteenth century, with the introduction of the compass and the first portolan charts, as well as before the development of more advanced vessels, such as the great galleys, limitations in navigation existed, especially in regards to the season of travel. Restrictions on the season of sailing were in place, with ships mostly avoiding travel from late autumn to early spring, mainly because of adverse weather, as well as poor visibility during wintertime.¹³² The navigational advances of the fourteenth century, however, had the direct

¹³⁰ G.G. Musso, *Navigazione e commercio Genovese con il Levante nei documenti dell' archivio di stato di Genova* (Rome, 1975), 162, 243-245; Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 758; T. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος: πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν από την Άλωση* (Athens, 2007), 152 and n. 186.

¹³¹ The term is attributed to Lane, *Venice*, 119.

¹³² J. Pryor, 'The geographical conditions of galley navigation in the Mediterranean' in R. Gardiner (ed), *The age of the galley. Mediterranean oared vessels since pre-classical times* (London, 1995), 210; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European economy: communications and commerce, AD 300- 900* (Cambridge, 2001), 459.

practical result of making it possible for the sailing season to extend also into the winter months.¹³³ This is true for Genoese sailing ships, which could and did sail during winter, as well as for the great galleys of Florence and Venice.¹³⁴

When it comes to establishing the exact time for the departure of a diplomatic mission from Constantinople to the West there are very few instances when an exact date is known. Therefore, the time of departure is usually calculated by examining the dates of the imperial documents, when a letter was written or when the ambassadors received their instructions for a mission, and the dates of the replies of the several recipients of the missions. This method allows us to approximate as to when the embassy must have been at sea, sailing toward its destination to the West.

It is very interesting to note that, according to the database of diplomatic journeys, the majority of missions were dispatched from October to March, during the late autumn months to the beginning of spring. Twenty-two (22) out of one hundred fourteen (114) journeys began from Constantinople in the autumn and early winter, from September to the beginning of December, while another twenty-six (26) departed from December to February, during the winter months. A further thirteen (13)

¹³³ Pryor, *Geography, technology and war*, 88.

¹³⁴ Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 578-580.

journeys began in late winter or early spring; that is a total of sixty-one (61) journeys taking place during a time of the year, which in previous periods signified the closing of the seas to navigation. In contrast, forty (40) journeys took place from April to September.¹³⁵

The distribution of journeys to the reign of each of the four emperors under consideration reveals that this practice was consistent during the whole of the late Palaiologan period. John V's ambassadors usually embarked for their missions in late winter or early spring, with six (6) journeys leaving for their destinations at that time, while three (3) journeys were conducted in the autumn and early winter months, and three (3) in the winter; only five (5) out of eighteen (18) travelled in the summer.¹³⁶ Manuel II's journeys are somewhat more evenly distributed, but journeys from autumn to early spring are still prevalent with twenty (20) journeys leaving Constantinople at that time, as opposed to sixteen (16) leaving from spring to early autumn.¹³⁷ Out of the thirty-seven (37) total journeys of John VIII, twenty-one (21) were made from autumn to early spring.¹³⁸ The journeys during the short reign of Constantine XI present an exception to the pattern with only eight (8) out of his twenty (20) journeys leaving from autumn to early spring and nine (9) travelling

¹³⁵ Appendix B, Chart 4.5.

¹³⁶ Appendix B, Chart 4.1.

¹³⁷ Appendix B, Chart 4.2.

¹³⁸ Appendix B, Chart 4.3.

from spring to early autumn. The distribution of his journeys among all the seasons appears to be even, with only a slight prevalence of journeys in the winter, spring and early summer.¹³⁹

This overview shows that the practice of autumn, winter and early spring travelling was fairly consistent throughout the whole period. The dispatch of diplomatic missions to the West seems not to follow the pattern of waiting until the summer months or for more favourable weather. The subject matters of these embassies, the majority of which were approaches to western powers for help against the advancing Ottoman Turks, either by asking directly for help or negotiating issues such as the union of the Churches, reveal that urgent political circumstances could overcome the dangers of sailing in adverse weather conditions.

As the vast majority of both embassies and journeys were dispatched to Venice in greater numbers than any other destination it is not surprising to observe that even in the case of autumn/winter travels there is a prevalence of those that go to Venice.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Appendix B, Chart 4.4.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix B, Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5.

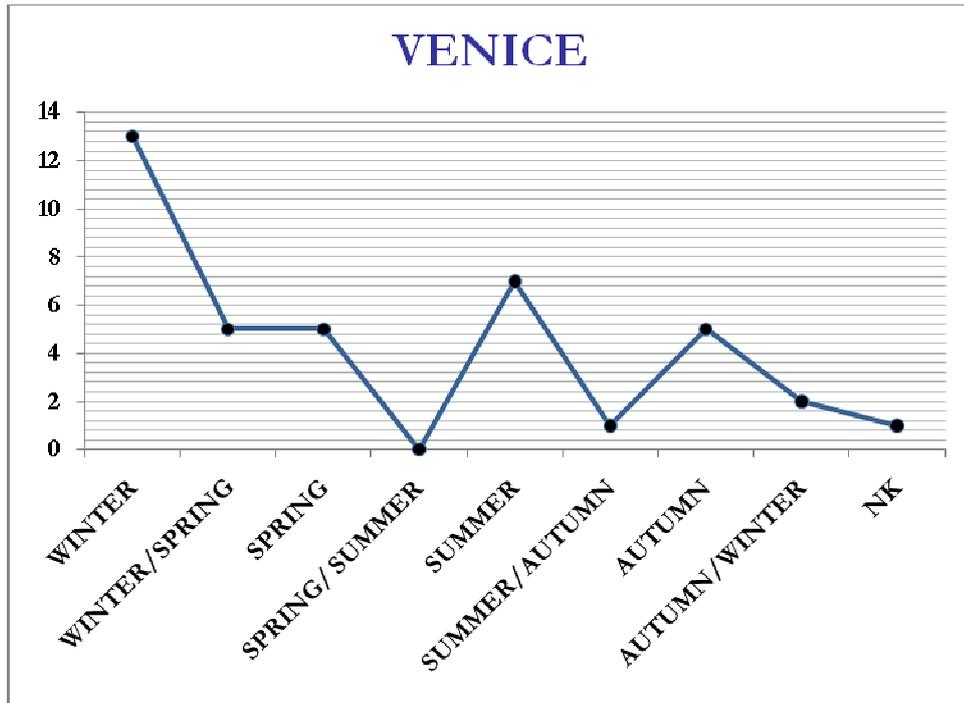


Figure 1: Venice. Season of travel, 1354-1453.

Not only do most journeys to Venice take place during the wintertime, but we can also observe certain very interesting patterns, pertaining to the time of their departure for their western destinations. During the reign of John V, journeys to Venice mostly arrive to their destination before mid-March or mid-April. This is known from the dates of the responses that the Venetian Senate gave each time to the Byzantine ambassadors.¹⁴¹ The same pattern is observed during the reign of Manuel II, with nine (9) out of the total twelve (12) wintertime journeys leading to Venice. These nine (9) journeys all possibly arrive to their destinations at similar times, since the answers that the Byzantine ambassadors received from the Senate

¹⁴¹ Appendix B, Table 1.1: VEN1359 (4), VEN1362 (6), VEN1373 (18), VEN1374i (19).

dated usually sometime in January, or at the beginning of February. This could suggest, therefore, that the embassies departed from Constantinople at the end of autumn or beginning of winter.¹⁴² Finally, in John VIII's reign this pattern continues, albeit in a more indirect fashion. As direct embassies to Venice are fewer in number during the reign of that emperor, the journeys that go to other destinations but have Venice as an intermediate stop help us observe the similarities on the season of travel: The three (3) journeys that go to their destinations via Venice all began from Constantinople around the end of November and were usually in Venice before mid-January.¹⁴³ The fact that there are so many embassies to Venice departing from Constantinople or arriving in Venice at approximately the same time almost every year could, I believe, strengthen the argument that Byzantine ambassadors to Venice or travelling via Venice to other destinations, made use of the convoys of Venetian merchant galleys. Venetian great galleys were able to conduct two round trips per year, the second possibly leaving Venice at the end of summer and returning at the end of autumn, therefore coinciding with the times of the ambassadorial journeys we have already presented.

¹⁴² Appendix B, Table 1.2: VEN1404-05(68), VEN1406 (69), VEN1407 (70), VEN410 (75), VEN1413-14 (80), VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89), VEN1416-17 (91), VENPOPVEN1420a, b, c (97, 98, 99).

¹⁴³ This is the case for Appendix B, Table 1.3: POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128), POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131), POP1437 (140).

1. 4 Speed and duration of travel

As is the case with the season of travel of a Byzantine mission to the West, very rarely do sources provide us with both the exact starting date and the ending date of a journey from Constantinople to a western destination. In fact, out of the one hundred fourteen (114) journeys to the West in the period 1354-1453, only for sixteen (16) of them do we find approximate dates that indicate the journey's beginning and end, and help us calculate its duration. This can be done when there are available both the letter that the emperor wrote to a western power, which can serve as a *terminus post quem*, and the reply of the said western power, serving as a *terminus ante quem*. An example of this method is provided by an embassy to Venice in 1362-63. The Byzantine ambassadors, Theophylaktos Dermokaites and Constantine Kaballaropoulos received the written instructions of their appointment on 1 October 1362.¹⁴⁴ They were to travel to Venice and negotiate the renewal of the Byzantine-Venetian treaty; that treaty was actually signed in Venice on 13 March 1363.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, we could presume that they departed on their mission shortly after they received their instructions, at the beginning of October and that they were certainly in Venice some time before 13 March. It is possible that the two

¹⁴⁴ *MM* III, no 31.

¹⁴⁵ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 53.

envoys reached Venice long before the middle of March, as they would have probably needed time to conduct their negotiations and reach an agreement. However, the absence of an intermediate date between the two mentioned in the available sources renders it impossible to determine with absolute accuracy how long the actual journey to Venice lasted.

From the destinations of the sixteen (16) journeys for which we can calculate the duration, the importance of Venice as an entry-way to the West, as a significant first destination or intermediate stop on the way to other western powers once again becomes apparent, as only two (2) of these journeys explicitly follow a route that does not involve Venice as an intermediate stop:¹⁴⁶ a journey to Aragon in 1383 and a journey to Hungary and Basle in 1434.¹⁴⁷ The mission to Hungary and Basle presents one of the few examples of an alternative land route followed by Byzantine ambassadors to the West, via the Black Sea and the Danube. Their journey first to Ulm and then to Basle lasted approximately five months, with several factors causing delays along the way, such as encountering a storm in the Black Sea and being robbed of their belongings as they were travelling through Hungary.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ There are eight total journeys that have a final destination other than Venice, but for six of them the route they followed is unknown. POP1355 (2), aPOP1409-10 (74), POP1422 (106), POP1432-33 (121), BAS1433-34 (122), POPBAS1436-37a, b (134, 135).

¹⁴⁷ AR1383 (24), HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

¹⁴⁸ For further details on this journey see above p. 35

The majority of journeys for which the dates of departure from Constantinople and arrival are known involve Venice, either as a final embassy destination or as an intermediate stop; I have also attempted to show that these journeys used Venetian galleys as means of transport. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine the duration of these journeys, while also taking into account the time of the year during which they took place. Generally we can observe that the majority of these journeys were fairly short, the shorter lasting only thirty-six days,¹⁴⁹ while four others lasted approximately one and a half month.¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that three of these journeys took place in late autumn/winter, while only one¹⁵¹ took place during the summer months. However, there does not appear to be a significant difference on their durations.

From the remaining available examples we can observe that from those lasting for a longer time two took place in the spring, while one departed in the fall.¹⁵² The Byzantine envoy Andronikos Bryennios Leontares

¹⁴⁹ POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128): The ambassadors received the instructions of their embassy on 12 November 1434 (Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze* no. XLI), while this is also the date of John VIII's letter to the council of Basle (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum* XXIV, 623 B). They departed from Constantinople sometime between 12 and 16 November on Venetian galleys, accompanied by the papal legate Christopher Garratoni. When they arrived in Venice Garratoni wrote to Pope Eugenius IV in Florence; his letter, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for their arrival in Venice, is dated 21 December 1434 (Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XLIV).

¹⁵⁰ POP1367 (11), VENFRENGARa-POP1407-10a, b, c, d, e (71, 72, 73, 76, 77), VEN1418ii (93), POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131).

¹⁵¹ VEN1418ii (93).

¹⁵² VENFERPOPAR1451a, b, c, d (177, 178, 179, 180), VEN1418i (92), VEN1363-63 (7).

departed from Constantinople shortly after 7 April.¹⁵³ His presence is attested in Venice on 11-12 June of the same year, making the duration of his journey a little more than two months. In 1418 another embassy to Venice departed after 1 March, but did not receive a reply from the Venetian Senate before 21 July of that year.¹⁵⁴ This in fact would make the maximum possible duration of its journey one hundred forty-three (143) days, significantly longer than the other examples available. However, this delay in replying on the part of Venice could be explained by the fact that in early July 1418 they received a second embassy from the Byzantine emperor, thus it is possible that they waited to reply to the two embassies at the same time, on 21 July.¹⁵⁵

2. Exceptional journeys

In the period 1354-1453 one of the most innovative aspects of Byzantine diplomacy is the fact that the Byzantine emperors often became ambassadors themselves, personally travelling to the West in order to promote their foreign policy. This is the case with John V, who travelled to Hungary (1366) and Rome (1369), Manuel II, who visited several Italian

¹⁵³ This is the date of the letter of Constantine XI address to the marquis of Ferrara: *PP IV*, 26-27.

¹⁵⁴ Thiriet, *Régestes II*, no 1705; Iorga, *Notes I*, 281-282.

¹⁵⁵ VEN1418ii (93): Thiriet, *Régestes II*, no 1705.

cities, France and England (1399-1403), and John VIII, who travelled to Hungary (1423-24) and later to Italy, as head of the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-39).

Emperors' travels cannot, of course, be considered to be a typical embassy to the West, since they were by definition exceptional. The fact that the emperor himself was travelling would require more security measures, possibly special arrangements in the place of destination for his accommodation, considerably larger funds for the support of himself and his retinue, and in some cases, a much larger number of people, who formed his entourage, or were part of the diplomatic mission itself, as was, for example, the case with John VIII's mission to the Council of Florence.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, I have chosen to explore the characteristics of these journeys in a separate section from regular ambassadorial missions, examining the same main categories that have been presented above: the routes followed, the vessels used, the season of travel, and the speed and duration of the journeys.

¹⁵⁶ The Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence comprised of ca. seven hundred members, most of whom were ecclesiastical representatives, but also members of the imperial retinue. For a more detailed discussion of the size and composition of the emperors' retinues during their personal journeys see Chapter II.

2.1 Routes and itineraries

Several factors, mostly economic and political, could have dictated the routes that the emperors followed in their journeys. Mainly, the final destination of the journey also played an important part in the choice of route, therefore, the journeys will be categorised based on their destination in order to facilitate their examination. The first category includes the two journeys of John V and John VIII to Hungary in 1365 and 1423 respectively. The second category includes the two journeys of John V and John VIII that had an Italian city, in these particular cases Rome and Ferrara/Florence, as their final destination. Manuel II's journey to Italy, France and England is also examined as a part of this second category since only the first leg of his journey - the one leading up to Italy - is fully within the scope of this study. The second part of Manuel's journey, leading from Italy to France and England, will only be mentioned briefly, without an examination of the roads followed.

a. The road to Hungary

John V travelled to the court of Louis the Great (1342-1382) in Buda at the end of 1365 in an effort to gain the support of the Hungarian king and

persuade him to lead a crusade against the Turks.¹⁵⁷ On his way to Buda from Constantinople, he chose to avoid the land route, which would have taken him through Bulgarian territory, since at the time relationships between Byzantium and Bulgaria were strained; in fact, in 1363 a conflict between the two had resulted in one of the few Byzantine military victories in that period.¹⁵⁸ In addition, relations between Bulgaria and Hungary were equally unfriendly, especially after the invasion of the Hungarian armies into north-western Bulgaria in the same year.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, John V chose to travel by ship in the Black Sea, and then sail up the Danube, as Kydones informs us.¹⁶⁰

For his return journey in the summer of 1366, John V chose a different route, in fact exactly the one that he had opted to avoid the previous time; he decided to risk travelling by land, through Bulgaria. He and his retinue made their way from Buda to Bdin in north-western Bulgaria, which had been invaded by Hungary in 1365. There the tsar John Šišman refused to allow John V passage through his territories. Amedeo of Savoy came to the emperor's rescue, and John V was allowed to travel to Sozopolis to

¹⁵⁷Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 111-114; J. Gill, 'John V Palaiologos at the court of Louis I of Hungary (1366), *BSI* 38 (1977), 31; V. Nerantzi-Varmazi, V. *To Byzάντιο και η Δύση (1354-1369)* (Thessalonike, 1993), 66-68; Mergiali-Sahas, 'Το άλλο πρόσωπο της αυτοκρατορικής διπλωματίας', 243.

¹⁵⁸ Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Byzάντιο και η Δύση*, 39-41, 68-69.

¹⁵⁹ Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Byzάντιο και η Δύση*, 69.

¹⁶⁰ Kydones, *On accepting Latin aid*, PG 154, 1000D: 'ἀνήγετο μὲν εἰς τὸν Πόντον' ἀνέπλει δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐκατέρωθεν οὐχ ὑπερπλέων, ἀλλὰ παραπλέων ὥσπερ τινὰς ὑφάλους τὰς ὄχθας'.

meet him.¹⁶¹ It is not clearly indicated how the Byzantine emperor returned to Constantinople from Sozopolis, but it is most probable that he sailed down the Black Sea in Amedeo's ships. In any case, he returned to his capital in spring 1367, most probably after 15 March 1367.¹⁶²

John VIII Palaiologos travelled to Hungary in 1423, following an entirely different route from the one his grandfather John V had chosen fifty-eight years earlier, at least as far as his outbound journey was concerned. The narrative sources of the period are not very forthcoming of details of this trip and the information about it is fragmented.¹⁶³ He sailed to Venice, arriving there ca. 15 December 1423,¹⁶⁴ where he conducted several negotiations, attempting to borrow funds in order to pay for his journey to Hungary and for his struggle against the Turks.¹⁶⁵ His journey

¹⁶¹ J. Meyendorff, 'Projets de Concile Oecuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul', *DOP* 14 (1960), 170: 'Ο βασιλεύς ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐγγαρίας ἐρχόμενος, ὡσαύτως ὁ κόντος τῆς Σαβοείας ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ [...] ἠνώθησαν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ Σωζοπόλει.'; Cox, *The green count*, 229-230.

¹⁶² A Greek Short Chronicle states that John V and Amedeo returned to Constantinople together the week before Easter, in April 1367: 'χειμάσας (ο κόντος) ἐστράφη δέ στήν Πόλιν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐβδομάδα μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων'. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken* II, 297 (Vienna, 1977). The western chronicler of Amedeo of Savoy, however, explains that John V returned to Constantinople first, shortly after 15 March 1367, while Amedeo reached the Byzantine capital on 9 April. J. Servion, *Geste et Croniques de la Mayson de Savoye*, (ed) F. E. Bollati di Saint-Pierre (Turin, 1879), 314C.

¹⁶³ Paragraph 12 of Syropoulos' text, where he most probably discussed John's journey to Hungary is missing but it is possible that the author had included a detailed account of the emperor's visit to the West. See Syropoulos II, 12. Our knowledge of this journey mainly derives from Sphrantzes (XII, XIII) and from documents and letters that attest to the presence of John VIII in Italy and concern his transactions with Venice and other Italian cities en route to Hungary.

¹⁶⁴ R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* I (Rome, 1931), 8, n. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1916, 1918, 1919, 1920.

continued across Italy by land, via several Italian cities such as Milan¹⁶⁶ and Lodi,¹⁶⁷ before finally reaching the town of Totis in Hungary,¹⁶⁸ where he met with the Hungarian king, Sigismund.

However, the return route that John VIII followed presents more similarities to that of John V. Sphrantzes mentions that, for his return journey, John VIII travelled from Totis to a town called *Kellion*, near the Danube, and from there he reached Constantinople from the north.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that Sigismund himself provided the means for the transportation of John VIII to Kilia, where ships, most probably Genoese, were waiting to take him to Constantinople. This is further supported by the fact that at the beginning of the fifteenth century Sigismund had made agreements with the Genoese, who controlled Kilia at the time, in order to regulate the trade routes leading from central Europe to the Black Sea, in an effort to thwart the expansion of Venetian trade.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, he was possibly in a position to secure a relatively safe passage for the Byzantine emperor.

¹⁶⁶ He was in Milan at the beginning of February 1424: Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, 8. John VIII must have also returned to Milan, as shown from a letter written from Milan on 3 May 1424: *PP* III, 353.

¹⁶⁷ His presence at Lodi is attested in March 1424, according to a letter he wrote to Venice on the 17th of that month: Iorga, *Notes* I, 361; Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1927.

¹⁶⁸ Gill, *Council of Florence*, 39, n. 6.

¹⁶⁹ Sphrantzes, XIII, 1-4. *Kellion* can be identified as the town of *Chilia* or *Kilia* at the mouth of the Danube, one of the most significant ports and trading stations under Genoese control on the western coast of the Black Sea. On Kilia see M. Balard, *Romanie génoise* I, 145-147; *idem*, *Gênes et l'outre-mer II. Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzò 1360* (Paris-The Hague, 1980); H. Andreescu, 'Note despre Cetatea Chilia' (= A few notes about Kilia). *Pontica* 32 (1999), 225-232.

¹⁷⁰ S. Papacostea, 'Kilia et la politique orientale de Sigismond de Luxembourg', *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 15.3 (1976), 421-436; M. Balard, 'Gênes et la mer Noire (XIIIe-XVe

Therefore, there were two possible routes that the emperors followed to travel to Hungary, one passing via Venice and one via the Black Sea and the Danube, with the second one prevailing slightly. However, just from these two examples, it is not easy to determine which of the two routes was most common in reaching Hungary. Some further insight is provided by comparing those examples to other embassies travelling to the same destination at the same period.

There are nine (9) journeys in our database with Hungary as the first destination. Six (6) of these do not offer any information concerning the route followed by the ambassadors, but the remaining three (3) shed some light on this issue. In 1434, the three Byzantine ambassadors to the Council of Basle were also commissioned to appear before Sigismund of Hungary, who was then in Ulm. Their journey followed the route via the Black Sea and then by land through Wallachia and Hungary. After a short stop at Buda, they continued on to Ulm and then to their final destination, Basle.¹⁷¹ The same route was also followed by another Byzantine ambassador to the Council of Basle, Manuel Dishypatos, who returned via Hungary, and presumably via the Black Sea in 1435.¹⁷²

siècles). *Revue Historique* CCLXX (1983); repr. in M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Roumanie génoise (XIIIe-Ve siècles)* (London, 1989), 39.

¹⁷¹ HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124). The details of their journey are narrated in a letter of Alberto de Crispis, an envoy of the Council of Basle, travelling with the Byzantine ambassadors, see above p. 35.

¹⁷² POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128).

The other two journeys to Hungary both followed the route via Venice. In 1395-96, Manuel Philanthropenos, who had undertaken an embassy to Buda, travelled aboard Venetian galleys, in order to return to Constantinople.¹⁷³ Similarly, the monk George, an envoy of John VIII to Hungary in 1444, also travelled by sea via Venice. His journey also included a stop in Ragusa, where he was granted right of passage to Split and was given letters to carry to Venice and to Hungary.¹⁷⁴ Finally it should be noted that in the example mentioned above, the three envoys to Hungary and Basle in 1434 also returned to Constantinople via Venice, accompanied by representatives of the Council of Basle.¹⁷⁵

These three examples of journeys to Hungary, and the one journey to Basle, combined with the evidence provided by the imperial journeys, show that the two routes were used in almost equal measure. The choice between one or the other route seems to have depended mostly on political circumstances and choices. For example, John V, who very rarely employed Venetian galleys for the transportation of his ambassadors, favours the Black Sea/Danube route, while during the reign of John VIII

¹⁷³ HUN1395-96 (34); According to the correspondence between Sigismund of Hungary and Venice, Sigismund requested that the Byzantine ambassador is transported back to Constantinople on Venetian galleys: Thiriet, *Régestes*, no 900, 901; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, no 513.

¹⁷⁴ HUN1444 (160). Krekić, *Ragusa*, no 1040, 1041.

¹⁷⁵ More specifically they were supposed to depart from Venice but were forced to go to Pola instead because of an outbreak of the plague in Venice.

both itineraries are followed, with a slight prevalence of the sea route via Venice.

b. The road to Italy

In 1369 John V sailed to Italy in order to visit Pope Urban V in Rome. Not many details are provided on the intermediate stops during his journey from Constantinople to Italy. He sailed from Constantinople with four galleys some time in the summer of 1369 and arrived in Naples on 6 August 1369.¹⁷⁶ After staying there for more than a week as a guest of Joanna I of Naples in the Castelnuovo, he sailed on to Rome, on 18 August 1369.¹⁷⁷ During his return journey in March 1370 he went first to Naples, sailed to Ancona¹⁷⁸ and then Venice, arriving there probably around the end of spring.¹⁷⁹ John V departed from Venice, presumably with his four galleys, but quite possibly accompanied by more ships given to him by

¹⁷⁶ J. de Blasiis (ed), *Chronicon Siculum incerti auctoris ab a. 340 ad a. 1396 in forma diarii ex inedito codice Ottoboniano Vaticano* (Naples, 1887), 22; Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* I, 392, 1-2.

¹⁷⁷ Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* IV, 135-6. It is possible that John V was also entertained elsewhere along the way, as he did not enter Rome until October of the same year.

¹⁷⁸ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no. 71 : 'μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Νεάπολιν καὶ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα, καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι μακροτάτην διατριβήν, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους ἠνίασε τῶν δὲ ξένων πολλοὺς ἡμῖν τῆς ἀβελτηρίας ἤγειρε κατηγοροῦς, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἴσμεν πρᾶττειν πλὴν τοῦ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀναλίσκειν, ἦλθομεν μὲν εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν [...].'

¹⁷⁹ R.-J. Loenertz, 'Jean V Paléologue à Venise', *REB* 16 (1958), 218.

Venice, as a result of their negotiations, and arrived back in Constantinople in October 1371.¹⁸⁰

Manuel II sailed from Constantinople on 10 December 1399, possibly accompanied by a retinue of as many as fifty people.¹⁸¹ The only information that we have concerning the route of the first part of his journey, taking him to Italy, is that he stopped in the Peloponnese,¹⁸² where he entrusted his wife and two children to his brother Theodore I, and from then he continued his journey to Venice. After Venice, he leisurely made his way through Italy, visiting Padua, Vicenza, Pavia, Milan, Verona and Sarravale, and finally arrived in Paris in June 1400 and then London in December of the same year.¹⁸³ During his return journey in 1403, he travelled once again via Venice and the Peloponnese, before returning to Constantinople.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 231; P. Charanis, 'An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century', *B* 13 (1938), 340.

¹⁸¹ *PP* III, 360-1; Barker, *Manuel II*, 170. For a more detailed discussion on the size of Manuel II's retinue see Chapter II, section 1. Embassies.

¹⁸² VEN1399(43), Thiriet, *Régestes* II, 978. The places that the emperor visited to the West are mentioned by Makarios of Ankyra, who escorted the emperor, in his treatise *Against the errors of the Latins*: 'Καὶ πρό γε, ἀφ' ὧν μετὰ τὴν Βενετιαν εἶδομεν καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, οἷον τῆς Πάτρβας, τῆς Βερώνης, τῆς Παβίας, τῶν Μεδιολάνων, καὶ ἕως Σαραβάλε τοῦ ἐγγύς τῆς Γεννούας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μεσον τούτων καὶ κύκλω διαφόρων πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν, τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Λουμπαρδίαν καὶ ἐκ μέρους τῆς Ἀλαμανίας, καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς, τῶν τε ἐγγιστα καὶ περὶ τὴν Φράντζαν πολλῶν πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ περικλύτου Παρισίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐφεξῆς δὲ καὶ ἐπέκεινα τούτου, Πολλωνίας φημί καὶ τοῦ Καλλέες, οὗ καὶ ὁ πόρος, καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ ἐπιτήδειος λιμὴν, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὀρίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ τῆς Ἐγκλυτέρας ὄρηγός.' See Ch. Triantafyllopoulos, *An annotated critical edition of the treatise Against the errors of the Latins by Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405)*, 2 vols (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2010), ii, 336.117.

¹⁸³ VENITFRENG1399-1403a, b, c, d(44, 45, 46, 47).

¹⁸⁴ Barker, *Manuel II*, 237.

The third journey to Italy, that of John VIII in 1437-38, as well as his return journey to Constantinople in 1439, are well documented in the *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos.¹⁸⁵ In fact, it is the most detailed and complete example of such a journey that we have at our disposal, and we can track the route in detail, as it follows mainly the typical route of the Venetian galleys of Romania: the convoy of ships transporting the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence stopped at Lemnos, Euripos, then sailed around the Peloponnese to Methone, Kephallonia, Corfu and finally up the Adriatic, where they stopped at Ruvini, Parenzo and finally Venice.¹⁸⁶

The routes that the emperors followed in these exceptional journeys, both those to Hungary, and to Italy and Western Europe, are very similar to the ones followed by most ambassadors' journeys on their way to the West. As with regular embassies, for most of the emperors' journeys also the entryway to the West was provided by Venice. The only exception appears to be John V, who followed alternative routes in both his journeys to the West. Especially in his journey to Italy, the choice of Naples as a first stop, instead of Venice, could support the argument that he didn't travel on Venetian ships, like the other emperors, but that the four galleys that transported him there were Byzantine or of other origin.

¹⁸⁵ Syropoulos, IV and XI.

¹⁸⁶ See <http://www.syropoulos.co.uk/towns.htm> for a map detailing the towns and ports mentioned in Syropoulos' description of the journey to Venice.

2.2 Vessels

The majority of the ships used to transport the Byzantine emperors to the West have been provided by Venice, as it is documented in most of the cases of their journeys.

Manuel II, his wife and two sons, John (VIII) and Theodore, departed from Constantinople aboard Venetian galleys.¹⁸⁷ While in the Peloponnese, Manuel petitioned for - and was granted - permission for his family to take refuge to the Venetian colonies of Methone and Korone, in the case of a Turkish invasion of the Peloponnese, while he also made arrangements for their housing and transportation to Venice, should the need arise.¹⁸⁸ After settling such matters, he boarded 'one of the great ships',¹⁸⁹ presumably a Venetian great galley, and sailed to Venice. His return journey to Constantinople from Western Europe was also prepared by Venice. The Venetians had begun urging Manuel to return to Constantinople, already from January 1402, writing to him in Flanders, announcing that the situation in the capital had become so grave that demanded his immediate return.¹⁹⁰ The correspondence between them in

¹⁸⁷ *PP III*, 360-1: 'ἀνάβας εἰς τὰ κάτεργα τῶν Βενετῶν'.

¹⁸⁸ Thiriet, *Régestes II*, no 978; Iorga, *Notes I*, 96-97.

¹⁸⁹ Doukas XIV, 5: 'αὐτὸς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν μεγάλων νηῶν εἰσελθὼν ἔπλει εἰς Βενετίαν...'

¹⁹⁰ Thiriet, *Régestes II*, no 1039.

spring 1402 shows the requests that Manuel presented to Venice for its involvement in his efforts to obtain help for Constantinople, while they began discussing the details for his return journey.¹⁹¹

The fact that Manuel chose to depart from the city aboard Venetian galleys could be explained by the grave condition Constantinople was in at the time of his departure, that is, the continued siege by Bayezid. Byzantine imperial vessels would probably not be safe in departing from the city and the emperor himself would probably prefer not to risk such an action. Further, his use of Venetian galleys is consistent with the use of vessels from his diplomatic corps: as mentioned above, several of the examples of envoys boarding Venetian galleys in order to be transported to and from Constantinople come from the reign of Manuel, while there are no references in the list of journeys of Manuel's ambassadors travelling on Byzantine or other ships.

Venice also provided the means of transport to John VIII on his journey from Constantinople to Venice in 1423. In fact, after the arrival of John VIII to Italy, the Venetian Senate waived the expenses that he would have to pay for his transportation on the galleys, and allowed the emperor and his retinue to travel for free.¹⁹² Similar was the situation in 1437, when the Byzantine delegation set out for Italy to attend the Council of Ferrara-

¹⁹¹ Thiriet, *Régestes* 1055, 1063, 1088.

¹⁹² Thiriet, *Régestes* II, 1916.

Florence. Most of the ships used to transport the delegates to Italy were Venetian commercial galleys chartered for this particular mission by Pope Eugenius. Syropoulos refers to the ships in general as *τριήρεις* or *κάτεργα*, a term that was often used to describe Venetian galleys, while he also expressly notes that their means of transport included three ships sent by Pope Eugenius IV, three Venetian ships that were 'αί συνήθεις τῆς Πραγματείας' and one Florentine galley.¹⁹³ The choice of Venetian galleys on the part of the pope is further supported by the fact that he himself was of Venetian origin. In fact, Syropoulos mentions that the captain of this small fleet was Antonio Condulmer, a nephew of Pope Eugenius IV, appointed personally by his uncle to lead the galleys sent to Constantinople.¹⁹⁴

Three of the emperors' journeys provide evidence that means of transport other than Venetian galleys were also used. On John V's journey to Buda and the means used to carry the emperor and his retinue there, the only source remains Demetrios Kydones, who simply mentions that the emperor set sail in the Pontos and the Danube.¹⁹⁵ While there is no further indication as to the origin of the vessels used on that occasion, I have already expressed the opinion of the Genoese providing such means of transport, whenever that route was used both by regular ambassadors

¹⁹³ Syropoulos, IV, 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ Syropoulos, III, 15 and n. 6; Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae* I, 76-77.

¹⁹⁵ See above, p. 67, n. 160.

and by the emperor himself. Further, the presence and regular commercial activities of Byzantines in the Black Sea in the 1360s also presents the possibility that their privately owned ships could have been hired by the emperor for his transportation.¹⁹⁶

Of similar origin, possibly Genoese, were also the ships that transported John VIII in 1424 from the coasts of the Black Sea to Constantinople, when the emperor was returning from his visit to Sigismund of Hungary. John VIII had travelled to Hungary aboard Venetian ships, but on his return journey he chose a different route, through Hungary and Wallachia, instead of sailing the Aegean. According to Sphrantzes, before departing from Hungary, the emperor dispatched a messenger and requested for ships from Constantinople to wait for him in Kilia.¹⁹⁷

Of unspecified origin were also the four ships that transported the emperor John V to Italy in 1369; we only know that they were referred to as 'galleys', presumably indicating that they were indeed ships of that type.¹⁹⁸ The fact that nothing specific is mentioned about the origin of these ships could suggest that they were imperial ships, belonging to the remnants of the Byzantine navy. This is further corroborated by the fact

¹⁹⁶ Laiou, 'The Byzantine economy', 218.

¹⁹⁷ Sphrantzes, XIII, 3: 'καὶ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ χαρτίν, ὅτι [ὁ βασιλεὺς] καὶ ὑγιαίνει καὶ ἀπέρχεται καλῶς καὶ εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Μεγάλην Βλαχίαν καὶ νὰ ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὸ Κελλίον ὀνομαζόμενον τόπον κάτεργα ἵνα ἐπάρωσι καὶ φέρωσι αὐτόν...'.
¹⁹⁸ Baluze I, 392: 'quatuor galeis'.

that John V sailed to Naples, and not Venice, which was the most usual entryway to the West. This alternative route was probably selected firstly because non Venetian galleys would not have been obligated to stop in Venice, but also because tension probably still existed between John V and Venice, caused by an earlier Venetian embassy on financial issues.¹⁹⁹

Among the ships that formed the convoy to Italy in 1437, the emperor John VIII's ship was of unspecified origin and presented different characteristics than the Venetian galleys. Emperor John VIII did not embark one of the ships sent by Pope Eugenius IV; in fact it is clearly stated in Syropoulos that he paid for his own expenses for the journey, including those of his own ship.²⁰⁰ Syropoulos also clearly distinguishes the imperial ship from the rest of the fleet by indicating in several instances that it was of a different type from the great galleys that transported the rest of the delegates. It often strayed from the convoy, travelling in greater speed, and was armed, as is suggested by an encounter with Catalan pirates the convoy had in Madytos; these Catalans were contemplating whether or not to attack the small fleet but were dissuaded from such an action by the sight of the emperor's ship, which was ready for battle.²⁰¹ Therefore, this ship could be identified as a war

¹⁹⁹ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 177, 189.

²⁰⁰ Syropoulos III, 30: 'ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γὰρ ἐτοιμάζει καὶ τὸ κάτεργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τινά, ἅπερ ἀναγκάζεται ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὁδόν...'

²⁰¹ Syropoulos IV, 7: 'Ἐν δέ γε τῇ νήσῳ ἐκείνῃ ἦσαν δύο κάτεργα Κατελανικά καὶ γαλιῶται δύο ἀπὸ ἑτέρου μέρους, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἔγνωσαν τι

ship, a light galley, smaller in size and much lighter than the commercial galleys.²⁰²

Its origin is a little more difficult to determine, but there are two suggestions: It could be a Venetian galley, a lighter and smaller ship from the other galleys of the convoy, privately hired for the specific purpose of transporting the emperor.²⁰³ In fact it was not uncommon for private ships to be hired for diplomatic journeys, as was also the case with the ships hired by Pope Eugenius IV and the representatives of the Council of Basle. However, it could also be an imperial ship; if so it would be the only mention from the reign of John VIII of an ambassador, in this case the emperor himself, using a Byzantine ship.

περὶ τούτων· οἱ δὲ Κατελάνοι καὶ εἶδον τὸ κάτεργον καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅπως ἐντός ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο ὅπως κατ'αυτοῦ ὠρμήσωσιν. [...] Ἴδου γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐθέντης ἐστὶ μέγας, καὶ πᾶν ἰσχυρὸν ὄπλον καὶ πᾶς ἀνδρείος ὀπλίτης μετ'αυτοῦ ἔσται, καὶ τὸ κάτεργον αὐτοῦ ἰκανὸν φανεῖται τρισὶν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι. Εἰ γοῦν ἐπιχειρήσομεν κατ'αυτοῦ καὶ ἀποτύχωμεν, ἀτιμία καὶ ζημία ἡμῖν ἐπακολουθήσει καὶ εἰς κακὸν ἡμῖν ἀποβήσεται· διὸ βέλτιόν μοι δοκεῖ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Τούτοις πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ἐπαύσαντο.'

²⁰² Pryor, 'Geography, technology and war', 66.

²⁰³ The bronze doors of St Peter's Basilica in Vatican City, also known as the Filarete doors, depict several scenes from the Council of Ferrara-Florence, including the departure of John VIII from Constantinople. The ship depicted on the doors is clearly a type of galley, combining oars and sails. This depiction could add to the argument that John VIII's ship was a Venetian galley, either provided by the commercial convoy or paid for by the emperor himself. However, some caution should be exercised, considering the fact that it is not clear whether the artist actually saw John's ship upon its arrival in Venice or whether he depicted a ship type that was familiar to him.

2.3 Season of travel

Emperors' travels are better documented than regular embassies and we are fortunate to know sometimes the exact dates of their departure from Constantinople or at least the time of the year that they set out for their journeys to the West. John V left for Hungary in mid-winter, at the end of 1364 or beginning of 1365.²⁰⁴ The conditions of his journey are known from a chrysobull of John V, where he speaks of the hardships that he had had to endure due to the extreme weather conditions in the Black Sea and the Danube at that time of the year.²⁰⁵ For his second journey, to Rome, in 1369, John V sailed in mid-summer at a much calmer season, since he arrived to Naples on 6 August 1369.²⁰⁶ Manuel II also departed from Constantinople in the winter, embarking the Venetian galleys on 10 December 1399.²⁰⁷ John VIII arrived in Venice on 30 December 1423,²⁰⁸ on his way to meet Sigismund of Hungary; we could assume that he left Constantinople some time in mid-autumn of the same year. For the second

²⁰⁴ Kydones, *On accepting Latin aid*, PG 154: 'χειμῶνος μεσοῦντος'. P. Schreiner in *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* II, 295 believes that John left in November or December 1365; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Βυζάντιο και η Δύση*, 68 and n.14.

²⁰⁵ Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Prooemien zu Chrysobullen von Demetrius Cydones. Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen* (Berlin, 1888), 1419, 28-31: 'Καὶ οὗτος μοι τότε πάντων τῶν δυσχεριῶν ἐκοινῶνει, τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ φημί τῶν κατ' ἤπειρον, ὅτε χειμῶσι μὲν ἐξαισίσις καὶ πάγοις τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν δι' ὧν ἀναπλεῖν ἐχρῆν ἴστατο ῥεύματα, θάλαττα δὲ μεσοῦντος χειμῶνος ἐμαίνετο.'

²⁰⁶ *Chronicon Siculum*, 22.

²⁰⁷ *PP* III, 360-1: 'τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δεκεμβρίου, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ μακαρίτης βασιλεὺς κύρης Μανουήλ, ἀναβάς εἰς τὰ κάτεργα τῶν Βενετῶν· καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Φραγγίαν'.

²⁰⁸ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, 1916.

journey he embarked on in order to participate in the Council of Ferrara-Florence, he sailed from Constantinople on 27 November 1437.²⁰⁹

It is easy to detect, therefore, that the overwhelming majority, four out of the five imperial journeys, commenced during a period from mid-autumn to mid-winter, while only one, that of John V to Rome in 1369, took place in the summer months. There are several factors that could have affected the choices of the emperors, as to when to depart on their journeys. The vessels used to transport them to their destinations could definitely be accounted for as contributing aspects of that choice. Manuel II and John VIII, who departed for their journeys either in the second half of the autumn months or at the beginning of winter, both travelled on Venetian galleys. Further, in one case, that of John VIII's journey in 1437, it is explicitly stated that three of these galleys were commercial, travelling from the Black Sea back to Venice via Constantinople and, on their way back they were commissioned to join the convoy that would escort the Byzantine delegation to Italy.²¹⁰ In the other two cases of journeys, the galleys are not clearly identified as commercial galleys. However, they as well could have been part of a convoy of the merchant galleys of Romania returning from the Black Sea to Venice, and employed to carry the Byzantine emperor and his retinue to their destination in Italy. Certainly,

²⁰⁹ Syropoulos, IV, 1-2.

²¹⁰ Syropoulos, IV, 2: 'αί συνήθεις τῆς Πραγματείας'.

the choice of vessels alone cannot be considered as the sole reason that would determine a journey during the winter months. However, the choice of Venetian galleys that were travelling to the same destination and could have offered the necessary space for the emperor and his retinue could have been made for matters of convenience.

Political circumstances, on-going negotiations and personal choices of the emperors also contributed to the emperors' setting out for a journey in the winter. In the case of Manuel II, the urgency of the journey can be detected in the fact that, at the time of his departure, the Byzantine capital was under siege by the Ottomans. The urgent need for western help made it impossible for the emperor to wait for a more favourable season. Further, embarking on Venetian commercial galleys could probably ensure that he could depart undetected and with relative safety. The time of departure of the Byzantine delegation to Italy in 1437 was influenced by the political choices of the emperor and the patriarch. From a practical point of view, the delegation was ready to depart in September, at a time when the weather would have been more favourable for sailing. However, the on-going negotiations about whether to join the papal ships or those sent by the Council of Basle caused a delay and were a contributing factor in the departure at the end of November.

Finally, we have already observed that in this late period the more traditional seasons of travel were no longer followed and sea journeys

would take place the whole year, not just from mid-spring to mid-autumn. Regular embassies were dispatched and indeed travelled throughout the year, and imperial journeys, with the exception of John V's journey to Rome in 1366, confirm this pattern of travelling during the winter months, especially aboard Venetian galleys.

2.4 Speed and duration of travel

The speed of travel during an emperor's journey to the West was affected by all the regular limitations that applied for land and sea journeys in that period for regular embassies or other travels: the route, the time of the year and the weather conditions, as well as by the capabilities of the vessels. We would have to account for additional factors, such as the larger size of the emperor's delegations, which would require more vessels and, indeed, the personal choices and decisions of the emperors themselves.

In the case of John V's journey to Hungary, the emperor and his retinue travelled in the middle of winter, while John V himself, in his chrysobull, described the difficulties that the ice and snow, and the currents of the sea created.²¹¹ It is not certain how long his journey lasted, but it could not have been longer than two or three months, even if we

²¹¹ See above, n. 205.

accept that he departed from Constantinople at the earliest suggested date, in late November or December.²¹² The correspondence between Louis of Hungary and Venice helps calculate approximately when the Byzantine emperor arrived in Buda. Louis had written to Venice some time in February, announcing his intention to organise a campaign against the Turks and requesting Venetian ships for that purpose. Louis' letter itself has not survived, but the Venetian reply at the beginning of March 1366²¹³ suggests that, by then, negotiations between Louis and John V had already begun in earnest; therefore, John V must have reached Buda in late January or early February 1366, after travelling for approximately two to three months.

For his return journey, John V suffered the delay in the Hungarian-Bulgarian border. Political circumstances disrupted the course of his journey, thus making it difficult to calculate the speed with which John V would have reached Constantinople had he been allowed to travel there by land through Bulgaria. We could, however, offer an estimate at how long his journey lasted for the route that he did follow in the end, that is Buda - Bdin - Sozopolis - Constantinople, by calculating the different parts of the journey individually.

²¹² Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* II, 295.

²¹³ *Monumentia spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* IV, no. 148.

On 23 July 1366 negotiations between Louis and John V were still on-going, as suggests a letter that Louis sent to Venice on that date, thanking the Venetians for the agreement about the galleys he had requested earlier.²¹⁴ On 20 September, however, with another letter to Venice, Louis clarified that he did not require fully armed ships after all, but only hulls that he would equip himself at a later date, thus suggesting that discussions with John V had already fallen through.²¹⁵ Therefore, the Byzantine emperor must have left the Hungarian capital some time between those two dates. In any case he must have already reached Bdin in mid to late September, as on 4 October Amedeo of Savoy, having reached Constantinople on 2 September himself, had already learned of John V's predicament and sailed out to his aid.²¹⁶ The negotiations between Amedeo of Savoy and the Bulgarian tsar lasted at least until December 1366 and it appears that John V was able to reach Sozopolis before the end of January 1367.²¹⁷ The final section of his journey was the shortest one as he left Sozopolis some time after 15 March and was back in his capital approximately between 9-11 April.²¹⁸ Adding up these three different sections of the emperor's journey shows that the overall duration was no more than two and a half or three months; the speed of the journey

²¹⁴ *Monumentia Hungariae historica* II, no 483.

²¹⁵ *Monumentia Hungariae historica* II, no 485.

²¹⁶ Cox, *The green count*, 222-223.

²¹⁷ Cox, *The green count*, 229; Neratzi-Varmazi, *Το Βυζάντιο και η Δύση*, 126, n. 4.

²¹⁸ See above, n. 162.

had been affected primarily by external factors, in this case the problems with the Bulgarian tsar.

The only other journey that followed the route via the Black Sea is the return journey of John VIII from Hungary to Constantinople in 1424. Since the route that the emperor followed on his way from Constantinople to Hungary is different, it will be examined later with the other two similar imperial journeys. According to Sphrantzes, the emperor travelled from Totis to Kilia on the Danube delta, and from there sailed to Constantinople aboard the ships that had been sent to him from the capital. Before setting out on his journey he had sent a messenger ahead to inform his father that he was getting ready to depart.²¹⁹ The exact date of his departure from Hungary is not known; however, Sphrantzes informs us that the emperor was back to Constantinople at the end of October 1424.²²⁰ He was still in Hungary in August of that same year;²²¹ thus, if he left Totis around the beginning of September, his journey must have lasted approximately two months.

The three journeys to and from Constantinople and Hungary present some similarities when it comes to their duration; they indicate that the

²¹⁹ Sphrantzes, XIII, 2: 'Προέπεμψε γὰρ ἀπὸ τὴν Οὐγγαρίαν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλόγλωσσον καὶ ἀλλογενῆ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τῆς στερεᾶς μετὰ πιττακίου ὑφειλτοῦ.'

²²⁰ Sphrantzes, XIII, 1: Καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὀκτωβρίου μηνὸς τοῦ λγ^{ου} ἔτους ἐπανῆλθε καὶ εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ εἰς τὸν Δανούβιον ποταμὸν Κελλίου ὀνομαζομένου ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρ Ἰωάννης, ἀπελθόντων κατέργων ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως ἐκεῖσε.'

²²¹ J. Zhishman, *Die Unionseverhandlungen zwischen der orientalischen und römischen Kirche seit dem Anfange des XV. Jahrhunderts bis zum Concil von Ferrara* (Vienna, 1858), 14.

average duration for this journey was approximately two to three months. What is interesting to note is that this duration appears to remain the same, regardless of the season of travel. When John V undertook that journey in wintertime, presumably under severe weather conditions, he was delayed possibly by approximately one month or less, considering that the overall duration of his return journey could be estimated to two and half months.

The only other example of envoys following that route to Hungary is that of the journey to Ulm and Basle in 1434.²²² The ambassadors departed from Constantinople some time before 18 January 1434 and were in Ulm on 25 June 1434, as the letter of Alberto de Crispis that recounts the adventures of their journey indicates.²²³ The overall journey to Ulm lasted a little less than five months. De Crispis' description illuminates two factors that affected the speed of the journey from Constantinople to Buda, which was their first stop: the weather and the dangers from thieves. On 18 January they suffered from a severe storm in the Black Sea and afterward, while travelling by land through Wallachia and Hungary, they were attacked and robbed of their possessions. In Buda they were forced to raise money in order to be able to continue to Ulm. Taking into account the delays, the journey from Constantinople to Buda must have lasted

²²² HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

²²³ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XXVI.

approximately four months. The difference in duration between that and the imperial journeys is significant, especially considering that the shortest imperial journey, that of John VIII was approximately two months.

In all three examples of imperial journeys, while there is mention of the weather conditions that cause difficulties and distress, there are very few mentions of thieves rendering the land journey dangerous. One such example comes from a letter written by Manuel II to Demetrios Chrysoloras, in which the emperor discussed his efforts to write a theological treatise, while travelling, but was unable to complete his task due to the bad weather during sea and river crossings, and due to the fear for attacks from bandits.²²⁴ De Crispis' letter of his own journey with the three Byzantine envoys to Hungary contains the only mention of the danger from thieves that refers explicitly to the route via Hungary. In addition, we should also consider that travelling emperors possibly had better protection than smaller travelling parties and this would dissuade thieves from attacking them often. In support of this comes an incident from John VIII's sea journey to Italy in 1437, which will be explored in

²²⁴ Manuel II, *Letters*, no 44, *Letter to Demetrius Chrysoloras*: ... καίτοι θαυμαστόν ἂν δόξειεν, εἰ τὸ πολὺ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτου πόνων διήνεγκα ἐν ἄλλοδαπῇ, ὅπου καὶ πελάγη τεμεῖν ἀνάγκη καὶ ποταμοὺς διαβῆναι καὶ δεδιέναι ληστῶν ἐφόδους καὶ κακῶν ὁδοιπορίας συχνῆς ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα φέρειν, οἴκοι δὲ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκείνων πάντων ἀπηλλαγμένος καὶ δοῦναι πέρασ τῷ λόγῳ πρόθυμος ὢν, καιροῦ μὴ οἷός τε γενοίμην τυχεῖν.' The treatise Manuel was attempting to write was the theological treatise *On the procession of the Holy Spirit*, which he had started composing in Paris and completed after his return to Constantinople, before November 1417. See Ch. Dendrinou, *An annotated critical edition (edition princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise 'On the Procession of the Holy Spirit'* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1996).

detail further on. In one of the stops the convoy of ships carrying the Byzantine delegation met with a group of Catalans, who considered attacking them. They were only deterred by the emperor's presence, which meant that the ship he was travelling on and some of the others were armed and equipped to repel such attacks.²²⁵

The emperors' sea journeys from Constantinople to Italy are not all well documented in terms of their duration, but there is sufficient information for most of them.²²⁶ John V arrived in Naples in August 1369, the only example of arriving at an Italian port other than Venice; however, the exact date of his departure from Constantinople is not known, nor are any other intermediate stops that could allow us to calculate the duration of his journey. The other three journeys included a sea leg from Constantinople to Venice and will be examined together.

Manuel II departed from Constantinople on 10 December 1399 and he was definitely in the Peloponnese for some time on 27 February 1400, as he received a letter from Venice welcoming him there and replying to an embassy that the emperor had sent from there.²²⁷ It is not certain how long the emperor remained in the Peloponnese, but he had definitely arrived in Italy at the beginning of April, as Venice authorised the sum of two

²²⁵ See n. 201.

²²⁶ These journeys include John V's voyage to Rome (1369), the journey of John VIII from Constantinople to Hungary (but not his return, which has already been examined above), Manuel II's journey to Italy, France and England in 1399, and John VIII's journey to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1437.

²²⁷ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, 978; Iorga, *Notes* I, 96.

hundred ducats to be given to him for his expenses on 4 April 1400.²²⁸ Therefore, it took almost four months for Manuel to arrive to Venice, the main cause for this delay being a long stop in the Peloponnese in order to secure the safety of his family.

John VIII left his capital on 15 November 1423²²⁹ and was probably already in Venice by the end of December 1423. A reply by Venice to Byzantine ambassadors on 30 December 1423 discusses among other issues the proposal of John VIII to pawn two rubies for the sum of forty thousand ducats, and accords to the co-emperor and his retinue the right to travel aboard Venetian galleys for free.²³⁰ This journey in 1423 was the shortest of the three lasting a little over a month. On the other hand, the same emperor's journey in 1437, documented in detail by Syropoulos, was seventy-one days.

There are, therefore, three different duration times²³¹ for three journeys with similar characteristics: they departed from Constantinople approximately the same time of the year at the end of autumn or

²²⁸ Iorga, *Notes* I, 97.

²²⁹ Sphrantzes, XII, 3: 'Καὶ τῆ κβ^η τοῦ φευρουαρίου μηνὸς τοῦ λβ^{ου} ἔτους διέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρ Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Οὐγγαρίαν ποιήσας δεσπότην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐθεντόπουλον κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ καταλείψας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.'

²³⁰ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1916. Presumably this free right of passage is accorded in retrospect, after John VIII and his entourage have arrived in Venice, as the next mention of their presence there is given only a few days later on 9 January 1424. Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1918.

²³¹ Four months for Manuel II's journey, one and a half months for John VIII's first journey in 1423 and a little more than two months for John VIII's second journey in 1347-38.

beginning of winter; they followed similar routes, with intermediate stops at the Peloponnese, probably at the port of Methone; all three emperors travelled aboard Venetian galleys, possibly a convoy of commercial ships. There are several factors that could have affected the duration of the journey, such as the number of passengers, weather conditions, external dangers such as enemy attacks, side-activities such as trading, and the personal choices of the emperors, which, of course, reflected the political circumstances of each period.

A problem that presents itself from the start is that there is no equal amount of information about all three of the journeys. Very little is known about the specific circumstances of Manuel II's and John VIII's first sea journey, making it difficult to determine what could have affected them. In Manuel II's case, which is the longest journey of the three, we can only suggest that the long delay had its cause in the prolonged stay in the Peloponnese, where Manuel was trying to secure the safety of his family in the case of a Turkish attack.²³² Therefore, political necessity was the main factor in this particular case, without of course excluding the possibility that the galleys transporting the emperor and his retinue might have encountered storms or other difficulties along the way. This does not appear to be the case in John VIII's first voyage in 1423, as it is the quickest of all three. The most logical assumption would be that the ships carrying

²³² Thiriet, *Régestes* II, 978.

the emperor followed a similar route, with fewer stops, and that they encountered no major difficulties that could have caused major delays.

In contrast to the first two examples, Syropoulos' account provides an abundance of details on John VIII's second journey to Italy in 1437, and we are able to explore all the possible factors that affected the speed and duration of that particular journey. The first factor is the large number of travellers that were on board the ships, as well as the large number of ships travelling together in convoy. The Byzantine delegation comprised not only the emperor and his retinue, as was probably the case in all the other examples of travelling emperors, but also the patriarch and a large number of ecclesiastics, who were selected as representatives of the Eastern Church in the Council, seven hundred in total. Therefore, the convoy of eight ships carried the delegates, the Latin officials and ambassadors, who returned to Italy with the Byzantines, and the ships' crew.²³³ Further, the commercial ships of the convoy were loaded with cargo, which possibly included slaves, adding to the number of people aboard the galleys.²³⁴ Therefore, the mere numbers of the people involved

²³³ Syropoulos, IV, 2.

²³⁴ Syropoulos, IV, 10: 'έτέρα δέ, ἵνα ἐκβάλλωσι τοὺς δούλους, οὓς ἔχουσι, καὶ ἴσως γενήσετε καὶ ἐκ τούτου εὐρυχωρία τις.' When the delegation reached Methone, the issue of space inside the ships arose, especially because the Byzantines became aware that the Venetian galleys were also transporting a number of slaves, boarding the galleys either before reaching Constantinople or during one of their trading stops in Lemnos or Negroponte.

in that journey must have played an important factor in slowing down the vessels, thus prolonging its duration.

Weather conditions and winter travel did have an overall effect on the speed of the ships. Their performance capabilities were influenced by periods of calm, when the lack of wind would stall the journey,²³⁵ as well as violent storms that caused the convoy to disperse or brought about the damage of parts of the ships.²³⁶ The danger of pirate attacks caused a small delay, when they encountered four Catalan ships, in one of their stops. According to Syropoulos, they were spared the attack because the Catalans hesitated to attack the Byzantine emperor, probably because his own ship and the Venetian galleys would have been armed and prepared for such an occasion.²³⁷

A significant delay was caused by the side activities that the commercial vessels of the convoy engaged in on the way to Venice. Despite the fact that they were commissioned to carry the members of the Byzantine delegation, the Venetian commercial galleys did not stop their regular trading activities, stopping at Lemnos and Euripos.²³⁸ Finally, the long delays of this journey would also have to be attributed to the personal choices of the emperor and patriarch throughout its duration.

²³⁵ Syropoulos, IV, 3.

²³⁶ Syropoulos, IV 6, 12.

²³⁷ See above n. 201.

²³⁸ Syropoulos, IV, 4.

The journey itself had already been delayed in leaving Constantinople because of the on-going negotiations for the ecclesiastical council, while John VIII contributed to that delay by choosing to visit his brothers in the Morea.²³⁹ Moreover, the patriarch, who was of old age and frail health, demanded that they stop regularly along the way. Indeed the main delay appears to have been the two long stops at Methone and at Corfu.²⁴⁰

As we have already mentioned the emperors' journeys are examined separately from the journeys of the regular ambassadors to the West, since their very nature, and the presence of the Byzantine emperor renders them exceptional. However, upon closer examination we have been able to detect also many similarities with other ambassadorial journeys that should be pointed out. We could argue that, provided we accept the limitations and particularities of the imperial journeys, the detailed information they provide on matters of route, means of transport, season of travel and speed could be used to enrich the more limited information offered by other journeys.

The routes followed by the emperors on their way to the West confirms that there were two popular itineraries followed, according to the final destination: one that led to Hungary via the Black Sea and the Danube, and one leading to Italy most commonly via Venice. On both those

²³⁹ Syropoulos, IV, 11.

²⁴⁰ Syropoulos, IV, 9-10, 13.

occasions there are many examples of voyages that took place in wintertime, while this is also corroborated by the imperial journeys, also conducted during winter in their majority. As far as the speed of the journey is concerned, imperial journeys to Italy, using Venetian galleys, usually lasted significantly longer than the fairly short ones we have observed in the regular journeys. However, as presented in the case of John VIII's voyage in 1437, there were several factors affecting the speed and creating the special conditions that could have caused such delays.

CHAPTER II: THE PROFILE OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS.

EMBASSIES AND AMBASSADORS

The second chapter of this study aims to discuss Byzantine diplomatic activity with the West examining several of the characteristics of diplomatic missions, looking into what qualifies as an embassy, the different objectives of embassies during the period under consideration, and their size. This chapter also focuses on the protagonists of the diplomatic missions, the ambassadors, examining the terminology used in the sources to characterise an ambassador. Further, it explores the criteria for the selection of envoys during the last hundred years of the empire's life as a whole and during each emperor's reign, with the aim to reconstruct the profile of the late Byzantine ambassador to the West.

The results presented in this chapter have been based on the database of embassies to the West,²⁴¹ but also on a second table comprised of seventy-five (75) names of ambassadors to the West within the period 1354-1453, in the service of emperors John V, Manuel II, John VIII and Constantine XI Palaiologoi.²⁴² From a total of one hundred ninety-four (194) diplomatic missions to the West there are one hundred twenty-one (121) for which the name of the ambassador is known, and these are the

²⁴¹ Appendix A: Embassies.

²⁴² Appendix C: Ambassadors.

ones that will be studied in more detail in this particular section of my thesis. The primary sources provide information on the identity of these ambassadors, allowing us to draw conclusions about the number of diplomatic missions in which they were involved, their knowledge of the Latin language, their origin and religious beliefs, and often about their official title and relationship with the emperor.

The different criteria for the appointment of envoys to the West during this period and the study of the list of ambassadors both in each emperor's reign and collectively can lead to patterns and conclusions that bring us one step further to understanding the role of the Byzantine ambassadors as representatives of the late Byzantine foreign policy, both as individuals and as a unit, as members of the late Byzantine administrative system. Therefore, I explore whether or not the late Byzantine ambassadors derived from a specific official service of Byzantine administration, such as the imperial chancery, or whether we can identify the involvement of people of a particular social status or title, of specific religious beliefs and educational level; in short, whether we can detect the beginnings of a diplomatic service with more defined characteristics than in previous periods, with people with specific features occupying themselves with putting into practice late Byzantine foreign policy.

1. Embassies

According to the Oxford English Dictionary²⁴³ the word embassy can have three significations: Firstly, the function of the ambassadorial office and the sending of ambassadors, secondly, the message that an envoy delivers and thirdly, the body of persons sent on a mission, that is, the ambassador and his retinue. Each of these three definitions is being used, when attempting to define the term 'embassy' in terms of the diplomatic communication between Byzantium and the West in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

As a general rule, as *embassies* I refer to all the delegations consisting of one or more people sent to the West with the particular purpose of delivering an oral or written message, and often entering into negotiations with the recipient of the delegation. This should be clearly distinguished from what I have been referring to as *journeys*, which refer to the actual travel of the envoys from Constantinople to the West, and which could include one or more ambassadorial missions, carried out consecutively.²⁴⁴

The nature of the message that an embassy carried to the West shows that there were two types of diplomatic missions: On one hand, there were

²⁴³ *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J. Simpson and E. Weiner (Second edition. 1989).

²⁴⁴For example in 1397-98 Nicholas Notaras was entrusted two ambassadorial missions to France and England by Manuel II: FRENG1397-98a (35) and FRENG1397-98b (36). These are considered two separate *embassies* but would actually be calculated as one *journey*, as he departed from Constantinople once and visited two destinations during his time in the West.

embassies, in which the ambassador, the person leading the mission, had the right to address the recipient of the embassy and negotiate an agreement on the matter of foreign policy discussed at any one time. The other was a simpler mission that involved only the delivery of a letter. Unfortunately, the surviving sources do not help us make a clear distinction on that issue, since often the written message, usually a letter, may be known, but the existence of an additional oral message is usually not recorded.

Among the hundred ninety-four (194) diplomatic missions to the West for the period in question, there are several, which the documents mention as a letter delivery, without clarifying whether there were negotiations involved. These are usually the embassies where the carrier of the message is a 'foreign' ambassador, that is, an ambassador of a western power to Constantinople, returning to his sovereign, who would agree to carry back the reply of the Byzantine emperor. There are nine (9) such cases among the embassies, four (4) of which included letters sent to the papal court,²⁴⁵ two to Venice,²⁴⁶ two to the Council of Basle,²⁴⁷ and one to Aragon.²⁴⁸

There were also cases, albeit limited, when a letter was delivered by a specific person, mentioned by name. This person could just appear in the

²⁴⁵ POP1374-75ii (22), POP1422 (106), POPBAS1435-36a (130), POP1437 (140).

²⁴⁶ VEN1407 (70), VEN1450 (175).

²⁴⁷ BAS1433-34 (122), POPBAS1435-36b (131).

²⁴⁸ AR1416 (90).

diplomatic scene once, as is the case of Michael Malaspina, a *nuncius* of John V, who delivered a letter to Pope Urban V in 1364;²⁴⁹ there is no account suggesting that he had a more active role in this mission, nor did he appear in any other embassy of the period.²⁵⁰ Similar is the case of Andreu Paó, a *missatge* to the court of Aragon.²⁵¹

The person delivering a letter could also be a known ambassador, who had taken part in other missions with a clear negotiating role. Such is the case of John Bladynteros, an ambassador of Manuel II, who had taken part in an important mission to Venice and to the Council of Constance in 1416.²⁵² Shortly afterward, when communication between Pope Martin V, and the Byzantine emperor and patriarch began in earnest, Bladynteros was appointed to carry in quick succession, in 1419 and 1421, the letters that were part of that open correspondence between the two parties.²⁵³ Syropoulos, who recorded these two missions, gives the impression that the envoy had not been vested with any further negotiating powers. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he was entrusted with an oral message to the pope, or was instructed to carry out negotiations that further complemented the content of the letters. This example clearly shows that the line between a simple messenger and an ambassador is

²⁴⁹ POP1364 (8).

²⁵⁰ For the relevance and the importance of the term *nuncius* in this type of mission, see the discussion on terminology further ahead.

²⁵¹ AR1370 (17).

²⁵² VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89).

²⁵³ POP1419 (94); FLOPOP1421a, b (103, 104).

very fine, and without specific evidence we cannot distinguish between the two with certainty.

An embassy also signifies the people sent on the diplomatic missions, the ambassadors, and it is on them that the second section of this chapter focuses. The names of the ambassadors are not known for all documented embassies during the period under consideration, but for the majority of them, one hundred twenty-one (121) out of a total one hundred ninety-four (194) embassies the identity of the ambassador is known. The database of ambassadors comprises of seventy-five (75) names, which form the diplomatic corps of the four emperors under consideration. More specifically, twenty-five (25) ambassadors are known from the twenty-six (26) missions that John V sent to the West²⁵⁴ and nineteen (19) from the seventy-nine (79) missions of Manuel II.²⁵⁵ John VIII's known ambassadors are twenty-one (21) from a total of sixty-three (63) missions,²⁵⁶ while Constantine XI used eleven (11) known envoys in the twenty-six (26) missions he sent to the West.²⁵⁷

Embassies were sent to the West for a variety of reasons, which reflected the political choices and the foreign policy of each emperor. As the several diplomatic policies will be discussed in further detail in

²⁵⁴ Appendix C, Table 1.

²⁵⁵ Appendix C, Table 2.

²⁵⁶ Appendix C, Table 3.

²⁵⁷ Appendix C, Table 4. It should be noted that there are only ten new names in Constantine XI's diplomatic corps, as the eleventh ambassador of Constantine, Manuel Dishypatos, was also an envoy in the service of John VIII (see Table 3, no 48).

Chapter III, I would only like to mention briefly the most common purposes of diplomatic missions to the West during this period. The vast majority of diplomatic communications involved the negotiations for ecclesiastical matters, namely the union of the Churches, and the requests of the Byzantine emperors for military and/or economic help against the Ottoman Turks. However, other issues were also treated in these embassies, such as negotiations for marriages, the renewal of commercial treaties, especially with Venice and other agreements with Italian cities, such as Ragusa, particularly during the reign of Constantine XI.

In terms of the size of embassies during the late Palaiologan period, the majority of embassies had very few members, usually consisting of one envoy; there are cases where two or three envoys took part, while larger embassies were very few and should definitely be treated as exceptions.²⁵⁸ From the one hundred twenty-one (121) missions for which we know the identity of the ambassadors we can detect seventy-two (72) embassies, in which only one envoy was sent, twenty (20) that included two envoys, eight (8) that included three and one with eight ambassadors.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ There is only one embassy throughout the whole period that comprised of eight members: POP1367 (11). The remaining cases of more numerous embassies are the five personal journeys of the emperors and the diplomatic missions that were undertaken during the course of these journeys and involved the emperors themselves: HUN1366(9), POP1369 (14), VEN1370 (16); VENITFREN1399-1403a, b, c, d (44, 45, 46, 47); VENHUN1423a, b (107, 108) and POP1437-39(141).

²⁵⁹ To these should also be added the ten embassies that the emperors themselves undertook during their personal journeys to the West (see above note), and the nine

All four emperors under consideration appeared to favour sending one-person embassies, and this is indeed the case for the majority of their missions. John V sent four (4) embassies that consisted of two ambassadors, a number slightly lower than his single-person embassies (seven cases).²⁶⁰ However, the contrast is much higher in the embassies of the three remaining emperors. Only in six (6) cases of Manuel II's embassies did two ambassadors take part in a mission,²⁶¹ while in three (3) cases there are three recorded envoys.²⁶² From the thirty-five (35) embassies of John VIII for which we know the names of the envoys, nine (9) missions comprised of two envoys²⁶³ and four (4) of three.²⁶⁴ Finally, Constantine XI, from the fourteen (14) missions with known envoys that he dispatched to the West, sent only one embassy with two members²⁶⁵ and one with three.²⁶⁶

A question that arises from these statistics is whether there was a connection between the embassies that had more than one member and the significance of their mission, or their destination. Indeed, it appears

embassies in which the message was carried by the envoy of another political power, returning to the West.

²⁶⁰ POP1355 (2), VEN1362-63 (7), POPVEN1369a, b (12, 13).

²⁶¹ SIEN1399 (42), ARNAV1404-05a (64), FR1404 (66), HUN1414 (82), VENPOPVEN1420b, c (98, 99).

²⁶² CON1414-15 (84), VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89).

²⁶³ POPVEN1430a, b (116, 117), HUN1434 (125), POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128), POPBAS1436-37a, b (134, 135), POP1438i (143), VEN1438ii (146).

²⁶⁴ POP1431i (119), POP1432-33 (121), HUNBAS1433a, b (123, 124).

²⁶⁵ AR1453i (192).

²⁶⁶ AR1453ii (194).

that, in all of the cases of the larger embassies, the ambassadors were charged with powers to negotiate and were possibly chosen to be part of a larger embassy because they would be able to produce better results. The vast majority of the embassies with more than one member were sent to the papacy or to the Councils of Constance and Basle, and were dealing with ecclesiastical matters; this appears to be the case for the missions of all the emperors under consideration.

Some embassies comprising of more than one envoy were also directed to Venice and other recipients, albeit on a smaller scale. Most of these embassies were sent to the papacy, jointly to the papal court and Venice, as well as to Hungary and the Council of Basle. In seven (7) cases we have embassies with more than two members that were dispatched to a destination for non-ecclesiastical reasons: two (2) were sent to Venice, one (1) to Siena, two (2) to Aragon and one (1) to France.²⁶⁷ The first mission to Venice and the ones to Siena, Aragon and France dealt mostly with financial issues, whether it was the conclusion of a treaty, as in the case of Venice, or the collection of funds for the support of Constantinople.

The significance of the size of the embassy in conjunction with the identity of the recipient becomes clearer when we also consider the identity of the ambassadors themselves. Even though this issue will be

²⁶⁷ VEN1362-63 (7), SIEN1399 (42), ARNAV1404-05a (64), FR1404 (66), VEN1438ii (146), AR1453i (192), AR1453ii (194).

explored in detail further on, I should briefly mention that in these larger embassies we have the few examples of ecclesiastics taking part in diplomatic missions to the West. Since most of these embassies dealt with the issue of Church union or with negotiations for the organisation of an ecclesiastical council, at least one of the ambassadors who took part in them was often also a churchman. This is the case for twelve (12) of these missions.²⁶⁸ This significant number suggests the possibility that the size of these embassies was adjusted specifically to include these members of the church, since ecclesiastics were hardly ever sent to imperial missions alone; in fact there are only four examples where this is the case.²⁶⁹ Their presence there, though not always required, indicates, in my opinion, the importance that the emperors bestowed upon the mission, in relation with the particular aims.

Six (6) cases of missions should be presented here in more detail, as they are the only examples of embassies with more than two members. The first is the 1367 embassy to Pope Urban V, dispatched by John V, only two years prior to the emperor's personal journey to Rome.²⁷⁰ It is the only embassy that consisted of eight members, four of them ecclesiastics, one state official (the *parakoimomenos* Theophylaktos) and two representatives

²⁶⁸ POP1355 (2), POP1367 (11), POPVEN1369a, b (12, 13), VENPOPVEN1420b, c (98, 99), POPVEN1430a, b (116, 117), POP1431i (119), POP1432-33 (121), HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

²⁶⁹ VENPOP1442a, b (152, 153), HUN1444 (160), VEN1445 (166), POP1448 (168).

²⁷⁰ POP1367 (11).

of the people of Constantinople (Theodore Domestikos Proximos and Constantine Metaxopoulos), known to us by the letters that Pope Urban V wrote in reply to this mission.²⁷¹ Presumably there were also two other members representing Byzantine officials. The ecclesiastics themselves represented both the patriarch of Constantinople, but were also chosen as envoys of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem.

Four (4) other embassies sent by John VIII to the papacy and to the Council of Basle have a similar composition in the sense that they combine members of the clergy and secular officials, representing both the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople.²⁷² All four (4) of them had three members: one clergyman, one person of the emperor's confidence, either a relative or a close associate, and one experienced diplomat and holder of a court title. These envoys represented the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople jointly, as they were dispatched to missions that negotiated the organisation of an ecclesiastical council.

All five (5) of these embassies offered a certain balance in the representation of different power groups within Byzantine society, instead

²⁷¹ *Acta Urbani V*, no 125, 125a, 127, 126, 127a. The letters that are of interest here are the ones that are directed to the envoys and, in most cases, mention them by name. Urban V addressed other letters, also dated 6 November 1367, to a number of recipients, such as the Empress Helena (no 124) and the emperor's sons Andronikos (no 129), Manuel and Michael (no 129a), even the former emperor John VI (no 130). Similar letters were also sent to Latin rulers, such as Francesco Gattilusio of Lesbos (no 131a), Nicholas Sanudo (no 131b), the Genoese of Pera (no 131c), the rulers of Chios (no 131d), the queen of Sicily (no 132), the doge of Venice (no 132a).

²⁷² POP1431i (119), POP1432-33 (121), HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

of just the emperor. However, while in the case of the 1367 embassy the ecclesiastics had the same number as the secular members within the mission, in the case of the missions during John VIII's reign, secular officials were the majority. It seems to me that, even though the three members of each embassy represented both the emperor and the patriarch jointly, their number was particularly selected so that the secular officials would outnumber the ecclesiastical one. In fact, in the case of the embassy of 1434 to the Council of Basle, when the ambassadors were asked by the emperor to present a report of their mission, due to rumours that there was discord among them, the ecclesiastical member, Isidore, accused the two other envoys of disregarding his opinion.²⁷³

This issue of the secular officials being of greater number was only a factor when the envoys were dispatched on a joint mission, representing both the emperor and the patriarch. However, when the imperial and the patriarchal ambassadors had more clearly defined roles within the mission, even if they were dispatched to the same destination, they were often even in number. Such was the case in the mission to Venice in 1438 of John Dishypatos, on behalf of the emperor, and Sylvester Syropoulos, on behalf of the patriarch, who appeared before the doge in order to announce the delegation's arrival.²⁷⁴ A similar embassy was also

²⁷³ HUNBAS1434b (124).

²⁷⁴ VEN1438i (142).

dispatched a while later from Venice to Ferrara to announce the arrival of the delegation to Pope Eugenius IV, comprising of two imperial envoys (two of the Dishypatoi brothers) and two patriarchal envoys (the bishops of Heracleia and Monemvasia).²⁷⁵

The diplomatic missions that the four emperors themselves undertook to the West should be mentioned separately from the regular embassies, since they present exceptional cases. The information available on the emperors' entourages is limited to fragmented references to the identities of the people, who accompanied them to the West. However, in most cases it is enough to give us a general idea of the size of the emperors' retinues.

Demetrios Kydones commented on the small number of people, who accompanied the emperor John V to Buda in 1366.²⁷⁶ The members of his entourage that we know of were his two sons, Manuel and Michael, and his *cancellarius*, George Manikaites, but there is no other reference as to the identity of his other companions. John V's entourage on his second journey to Rome in 1369 was certainly larger. Known members of his retinue include Demetrios Palaiologos, Andronikos Palaiologos, Alexios Laskares, Michael Strongylos, Manuel Angelos and Philippos Tzykandyles.²⁷⁷ Also present were the emperor's relative Constantine

²⁷⁵ POP1438i (143).

²⁷⁶ Kydones, *On accepting Latin aid*, PG 1000: ἼΗκε δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ οἱ μὴδ' ἄν δειπνοῦντι παρεστῶτες ἀρκεῖν πρὸς διακονίαν ἐδόκουν'.

²⁷⁷ POP1369 (14), VEN1370 (16).

Asanes,²⁷⁸ his brother-in-law Francesco Gattilusio and his *mesazon*, Demetrios Kydones, also acting as interpreter.²⁷⁹

Very little is known about the people who accompanied Manuel II to Western Europe or their exact number. Members of his entourage included his secretary and physician Manuel Holobolos,²⁸⁰ his advisor on ecclesiastical matters Makarios, bishop of Ankara,²⁸¹ and several servants, such as Antiochos, Aspietes, Stafidakes, all mentioned in the satire of Mazaris.²⁸² From the embassies that he dispatched from Paris to the Spanish kingdoms and other destinations, we also learn of some of his ambassadors, such as Alexios Branas, and his own relative and later *mesazon*, Demetrios Palaiologos (Goudeles). The large number of different and simultaneous embassies that Manuel sent to several destinations in Europe suggests that a larger number of envoys than is known accompanied him to the West.

The overall number of Manuel's retinue was a large one, probably of up to fifty people. Their number is known mainly from the preparations for Manuel II's return journey to Constantinople and from his negotiations with Venice concerning this subject. On 26 February 1403 Venice proposed to give Manuel armed galleys for his transportation and that of twenty-

²⁷⁸ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 71.

²⁷⁹ *Acta Urbani* V, no 168.

²⁸⁰ *Mazaris' Journey to Hades, or Interviews with dead men about certain officials of the imperial court*, eds. J. N. Barry, M. J. Share, A. Smithies, L.G. Westernick (Buffalo, 1975), 12.

²⁸¹ Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, liii-liv.

²⁸² Mazaris, 44-46, 111, 112.

five or thirty people of his entourage. That his whole retinue comprised of more than thirty people is confirmed by the fact that the Venetians specified that there was also another group remaining in Manuel's retinue, who would travel in unarmed ships.²⁸³ After further negotiations the number that would be carried in the armed galleys was adjusted to forty.²⁸⁴ Another reference on the size of Manuel's retinue also comes from Venetian sources, as upon reaching the Peloponnese on the return journey from Europe, the Venetians carried Manuel, his family and his retinue of up to fifty-eight people from Methone to the river Eurotas.²⁸⁵

Unfortunately nothing is known about the people who accompanied John VIII to Hungary in 1423-24. The only reference that I was able to find, which offers a vague mention to the people that accompanied him to the West, comes once again from Venetian sources. Upon the emperor's arrival in Venice, the senate decided to give the emperor himself the sum for his daily provisions, which allowed him eight ducats per day. This was done because many people, presumably Byzantines, often appeared

²⁸³ Thiriet, *Régestes*, no 1097; Iorga, *Notes I*, 132-133.

²⁸⁴ Iorga, *Notes I*, 133.

²⁸⁵ Thiriet, *Régestes*, no 1114; Iorga, *Notes I*, 138. The two summaries of this Venetian source do not agree as to the size of Manuel's retinue, Iorga saying it comprised of eight, while Thiriet of fifty-eight people. See also, Barker, *Manuel II*, 231-232, n. 60.

before the authorities claiming they were members of John VIII's party and asking for money.²⁸⁶

For the same emperor's journey to Italy, there is more information concerning the size of the Byzantine delegation and the identity of John VIII's entourage, mainly thanks to the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos. The Byzantine delegation was very large, consisting of seven hundred clergymen and imperial officials, by far the largest mission of the period. Certainly we would not be able to consider all seven hundred of them as members of the emperor's retinue, since most of them represented the patriarch of Constantinople as well as the other eastern patriarchs. However, we know of several members of the emperor's circle, consisting of his two *mesazontes*, appointed as such just for the purposes of this journey,²⁸⁷ his brother the despot Demetrios Palaiologos, and several of his most experienced diplomats who have been in charge of the negotiations for this council from the beginning, such as Manuel Tarchaneiotes Boullotes, George, John and Manuel Dishypatos, Andronikos and Markos Iagares.²⁸⁸

The number of seven hundred people for the Byzantine delegation has generally been accepted by scholars as correct. It should be noted,

²⁸⁶ Thiriet, *Régestes* II, no 1918; Iorga, *Notes* I, 351. An additional difficulty in verifying this information also derives from the fact that I was not able to read the original source, but had to rely on the summaries in French, provided by Thiriet and Iorga.

²⁸⁷ Syropoulos, IV, 18.

²⁸⁸ Appendix C, Table 3.

however, that it derives from the preliminary negotiations for the organisation of the council. It is based upon one of the most important agreements made between Pope Martin V and the emperor as early as 1430²⁸⁹ and provided the basis for all future negotiations on how the council should be organised in terms of the size of the Byzantine delegation. This text specified that the emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople, the other three patriarchs and prelates should travel to the West, a total number of seven hundred, who should travel on the four merchant ships sent for their transport.²⁹⁰ From my readings, I have not been able to confirm from other sources that this number reflected the actual size of the delegation that did travel to Italy in 1437.

From the five journeys of the emperors we can once again detect that the size of mission was connected to the destination and the purpose. Meetings with the pope for ecclesiastical matters whether these included a personal conversion to Catholicism (John V) or the union of the Churches (John VIII) required a larger and more elaborate retinue. On the contrary, in the meetings between two sovereigns, as was the case with the two journeys to Hungary, there did not seem to be a need for a large entourage, as indicated by John V's journey, even though it appeared important that experienced diplomats were present.

²⁸⁹ POPVEN1430a (116).

²⁹⁰ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no VI; English translation in Gill, *Council of Florence*, 43-44.

2. Ambassadors

2.1 Terminology

An exploration of the terminology applied in the several sources concerning the ambassadors and their missions provides an insight into the composition and organisation of embassies, and their manner of operation. Byzantine sources, both narratives and official documents, do not contain a great variety of terms to describe envoys, which often makes it difficult to determine if the terms used have a particular significance and meaning. Latin sources are more forthcoming, and offer more information on the subtle differences between the several terms. There is, however, a genuine difficulty determining whether we are dealing with ‘technical’ terminology, which implies a real distinction between the different terms used, or whether these terms are just surviving literary forms without real practical use.²⁹¹

The majority of the terms occurring in Byzantine sources can be described as ‘neutral’, in the sense that they describe an ambassador and his mission, without conveying a political meaning or a differentiation in rank among the ambassadors. Envoys are indicated by such terms as

²⁹¹ Mergiali, ‘A Byzantine ambassador to the West’, 589-591; Koutrakou, ‘Βυζαντινή διπλωματική παράδοση’, 101.

‘πρέσβις’, ‘πρεσβευτής’, ‘ἀποκρισιάρχιος’, which are often used interchangeably, according to the author’s preference. As an example of such preference, Sphrantzes always refers to a diplomatic mission as ‘ἀποκρισιαρχίκιον’²⁹² and ambassadors are called ‘ἀποκρισιάρχοι’ almost exclusively.²⁹³ Similarly, Syropoulos shows a preference for the term ‘πρέσβις’, while in Doukas both terms are applied, without an evident distinction between them.²⁹⁴ Finally, the Greek versions of the Byzantine-Venetian treaties apply the term ‘ἀποκρισιάρχιος’ to both Byzantine and Venetian envoys, without indicating any differentiation between them.²⁹⁵ The only exception in Byzantine sources where there is clear indication of specialisation or rank occurs with the use of the term ‘λεγάτος’, which indicated a papal representative.²⁹⁶ Often this term occurs as a translation of the Latin *legatus*, as ‘πρέσβις τοῦ πάπα’;²⁹⁷ the two terms were used interchangeably.

It is to the Latin documents, therefore, that one should turn in order to find a larger variety of terms describing ambassadors, the most common ones being: *ambaxator* or *ambassiator* and *nuncius* or *nuntius*; the terms *procurator* and *orator* are also used.

²⁹² Sphrantzes, VII, 4; XXXII, 5; XXXIV, 1.

²⁹³ Only in one instance, Sphrantzes uses the term ‘πρέσβεις’, XXI, 5.

²⁹⁴ Doukas, XXIII, 4: ‘πρέσβεις’, XXVIII, 2: ‘ἀποκρισιάρχοι’.

²⁹⁵ MM III, 121, 125, 144, 163, 177, 186. Mergiali, ‘A Byzantine ambassador to the West’, 590.

²⁹⁶ Sphrantzes, XXII, 12 and XXVI, 4: ‘καθολικός λέγάτος’; Syropoulos, III, 12; Theiner, and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 29-33, esp. 30, 31.

²⁹⁷ Syropoulos, II, 7.

Ambaxator is the term occurring most commonly in the sources in order to describe Byzantine envoys. In western medieval diplomacy, the term referred to envoys of a considerable social status, with the power to negotiate; it is especially common in Venetian documents.²⁹⁸ This appears to be also true for the majority of the cases of Byzantine ambassadors referred to as *ambaxatores*.

This is evident in thirteen (13) of John V's ambassadors, who are mentioned as *ambaxiatores*: Andronikos Oinaiotes in 1362,²⁹⁹ George Manikaites in 1366³⁰⁰, the eight of the Byzantine members of the large embassy to the papal court in 1367,³⁰¹ Demetrios Kydones and Paul, titular patriarch of Constantinople in 1369³⁰² and Philippos Tzykandyles in 1375.³⁰³ Two (2) envoys, Theophylaktos Dermokaites and Constantine Kaballaropoulos were *ambaxiatores et procuratores* in their mission to Venice in 1362-63.³⁰⁴ Four (4) of these embassies were directed to the papal court and they included negotiations for several issues, such as mediation

²⁹⁸ Queller, *The office of ambassador*, 65-68; Mergiali, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 591.

²⁹⁹ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, no 49.

³⁰⁰ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 364, no 6 and 366, no 9.

³⁰¹ The *megas chartophylax* Theodoros, the *metropolitan* Neilos, the *archbishop* Makarios, the *parakoimomenos* Theophylaktos, Theodore Domestikos Proximos and Constantine Metaxopoulos are all mentioned as *ambaxiatores* in the papal letters: Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 369, no 10, *Acta Urbani V*, no 126, 127, 127a. The other two members of the embassy, referred to in no 125a were presumably representatives of the aristocracy but they are not mentioned by name.

³⁰² Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 370, no 12.

³⁰³ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 307, n. 2: the *ambaxiator*. Tzykandyles was accompanied by a catholic whose first name was Kassianos, but he is not mentioned as an ambassador.

³⁰⁴ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum II*, no 53.

between John V and Louis of Hungary (1366) or the arrival of John V to Rome (1369). The remaining ones were sent to Venice and included negotiations for the renewal of Byzantine-Venetian treaties.³⁰⁵

The particular role of an envoy referred to as *ambaxiator* in primary sources becomes more distinct during the reign of Manuel II. Twelve (12) of his ambassadors are designated as such.³⁰⁶ Six (6) of them, Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, Alexios Branas, Angelos, Constantine and Theodore Rhalles and Manuel Chrysoloras carried out important missions in the name of Manuel II to the courts of Western Europe and the papacy both before, during and shortly after Manuel's personal journey to the West. The common characteristic that seems to justify their status as *ambassadors*, apart from their power to negotiate, is that they were all bearers of important gifts, mainly relics, presented by Manuel to the rulers of Europe. The contrast is evident in the case of Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, who was sent to France immediately following Nicholas Notaras in 1397-98. Kantakouzenos, who presented the French king with gifts, is referred to as *ambassiator*³⁰⁷, whereas Notaras, who was probably

³⁰⁵ For the significance of the Byzantine-Venetian treaties and their renewal see Chapter III.

³⁰⁶ These are: Angelos, Alexios Branas, Theodore Chrysoberges, Manuel Chrysoloras, Hilario Doria, Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, Galeotus Lomelini, Nicholas Notaras, Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, Manuel Philanthropenos, Constantine Rhalles, Theodore Rhalles.

³⁰⁷ Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix XIII.

only carrying a letter, was a *nuntius*.³⁰⁸ Four (4) other *ambassiatores*, Hilario Doria,³⁰⁹ Nicolas Notaras and Galeotus Lomelini in their mission to Siena,³¹⁰ and Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes³¹¹ all took part in embassies that involved negotiations usually for the transfer of sums of money for the aid of Constantinople.

We come across five (5) envoys in the service of John VIII, who are described as *ambassiatores*: George Dishypatos and Manuel Dishypatos,³¹² John Dishypatos, Isidore and Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites in their mission to the Council of Basle in 1433-34.³¹³ By that time, especially in Italian documents, the term *ambassador* had begun to be gradually replaced by the more classical term *orator*. Found in the works of Ovid and Virgil, this term referred to envoys carrying an oral message, even though it is not certain that this meaning of the term was passed on to the medieval times. Most likely *orator* has the exact same meaning as *ambassador*.³¹⁴ The change in terminology is evident in western documents, which refer to five Byzantine ambassadors by the term *orator*: George and Manuel Dishypatos,³¹⁵ Markos Palaiologos Iagares, the monk Ioasaph and

³⁰⁸ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 150.

³⁰⁹ Nicol, 'A Byzantine Emperor in England', 207 n. 7.

³¹⁰ *PP* III, 120-1.

³¹¹ *PP* III, 129; Cecconi, *Consiglio di Firenze*, no 4.

³¹² Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XLI.

³¹³ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XXX.

³¹⁴ Queller, *The office of ambassador*, 63.

³¹⁵ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XLIV.

Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates.³¹⁶ It is not clear whether these ambassadors carried gifts, like the ones of Manuel II, but their negotiation privileges were clear, since they took part in the preliminary discussions with the Council of Basle and the papacy for the organisation of an ecclesiastical council.

The *procuratores*, ambassadors with negotiating powers, pertaining to a treaty or an agreement usually of financial or legal nature were probably of a lower rank than *ambassiatores*, but they are clearly distinguished from *nuntii*.³¹⁷ Three (3) envoys are referred to as *procuratores*: Manuel Kabasilas, who carried out a mission to Genoa in order to acquire cereals for Constantinople on behalf of John V,³¹⁸ and Manuel II's envoys, the *procuratores* Alexios Dishypatos and Constantine Rhalles.³¹⁹ The term *procurator* was sometimes used in addition to the term *ambassador* in order to emphasize the particular aspect of the mission. Two examples further illuminate this point: Theophylaktos Dermokaites and Constantine Kaballaropoulos, bearing the title *katholikos krites* and *judex* respectively,³²⁰ were sent to Venice to renew a treaty, their credentials clearly specifying

³¹⁶ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no CXXIV.

³¹⁷ Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, 290-1; Mergiali, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 592.

³¹⁸ J.W. Barker, 'John VII in Genoa: a problem in late Byzantine source confusion', *OCP* 28 (1962), 236.

³¹⁹ *Acta Pseudopontificum Benedicti XIII*, no 82.

³²⁰ Dermokaites was *katholikos krites* in the text of instructions the two ambassadors received before their mission: *MM III*, no 31. Kaballaropoulos, who is not given any title in the Byzantine document, is mentioned as *judex* in the text of the Byzantine Venetian treaty: *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, no 53.

that they were given full negotiating powers (*plenam potestatem*) for this particular task and were *ambaxatores et procuratores*.³²¹ Finally, Manuel Chrysoloras, one of the most important ambassadors of Manuel II, also considered to have had the status of a permanent ambassador,³²² was described as *ambassiator et generalis procurator*, a title signifying his broader negotiating powers, since he was commissioned to handle all the affairs of the emperor in the West travelling to France, England, Aragon and the papal court during the course of three years.³²³

Finally, the term *nuncius* or *nuntius* seems to indicate diplomats of a simpler type than an ambassador; they essentially functioned as message-bearers.³²⁴ Three (3) envoys mentioned only as *nuncii* did indeed have as a characteristic the delivery of a letter probably without conducting further negotiations: Michael Malaspina, envoy of John V to Pope Urban V in 1364,³²⁵ Nicholas Notaras in 1397-98³²⁶ and Benedetto Fulcho.³²⁷ The case of Paul of Smyrna and Nicholas Sigeros, who were sent to Pope Urban V in 1355 is also characteristic: the two envoys delivered to the pope a very important document, John V's plan for union between the Churches and his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. However, they are still

³²¹ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, no 53.

³²² Mergiali, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 591.

³²³ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, no DCXCIV.

³²⁴ Mergiali, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 592.

³²⁵ POP1364 (8): P. Lecacheux and G. Mollat *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France* (Paris 1902, 1906), no. 1305.

³²⁶ FRENG1397-98a (35): *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum II*, no 150.

³²⁷ *PP III*, 323.

referred to as *nuntii*, as they probably did not have negotiating powers that extended further than presenting the chrysobull.³²⁸ The term *nunciustius* sometimes also accompanied the term *ambaxiator*, possibly indicating the envoy's capacity as a letter-carrier, as well as that of a negotiator. This was the case for two members of the large 1367 embassy to Pope Urban V, Theodore and Neilos, who are referred to as *nuntii* as well as *ambaxiatores*³²⁹ and Alexios Branas, who handled the negotiations with Aragon and Castile during Manuel II's personal journey to Western Europe.³³⁰

2.2 The criteria for the selection of ambassadors

Oikonomides, in his overview of late Byzantine diplomacy, has stated that the Byzantine Empire did not have a specific diplomatic service, nor did the ambassadors derive from a specific office or rank within the government, but were chosen from all levels of Byzantine administration.³³¹ As a general rule for the last hundred years of Byzantium, this can be considered as a valid statement, even though the situation varied according to the choices of each emperor. However, there

³²⁸ POP1355 (2).

³²⁹ *Acta Urbani V*, no 126 and 127.

³³⁰ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, no DCLXXVI : *nunciustius, seu ambaxiator*.

³³¹ Oikonomides, 'Byzantine diplomacy', 75-76.

were criteria for the selection of ambassadors; some remain consistent for the whole period, while others adapt to the circumstances. These criteria will be analysed in the hope of contributing to the discussion concerning the profile of the Byzantine ambassador and his connection to a specific office, title and family status, his relationship with the emperor, his origin and educational level.

a. The participation of ecclesiastics

The presence of ecclesiastics in the diplomatic corps of the four emperors is limited to thirteen (13) people; ten (10) of them were ecclesiastic officials, abbots and monks of the Orthodox Church,³³² two (2) were Franciscan friars,³³³ and one (1) was a Latin archbishop and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople.³³⁴ The embassies in which they participated pertained to ecclesiastical issues and were directed mainly toward the papacy, indicating that members of the clergy were dispatched

³³² Appendix C, Table 1: Makarios, Neilos, Theodore; Table 2: Theodore Chrysoberges; Table 3: monk George, Ioasaph, Isidore, Makarios Kourounas, Makarios Makres, Pachomios.

³³³ Appendix C, Table 3: Fr Jacob; Table 4: Fr John Perera. Franciscan friars, even earlier ones, were considered to have the power to reconcile two parties in conflict, to bring a certain social balance and, in general, to act as peacemakers, and they were often employed as such throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That could explain, to a certain degree, their presence in Byzantine embassies, even though it is very limited. See G. Todeschini, 'Guardini della soglia. I frati minori come garanti del perimetro sociale', *Retimedievali* http://fermi.univr.it/RM/rivista/dwnl/saggi_todeschini.pdf.

³³⁴ Appendix C, Table 1: Paul.

as imperial ambassadors when the missions concerned religious matters.³³⁵

However, their small number in a total of seventy-five (75) ambassadors suggests that being a member of the Church was not a significant criterion in order to be selected as an ambassador, even for a mission dealing with ecclesiastical issues.

In order to have a clearer idea of who these ecclesiastics were and how significant their presence was in their respective diplomatic missions, we need to turn our attention to the use of clergymen as ambassadors during the reigns of each of the emperors under consideration. I would, therefore, like to explore both the identity of these men, when information on them is available, and the role that they played in each of their missions. The distribution of ecclesiastics in the embassies of each emperor varies considerably and, in turn, reflects the individual choices of each emperor in the selection of his diplomatic corps and in his attitude toward missions pertaining to ecclesiastical issues.

Four (4) clergymen are known from the embassies dispatched to the West by John V, three of whom were members of the Orthodox Church. The fourth person was Paul, Latin archbishop of Smyrna from 1345 to

³³⁵ From the seventeen (17) missions that these ecclesiastics participated in, there are four that were did not deal with church issues: POPVEN1369b (13): Paul of Smyrna and Demetrios Kydones also went to Venice, as well as the papal court; VENPOP1442a, b (152, 153): the envoy, Fr Jacob, delivered a letter to the Pope Eugenius IV asking him to mediate to Venice, so that they would provide more galleys for Constantinople, and also appealed to Venice itself for further help; VEN1445 (166): the archbishop Pachomios was sent to Venice to discuss the possibility of an anti-Turkish alliance.

1355, then of Thebes from 1357, and finally titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople from 1366.³³⁶ He spoke both Latin and Greek, and is thought to have exercised substantial influence on John V, concerning both his advances toward the Pope Urban V on the matter of the union of the Churches and the emperor's personal visit to Rome.³³⁷ In 1355, Paul accompanied the Byzantine ambassador Nicholas Sigeros and they presented to Pope Urban V the emperor's plan for achieving ecclesiastical union.³³⁸ Finally, in 1369 he was dispatched to Pope Urban V and to Venice, this time in the company of Demetrios Kydones, in order to announce John V's personal journey to Italy.³³⁹

In the embassies that Paul participated with Sigeros and Kydones there does not seem to be any reference that would lead us to believe that there was any difference in rank or any other distinction between the envoys. This is further supported by the fact that documents use the same terms to characterise Paul and the two Byzantine ambassadors: in 1355, Paul and Sigeros were called '*nuntii imperatoris Constantinopolitani*',³⁴⁰ whereas in 1369, Paul and Kydones were '*ambaxiatores*'.³⁴¹ However, Paul had a clearer role to play in the larger embassy, sent in 1367, that comprised of several representatives both of ecclesiastical and secular circles in

³³⁶ *PLP* 22143 and Appendix C, Table 1, no 19.

³³⁷ Gill, *Byzantium and the papacy*, 218.

³³⁸ POP1355 (2); Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, no. 8.

³³⁹ POPVEN1369a, b (12, 13).

³⁴⁰ Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* I, 334.

³⁴¹ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, no 12, 370.

Constantinople, even if he cannot be considered an official member of that mission.³⁴² In response to this embassy, Pope Urban V wrote a series of letters all dated 6 November 1367, addressed to members of the imperial delegation, members of the imperial family and other personages, who could be interested in the issue at hand, that is, the union of the Churches and military help against the Turks for Byzantium. In them, Paul is mentioned separately from the other members of the embassy, presumably assuming the role of intermediary, possibly even of interpreter, during the negotiations between Pope Urban V and the members of the Byzantine delegation, both ecclesiastical and secular.³⁴³

It is in that same embassy sent to Pope Urban V in autumn 1367 that we find the three other ecclesiastical members of John V's ambassadorial corps. Their names and titles appear in the aforementioned letters written by the pope in 6 November 1367, as a response to their embassy. Two of them, referred to as '*nuntii*' in the letter,³⁴⁴ representing the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem, were the metropolitan Neilos and Theodore, called '*megatarstophylatas*', a corruption of his title of *megas chartophylax*.³⁴⁵ Halecki identifies Neilos as the metropolitan of Rhodes, a friend of Patriarch Philotheos, writer and theologian, and follower of

³⁴² POP1367 (11).

³⁴³ *Acta Urbani V*, no 124, 125, 126, 127, 127a, 128, 129, 129a, 130, 131, 131a, b, c, d, 132, 132a; Halecki, no10, 369.

³⁴⁴ *Acta Urbani V*, no 126.

³⁴⁵ *Acta Urbani V*, no 126.

Palamism; his anti-unionist views made it necessary for him to leave Rhodes in 1369.³⁴⁶ In another letter of Pope Urban V, we learn of another member of the delegation, the *archimandrites* Makarios, even though nothing else seems to be known about this person.³⁴⁷

Nothing specific is known of the actual negotiations that took place during the course of that embassy. However, the choice of at least one person with anti-unionist views, the metropolitan Neilos, and quite possibly the other two Orthodox clergymen, could not have facilitated the discussion. As the members of this delegation represented different Byzantine power groups, their selection was probably attributed to the three patriarchs; therefore, it is unlikely that the emperor could have excluded them from this mission. The fact that people, who were opposed to union with the Latins, were selected to take part in an embassy directed to Pope Urban V with that very purpose of negotiating for union possibly reflected the opposition that John V faced from the circles of the Orthodox Church, concerning his approach toward the papacy. This is further corroborated by the complete absence of other ecclesiastical members in any of John V's embassies to the papal court or any other recipient. Most importantly, during his most significant communication with Urban V, his

³⁴⁶ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 165.

³⁴⁷ Acta Urbani V, doc. 127a.

personal journey to Rome,³⁴⁸ where he converted to Catholicism, the emperor's retinue consisted only of secular officials, the majority with favourable views toward Catholicism.

Theodore Chrysoberges, the catholic bishop of Olenos, was the only ecclesiastic involved in the diplomatic activity of Manuel II.³⁴⁹ While both Theodore and his brother Andrew Chrysoberges were actively promoting the union of the Churches and were working toward closer communication between the Byzantine emperor and the papacy, the only instance that one of them assumed the official role of an imperial envoy was in 1420. Theodore accompanied the Byzantine ambassador Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes to Venice and, more importantly, to Florence, where Pope Martin V was at the time.³⁵⁰ However, even though the presence of such a person promoting the cause of the union with the papacy would certainly have been beneficial to the embassy, Theodore does not appear to have any further active role in the mission. I would suggest that he had been selected to accompany the main envoy, Eudaimonoioannes, because of the possible influence he could exercise on Pope Martin V but not necessarily because he was a clergyman.

³⁴⁸ POP1369 (14).

³⁴⁹ R.-J. Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des Églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430', *AFP* 9 (1939) 5-61.

³⁵⁰ VENPOPVEN1420b, c (98, 99).

Apart from this embassy, there is complete absence of ecclesiastics among Manuel's diplomats. His communication with the papacy and the Council of Constance was conducted, as most of his diplomatic activity to the West, by people who were repeatedly sent to these locations; they, therefore, developed a certain speciality in dealing with ecclesiastical issues. However, they were all secular officials, such as the aforementioned Nicolas Eudaimonioannes, Manuel Chrysoloras, John Bladynteros.

John VIII's reign marks the return of ecclesiastics in diplomatic activity, with a total of seven (7) ambassadors, six of whom were orthodox clergymen and one a Franciscan Friar. Although out of the four emperors under consideration he is the emperor employing the largest number of ecclesiastics in embassies, their number can still be considered remarkably small especially if we take into consideration that the vast majority of John VIII's embassies dealt with ecclesiastical issues.

It would appear, therefore, that embassies with ecclesiastical business did not normally require the presence of a member of the Church. The ecclesiastics under consideration participated in embassies that had two specific characteristics that would justify their presence in them. Firstly, they usually participated in missions sent by both the emperor and the patriarch; therefore the ambassadors were selected to represent both. Such was the case of Manuel's friend and fellow theologian, Makarios Makres,

hegoumenos of the Pantokrator monastery and Markos Palaiologos Iagares, who delivered letters to Venice and Pope Martin V in 1430.³⁵¹ The detailed reply they received from Pope Martin V was to be the basis for the final agreement for the journey of the Byzantine delegation to Italy in 1438.³⁵²

Secondly, members of the Church took part in three-member ambassadorial missions, which were a rare occurrence. The composition of these embassies is significant because it shows a certain pattern in the choice of the people that took part in them: In 1431, Makarios Kourounas, *hegoumenos* of the Mangana monastery, Markos Palaiologos Iagares and Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates were sent to Pope Martin V;³⁵³ their embassy only went as far as Gallipoli and, upon learning of the pope's death, returned to Constantinople. In 1433, the same two secular officials sent out of for a mission to the papacy, this time accompanied by the monk Ioasaph, *hegoumenos* of the Prodromos monastery and *protosynkellos*.³⁵⁴ Finally, in 1433-1434, Isidore, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St Demetrios, John Dishypatos and Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites were sent as ambassadors to the Council of Basle and to Sigismund of Hungary.³⁵⁵ In all four cases, the embassies consisted of an ecclesiastic, an experienced diplomat, who was also often a high ranking official (Markos

³⁵¹ POPVEN1430a, b (116, 117).

³⁵² Gill, *Council of Florence*, 43-44.

³⁵³ POP1431i (119).

³⁵⁴ POP1432-33 (121).

³⁵⁵ HUNBAS1434a, b (123, 124).

Palaiologos Iagares, John Dishypatos), and a person who was either a relative of the emperor (Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites) or someone of the emperor's confidence, such as his personal secretary (Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates). It appears, therefore, that there was an attempt to achieve a certain balance among the members of these embassies, even though, as it has already been suggested, the secular ambassadors were always prevalent.

As far as the ecclesiastics themselves are concerned, they were all *hegoumenoi* of Constantinopolitan monasteries, not particularly high in rank, apart from Ioasaph, who also held the office of *protosynkellos*.³⁵⁶ Not much is known for them from other sources; an exception to that are the cases of Makarios Makres and Isidore. Makarios Makres originated from Thessalonike and became a monk in Athos at an early age. He was first called to Constantinople by Manuel II in 1419, and then again in 1422. Shortly after, he became *hegoumenos* of the Pantocrator monastery and possibly *protosynkellos*. He was a theologian, with an interest on several

³⁵⁶ The title *synkellos*, since the 5th century, denoted the adviser and fellow-boarder of the patriarch. The men, who acquired this title exercised great influence, due to their close proximity to the patriarch, and were often elevated to the patriarchal throne. In the Palaiologan period, the office also included the title of *protosynkellos*, who was essentially the *synkellos* of the patriarch. See Athenagoras, Metrop. of Paramythia and Philiatai, 'Ο θεσμός τῶν συγγέλων ἐν τῷ Οἰκουμενικῷ Πατριαρχείῳ', EEBS 4 (1927), 3-38; ODB III, 1993-94.

topics, such as polemics against Latins and Muslims, and funeral orations, and was a close adviser of both Manuel II and John VIII Palaiologoi.³⁵⁷

Originally from Monembasia, Isidore was educated in Constantinople and later became a monk in the Peloponnese. He returned to Constantinople and became *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St Demetrios, while before departing for Italy as a delegate to the Council of Ferrara-Florence he was appointed bishop of Kiev. As a supporter of the union, he was very active during the Council of Ferrara-Florence. He converted to Catholicism, was made a cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV and served as a papal legate in several missions, such as in Moscow in 1440 and Constantinople in 1452. He was also appointed titular Patriarch of Constantinople, while in 1443 he became an honorary citizen of Venice.³⁵⁸

There were only three (3) ecclesiastic ambassadors sent to the West after the Council of Ferrara-Florence, Fr Jacob, a Franciscan Friar who delivered a letter to Pope Eugenius IV and Venice in 1442,³⁵⁹ Pachomios, bishop of Amaseia, sent to Venice in 1445,³⁶⁰ and Gregory, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St Demetrios in Constantinople sent to the Pope Nicholas V in 1448.³⁶¹ Theirs are the only cases of ecclesiastics taking part in a

³⁵⁷ A. Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'Islam. Studi e Testi* 314 (Vatican City, 1986), 1-10; *PLP* 16379.

³⁵⁸ Gill, J. *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other essays*, (Oxford, 1964), 65-78; *PLP* 8300.

³⁵⁹ VENPOP1442a, b (152, 153).

³⁶⁰ VEN1445 (166).

³⁶¹ POP1448 (168).

diplomatic mission by themselves, without being accompanied by a secular official. Further, their embassies, at least in the cases of Fr Jacob and Pachomios, do not seem to involve any negotiations.

There was only one ecclesiastic, a Franciscan, dispatched as ambassador to the West during the reign of Constantine XI.³⁶² In the few embassies of his reign that were sent to the papacy, one dealt with ecclesiastical matters, involving the return of the Patriarch Gregory Mamas to his throne in Constantinople and the recognition, as a result of this act, of the union of the Churches, in the hope that this would urge Pope Nicholas V to make further advances to the leaders of Europe and motivate them to send help for Constantinople. However, no Orthodox churchmen were sent as imperial representatives during these discussions, a fact which could reflect the strong opposition of the majority of the Constantinopolitan clergy to the union.

b. Family status

Among the seventy-five (75) ambassadors, who had taken part in diplomatic missions to the West, at least fifty (50) were of aristocratic lineage, bearing the names of well-known families. Such a number suggests that family status was perhaps one of the most significant criteria

³⁶² AR1453i (192).

for the selection of ambassadors. The status of these envoys can be revealed by their surname, or sometimes a second surname, for example Palaiologos Iagares, or Tarchaneiotes Boullotes. Other times, the sources themselves provide such information on the ambassador's status, by referring to him with terms such as *nobilis vir* or '*miles*'. The term *miles* has come to signify in the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century a man of distinction, and a member of the emperor's court;³⁶³ as such, therefore, it is very helpful in the identification of ambassadors, who held a more prominent social status within the court. A closer look at the distribution of these ambassadors of aristocratic lineage among the reigns of the four emperors also reveals if such a criterion was significant in equal measure during the whole period under consideration.

Almost all of John V's ambassadors belonged to well-known Byzantine families of the lower aristocracy, and we come across names as Angelos, Asanes, Dermokaites, Kabasilas, Laskares, Oinaiotes. Theophylaktos Dermokaites was a member of a less known Byzantine family, which had been present in the sources since the tenth century.³⁶⁴ He represented John V in an embassy to Venice in 1362, when he held the title of *katholikos krites*. He is probably the person mentioned in a letter of Kydones in 1364,

³⁶³ For a lengthy discussion of the term *kavallarios* and its evolution through time, see M. Bartusis, 'The Kavallarioi of Byzantium', *Speculum* 63 (1988), 343-350, esp. 348-350. Bartusis suggests that the term *kavallarios* corresponds to the Latin term *miles*.

³⁶⁴ D. Nicol, 'The Byzantine family of Dermokaites circa 940-1453', *BS* 35 (1974), 1, 6.

carrying letters from Italy.³⁶⁵ It has also been suggested that the *parakoimomenos* Theophylaktos, a member of the embassy to the pope in 1367 could be identified as Theophylaktos Dermokaites, but no substantial evidence can support this theory.³⁶⁶ Manuel Angelos,³⁶⁷ from Thessalonike, and Alexis Hyalon Laskares³⁶⁸ represented the emperor twice, during his personal journey to Rome in 1369.³⁶⁹

Constantine Asanes was another member of the imperial delegation to Rome and a member from the well-known family of Asan. He was a descendant of John III Asan, tsar of Bulgaria, and Irene Palaiologina, daughter of Michael VIII³⁷⁰ and a regular correspondent of Demetrios Kydones; it is from a letter of Kydones that we learn that Constantine had travelled with the emperor to Italy but had left for the Peloponnese earlier than the rest of the delegation.³⁷¹ Manuel Kabasilas was descendent from an old family, appearing in the sources since the eleventh century. He was dispatched to Genoa in 1389 in order to sell grain on behalf of the

³⁶⁵ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 93: 'ὁ χρηστός Δρομοκαΐτης'.

³⁶⁶ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 164, n. 3; Nicol, 'The Byzantine family of Dermokaites', 6.

³⁶⁷ C. Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIVe siècle', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 105/2 (Rome, 1993), 737, 740.

³⁶⁸ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 94, 192, 225.

³⁶⁹ On the first occasion they were witnesses in John V's confession of faith in October 1369 - POP1369 (14) and on the second they witnessed the renewal of a treaty with Venice on 1 February 1370 - VEN1370 (16).

³⁷⁰ I. Bozilov, 'La famille Asen, généalogie et prosopographie', *Bulgarian Historical Review* 9 (1981), 143; Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines', 756-758.

³⁷¹ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 71.

emperor.³⁷² Andronikos Sebastopoulos also appeared to be a member of a prominent family, with several of its members appearing as *oikeioi* or *douloi* of the emperor. Other members of John V's diplomatic corps, who are referred to in Latin sources with terms such as '*nobilis vir*' or '*miles*' include George Manikaites, Demetrios Kydones and Michael Strongylos.

The situation is similar in Manuel II's envoys, with seventeen (17) out of his nineteen (19) ambassadors bearing names of prominent families, such as Angelos, Chrysoloras, Chrysoberges, Philanthropenos, Eudaimonoioannes, Rhalles, Kantakouzenos, Palaiologos. From these envoys, nine are expressly mentioned in Latin sources as *militēs*: Angelos,³⁷³ Alexios Branas,³⁷⁴ Manuel³⁷⁵ and John Chrysoloras, Alexios Dishypatos,³⁷⁶ Hilario Doria,³⁷⁷ Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles,³⁷⁸ Manuel Philanthropenos, Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes.³⁷⁹ John Moschopoulos and Paul Sophianos are mostly known from their embassies to Venice and Aragon respectively.³⁸⁰ However, several members of their families held prominent positions in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of

³⁷² GEN1389 (26); A. Angelopoulos, 'Τὸ γενεαλογικὸν δένδρον τῆς οἰκογενείας τῶν Καβασίλων', *Μακεδονικά* 17 (1977), 378-9.

³⁷³ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, no DCLXXXIII.

³⁷⁴ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, no DCLXV.

³⁷⁵ Iorga, *Notes I*, 161-2.

³⁷⁶ *Acta Benedicti XIII*, XVIII 2, no 82, 119.

³⁷⁷ T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica VIII* (London, 1709), 65.

³⁷⁸ J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e con Turchi fino all'anno 1531* (Florence, 1879; repr. Rome, 1966), 148.

³⁷⁹ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no IV.

³⁸⁰ VEN1404-05 (68) and AR1419 (96). In addition to his diplomatic mission, Sophianos was also a correspondent of Bessarion. See *PLP* 26413.

fourteenth centuries. Manuel and Nikephoros Moschopoulos, metropolitan of Crete, were both in contact with important personalities of their era, like Manuel Planoudes and Michael Philes.³⁸¹ In the case of the Sophianos family, there appears to have been a prominent branch of the family in the Peloponnese, with members referred to as *archontes*,³⁸² while others from Constantinople were often mentioned as *oikeioi*.

Ten (10) out of the twenty-one (21) ambassadors of John VIII belonged to prominent Byzantine families, as it is evident from the names, in most cases: Manuel Tarchaneiotes Boullotes, John Dishypatos, who is mentioned as *miles*,³⁸³ the brothers Andronikos and Markos Palaiologos Iagares, Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates, Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, Demetrios Palaiologos. The other two Dishypatoi brothers, George and Manuel are simply mentioned by their name. However, in later sources Manuel Dishypatos' full name is given as Angelos Dishypatos, a name which would also apply to his brothers.³⁸⁴

Therefore, ambassadors of aristocratic lineage represent the majority of John VIII's lay ambassadors, especially if we take into consideration that eight (8) out of the twenty-one (21) envoys were members of the clergy. From the fourteen (14) lay ambassadors, only four (4) were not members

³⁸¹ *PLP* 19376 and 19373.

³⁸² For example *PLP* 26397.

³⁸³ *PP* III 323.

³⁸⁴ *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 632, n. 1.

of prominent Byzantine families. Two (2) were envoys of foreign origin, Benedetto Fulcho and John Torcello, and will be discussed in detail further on. The two (2) remaining envoys were Theodore Karystinos, a friend and associate of John VIII and a member of his retinue in the Council of Ferrara-Florence,³⁸⁵ and Manuel Koresses, who did not hold any official title, and he only participated in one diplomatic mission to the king of Aragon in Naples.³⁸⁶

Finally, out of the eleven (11) ambassadors during the reign of Constantine XI five (5) were members of well-known families: Manuel Palaiologos Iagares, Manuel (Angelos) Dishypatos, Andreas Leontares, Andronikos Vryennios Leontares and Manuel Palaiologos. The identity of the remaining envoys is not easily identified from their names: one is only known by the name Manuel and the other by the corrupted name 'duka Lathi'.³⁸⁷ Four non-Byzantines were also members of Constantine's diplomatic corps, and they will be discussed in detail further on in the corresponding section.

³⁸⁵ Syropoulos, IV, 30; *PP* II, 59, 182.

³⁸⁶ AR1437 (136).

³⁸⁷ Krekić, *Raguse*, no 1197.

c. Official title

The people selected as imperial emissaries could attribute their high social status not only to their family connections but also to the office they held within Byzantine administration. This was the case for fifteen (15) of the seventy-five (75), who were holders of both military and civil titles that were among the highest in Byzantine hierarchy. These titles were: *megas domestikos*, *megas primmikerios*, *epi tou kanikleiou*, *parakoimomenos*, *protovestiarites*, *megas hetaireiarches*, *katholikos krites*, *judex*, *diermeneutes*, *grammatikos*, *cancellarius*. I will attempt an analysis of some of these titles and an examination of the people who bore them in conjunction with the missions they were entrusted with, presenting first the ones that appear more frequently within the diplomatic corps.

Despite the fairly high percentage of title-holders during this period, the distribution of the envoys, who held official titles to the reigns of the four emperors reveals that this criterion was not equally important throughout the whole period, but varied according to the standards set by each emperor for the selection of their ambassadors.

Ten (10) of the fifteen (15) office-holding ambassadors served under John V, which shows that this emperor selected high status officials for his missions, intending to reflect, in this way, the importance that he bestowed on the particular missions in which these ambassadors

participated. In two very important missions to the papal court, in 1355 and 1369 almost all the ambassadors that participated held high offices. The *mezas hetaireiarches* Nicolas Sigeros and the then archbishop of Smyrna Paul were entrusted with the important mission to present John V's plan of union between the two Churches to Pope Urban V in 1355.³⁸⁸ In 1369, Paul, titular patriarch of Constantinople and the *mesazon* Demetrios Kydones were sent to Pope Urban V to announce the personal journey of the emperor to Rome.³⁸⁹ Other office holders who were sent to a different destination were Theophylaktos Dermokaites, *katholikos krites*, and Constantine Kaballaropoulos, *judex*, even though their offices are not included as ranked titles in the late Byzantine lists of precedence.³⁹⁰ Their mission to Venice involved negotiations for the island of Tenedos and their judicial expertise was probably the reason why they were selected for this particular mission.³⁹¹

The importance of this criterion for John V is also evident from the people who accompanied him in his two personal journeys to the West, in Buda (1366) and in Rome (1369). As far as the journey to Buda is concerned, not much is known about John V's retinue apart from the fact that he was accompanied by his two sons, Michael and Manuel and his

³⁸⁸ POP1355 (2).

³⁸⁹ POPVEN1369a, b (12, 13).

³⁹⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, Appendices I-IV.

³⁹¹ VEN1362-63 (7).

cancellarius George Manikaites, who was in charge of the negotiations both with Louis of Hungary and the papacy.³⁹²

In his second embassy to Rome, a little more is known about his retinue: Demetrios Kydones, his *mesazon*, was the main negotiator, while also present was the emperor's son-in-law and ruler of Chios, Francesco Gattilusio. Further information about the people who accompanied the emperor is provided by the document of his profession of faith, but also by the treaty that he signed in Rome with the representatives of Venice.³⁹³ Therefore, almost all of the witnesses of these documents were holders of titles such as *epi tou kanikleiou*, *mezas domestikos* and *mezas hetaireiarches*. Only two people among those mentioned did not have a title: Philippos Tzykandyles and Michael Strongylos.

The remaining five (5) cases of envoys holding an official title are distributed among the reigns of Manuel II and John VIII somewhat unevenly. In fact, the envoys of Manuel II are usually referred to in the sources only by their name and relationship with the emperor, while only one of them, Nicholas Notaras, is clearly mentioned as holding the title of *diermeneutes* during his two missions to France and England in 1397-98.³⁹⁴ Another envoy of Manuel II, Nicholas Eudaimonoianes, possibly held

³⁹² HUN1366 (9).

³⁹³ *Acta Urbani V*, no 168; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 89.

³⁹⁴ FRENG1397-98a, b (35, 36).

the title of *megas stratopedarches* at the time of his mission to the Council of Constance in 1416.³⁹⁵

Four (4) title-holders served as ambassadors under John VIII: John Dishypatos, who has already been mentioned as *megas hetaireiarches*, the emperor's personal secretary Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates, and two other envoys, the *megas primmikerios* Markos Palaiologos Iagares and the *protovestiarites* Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites. These last two ambassadors are mentioned as title holders by Syropoulos, who attributes to both of them the title of *megas stratopedarches*, an office which they in fact held at a later date and not at the time of their diplomatic missions.

The office of *megas hetaireiarches*, held by two envoys of John V, Nicholas Sigeros³⁹⁶ and Alexis Hyalon Laskares,³⁹⁷ and one envoy of John VIII, John Dishypatos,³⁹⁸ appears in embassies three times throughout the period under consideration. This title was originally connected to a semi-military office, initially associated with the security of the imperial palace, while in our period of interest it seems to have acquired a more civil function.³⁹⁹ The mid-fourteenth century list of precedence attributed to

³⁹⁵ VENCON1416-18b (89).

³⁹⁶ Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, no 8, 29.

³⁹⁷ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, no 89.

³⁹⁸ Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae* I, 69, 84, 86.

³⁹⁹ P. Karlin-Hayter, 'L'hétériarque. L'évolution de son rôle du *De ceremoniis* au *Traité des offices*', *JÖB* 23 (1974), 101-143.

Pseudo-Kodinos places this office in the twenty-fifth place,⁴⁰⁰ while in other late Byzantine lists it ranks approximately on the same level, ranging between twenty-fourth to twenty-seventh.⁴⁰¹

All three of the ambassadors bearing this title were sent to embassies to the papacy, Sigeros and Laskares appearing only once in the diplomatic scene during the reign of John V.⁴⁰² John Dishypatos, a regular and prominent envoy of John VIII already from 1434, appears to have acquired this office around 1437, possibly just before the departure of the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence.

The careers of all three of these ambassadors help us take a closer look at their skills and responsibilities, which might offer an insight concerning the office of *megas hetaireiarches*. Both Sigeros and Laskares served under John VI Kantakouzenos, occupying the office of *megas diermeneutes* and *diermeneutes* respectively, as they are both mentioned as such in 1439 in the document of a treaty with Venice.⁴⁰³ Therefore, the two envoys knew Latin and had both in the past held an office that was associated with the imperial chancery. What is more, before rising to the office of *megas hetaireiarches*, Nicholas Sigeros was also made *praitor tou demou* in 1352,

⁴⁰⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, 138.

⁴⁰¹ Pseudo-Kodinos, Appendices I-IV.

⁴⁰² POP1355 (2) and POP1369 (14) respectively. Laskares was also a witness in the renewal of the treaty with Venice (VEN1370(16)), which was done in the course of John V's personal journey to the West in 1369.

⁴⁰³ MM III, 119. Sigeros was also referred to as *megas diermeneutes* the previous year, 1438, when he completed a diplomatic mission to Avignon. See R.-J. Loenertz, 'Ambassadeurs grecs auprès du pape Clément VI, 1348', OCP 19 (1953), 185-189.

ranked thirty-eighth in Pseudo-Kodinos' list;⁴⁰⁴ it was also mentioned in another late Byzantine precedence list as an office associated with translators of Latin.⁴⁰⁵ John Dishypatos' knowledge of Latin is not verified by any other source, but the fact that he was one of the main negotiators of John VIII to the Council of Basle and the papal court, as well as his envoy to Venice during the emperor's journey to Italy, might be attributed also to his language skills; further, his brother Manuel Dishypatos knew Latin, as he addressed the Council of Basle, also as an envoy of John VIII.⁴⁰⁶

These three cases indicate that the office of *meγas hetaireiarches* had a close connection with people engaged in diplomacy, especially experienced diplomats dispatched to the West. As there are only three cases out of a total of seventy-five (75) envoys, we could not assume that holding this office was a requirement for one's selection as an ambassador. We cannot deny, however, the correlation between the two capacities. Further, it should be noted here that a person holding the title of *diermeneutes* also appears to serve as an ambassador in two cases during the reign of Manuel II; Nicholas Notaras completed a mission to France and England in 1397-98 and another to Siena in 1399.⁴⁰⁷ Unfortunately, it is not known from his later career whether he progressed through the ranks

⁴⁰⁴ Pseudo-Kodinos, 138.

⁴⁰⁵ Pseudo-Kodinos, 348: 'πραίτωρ τοῦ δήμου φράγκικας ἔχων μετευλωτίσεις'.

⁴⁰⁶ POPBAS1434-35b (128).

⁴⁰⁷ FRENG1397-98a, b (35, 36); SIEN1399 (42).

of the hierarchy in a way similar to the previous examples of envoys who had also held this title.

Among other envoys who held official titles, there are two cases of ambassadors bearing the title of *epi tou kanikleiou*, Manuel Angelos and Andronikos Palaiologos, both appearing as witnesses to the renewal of the treaty with Venice during John V' stay in Rome in 1369-70.⁴⁰⁸ The office *epi tou kanikleiou* does not have a rank in Pseudo-Kodinos;⁴⁰⁹ however, in other late Byzantine lists it ranks in the thirteenth place.⁴¹⁰ An imperial secretary makes an appearance once as a diplomat, taking part in three missions to the papal court in 1431 and 1432-33 during the reign of John VIII.⁴¹¹ Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates is identified as holding this important office by Syropoulos, who described him as *grammatikos* of the emperor, while Latin sources refer to him as *secretarium imperatoris*.⁴¹² The satire of Mazaris, dated in the reign of Manuel II, mentions that this official was called *grammateus*.⁴¹³ His was a significant office within the imperial chancery, because, having taken on some of the earlier responsibilities of the *mesazon*, the imperial secretary was one of the emperor's close advisers, in charge of the dispatch of letters. However, apart from that role, the office does not seem to be particularly linked with

⁴⁰⁸ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, no 89.

⁴⁰⁹ Pseudo-Kodinos, 140.

⁴¹⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, 300, 320.

⁴¹¹ POP1431i (119), POP1431ii (120), POP1432-33(121).

⁴¹² Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no XI.

⁴¹³ Mazaris, 10, 12, 24, 58.

diplomatic activity, in the sense of the holder actually participating often in diplomatic missions himself.⁴¹⁴

Some official titles appear only in the case of a single mission to the West, as that of *megas domestikos*, the highest of the offices held by an ambassador.⁴¹⁵ Its holder, Demetrios Palaiologos, does not appear to have had a particular role to play during John V's journey to the West in 1369. He is mentioned as a witness in John's profession of faith and it is probable that he was selected to be part of the emperor's entourage because of his high rank and his familial relation to John V.

As far as administrative offices and their involvement in diplomatic communication are concerned, the presence of ambassadors, who also held the office of *mesazon*, are of great interest. An office with origins to the eleventh and twelfth century, the *mesazon* is described as an intermediary between the emperor and everyone else, a man of the emperor's confidence, and, if the need arose, an ambassador.⁴¹⁶ Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the *mesazon* appears at the head of the imperial chancery, gradually overtaking the office of *megas logothetes* in that respect, by taking charge of foreign affairs of the empire, in addition

⁴¹⁴ N. Oikonomides, 'La chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle', *REB* 43 (1985), 171.

⁴¹⁵ POP1369 (14). The *megas domestikos* was the commander of the army, a title that existed until the end of the empire. Pseudo-Kodinos, 248: 'ἅπαν τὸ φωσσάτον ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου χεῖρα εὐρίσκεται.'

⁴¹⁶ J. Verpeaux, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine : ὁ μεσάζων', *BSI* 16 (1955), 273.

to his mediatory and secretarial responsibilities.⁴¹⁷ Demetrios Kydones, who was *mesazon* for approximately thirty years, during the reigns of both John VI Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos, described his duties while in office as being in charge of imperial correspondence, and receiving foreigners of all ranks on behalf of the emperor, including ambassadors.⁴¹⁸ Gradually the office of the *mesazon* lost its link with the imperial chancery and became more institutionalised, dealing solely with foreign affairs.⁴¹⁹ However, it would be interesting to explore how involved the *mesazontes* actually were in actively participating in diplomatic missions to the West, or whether the *mesazon* was more in charge of dealing with foreign policy in a more administrative level.

In the period 1354-1453 there are seven *mesazontes* that take part in embassies to the West. Demetrios Kydones completed three missions in 1369, to Venice and the papacy. In his first two embassies he visited Pope Urban V and Venice, accompanied by Paul, titular (Latin) patriarch of Constantinople, in order to announce John V's arrival to Italy.⁴²⁰ Finally in 1369-70 he was with the emperor in Rome, as his chief representative and

⁴¹⁷ Oikonomides, 'La chancellerie impériale', 168-9.

⁴¹⁸ G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone*, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (Vatican 1931), 360; Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 50, 42 (where he describes his duties within the imperial chancery), 47 (for his financial duties); Verpeaux, 'ὁ μεσάζων', 280; Oikonomides, 'La chancellerie impériale', 170.

⁴¹⁹ Oikonomides, 'La chancellerie impériale', 170.

⁴²⁰ POPVEN1369a, b (12, 13).

personal interpreter.⁴²¹ While John VI Kantakouzenos and Kydones himself have used the term *mesazon* to describe the office,⁴²² the Latin sources that refer to his 1369 embassies refer to him as *cancellarius*, possibly indicating that this was the Latin translation of the term *mesazon*.⁴²³ If that is indeed the case, it would help us identify as *mesazon* another envoy of John V, George Manikaites, also referred to as *cancellarius* in Latin documents.⁴²⁴ Not known from any Greek sources, Manikaites accompanied John V in his journey to Buda in 1367, as his main negotiator, both with Louis of Hungary and Pope Urban V. If that was indeed the case, Manikaites and Kydones would have occupied this position of *mesazon* for the same period of time, presenting the earliest example of having two *mesazontes*, a practice which became commonplace in the early fifteenth century.

During Manuel II's reign it is a little more difficult to identify which of his ambassadors could also have been *mesazontes*. According to Verpeaux,⁴²⁵ it could be possible to identify the *mesazontes* by examining the people whose names appear first in the list of witnesses in treaties with Venice for the period 1406-1447. Several people who are identified as *mesazontes* from other sources appear on that list, such as Demetrios

⁴²¹ POP1369 (14); *Acta Urbani V*, no 168.

⁴²² Kantakouzenos, IV, 39; Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 50.

⁴²³ *Acta Urbani V*, no 168.

⁴²⁴ *Acta Urbani V*, no 107.

⁴²⁵ Verpeaux, 'ὁ μεσάζων', 287.

Palaiologos Goudeles, whose case is examined below, Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and Loukas Notaras.⁴²⁶ If Verpeaux is right, Hilario Doria, an envoy of Manuel II to Florence, England and the papacy in 1398-99⁴²⁷ could have been a *mesazon* during the renewal of the treaty with Venice in 1406, seven years after completing his diplomatic mission to the West.⁴²⁸

Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles is identified as *mesazon* by Syropoulos in 1416, while he appears holding this title until 1423.⁴²⁹ However, there are two earlier references to a person, who could be identified as the same Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles. In a letter of Kydones there is reference to a Goudeles, *mesazon* during the last years of the reign of John V.⁴³⁰ In all probability this was the same Demetrios Palaiologos (Goudeles), who accompanied Manuel II to the West and completed an embassy to Florence in 1402,⁴³¹ while already holding the title of *mesazon*. The next reference to this same Goudeles is in the treaty of 1406 with Venice, when, if we accept Verpeaux's theory, he was still a *mesazon* together with Hilario Doria.⁴³² Finally, the account of Syropoulos confirms that he indeed held that same office in 1416.

⁴²⁶ Verpeaux, 'ὁ μεσάζων', 287-8.

⁴²⁷ FLOPOPENG1398-9a, b, c (38, 39, 40).

⁴²⁸ MM III, 152-3.

⁴²⁹ Syropoulos, II 1 and 3; Verpeaux, 'ὁ μεσάζων', 288.

⁴³⁰ Kydones, *Correspondance*, ed. Cammelli, no 29.

⁴³¹ FLO1401 (53).

⁴³² MM III, 153, 162.

In the reign of John VIII four people are mentioned as *mesazontes*: Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, Loukas Notaras, George Philanthropenos and Andronikos Palaiologos Iagares. The curious occurrence of having four people occupying the same title at roughly the same time is explained by Syropoulos, who clarifies the situation. Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and Loukas Notaras were *mesazontes* during all the preliminary negotiations with the Council of Basle and the papacy for the organisation of an ecclesiastical council, appearing in that capacity as early as 1431.⁴³³ While they actively participated in several of the councils that Syropoulos mentions taking place in Constantinople in order to decide how to deal with the issue of the ecclesiastical council, none of the two men accompanied the emperor to the Council itself in 1437-39. This is made known to us after the arrival of the Byzantine delegation to Venice, when the Venetian officials enquire after the two *mesazontes*, surprised by their absence. However, we learn that two other officials, George Philanthropenos and Andronikos Palaiologos Iagares were appointed as *mesazontes*, for the duration of the emperor's stay in Italy.⁴³⁴ This fact illuminates two points: firstly that the emperor needed to have his *mesazontes* close to him, during his journey abroad, and secondly that Notaras and Kantakouzenos, the two regular

⁴³³ Syropoulos, II, 43, 45.

⁴³⁴ Syropoulos, IV, 18.

mesazontes were well known to the Venetian officials, probably from negotiating with them in the past for the renewal of treaties. From these four men indicated as *mesazontes* only one had the additional function of being an imperial envoy. Andronikos Palaiologos Iagares undertook a mission to Pope Eugenius IV in 1438, during his capacity as *mesazon* in Italy, and another in 1443.⁴³⁵

This overview highlights the fact that the personal involvement of the *mesazontes* in diplomatic activity to the West, in the sense of actually travelling themselves, was consistent throughout the period, with the exception of the reign of Constantine. At the same time, however, this involvement was limited to and revolved specifically around the emperors' personal journeys to the West. In all the cases of *mesazontes* acting as ambassadors, it was during imperial travel to the papal court, in the cases of John V and John VIII, or to a western court, in the case of Manuel II. The need for a *mesazon* being present is further highlighted in the case of John VIII's journey to Italy, when he replaced his regular *mesazontes*, who had remained in Constantinople, with two temporary ones. It appears, therefore, that the *mesazon*, apart from any other responsibilities he might have had in Constantinople, also became linked to this new and innovative practice of the Byzantine emperors acting as

⁴³⁵ POP1438ii (147), POP1443i (158).

their own ambassadors from 1366 onwards, becoming an invaluable member of the emperor's retinue to the West.

d. Relationship with the emperor

Members of the imperial family and close associates of the emperor were very much present at the higher levels of Byzantine administration and political life of the last two centuries of Byzantium;⁴³⁶ their presence is also evident in the field of diplomacy, serving as ambassadors to the West. These were relatives of the emperor, often bearing the surname Palaiologos, in addition to the surname of another well-known Byzantine family or men belonging to the category of people known as *oikeioi* of the emperor. The *oikeioi*, literally indicating the people of one's household, his closest friends, were people of the immediate environment of the emperor, his friends and close associates answering directly to him, and who, especially in the last three centuries of Byzantium, assumed important positions in the administration of the Empire.⁴³⁷

Thirty (30) ambassadors out of a total of seventy-five (75) envoys to the West were either relatives of the emperor or *oikeioi*, suggesting that this relationship was an important criterion for one's selection as ambassador.

⁴³⁶ Kiousoyopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος*, 120.

⁴³⁷ J. Verpeaux, 'Les *oikeioi*. Notes d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale', *REB* 23 (1965), 89.

The distribution of these persons among the emperors is proportionate, with nine (9) persons in John V's diplomatic service, nine (9) in Manuel II's and eight (8) in John VIII's. Constantine's reign appears to pose an exception, with only two relatives of his listed as ambassadors and one *oikeios*.⁴³⁸

Even though fewer than half of the envoys fall into the category of relatives or *oikeioi* of the emperors, the significance of this criterion should not be based mainly on its numerical value; it is important to consider the significance of these envoys' diplomatic missions, and how they fitted into the more general foreign policy of each emperor. Another crucial aspect is to examine briefly the identity and role of the ambassadors, who do not fall into this category, a task that will highlight the importance of the missions undertaken by the relatives and *oikeioi* of the emperors.

Four (4) ambassadors of John V are identified as *oikeioi* of the emperor⁴³⁹ and another four (4) were referred to as his relatives;⁴⁴⁰ one (1) person, Philippos Tzykandyles, is mentioned as *oikeios* but he was also related to the emperor through his marriage to one of John V's nieces. Of these nine (9) people, the four (4) *oikeioi* and two (2) of the emperor's relatives, Andronikos and Demetrios Palaiologoi, were official title

⁴³⁸ This envoy, Manuel Dishypatos, is the only person who appears to have served under two emperors, John VIII and Constantine XI.

⁴³⁹ Manuel Angelos, Theophylaktos Dermokaites, Constantine Kaballaropoulos, Nicholas Sigeros, (Philippos Tzykandyles).

⁴⁴⁰ Constantine Asanes, Francesco Gattilusio, Andronikos Palaiologos, Demetrios Palaiologos, (Philippos Tzykandyles).

holders. The titles they held range from very high in the hierarchy,⁴⁴¹ titles of relative significance,⁴⁴² and other official titles that were not mentioned in court precedence lists, such as *katholikos krites*.⁴⁴³

All of these envoys took part in diplomatic missions directed either to Venice or the papacy. The significance of this observation becomes more apparent, if we take into account that Venice and the pope were the most frequent recipients of John V's embassies,⁴⁴⁴ which shows that a large section of his western policy was directed toward these two political entities. The selection of people, who were part of his own household, and also held important positions in the Byzantine court, to represent him at these two destinations reflects the importance that John V bestowed upon these missions. This is especially evident by the fact that six (6) of the *oikeioi* and relatives of the emperor were part of his retinue in one of the most significant diplomatic embassies, John V's personal journey to Pope

⁴⁴¹ Demetrios Palaiologoi was *meas domestikos*, and Andronikos Palaiologos and Manuel Angelos were *epi tou kanikleiou*.

⁴⁴² Nicholas Sigeros was *meas hetaireiarches* during his embassy in 1355 (POP1355(2)). This title ranks no 25 in Pseudo-Kodinos, and in similar places (24, 26, 27) in other lists of precedence of the late period.

⁴⁴³ Despite not appearing on the precedence lists, this office was an important one, as the holder was one of the high court judges of the empire and was given a salary out of the state finances. See P. Lemerle, 'Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III', *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 292-316. Constantine Kaballaropoulos was also a title holder, referred to in the Latin documents as *judex*. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 53. Francesco Gattilusio was not a Byzantine official, but was a relative of John V by marriage and the ruler of Lesbos.

⁴⁴⁴ Appendix A, Chart 3.1.

Urban V in 1369.⁴⁴⁵ Nicholas Sigeros, even though he was a *nuntius* and not an *ambassador*, as all the others, had the important obligation of delivering to Pope Innocent VI the chrysobull of 1355, which contained the first official diplomatic step toward the papacy for a union of the Churches.⁴⁴⁶ Finally, the two remaining envoys, Dermokaites and Kaballaropoulos were sent to Venice in order to conduct negotiations for the renewal of the treaty between Byzantium and Venice.⁴⁴⁷

It would be incorrect to assume, however, that the people, who were not part of this category of *oikeioi* and relatives, did not undertake significant diplomatic missions. In fact they could be categorised in four groups, which show clearly what their role was in their missions. The first group is comprised of the two envoys of foreign origin, Michael Malaspina and Andreu Paó. As has already been mentioned,⁴⁴⁸ these were simple messengers, carrying letters to their respective destinations, the papal court and Aragon.⁴⁴⁹ The second category includes the four ecclesiastics, who served under John V,⁴⁵⁰ while the third comprises of people, who only appeared in the diplomatic corps of John V once, often

⁴⁴⁵ Manuel Angelos, Constantine Asanes, Francesco Gattilusio, Andronikos Palaiologos, Demetrios Palaiologos, Philippos Tzykandyles. POP1369(14), VEN1370 (16).

⁴⁴⁶ POP1355 (2); Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, no 8.

⁴⁴⁷ VEN1362-63 (7).

⁴⁴⁸ See the section of terminology at the beginning of the current chapter.

⁴⁴⁹ POP1364 (8), AR1370 (17).

⁴⁵⁰ *Archimandrites* Makarios, *metropolitan* Neilos, *megas chartophylax* Theodore and Paul, first archbishop of Smyrna and later (Latin) patriarch of Constantinople.

in important missions.⁴⁵¹ The fourth category includes two important officials, Demetrios Kydones and George Manikaites, who held the position of *cancellarius*, which could possibly be translated as *mesazon*, as was the case with Demetrios Kydones. These two envoys represented the emperor as his chief negotiators, and in the case of Kydones as interpreter, during his two personal journeys to the West in 1366 and 1369.⁴⁵²

In Manuel II's diplomatic corps members of his family were prominent, with eight (8) out of nineteen (19) envoys being related to the emperor, either by marriage or by being members of the Palaiologos family.⁴⁵³ In contrast only one envoy, Nicholas Notaras was mentioned as *oikeios*.⁴⁵⁴ As was the characteristic of Manuel II's envoys, only two of them held an official title. Nicholas Notaras was *diermeneutes*⁴⁵⁵ and Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes was *megas stratopedarches*.⁴⁵⁶

Manuel II also appeared to make a connection between the importance of the mission and the selection of a family member as an ambassador, as the crux of his foreign policy, his diplomatic advances toward the courts of Western Europe, were conducted predominantly by his relatives and

⁴⁵¹ Theodore Domestikos Proximos (POP1367 (11)), Manuel Kabasilas (GEN1389(26)), Alexios Hyalon Laskares (POP1369(14)), Constantine Metaxopoulos (POP1367(11)), Andronikos Oinaiotes (VEN1362(6)), Andronikos Sebastopoulos (VEN1382-83(23)), Michael Strongylos (POP1369(14)), *parakoimomenos* Theophylaktos (POP1367(11)).

⁴⁵² HUN1366(9), POP1369 (14).

⁴⁵³ Hilario Doria, Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes, Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles, Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, Manuel Philanthropenos, Constantine Rhalles Palaiologos, Theodore Rhalles Palaiologos.

⁴⁵⁴ *MM* III, 162.

⁴⁵⁵ Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix XII, 487.

⁴⁵⁶ Zakythinios, *Despotat II*, 101, 307.

people of confidence. Most of them were *ambassiatores*,⁴⁵⁷ envoys with negotiating powers. However, members of the emperors' family appeared to have a more important position within the diplomatic corps than *oikeioi*. Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, Manuel's uncle, was sent in 1397 to France in order to plea for help for the empire from King Charles VI.⁴⁵⁸ The significance of his relation to Manuel and the prestige it gave to his mission could be indicated by the term *ambassador* used to describe Theodore, in contrast with the term *nuntius* given to Nicholas Notaras, an envoy to the same destination at the same time. This distinction, in conjunction with the clear predominance of family members over *oikeioi* as envoys, could suggest that *oikeioi*, while people of the emperor's confidence, were not of the exact same status as his immediate family members.⁴⁵⁹

The remaining ten (10) envoys, who were not the emperor's relatives or *oikeioi* were a mixed group. Theodore Chrysoberges was the only ecclesiastic, probably chosen to participate in two missions due to the possible influence he could have over the pope.⁴⁶⁰ Five (5) other envoys

⁴⁵⁷ The only exceptions were Hilario Doria and Nicholas Notaras, who was also a *nuntius*. Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles was an *orator*, a term almost identical in meaning to *ambassador*.

⁴⁵⁸ FR1397-98 (37); *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 149; Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix XIII. On Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, see D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460. A genealogical and prosopographical study* (Washington D.C., 1968).

⁴⁵⁹ Verpeaux, 'Les *oikeioi*', 89-99.

⁴⁶⁰ VENPOPVEN1420b, c (98, 99).

appear only in one mission each, and are not known from other sources,⁴⁶¹ while two (2), John Bladynteros and Alexios Branas were important diplomats specialising in relations with the pope and the Spanish kingdoms respectively.⁴⁶² Finally, possibly the most well-known and influential ambassador of Manuel II, Manuel Chrysoloras was not a member of his family, but he was appointed *ambassador, generalis procurator, executor*, with extensive negotiating powers in his extended mission to the courts of Europe for the period 1407-1410.⁴⁶³

The predominance of *oikeioi* over relatives of the emperor seems to be the case in John VIII's envoys, as there are four (4) *oikeioi*,⁴⁶⁴ two (2) relatives⁴⁶⁵ and two (2) envoys, who appear as *oikeioi* but were also members of the Palaiologos family.⁴⁶⁶ All eight (8) of these ambassadors undertook some of the most crucial negotiations that dealt almost exclusively with the issue of organising an ecclesiastical council. This issue required discussion not only with the papacy, but also with the Fathers of the Council of Basle and the king of Hungary Sigismund, and it

⁴⁶¹ Angelos, Alexios Dishypatos, Galeotus Lomelini, John Moschopoulos, Paul Sophianos. John Chrysoloras took part in two missions to the papacy and Hungary: a-POP1409-10 (74), HUN1414 (82).

⁴⁶² For Bladynteros' missions see VENCON1416-8a, b (88, 89), POP1419 (94), FLOPOP1421a, b (103, 104). For Branas's missions see ARCASTNAV1400a, b, c (48, 49, 50) and ARCAST1401-1403a, b (54, 55).

⁴⁶³ VENFRENGARa-POP1407-1410a, b, c, d, e (71, 72, 73, 76, 77); *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, no DCXCIV.

⁴⁶⁴ Manuel Tarchaneiotos Boullotes, George Dishypatos, John Dishypatos, Manuel Dishypatos.

⁴⁶⁵ Andronikos Palaiologos Iagares, Demetrios Palaiologos.

⁴⁶⁶ Markos (Palaiologos) Iagares, Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites.

dominated the communication between John VIII and other western powers. Apart from the eight (8) ecclesiastics, who were part of John VIII's diplomatic corps and participated in his embassies, sometimes representing also the patriarch, the main weight of this important matter was handled by the emperor's *oikeioi* and relatives, especially the brothers John and Manuel Dishypatos, who participated in nine (9) diplomatic missions each.

Relatives and *oikeioi* of the emperors under study were very much present in the diplomatic communication with the West. The people who belonged in those two groups almost always handled some of the most significant missions, which formed the core of the emperors' policy toward the West. Official titles were usually attributed mostly to the *oikeioi*.

Prominent diplomats could also be found among the envoys not belonging in this group of the emperors' family. However, the most important among them occupied positions that by themselves gave them access to the emperor and rendered them people of his confidence, thus making their additional classification of *oikeioi* redundant; this was the case of the two *cancellarii* (or *mesazontes*) Demetrios Kydones and George Manikaites, Manuel II's close friend and advisor Manuel Chrysoloras, and John VIII's secretary Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates.

e. Origin

Among the seventy-five (75) ambassadors known for the period 1354-1453 twenty-two (21) appear, who were of non-Byzantine, usually Latin origin. These 'foreigners' were involved in diplomatic communication with the West in two ways. Firstly, there were the foreign ambassadors, who, on their way back to their sovereign, would deliver a letter from the Byzantine emperor. Secondly, there were those of non-Byzantine origin, who were commissioned specifically from the Byzantine emperor to carry out a diplomatic mission to the West, thus adopting the position of a Byzantine ambassador.

The practice of sending reply messages with the messenger or ambassador of a western power can be seen put to action in nine (9) embassies among the one hundred twenty-one (21) embassies, for which the ambassador is known. The eight (8) people involved were westerners, sent as representatives of the papacy, Aragon, the Council of Basle and Venice, either as simple messengers or with negotiating rights, and they were received as official diplomats in Constantinople; upon their return they were asked to deliver a reply message on behalf of the Byzantine emperor.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ POP1374-75ii (22): John, bishop of Tauris; VEN1407 (70): Venetian envoy, Paolo Zane; AR1416 (90): 'Juvenis Catalanus'; POP1422 (106): papal envoy Antonio de Massa;

That number is fairly small compared to the total seventy-five (75) ambassadors, as it was logical that the Byzantine ambassadors wished to select their representatives among their own people, to ensure that the envoys really served Byzantine interests. Their distribution among the reigns of the four emperors is fairly even, with one or two cases during the reigns of John V, Manuel II and Constantine XI. John VIII employed this practice five times, during the preliminary negotiations with the papacy and Basle for the organisation of an ecclesiastical council. This fact, combined with the density of the missions in which his own ambassadors took part, can be explained by the urgency that this issue held both for John VIII and his western correspondents. Letters and responses left from Constantinople almost once a year for these two destinations, the papacy and Basle, and if circumstances required it, they were entrusted to these foreign ambassadors to speed the message to its destination.

The use of people of non-Byzantine origin in the diplomatic service during the last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire was a practice consistently in use during the reign of all four of the emperors studied here. They were fairly evenly distributed among the four emperors, with four (4) envoys of John V's, two (2) of Manuel's, three (3) of John VIII's and four (4) of Constantine XI's. Their overall number is small, only

BAS1433-34 (122): Antonio de Suda; POPBAS1435-36a, b (130, 131): Henry Menger; POP1437 (140): Michael Zeno; VEN1450 (175): Nicolò de Canale.

thirteen (13) in total, and their number appears to be declining slightly during the reigns of Manuel II and John VIII, and rising again under Constantine XI.⁴⁶⁸

The presence of these ‘foreigners’, mainly Genoese but also Catalan or from the Genoese community of Pera, in their capacity as Byzantine envoys can be considered limited also due to the nature of their missions. They are in their majority deliverers of letters, often clearly indicated as such by the terminology applied in the documents, where they are referred to mainly as messengers or *nuncii*, without any record of having negotiating powers; this is the case of Michael Malaspina⁴⁶⁹ and Andreu Paó.⁴⁷⁰ There were three notable exceptions, in the persons of Paul of Smyrna⁴⁷¹ and Francesco Gattilusio, envoys of John V, dealing primarily with his approach to the pope, and Hilario Doria, a relative by marriage of Manuel II, who had converted to Orthodoxy, and was also an *oikeios*. The selection of these particular people as ambassadors also appears to have a connection with the destination of their missions, as they were often dispatched to their place of origin. This is particularly evident in the case

⁴⁶⁸ Four in John V’s service: Paul of Smyrna, Michael Malaspina, Francesco Gattilusio, Andreu Paó; Two in Manuel’s: Galeotus Lomelini, Hilario Doria; Three in John VIII’s: Benedetto Fulcho, Giovanni Torcello, Fr Jacob; Four in Constantine XI’s: John di Mare, Michael Trapperius (Draperio), Fr John Perera, Michael Radoslav.

⁴⁶⁹ *Nuncius* in Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes*, no 1305.

⁴⁷⁰ *Missatge* (messenger) in *Diplomatari de l’Orient Català*, no CCCXIX.

⁴⁷¹ Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 36-8.

of the envoys of Constantine XI: John di Mare, a Genoese of Pera, and Fr John Perera, a Catalan, were sent to Genoa and Naples respectively.⁴⁷²

e. Catholics / Latin speakers

In the diplomatic communication with the West, people of the catholic faith and those with knowledge of the Latin language naturally fall in the category of those, who could potentially be chosen as ambassadors. While exploring this as a possible criterion for one's selection as an imperial envoy, westerners who have acted as representatives of the Byzantine emperor are not taken into account. However, a closer look at Byzantine ambassadors, who have converted to Catholicism or were favourable toward the West, reveals some interesting results.

The wave of conversions to Catholicism that emerged, among other reasons, out of the reaction to the religious conflicts of the fourteenth century, was more evident in the 1350s and 1360s after John V became sole emperor, also due to his more tolerant attitude towards the West and Catholicism.⁴⁷³ As a result, several catholic converts made their appearance in the diplomatic corps of John V and played an important role in his communication with the West, mainly in the discussions for the

⁴⁷² GEN1449 (171), AR1453i (192).

⁴⁷³ Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines', 749-50.

Union. From a total of nine (9) Catholics in the diplomatic service of John V Palaiologos, five (5) were Byzantines, who have converted to Catholicism.

Demetrios Kydones is considered the dominant personality during John V's reign, in the powerful office of the *mesazon* and serving the emperor as his ambassador to the West, as well accompanying him in his journey to Rome in 1369, where he acted as John's interpreter.⁴⁷⁴ A catholic convert himself since ca. 1365,⁴⁷⁵ Kydones had a vast knowledge of Latin, having learned the language in order to carry out better his duties.⁴⁷⁶ Two scribes, probably joining the mission to Rome in 1369 as assistants of Kydones, were chosen specifically for their knowledge of both Greek and Latin:⁴⁷⁷ Michael Strongylos and Philippos Tzykandyles, an *oikeios* of John V and also his relative by marriage.⁴⁷⁸ Another member of John V's entourage in Rome and a witness of his profession of faith in 1369 was Manuel Angelos, *epi tou kanikleiou* and *oikeios* of the emperor.⁴⁷⁹ George Manikaites, who had also been in charge of the imperial chancery,

⁴⁷⁴ *Acta Urbani V*, no 168; Halecki, *Un empereur*, 196, n. 4.

⁴⁷⁵ Halecki, *Un empereur*, no 5, 363 ; F. Kianka, 'Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The role of Demetrius Cydones,' *International History Review* 7 (1985), 178-181.

⁴⁷⁶ Kydones, *Correspondance* II, no 333, 267-8; Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIVe siècle', 739.

⁴⁷⁷ *Acta Urbani V*, no 168.

⁴⁷⁸ *MM* III, p. 143; Tzykandyles was married to a daughter of Anna Paleologina, aunt of the emperor. See Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIVe siècle', 741.

⁴⁷⁹ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, no 89; Halecki, *Un empereur*, no 5, 363.

accompanied the emperor abroad, as his main representative in Buda, to the king of Hungary.⁴⁸⁰

Among the Latin speaking ambassadors, who were not necessarily converted to Catholicism, we should mention Nicholas Sigeros and Alexios Laskares. Sigeros had taken part in one mission to the papal court under John V, in 1355, accompanied by Paul, then archbishop of Smyrna.⁴⁸¹ He is mentioned as an *oikeios* of the emperor, holding the title of *meγas hetaireiarches* in 1355.⁴⁸² However, Sigeros' career appears to have begun much earlier, during the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos, when he served in the imperial chancery as *meγas diermeneutes*, in 1348⁴⁸³ and *praitor tou demou* in 1352. Alexios Laskares presents an almost identical case as Sigeros: He accompanied John V in Rome in 1369, holding the title of *meγas hetaireiarches*, to which he appears to have been promoted, since in 1348 he was also serving under John Kantakouzenos as *diermeneutes*.⁴⁸⁴

The somewhat large number of Catholics and Latin speaking officials in the court of John V show a clear orientation toward the West. Taking into account that the majority of these ambassadors was associated with the imperial chancery, which at the time was headed by Demetrios Kydones, it would not be an exaggeration to argue that he influenced the

⁴⁸⁰ *Acta Urbani V*, no 107; Halecki, *Un Empereur*, 113, 364-365; Mergiali-Sahas, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 595-596; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Βυζάντιο και η Δύση*, 71, n. 23.

⁴⁸¹ POP1355 (2).

⁴⁸² Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, no 12.

⁴⁸³ *MM III*, 119.

⁴⁸⁴ *MM III*, 119.

selection of these particular envoys.⁴⁸⁵ This argument is strengthened by the fact that among the ambassadors in the service of John V there were also several of Kydones' friends and correspondents: Constantine Asanes, Andronikos Oinaiotes, Demetrios Palaiologos, Andronikos Sebastopoulos.⁴⁸⁶

Manuel II also applied a western-oriented policy, therefore, he employed people, who were familiar with western culture and mentality, while often they were favourable toward Catholicism. His diplomatic corps comprises of learned men, the most characteristic example being Manuel Chrysoloras, who had been described as a 'scholar-ambassador'.⁴⁸⁷ Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes is also documented to have been well educated and Latin-speaking, although he probably was not converted to Catholicism.⁴⁸⁸ Other envoys, who were possibly catholic converts, were Constantine Rhalles, Alexios Dishypatos and Alexios Branas.⁴⁸⁹ A very interesting case is presented by the brothers Andrew and Theodore Chrysoberges, two Dominicans of Greek origin. Theodore served Manuel II as an ambassador to the pope and the Council of Constance; his brother Andrew, while not officially a Byzantine ambassador, served as an

⁴⁸⁵ Mergiali-Sahas, 'A Byzantine ambassador to the West', 595.

⁴⁸⁶ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, nos 36, 71, 146, 155, 157, 168, 196.

⁴⁸⁷ S. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415), an ideal model of a scholar-ambassador', *BS* 2 s. 3 (1998), 1-12.

⁴⁸⁸ Ch. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia. The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), 164-6.

⁴⁸⁹ Delacroix-Besnier, 'Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIVE siècle', 748-9.

interpreter at the Council of Constance and was involved in the negotiations concerning the union of the Churches as a papal legate.⁴⁹⁰

A very visible shift in the use of catholic converts as ambassadors can be seen during the reign of John VIII. While his policy is clearly directed to an approach to the West, as a means of obtaining military and economic help, his efforts are focused on the union of the Churches, with negotiations that required the use of members of the Orthodox Church. In addition, several of his diplomatic missions were dispatched to the West, especially to the papacy and the Council of Basle, as joint embassies of the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople. Therefore, in John VIII's embassies there is a re-introduction of ecclesiastics that seem to replace catholic converts, even though there are some cases, such as Isidore, later archbishop of Russia, who ended his career as a catholic cardinal, after the Council of Ferrara-Florence.

2.3 The Byzantine ambassadors to the West: 1354 - 1453

a. Some common characteristics

A closer look at the individuals who were involved in diplomatic communication and were linked to the office of ambassador during the

⁴⁹⁰ Syropoulos II, 15; Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 50-56.

late fourteenth and early fifteen centuries reveals some key characteristics of the ambassadorial corps of the four emperors. I would, therefore, like to explore how the office of ambassador evolved into a career choice for some of the envoys, who not only acquired specialisations in their missions but also used their appointment as an imperial envoy as a means of rising through the ranks of Byzantine hierarchy. Finally, I would like to draw further attention to the specific characteristics of certain envoys, which render them unique cases among diplomats and reveal the evolution of this office in this late period.

There are several cases among the ambassadors who form the diplomatic corps of the four emperors under examination and who carried out several missions to the West, either during the course of a single journey or in multiple travels to their western destinations.⁴⁹¹ However, an important element began to arise especially during the reign of Manuel II and continued during John VIII: some of these envoys not only travelled to the West repeatedly but also developed a specialisation for specific destinations or certain topics of negotiation. Further, among them there were some, who were almost exclusively known for their diplomatic activity, evolving into 'career diplomats'.⁴⁹² This 'specialisation' in diplomacy even caused the mockery of Mazaris, author of a satire dating

⁴⁹¹ For examples of journeys of envoys that had multiple destinations see Appendix B.

⁴⁹² Malamut, 'De 1299 à 1451 au coeur des ambassades byzantines', 105.

to the reign of Manuel II, who suggested that specific people were chosen each time for specific missions, a fact that gave them several advantages and privileges, without them being required to perform any other service in the palace.⁴⁹³ Therefore, we can detect a network of ambassadors appointed throughout the western European kingdoms during a long period of time, even permitting their characterisation as ‘semi-permanent’ ambassadors, as they visited their destinations multiple times and often remained there for long periods.⁴⁹⁴

During the reign of Manuel II, the most representative case is that of Manuel Chrysoloras, a close friend and advisor of the emperor, who in the period 1407-1410 was given broad negotiating powers, and was made ‘general procurator’ with the assignment to visit most western European courts and the papacy on behalf of his sovereign.⁴⁹⁵ Manuel Philanthropenos, a cousin of the emperor, was mainly in charge of the negotiations with central European powers, such as Hungary and Poland.⁴⁹⁶ Similar is the case of the ambassadors, entrusted with the negotiations with the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre and Castile, and with the significant responsibility of distributing to them the diplomatic gifts of relics, one of the main characteristics of Manuel II’s

⁴⁹³Mazaris, 46: ‘«Τί πράττει, ὃ ἐπέρασσε, ὁ ἐμὸς μὲν υἱός, σὸς δὲ ἑταῖρος ἐν ταῖς ἀυλαῖς ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀρ’εὐρίσκειται καὶ ἔτι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἄλατος λειτουργίαις ὡς πρότερον; ἢ λόγων μόνων καὶ μηνυμάτων διαπορθμεύς ἐστι Λατίνων καὶ Γραικῶν;»’.

⁴⁹⁴ Mergiali-Sahas, ‘A Byzantine ambassador to the West’, 600.

⁴⁹⁵ VENFRENGARa-POP1407-10a, b, c, d, e (71, 72, 73, 76, 77).

⁴⁹⁶ HUN1395-96 (34), VENHUNPOL1420a, b, c (100, 101, 102).

diplomatic communication with these powers; Alexios Branas,⁴⁹⁷ and Constantine⁴⁹⁸ and Theodore Rhalles⁴⁹⁹ were repeatedly dispatched to these destinations. The representation of the Byzantine emperor to the Council of Constance was entrusted once again to Manuel Chrysoloras, and to another envoy, Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, who came to be the main negotiator with the papacy, during the preliminary discussions for the organisation of an ecumenical council that would agree upon the union of the Churches.⁵⁰⁰ The correspondence between the emperor, the patriarch and the pope was also entrusted to another envoy, who quickly became a familiar face in the papal curia, John Bladynteros.⁵⁰¹

John VIII continued this tradition of employing specialised ambassadors for his negotiations with the West, especially when it came to the discussion with the representatives of the Council of Basle, the papal curia and king Sigismund of Hungary. For approximately a period of ten years, the figures of George, John and Manuel Dishypatoi, Markos Iagares and to a smaller extent the emperor's personal secretary Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates dominated the diplomatic scene. The Dishypatoi brothers in particular, especially John and Manuel, appear to have completely taken over the preliminary negotiations for the

⁴⁹⁷ ARCASTNAV1400a, b, c (48, 49, 50), ARCAST1401-03a, b (54, 55).

⁴⁹⁸ ARNAV1404-05a (64).

⁴⁹⁹ ARNAV1404-05a, b (64, 65).

⁵⁰⁰ CON1414-15 (84), VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89), VENPOPVEN1420a, b, c (97, 98, 99).

⁵⁰¹ VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89), POP1419 (94), FLOPOP1421a, b (103, 104).

organisation of an ecclesiastical council, both with the Fathers in Basle and with Pope Eugenius IV. John Dishypatos, in fact, continued to represent the emperor during his stay in Italy for the council.⁵⁰²

In the cases of six (6) ambassadors, we can follow the advancement of their status when it came to official titles that they obtained shortly after or during their diplomatic missions. While I cannot suggest with certainty that it was their specific appointment as diplomats that led to their advancement through the ranks of court hierarchy, it is evident that some of them began their career at court by taking part in diplomatic missions. One such example is that of Nicholas Sigeros, who was in the service of both John VI Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos, and participated in his first diplomatic mission to Avignon in 1348, bearing the title of *megas diermeneutes*.⁵⁰³ In 1352 he had been elevated to a *praitor tou demou* and by 1355, in his first mission during the period under the scope of this study, he was *megas hetaireiarches*.⁵⁰⁴ Similar was the progression of Alexios Hyalon Laskares, a *diermeneutes* under John VI in 1349,⁵⁰⁵ and *megas hetaireiarches* in 1369. Further, Manuel Angelos was *katholikos krites* in 1354, but he joined John V's entourage to Rome in 1369 as *epi tou kanikleiou*. An envoy of John VIII's to Pope Eugenius IV and Venice, Markos Palaiologos

⁵⁰² Appendix C, Table 3, nos 46, 47, 48, 53, 64.

⁵⁰³ *MM* III, 119.

⁵⁰⁴ Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, no 8, 29.

⁵⁰⁵ *MM* III, 119.

Iagares, began his diplomatic career as *megas primikerios* in ca. 1430,⁵⁰⁶ and shortly after became *megas stratopedarches*. Finally, two other envoys were awarded their titles after the completion of their diplomatic missions. Andronikos Oinaïotes was dispatched to a mission in Venice in 1362, but in 1369 he is referred to in a letter of Kydones as *katholikos krites*.⁵⁰⁷ Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, an envoy of John VIII to Hungary and Basle in 1434 became *megas primikerios* shortly after his diplomatic mission, in 1435, and *megas stratopedarches* in 1444.⁵⁰⁸

Another characteristic that emerges during this period is that there is a substantial number of the ambassadors, who were closely related to each other, worked and travelled together for the purposes of an embassy; the office of ambassador, therefore, is starting to evolve into a family tradition. Members of the same family began making their appearance in the diplomatic corps, during the reign of Manuel II. Apart from those ambassadors, who shared a familial bond with the emperor himself, there were also ambassadors sharing a close blood relation between them - father and son, uncle and nephew, brothers - while sometimes they also shared the experience of partaking in a diplomatic mission.

Six (6) of the nineteen (19) envoys in the service of Manuel II were related to each other in pairs: Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes belonged to a

⁵⁰⁶ Cecconi, *Concilio di Firenze*, no CXXIV.

⁵⁰⁷ Kydones, *Correspondance* I, no 36.

⁵⁰⁸ Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 44.

wealthy and influential Peloponnesian family, and he is even praised by Mazaris, author of a satire, composed in ca. 1414-15.⁵⁰⁹ He was also a ‘συμπενθερός’ of Manuel II, after the wedding of one of his children to one of Manuel’s. While the details of this relationship remain obscure, there are mentions in the sources of three of his children: a daughter and two sons, Andronikos and George.⁵¹⁰ It is his son Andronikos, who is of interest in this particular issue, as he appears to have accompanied his father in this diplomatic mission to the Council of Constance in 1414-15.⁵¹¹ His presence there is attested by an eye-witness account but his activities appear to be very limited or non-existent, as the focus falls on the head of this embassy and main negotiator, his father Nicholas.⁵¹² Andronikos was also present in the next two embassies his father undertook in Venice and again to the Council of Constance in 1416-18.⁵¹³

Another pair of relatives who served Manuel II as ambassadors to the West, Manuel and John Chrysoloras, present a similar case. John Chrysoloras, born in ca. 1360, was Manuel’s nephew and had lived with his famous uncle in Florence in ca. 1400. The two probably undertook a common mission to Hungary in 1414.⁵¹⁴ While there, they managed to

⁵⁰⁹ Mazaris, 8-9.

⁵¹⁰ Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia*, 164.

⁵¹¹ CON1414-15 (84).

⁵¹² Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia*, 165-6; Loenertz, ‘Les dominicains byzantins’, 26-29; Barker, *Manuel II*, 324; Gill, *Council of Florence*, 22 and n. 3.

⁵¹³ VENCON1416-18a, b (88, 89).

⁵¹⁴ HUN1414 (82).

make such an impression on King Sigismund that he rewarded them with the title of *comes palatinus* and admitted them into his own 'family'.⁵¹⁵

Constantine Rhalles Palaiologos and his son Theodore present the first example of two family members working and travelling together, but also at the same time participating in individual missions. Members of the old and prominent Byzantine family of Raoul-Ral[l]es, they were connected through intermarriage to the imperial family; their exact relation with Manuel II is undetermined.⁵¹⁶ Their relationship both to each other and to the emperor is attested in two letters of recommendation by the king of Aragon, Martin I.⁵¹⁷ Constantine Rhalles began his diplomatic career as a member of a large Byzantine embassy to Russia in 1400.⁵¹⁸ He and his son Theodore became the principal envoys of Manuel II in the Iberian peninsula, while they also carried individual missions in France and the kingdom of Navarre.

Further cases among the ambassadors of John VIII indicate that diplomacy often continued to constitute a family tradition. Probably the most prominent is the case of the Dishypatos family, which counts a total of four of its members as diplomats: Alexios Dishypatos, who served as an

⁵¹⁵ Leonertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 13; Malamut, 'De 1299 à 1451 au coeur des ambassades byzantines', 99 and n. 116.

⁵¹⁶ S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1973), 3-4 and 66-67.

⁵¹⁷ *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1454)*, no DCLXXXI: 'cum nobiles et devoti nostril Contastinus Rali et Theodorus Rali eius filius'.

⁵¹⁸ D. Obolensky, 'A Byzantine grand embassy to Russia in 1400', *BMGS* 4 (1978), 123-132.

envoy of Manuel II in France,⁵¹⁹ and the three brothers John, Manuel and George, who were in the service of John VIII, from 1434 until the 1453 (in the case of Manuel). The three brothers often worked together, as is the case with the mission of Manuel and George Dishypatos to the Council of Basle,⁵²⁰ and their participation in the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence; the latter features prominently in the account of Syropoulos, who gives examples of their influence and diplomatic experience, as well as their familiarity with western powers, such as the pope and the doge of Venice.⁵²¹ Members of the same family have maintained the close relationship with the West, moving there with their families especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453: there are records of a George Palaiologos Dishypatos who entered the service of the king of France, Louis XI, and of a Manuel Dishypatos, who was a physician in Savoy.⁵²² Finally, a similar case is that of the three brothers Markos, Andronikos and Manuel Palaiologos Iagares, who also formed their careers in the service of John VIII.

Apart from the different criteria that the emperors applied to their selection of diplomats, who represented them to the powers of Western Europe, there are two cases, two 'types' of envoys, who emerge among the

⁵¹⁹ *Regesten* 3298.

⁵²⁰ POPBAS1434-35a, b (127, 128).

⁵²¹ Syropoulos, IV, 16, 212; 27-28, 226.

⁵²² J. Harris, 'Byzantine medicine and medical practitioners in the West: the case of Michael Dishypatos', *REB* 54 (1996), 204.

diplomatic corps of the four emperors in question. One is the model of the so called 'scholar-ambassador', while the other that of the 'merchant-ambassador', both of which have their representatives, albeit very few, among the seventy-five (75) envoys.

The ambassadors who fall under the category of the 'scholar-ambassador' are, predictably, represented by personalities such as Demetrios Kydones and Manuel Chrysoloras. What is of particular interest is that these two men, especially Demetrios Kydones, also aided by his particularly high position in the court of John V, managed to influence, up to a point, the political choices of the emperors they served under. Just with a quick look at the table of ambassadors of John V, we observe that many of his envoys either belonged to the circle of friends and correspondents of Kydones, or shared his position of approach toward the West. The second point is that, while being in the service of John V and Manuel II respectively, both Kydones and Chrysoloras managed to combine their diplomatic activity with their own individual aspirations and ambitions, to travel and teach in the West and communicate with Latin scholars.⁵²³

The 'merchant-ambassador' finds its main representative in Nicholas Notaras, a *diermeneutes*, and ambassador of Manuel II to France, England

⁵²³ J.W. Barker, 'Emperors, embassies and scholars: diplomacy and the transmission of Byzantine humanism to Renaissance Italy' in D. Angelov (ed), *Church and society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo, 2009), 158-179.

and Siena in the late 1390s. The Notaras family, one of the most prominent of the late Byzantine period, mainly because of its most famous member, Nicholas' son Loukas, originated from Monemvasia. The first member of the Constantinopolitan branch of the family was George Notaras, Nicholas' father, who was a fish merchant, quickly expanding his trading activities in the Black Sea and with the Genoese of Pera.⁵²⁴ He was a *diermeneutes* of Andronikos IV, a career also followed by his son Nicholas. The elevation of families with commercial activities into the higher levels of Byzantine society was not limited to the Notaras family but included others, such as the family of Goudeles. Nicholas Notaras managed to take advantage of his new position and serve Manuel II in the West, usually in missions that were financial in nature, procuring funds for the aid of Constantinople. At the same time, however, he did not miss the opportunity to serve his own particular interests by visiting Venice on the way to his first mission to France and England, and obtaining there Venetian citizenship.⁵²⁵ Other merchants of the period also found their

⁵²⁴ K.-P. Matschke, 'The Notaras family and its Italian connections', *DOP* 49 (1995), 59-73. ; Kiousoyoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός*, 92-93.

⁵²⁵ An earlier example of the model of 'merchant-ambassador' that comes from Western Europe and compliments the examples provided in the period in question is that of the members of the Polo family and their travels in the Far East. The brothers Niccolò and Maffeo Polo, merchants from Venice, completed several trading journeys, one of which brought them to China, to the court of Kublai Khan in 1266. On their return journey to Venice they were entrusted with letters and messages from the Khan to Pope Clement IV (who died before their return). They also delivered the new pope's replies to the Khan, this time accompanied by Niccolo's son Marco, who also wrote an account of his family's journey to the East. See Marco Polo, *Travels* (2001); S.M. Islam, *The ethics of travel from Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester, 1996); J. Larner, *Marco Polo and the discovery of the world*

way into the diplomatic corps of Manuel II, such as Manuel Koresses and Manuel Kabasilas.

b. The profile of the diplomatic corps of each emperor

Despite some common characteristics and criteria for the selection of ambassadors during the last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire, the final choice still depended on the particular policies employed by each emperor. Similarities existed, as has already been observed, in many of the criteria presented above, but it was the individual choices of the emperors that formed the profile of their diplomatic corps, choices that were firmly based on the main focus of their foreign policy toward the West, which will be presented in detail in Chapter III.

John V's ambassadors are very clearly West-oriented, following the example of the most prominent man in his court Demetrios Kydones. His diplomatic corps includes men who had converted to Catholicism or had knowledge of the Latin language. They were members of prominent

(London – New Haven, 1999). The example of the journeys conducted by the three members of the Polo family provide an obvious parallel to Byzantine ambassadors, such as the Dishypatoi brothers – family members, who worked together on their missions. However, the Polo are differentiated from such Byzantine envoys by the fact that Marco Polo, and his father and uncle were not 'professional ambassadors' in the sense that was given here for the Byzantine ambassadors, who embarked on missions with members of their families. In that sense, the examples of the Polo present more similarities to that of Nicholas Notaras, the main example of a 'merchant-ambassador' in late Byzantium, who combined his appointment as an envoy with the expansion of his own commercial activities.

Byzantine families, including the imperial family, and occupied high offices in the Byzantine hierarchy. Not surprisingly, when taking into account the opposition that John V faced from the Church due to his religious policy of approach with the papacy, very few ecclesiastics join the group of his diplomats, and the ones that do could be considered more as representatives of the patriarch.

In Manuel II's reign the core of his foreign policy, his constant and persistent appeals to the courts of Western Europe for military and economic aid, is conducted predominantly by his closest friends and relatives, while official titles do not appear to be at all a significant criterion for one's selection as an ambassador. Manuel II's envoys are mainly his relatives and *oikeioi*, who often make diplomacy their career and specialise in specific destinations. During his reign, families of ambassadors begin to make their appearance, while we also see two important types of envoys, the scholar and the merchant, in cases such as those of Manuel Chrysoloras and Nicholas Notaras.

The re-introduction of ecclesiastics in diplomacy with the West is certainly one of the main characteristics of John VIII's reign, as the issue of Church union forcefully returns and takes centre stage in the emperor's western policy. His secular ambassadors are highly specialised, dispatched to specific destination for multiple embassies, while two major ambassadorial families, those of the Dishypatoi and the Iagares, dominate

the diplomatic scene. The main criteria applied to the selection of the emperor's envoys to the West appear to form a balance between a personal or familial relationship with the emperor and previous experience in diplomatic communication with the western powers.

It is difficult to summarise the characteristics of Constantine XI's ambassadors, mainly because the information we have of them is very limited, especially compared to that of the ambassadors of the previous emperors. The most prominent characteristic of his diplomatic communication with the West would probably be the much larger use of envoys of non-Byzantine origin, mainly from the Genoese community of Pera. Further, his embassies that were sent in quick succession and comprised mainly of one envoy, reflected the urgency of the political situation that the Byzantine capital faced in the last years, before its final fall to the Ottomans.

CHAPTER III: DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND FOREIGN POLICY.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION

After 1261 and the restoration of a state centred around Constantinople, and even more distinctly during the period that this study focuses on, from the mid-fourteenth century onward, the main aim of Byzantine diplomacy was to prolong the empire's life, by seeking allies and obtaining military and economic support against external threats; this is especially evident in the diplomatic communication with the West. The aim of this chapter is to explore the specific diplomatic practices that the last Palaiologan emperors applied in order to reach that goal, focusing both on the traditional diplomatic techniques and on new ones that were introduced during that time.

1. Diplomacy of the emperors

1.1 John V Palaiologos (1354 - 1391)

John V became sole emperor in 1354, after the abdication of John VI Kantakouzenos, at a time when the Byzantine Empire was facing several internal difficulties, as a result of the destructive civil wars of the previous period, and external threats. These threats were posed mainly by Serbia,

the largest Balkan state - even though its advancement was slowed by Stephen Dušan's death in 1355 - and mainly by the Ottoman Turks, who in 1354 conquered Gallipoli, thus establishing their presence in Europe more firmly.⁵²⁶

John V's diplomatic activity towards the West comprises of twenty-six (26) embassies sent to six (6) destinations.⁵²⁷ The vast majority of those embassies (ten (10) each) were sent to the papacy and to Venice, while in two (2) cases the embassy was directed to both of these recipients. Other destinations were Aragon, Genoa, Germany and Hungary.⁵²⁸ In addition, the majority of John V's diplomatic advances toward the West mainly took place in the first decades of his reign, beginning almost immediately after he became sole emperor in 1354.⁵²⁹ Embassies to the West were consistently frequent, sent almost every year, until 1374 when there is a seven-year silence, until the next embassy in 1382.⁵³⁰

This period of silence is not at all surprising, as it coincides with both external and internal difficulties for the empire. Firstly, it includes the period of internal conflict between John V and his son Andronikos IV,

⁵²⁶ Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 248-9 and 265-7; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Byzάντιο και η Δύση*, 23-36; Nicol, 'AD 1354 - Annus fatalis for the Byzantine Empire', 163-169.

⁵²⁷ Appendix A, Table 1.1.

⁵²⁸ Appendix A, Chart 3.1.

⁵²⁹ The first diplomatic mission to the West that John V sent as sole emperor was in 1355 to the German king Charles IV of Luxembourg, who was in Italy at the time. Its purpose was to inform Charles of John V's victory over his predecessor, John VI Kantakouzenos, and to stress the danger posed to the empire by the Serbs and the Turks. Charles IV replied with vague promises for help: Schannat, *Vindemiae Litterariae*, no 30, 131. GER1355(1).

⁵³⁰ Appendix A, Table 2.1.

who rebelled against his father twice, in 1373 and 1376, and usurped the throne for three years (1376-1379). Further, it marks a time of change in John V's foreign policy, as it is the period that the Byzantine Empire entered into a state of vassalage to the Ottoman Turks.⁵³¹ In 1382 John V resumed his diplomatic activity to the West with an embassy to Venice to negotiate an agreement about the island of Tenedos.⁵³² However, regular communication was never really restored, in the frequency that it was seen before 1374, as is indicated by the fact that there were only three more embassies directed to a western power until the end of John V's reign in 1391.⁵³³

One of the most frequent recipients of John V's embassies to the West was Venice, as the Byzantine emperor sent ten (10) out of his twenty six (26) missions there.⁵³⁴ Communication with Venice is mostly consistent throughout John V's reign, especially in the period before 1374. The majority of these embassies involve negotiations and discussions, dealing with the commercial privileges of Venice in Constantinople and the arrangements made for the Venetians residing and working in the

⁵³¹ The change in attitude toward the Ottomans from the part of John V must have taken place around 1373, during or after the alliance of his rebelling son Andronikos with Saudjik, son of Murad, also rebelling against his father. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire turc', *Zbornik Radova* 5 (1958), 49-58; Dennis, *Manuel II*, 31-33; Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 287-8.

⁵³² VEN1382-3(23).

⁵³³ AR1383(24), GEN1387-91(25), GEN1389(26).

⁵³⁴ VEN1359(4), VEN1361(5), VEN1362(6), VEN1362-63(7), POPVEN1369b(13), VEN1370(16), VEN1373(18), VEN1374i(19), VEN1374ii(20), VEN1382-83(23).

Byzantine capital, as well as financial allowances made for the Greeks living in the Venetian colonies of Methone and Korone. This was the general content of the Byzantine-Venetian treaties, which were signed and renewed almost every five years, with the purpose of securing Venetian interests in Constantinople.

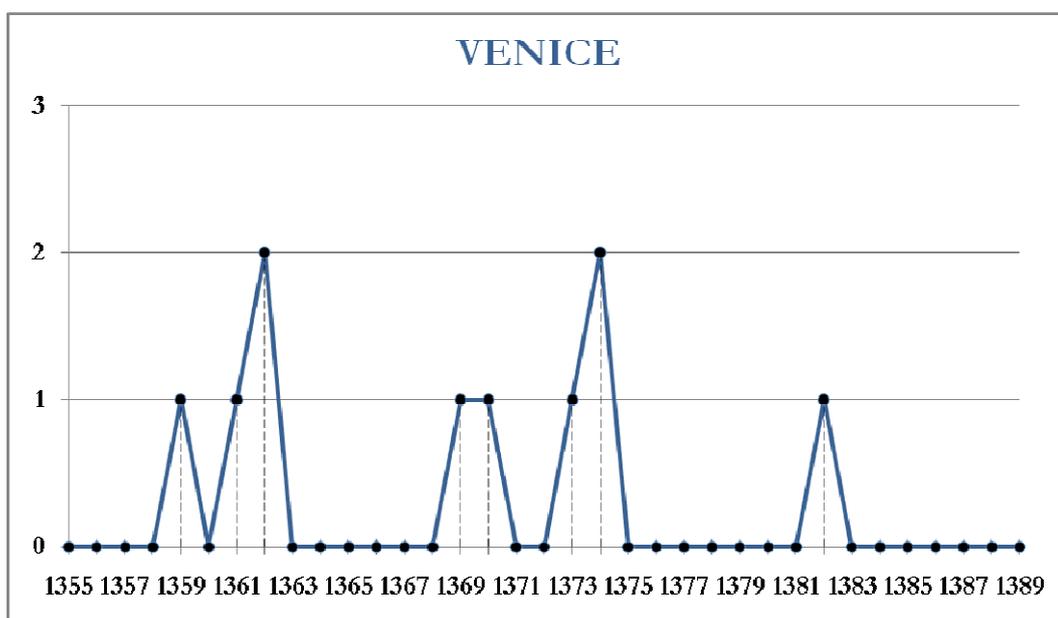


Figure 2: Embassies to Venice per year during the reign of John V.

During the reign of John V, four treaties have been signed between the Byzantine emperor and Venice,⁵³⁵ and the significance that the two sides bestowed upon them can be detected in two cases. Firstly, when John V arrived in Italy in 1370 he dispatched envoys to Venice and requested that

⁵³⁵ *Regesten* 3070: 1357 (in Constantinople), VEN1363 (7), VEN1370 (16), *Regesten* 3150: 1376 (in Constantinople). The two treaties signed in Constantinople are not included in the total number of embassies dispatched to the West by John V.

they send representatives to Rome in order to discuss the issue of the treaty; in fact, he indicated that he wanted to deal with the issue personally.⁵³⁶ Halecki has, in fact, suggested that John V was reluctant to ask for hospitality from Venice until the treaty was renewed, which undoubtedly contributed to his decision to travel to Naples first, on his way to Rome.⁵³⁷

The second occasion that indicates the importance of such treaties and of the regularity of their renewals is the case of the treaty of 1376. At a time of internal struggles between John V and Andronikos IV, which also reflected the conflict between the Venetian and the Genoese, the situation was much more complicated than just the late renewal of a treaty. However, one of the important issues that the treaty would finalise was the occupation of the island of Tenedos, promised by John V to the Venetians in 1370, an issue which had caused the Venetian-Genoese rivalry to escalate to the war of Chioggia, and had also been a point of discord between Byzantium and Venice in the past. The treaty was renewed after the Venetians had sent ten galleys in the Golden Horn and had delivered an ultimatum to John V, in order to force him to sign a treaty with terms favourable to their interests.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 189, n. 5.

⁵³⁷ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 189.

⁵³⁸ Halecki, *Un empereur*, 321; J. Chrysostomides, 'Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo, with special reference to the history of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377', *OCP* 35 (1969), 150-3 and 167-8; D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), 312.

On the issue of obtaining military help, John V did not make any clear advances toward Venice for help against the Turks, in the form of an organised expedition. As will be shown later, this issue involved mainly the papacy and western sovereigns with a clear association with the papacy. There is only one instance when this matter was expressly discussed between Venice and the Byzantine emperor, and that was mainly with the initiative of the Venetians. In 1361-62, the Venetian ambassadors to Constantinople were authorised to propose to John V an anti-Turkish league between themselves, the Byzantines and the Genoese; it involved the organisation of a small naval force, consisting of four galleys provided by the Byzantine emperor, two by the Venetians and two by the Genoese, which would be responsible for patrolling the area around the Hellespont with Tenedos as their base.⁵³⁹ According to the instructions of the Venetian envoys, Francesco Bembo and Domenico Michiel, the two ambassadors could also agree to invite others to join the league, such as the Emperor of Trebizond and the King of Cyprus. The papacy is not mentioned as a possible party to this alliance, and it appears that it was intended to be primarily a union of secular powers, not a crusade. Even though the customary five-year treaty between Byzantium

⁵³⁹ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* II, no 48; Halecki, *Un empereur*, 75-77; F. Thiriet, 'Una proposta di lega anti-turca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363', *ASI* 113 (1955), 321-334; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 299-300; on the Venetian envoys, who carried out this mission see C. Maltezou, *Ο θεσμός του έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετού βαΐλου (1268-1453)* (Athens, 1970), 115.

and Venice was indeed renewed, this proposal never resulted in an actual agreement, mainly due to the refusal of John V to give up Tenedos.⁵⁴⁰

Despite this unsuccessful attempt at a military alliance, and despite several problems that the Venetian-Byzantine relationship suffered, mainly due to the issue of Tenedos, Venice was - along with the papacy - the most important communicator of the Byzantine Empire at the time, as far as the numbers and frequency of embassies show. Both Venice and John V were reluctant to compromise the financial gains that derived from their relationship, especially when it came to the frequent renewal of treaties. Further, even from the beginning of his reign, John V was grossly indebted to Venice, mainly because of the debt that he had inherited from his mother, Anne of Savoy; in an attempt to get a loan from the Venetians in 1343, she had pawned the Byzantine crown jewels for the sum of thirty thousand ducats. The debt was still in effect during John V's time, putting him in grave strain and eagerness to relieve it. Most of the diplomatic communications between Byzantium and Venice at the time revolve around financial agreements because of the particular interests of the Venetians in the Byzantine Empire, and the area around Constantinople in particular, combined with the financial needs of the Byzantine emperor. What is more, the same reasons made their diplomatic communication constant, almost during the entirety of John V's reign.

⁵⁴⁰ VEN1362-63(7); Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 300.

John V's relationship with the Genoese is not reflected as clearly into actual embassies sent to Genoa from the part of the Byzantine emperor. There were only two (2) such embassies, dispatched to Genoa toward the end of John V's reign, one not bearing an exact date, dated between 1387 and 1391, and one in 1389.⁵⁴¹ The first embassy is known by the fragments of a letter written by John V in which the Byzantine emperor complains about several breaches of agreements and misconduct of Genoese inhabitants of Pera, who had supported his grandson John VII.⁵⁴² The second embassy pertains to a financial agreement between the Byzantine emperor and Genoa, concluded by the Byzantine envoy, Manuel Kabasilas; the document that refers to it is a receipt for payment to John V for some of his grain.⁵⁴³

More apparent is the relationship between John V and the local Genoese community, the colony of Pera, as well as others, who had come to create Genoese bases in the Aegean. One such case is that of Francesco Gattilusio, a Genoese who played a significant part in John V's victory over John VI Kantakouzenos in 1354. John V rewarded him the following year by marrying him to his sister Maria and granting him the island of

⁵⁴¹ GEN1387-91(25); GEN1389(26).

⁵⁴² R.-J. Loenertz, 'Fragment d'une lettre de Jean V Paléologue à la commune de Gênes 1387-1391', *BZ* 51 (1958), 37-40; J.W. Barker, 'John VII in Genoa: A problem in late Byzantine source confusion', *OCP* 28 (1962), 230-1.

⁵⁴³ Barker, 'John VII in Genoa', Appendix A, 236-37.

Lesbos as dowry.⁵⁴⁴ This marriage alliance secured Gattilusio's help in times of need in several instances. In 1366 Amedeo of Savoy employed his help for his crusade in order to obtain more ships.⁵⁴⁵ Gattilusio was also a member of John V's retinue in the emperor's visit to Rome in 1369, a retinue that consisted mainly of distinguished members of John's court, such as his *mesazon* Demetrios Kydones and other members of the imperial family.⁵⁴⁶ Another case was the recognition from the part of John V of the Genoese rule of Chios in a chrysobull of 1355.⁵⁴⁷ The island was in Genoese hands since 1346, therefore, John V with his chrysobull merely confirmed an established situation, thus strengthening the Genoese presence in the Aegean.⁵⁴⁸

The complex and very significant relationship between the Byzantine emperor and the community of Pera, and the influence of the trading activities with the Genoese of Pera in the area had on Byzantium is outside the scope of this study. This relationship, however, as well as other examples of Genoese infiltrating the Byzantine imperial family or intervening in political affairs, reveals why there was virtually no

⁵⁴⁴ Doukas XII, 5; Gregoras, III, 554. On the complex political and economic relations for the Gattilusi dynasty with Byzantium, Genoa and Venice, the Latin Christendom and the Ottomans, see C. Wright, *The Gattilusi lordships in the Aegean 1354-1462* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2006).

⁵⁴⁵ Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy*, 219-220.

⁵⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the people who accompanied John V to Rome in 1369 see Chapter II.

⁵⁴⁷ P.P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their administration of the island 1346-1566*, vol. II, Codex and documents (Cambridge, 1958), 173-176.

⁵⁴⁸ Balard, *Romanie Génoise I*, 123-126; S. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), 209-211.

diplomatic communication between Byzantium and Genoa in the second half of the fourteenth century. The Genoese communities to the Levant were not as dependent from Genoa as the corresponding Venetian ones, thus making direct communication with Genoa itself redundant. Therefore, the approach between the Genoese of the East and the Byzantines translated not into embassies to Genoa itself, but to more subtle approaches such as constant trading activities, marriage alliances, even with the presence in John V's diplomatic corps of Genoese citizens, such as Michael Malaspina.⁵⁴⁹

Diplomatic communication between John V and the papacy begins in 1355, when the Byzantine emperor sent a letter to Pope Innocent VI, containing an appeal for military help to Constantinople, but also a detailed plan on how they could achieve ecclesiastical union between the two Churches.⁵⁵⁰ In fact, all the diplomatic advances toward the papacy throughout John V's whole reign revolve around these two issues: union of the Churches or conversion of John V and his subjects to Catholicism in exchange for military support of Constantinople, possibly in the form of a crusade.

⁵⁴⁹ Appendix C, Table 1, no 11.

⁵⁵⁰ *Acta Innocentii VI*, no 84; Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 29-33 (Greek text) and 33-37 (Latin text).

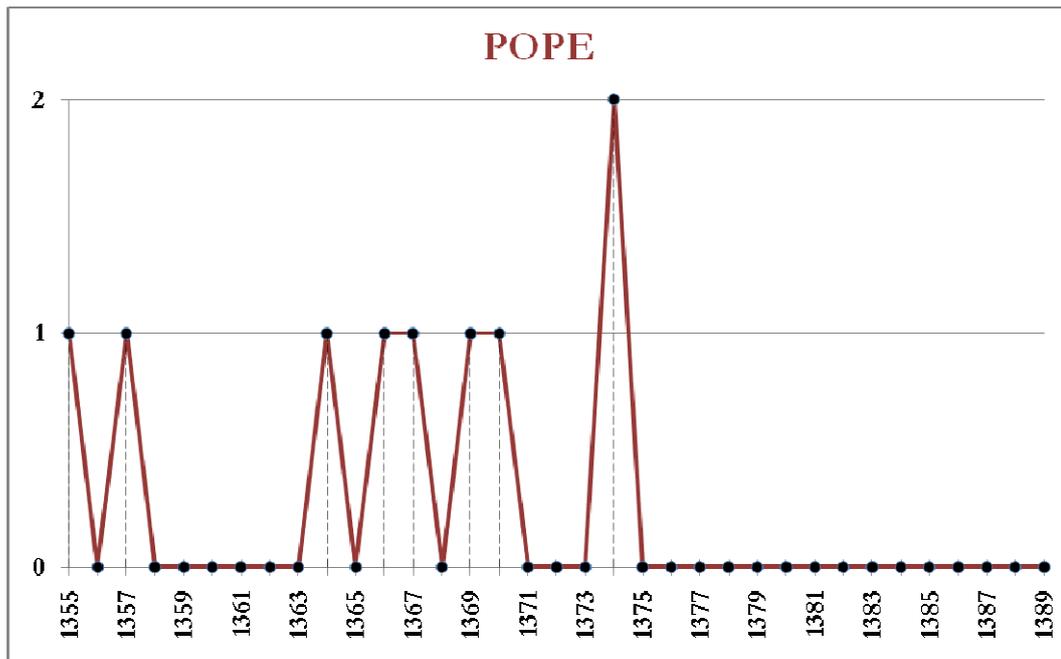


Figure 3: Embassies to the papacy per year during the reign of John V.

These advances are concentrated mainly at the beginning of John V's reign and until the 1370s, and they could be separated into three periods. Two (2) missions in 1355 and 1357 reflect the first diplomatic approach of John V toward Pope Innocent VI, in which the emperor proposed his detailed plan concerning the union of the Churches, while at the same time he asked for a small military force to be dispatched to Constantinople.⁵⁵¹ In the second embassy of 1357 John V renewed his promises to the pope, after having met with the papal legate Peter Thomas, who offered his advice on the handling of the situation.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵¹ See above, n. 550.

⁵⁵² POP1357(3).

After a gap of little less than ten years, the second period of approach between John V and the papacy was during the emperor's journey to Buda in 1366 and in the midst of his negotiations with Louis I of Hungary.⁵⁵³ This mission, as will be discussed later, was very much connected to the issues that had interested the Byzantine emperor and Pope Urban V earlier, namely the union of the Churches, John V's personal conversion to Catholicism, and, as a result of those, the organisation of a military expedition in aid of the Byzantines. Both secular rulers sought the pope's mediation in relation to these issues, and it was made clear that the subject of Church union was discussed with the understanding that it would be followed immediately by military help being made available for Constantinople, possibly in the form of a crusade.⁵⁵⁴

The final communication between John V and the papacy came shortly after, in 1367-69, with the preliminary embassies and the journey of John V himself to Rome, where he made a profession of faith and converted to Catholicism.⁵⁵⁵ Despite any hopes or aspirations that John V might have had of converting his subjects to Catholicism and thus achieving Church union by subjecting the Orthodox Church to the papacy, this journey and the emperor's conversion were clearly personal acts. No representatives of

⁵⁵³ Only one embassy was sent before the missions of 1366. It was a letter delivered to Pope Urban V by Michael Malaspina in 1364: POP1364(8).

⁵⁵⁴ *Acta Urbani V*, no 109; Gill, 'John V at the court of Louis I', 31; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Βυζάντιο και η Δύση*, 73-78.

⁵⁵⁵ POPVEN1396a,b(12), POP1369(14).

the patriarch were present, there was no debate concerning dogmatic differences and they did not discuss the organisation of an Ecumenical Council, the only way that the Byzantine Church could accept any negotiations on the union.

The issue of the union of the Churches was, as already mentioned, closely connected with John V's approaches to Catholic sovereigns, who would most probably answer the papacy's call for a crusade against the Ottomans. Military help was in the forefront of John's mind, as is evident by the fact that his very first embassy was to Charles of Luxembourg, in which he clearly stated the danger that the Turks posed for the empire and asked for help.⁵⁵⁶ This first embassy was followed by the emperor's chrysobull to Pope Urban V during the same year, 1355, highlighting the two most significant elements of John V's policy, Church union and military help, as well as their connection to each other.

That Church union and military help were two interrelated issues became apparent in John V's chrysobull to Urban V in 1355, but also during John V's interaction with secular leaders, who were approached in order to provide him with military assistance. In his visit to Louis I of Hungary in 1366 the main topic of the negotiations involved military aid on the part of Louis, as is evident from his communication with Venice; he asked for Venetian galleys to be prepared on his behalf, as he was

⁵⁵⁶ See n. 529.

planning to launch an expedition against the Turks.⁵⁵⁷ During the course of their negotiations the issue of John V's conversion to Catholicism was addressed, indicating that John V understood how the link between the two issues could help him better promote his cause; a Catholic ruler, such as Louis, would probably find the idea of a crusade more appealing.⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, John V repeated his promise of conversion for himself and his sons, Manuel and Michael, while both rulers approached Pope Urban V to offer his assistance on the matter.⁵⁵⁹

The issue of union was also addressed in 1367, in the meeting of John V and Amedeo of Savoy in Sozopolis, as well as during their negotiations after their return to Constantinople. Amedeo managed to extract from John V the promise to visit the papal curia in person in order to convert to the Catholic faith, and in exchange Amedeo would return to him the twenty thousand hyperpera that he had received from the Byzantine emperor as a loan.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷*Monumenta Hungariae Historica* II, no 479.

⁵⁵⁸ Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Το Βυζάντιο και η Δύση*, 74-75.

⁵⁵⁹ This is known from the pope's response in a letter addressed to John V in *Acta Urbani V*, no 107.

⁵⁶⁰ In Sozopolis John V had indicated that it was not in his power alone to discuss the issue in detail, and after the return to Constantinople, long negotiations began between the Latin patriarch Paul and the former emperor John Kantakouzenos, who was the main representative of the Orthodox side. Their debate on this issue can be read in Kantakouzenos' *Διαλεξις* in J. Meyendorff, 'Projets de Concile Oecumenique en 1367: Un dialogue inedit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le legat Paul', *DOP* 14 (1960), 170-177. John Kantakouzenos, from his part, repeated the traditional Byzantine view that any discussion for a union should be conducted as part of an ecumenical council, thus presenting a vast contrast with the emperor's attitude toward the matter, who had already promised to visit the pope in person and convert.

John V's policy of using the issue of the union as a means of obtaining political gain, in this case military help against the Turks, led directly to the most groundbreaking diplomatic action of John V, that of his two personal journeys to the West in 1366 and 1369. It was the first time that a Byzantine emperor visited a western ruler in person, and assumed the role of the ambassador himself, negotiating important issues, in this case a military alliance and the union of the Churches. His two visits to Hungary and Rome could be viewed as one being the result of the other. They present the two sections of the same plan from the part of John V, which included the approach of a secular and an ecclesiastical ruler, with one aim: to obtain military help by negotiating to implement the union of the Churches or, in reality, to convert to the Catholic faith.

In conclusion, in terms of the practices that John V employed in his diplomatic activity we can summarise them as such: financial agreements and treaties with the Italian republics, mostly Venice, which aimed in providing the financial means for the empire's survival, marriage alliances, on a limited scale, with local Genoese rulers, promotion of the union of the Churches and by extent plea for military support against the Turks, possibly in the form of a crusade, and finally, the personal involvement of the emperor in diplomacy, as shown by his two journeys to Buda and Rome.

1.2 Manuel II Palaiologos (1391 - 1425)

Manuel II's diplomatic activity to the West includes seventy-nine (79) embassies dispatched to seventeen (17) different recipients, by far the largest numbers both in terms of missions sent and in terms of recipients out of all four emperors under consideration. Manuel was communicating with almost all the centres of power in Europe, his ambassadors visiting Venice, the papacy, the anti-pope in Avignon, France, England, the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Navarre, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Siena, Florence, Ancona, several other Italian cities, such as Padua, Vicenza, Pavia, Milan, Verona, Sarravale, and the Council of Constance.⁵⁶¹

A general observation that becomes evident from the list of embassies of Manuel II is that his embassies, despite the secondary purposes of individual missions, convey very clearly his foreign policy toward the West: to request military and financial aid for the empire against the advancing threat of the Ottoman Turks. This was understandable, as the political situation and the dangers that threatened the Byzantine Empire had multiplied in Manuel's time. The Ottomans, having already spread widely in the Balkans, have succeeded in defeating the collective forces of the Balkan nations twice, in the battles of Marica (1371) and Kosovo

⁵⁶¹ Appendix A, Table 1.2.

(1389). Sultan Murad's successor Bayezid, in contrast to his father, followed a policy that concentrated more on conquest and expansive campaigns. Further, in 1394 he launched a siege of the Byzantine capital, which lasted approximately eight years and rendered the situation even graver for the Byzantine emperor.⁵⁶²

Therefore, it is not surprising that Manuel focused all his attention in obtaining any possible help from the West. In this he did not concentrate his efforts only on one cause, such as the union of the Churches, as in the case of his father John V, who had targeted mainly the papacy on that issue. Instead, Manuel II spread out his advances to cover the majority of the western courts and centres of power.⁵⁶³ This course of action had its source in several reasons. The severity of Manuel's situation, especially in the first years of his reign, when Bayezid besieged his capital, made the Byzantine emperor reach out to all different directions, attempting to appeal for aid to all possible allies. In his main aim, which was to unite the powers of Europe into an anti-Turkish league that would concentrate on helping Constantinople, he was encouraged often by the Venetians, who, though they were reluctant to initiate this expedition, frequently repeated that they would join the efforts, if others chose to participate. Further, examples of such alliances, such as the one that had led to the Crusade of

⁵⁶² Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 289-291.

⁵⁶³ Appendix A, Chart 3.2.

Nikopolis in 1396, despite the defeat of the Christian troops, must have confirmed in Manuel's mind the idea that such an enterprise was indeed feasible.⁵⁶⁴

The majority of Manuel's embassies were sent to Venice (twenty nine (29) out of seventy nine(79)), while the rest are fairly evenly dispersed among the papacy and the anti-pope (ten (10)), Aragon (eight (8)), France (six(6)), England (five (5)) and Hungary (five (5)), and one or two sent to the remaining destinations. His communication with Italian cities, other than Venice, seems to be circumstantial and not continuous. However, the embassies to Siena⁵⁶⁵ and Florence⁵⁶⁶ dispatched around the time of Manuel's personal journey to the West are in accordance with his diplomatic communication with larger centres of power at the time, as they focus on the issue of obtaining military and financial help.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, during his personal journey, Manuel II stopped in several Italian cities, such as Padua, Vicenza, Pavia, Milan, Verona and Sarravale,

⁵⁶⁴ The army that took part in this expedition comprised mainly of troops from France and Hungary, but also Wallachia, Germany, England, Poland, Bohemia and Spain. A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934); S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades III* (Cambridge, 1951-4), 455-462; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 304-308.

⁵⁶⁵ SIEN1399(42); *PP III*, 120.

⁵⁶⁶ FLO1401(53).

⁵⁶⁷ In the case of Siena, the emperor sent his thanks for the sum of five hundred ducats that had been raised to help his cause, while in Florence, his envoy was sent to ask for help, but was refused. In the case of the embassy to Ancona (ANC1419 (95)) the content of the mission remains unknown: *Regesten* 3375.

but other than those occasions there is no evidence from the embassies that would indicate regular correspondence.⁵⁶⁸

Better and more regularly targeted than the Italian cities were the kingdoms of Western Europe in Spain, France and England, and there are periods of regular diplomatic advances toward them as Manuel extended his pleas for financial and military help. While communication with them is not as regular as with Venice, there are periods when the emperor clearly concentrated his efforts sending several ambassadors to these destinations. In the period just before his own journey to the West, from 1395 to 1399, three (3) different envoys travelled to France and England and negotiated with the sovereigns there, paving the way for the emperor's journey.⁵⁶⁹ Further, while Manuel II was in Paris, he consistently directed his embassies toward the Spanish kingdoms. His envoy Alexios Branas took on three diplomatic missions to Aragon, Castile and Navarre in 1400,⁵⁷⁰ while the same envoy returned to Aragon and Castile in 1401-1403.⁵⁷¹ While communication with Aragon continues until 1419 sparingly, there is not other such large concentration of embassies sent to these destinations.

⁵⁶⁸ VENITFRENG1399-03b (45).

⁵⁶⁹ VENFRPOPHUN1394-5b (29), FRENG1397-98a (35), FRENG1397-98b (36), FR1397-98 (37), FLOENGPOPENG1398-99b (39), FLOENGPOPENG1398-99d (41). The three envoys taking part in these missions were Nicholas Notaras, Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and Hilario Doria. See also Appendix C, Table 2, no 36, 38, 31 respectively.

⁵⁷⁰ ARCASTNAV1400a, b, c (48, 49, 50).

⁵⁷¹ ARCAST1401-03a (54, 55).

While in the overall number of embassies the papacy ranks among the highest in terms of number of missions directed toward it, only ten (10) embassies out of the seventy-nine (79) of Manuel II's were sent to that destination. Four of them were sent to the anti-popes, in Avignon and in Bologna. The contact with the anti-pope in Avignon, Benedict XIII was made during Manuel II's stay to the West, in 1401 and 1402.⁵⁷² Benedict XIII was the second anti-pope in Avignon since the return of the papacy to Rome in 1369-70, but during Manuel's reign it was the first time a contact with an Avignonese anti-pope was initiated by a Byzantine emperor. Manuel II's predecessor, John V, had communicated with the Avignon popes before the return of the papacy to Rome, but neither John V nor Manuel II did attempt a diplomatic approach of the first Avignonese anti-pope, Clement VII. This approach of Manuel II of the anti-pope in Avignon, and the dispatch to him of relics further proves that the Byzantine emperor was determined, during the course of his visit to the West, to reach out for help to as many recipients as possible. In 1409 and 1410, Manuel II's envoys John and Manuel Chrysoloras also visited the anti-popes Alexander V and John XXIII in Bologna.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷² a-POP1401(52), a-POP1402 (57).

⁵⁷³ a-POP1409-10 (74), VENFRENARa-POP1407-10e (77). There is an open-ended question concerning Manuel's personal journey to the West and whether or not he personally visited Pope Boniface IX in Rome. Chrysostomides has presented evidence that suggests this was indeed the case, based on an anonymous oration to Manuel, addressed to John VIII, while the former was still alive. The author prides himself on being 'very well informed and reliable' and, therefore, it is unlikely that he would have made such a

Six (6) more embassies make up Manuel II's diplomatic communication with the papacy, a very small number, especially when compared to the ten (10) (out of twenty six (26)) missions dispatched to the papacy by his predecessor John V, and the twenty (20) (out of sixty-three (63)) sent by his successor John VIII.⁵⁷⁴ Manuel II was obviously aware of the internal problems of the papacy, with the existence of the anti-popes of Avignon, as his approach to the papacy has two stages. The first period of diplomatic communication with the papal court was conducted in 1394 and 1398, when Manuel was beginning to inform the West of his precarious situation and preparing for his personal journey there.⁵⁷⁵ One more embassy was possibly sent to Pope Boniface IX in 1404.⁵⁷⁶ This limited approach shows that it is possible that Manuel II realised that, because of their internal division, the papacy could not, at this particular time, act as a unifying force for the western powers of Christendom, leading them to a crusade against the Turks. Despite the difficulties of the papacy, however, the pope was still a power to be reckoned with, as

serious mistake. Therefore, it is entirely possible that Manuel visited Rome, during his journey, despite the fact that Makarios of Ankyra does not include Rome among the cities the emperor and his entourage visited. See Triantafyllopoulos, *An annotated critical edition*. Chrysostomides suggests that it is entirely possible for Manuel to have visited Rome with a smaller entourage, while the rest of his party waited elsewhere. *Manuel II Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, 162-164, n. 88. On the other hand, Manuel himself makes no mention of any visit to the pope in Rome in his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, which he began writing in Paris and continued to word on during his return journey to Constantinople. See n. 224 and Dendrinis, *An annotated*, xi and n. 72.

⁵⁷⁴ Appendix A: Charts 3.1, 3.2, 3.3.

⁵⁷⁵ VENFRPOPHUN1394-5c (30); FLOENGPOPENG1398-9c (40).

⁵⁷⁶ POP1404 (63).

shows the fact that Manuel II did send missions there, despite their small number.

The second period of regular communication with the papal curia begins during the Council of Constance, and continues after the election there of Martin V in 1417.⁵⁷⁷ The elimination of the anti-popes, for the time being, and the election of a legitimate pope by the Council of Constance increased the importance of the papacy for Byzantium, especially since Pope Martin V appeared willing to discuss the issue of the union, as well as other issues that the Byzantine ambassadors brought before him, such as matters concerning the Hexamilion in the Morea, or the marriages of Manuel II's sons to Latin women.

Manuel II's attitude toward the papacy, therefore, does not really make diplomatic communication between the Byzantine emperor and the papal court stand out, in comparison to that with other recipients, as it does in the case of Manuel's father, John V. In John V's reign, approach with the papacy took centre stage, as it was interlinked to the issues of approach between the two Churches and military help against the Turks. In contrast, Manuel concentrates into military alliances with secular powers, while the issue of the union, though still present, is forced to the background. Manuel II himself explained his views on the matter to his

⁵⁷⁷ CON1414-15 (84); VENCON1416-18b (89); POP1419 (94); VENPOPVEN1420b (98); FLOPOP1421b (104).

son John VIII, in the famous passage of Sphrantzes, in which the Byzantine emperor urged his son to employ the issue of the union as a diplomatic tactic in order to extract benefits from the West, but never to bring to completion. His fears mainly involved the reaction of his own people, whom he did not consider ready to accept such a union, and that it could only lead to a further rift, which would leave them exposed to the Ottomans.⁵⁷⁸

The most frequent recipient of Manuel's diplomatic advances was Venice, with twenty-nine (29) out of seventy-nine (79) missions sent to that direction, including Manuel's personal journey, which itself included a stop at Venice both on the way to the West and on the return journey to Constantinople.⁵⁷⁹ Diplomatic communication with Venice was constant, from the beginning of Manuel's reign until the last of his embassies to the West in 1422. Embassies to Venice were sent almost every year and sometimes even two or three times in the same year, while there are only very few periods of small breaks of one year, when no embassy was dispatched.

⁵⁷⁸ Sphrantzes, XXIII, 6: 'Λοιπὸν τὸ περὶ τῆς συνόδου, μελέτα μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνακάτωνε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἔχεις χρεῖαν τινὰ φοβῆσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. Τὸ δὲ νὰ ποιήσης αὐτήν, μηδὲν ἐπιχειρισθῆς αὐτό, διότι οὐδὲν βλέπω τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀρμόδιοι πρὸς τὸ εὐρεῖν τινὰ τρόπον ἐνώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι νὰ τοὺς ἐπιστρέψουν εἰς τὸ νὰ ἔσμεν ὡς ἀρχῆθεν. Τούτου δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄντος σχεδόν, φοβοῦμαι μὴ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γένηται, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπεσκεπάσθημεν εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.'

⁵⁷⁹ Appendix A, Chart 3.2.

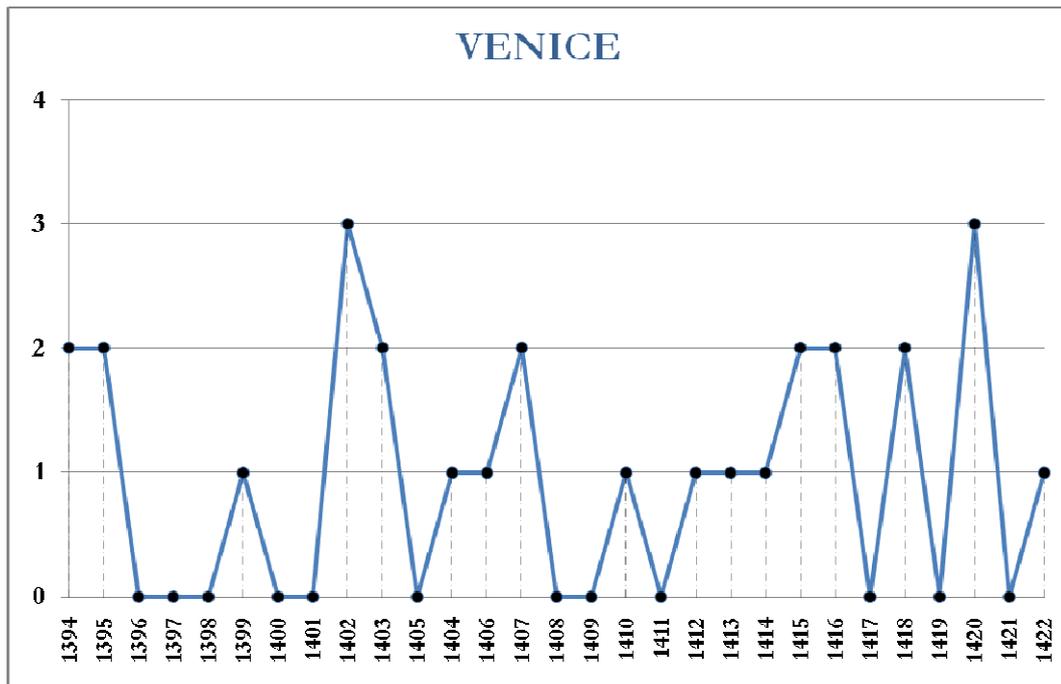


Figure 4: Embassies to Venice per year during the reign of Manuel II.

Embassies to Venice make up thirty-seven per cent (37%) of the total of Manuel II's embassies, and concerned several issues. One (1) deals with the renewal of the Venetian-Byzantine treaty,⁵⁸⁰ one (1) concerns the dispute over the island of Tenedos,⁵⁸¹ while at least three (3) contain proposals from the part of Manuel II to act as a mediator between Venice and Hungary.⁵⁸² Byzantine ambassadors to Venice often offered their services as mediators between Venice and Sigismund, two powers, which were considered strong allies for Byzantium. These offers for mediation are concentrated mainly in the first period of Manuel's reign, in the 1390s

⁵⁸⁰ VEN1395 (32).

⁵⁸¹ VEN1404-05 (68).

⁵⁸² VENCON1416-18a (88), VENPOPVEN1420a (97), VENHUNPOL1420a (100).

and are in accordance with his general policy at that period to issue a general and widespread plea for help, due to the dangers to his capital by the siege of Bayezid.

Apart from these matters, Manuel repeatedly wrote to Venice asking for help, either military or financial in the form of a loan. For example, Manuel requested financial help from Venice in 1395, offering a relic as collateral; Venice refused to agree to such terms, as the emperor was already very much in debt.⁵⁸³ Military help was also one of the requests that Manuel posed to Venice, as is indicated from the responses of the Venetian senate to some of his embassies. The most common response that Manuel received from Venice was that the Venetians have his best interests in mind but that they would not take any steps in offering help, if other western European powers did not agree first.

On the issue of receiving financial support or dealing with the technical issues of transportation for Manuel's ambassadors to the West, Venice appears to hold an exclusive right, compared to all the other recipients of Manuel's embassies. I have already argued in Chapter I that Manuel's envoys often travelled on Venetian galleys either to or from Constantinople in their journeys to the West, regardless of whether or not Venice itself was one of the recipients of the embassy. Intermediate stops in the Peloponnese that are mentioned in the itinerary of such journeys

⁵⁸³ VEN1395-96 (33).

confirm that Venetian galleys, either official organised convoys or individual merchant ships sometimes assumed the role of being the official transport vessel of the emperor's envoys to the West. This is also true in the case of the emperor himself. All the preparations for his journey, the transportation to the Peloponnese and then to Venice itself, involve the Venetians, who in turn seize the opportunity to attempt to influence the emperor's decisions, since they were controlling his means of transport. This is evident especially in his return journey from the West, when the Venetians, concerned about their own interests in the area around Constantinople, urged Manuel II to return quickly to his capital, especially after hearing the news of the battle of Ankara and the defeat of the Ottomans there. It should be noted that Manuel II did also negotiate with the Genoese while he was in Italy, but it was Venice on whom he mainly relied for his transport during his return journey.⁵⁸⁴

There are several practices that Manuel II employs in his communication with Western political entities in order to implement his aim of obtaining help, such as his offers of diplomatic gifts to certain recipients of his embassies, seeking alliances through arranging marriages between westerners and members of his family, using the issue of the union of the Churches as a means of negotiation for military help, and travelling to the West in person.

⁵⁸⁴ VEN1402i (56), VEN1402ii (58), VEN1403i (61), VEN1403ii (62).

During the reign of Manuel II, we witness, through his embassies, the revival of a practice that had been considered the privilege of the Byzantine emperor: the use of relics as diplomatic gifts.⁵⁸⁵ This practice was certainly not new in this period, but almost all of the known examples mentioning it come from the sources of the reign of Manuel II. The term 'relics' defines religious objects that were either connected with a saint or martyr, or with the Passion of Christ, and the remains of saints.⁵⁸⁶ Their distribution as a means of exerting political pressure or providing an incentive was an important part of Manuel II's western diplomacy, as he conducted what has been characterised as 'diplomacy of the relics',⁵⁸⁷ focusing almost exclusively on objects that were connected with the Passion of Christ. While the emperor was visiting the courts of Europe seeking military and financial aid for the besieged Constantinople, his diplomatic agents were dispatched from France to the kingdoms of Spain and the anti-pope in Avignon, carrying with them such relics as gifts; these were pieces of the Holy Cross, a Holy Thorn and fragments from the tunic of Christ.⁵⁸⁸ In fact, Manuel managed to conduct a very widespread and well rounded diplomatic activity, dispatching missions and offering relics that were connected with Christ to most of the Christian courts of

⁵⁸⁵ For a thorough analysis of the use of relics by the Byzantine emperors, see S. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics', *JÖB* 51 (2001), 41-60.

⁵⁸⁶ Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors and holy relics', 41.

⁵⁸⁷ Barker, *Manuel II*, 408.

⁵⁸⁸ ARCASTNAV1400a, b, c (48, 49, 50); a-POP1401 (52).

Europe such as the kings of Aragon and Navarre, the duke of Pavia and Queen Margaret of Denmark.⁵⁸⁹ Venice was also a recipient of Manuel's offers of a relic, but spurned his offer, when the emperor attempted to use such an object (a piece from the tunic of Christ) as collateral for a financial support for the besieged Constantinople in 1396.⁵⁹⁰

From a much earlier period, the distribution of relics had been considered the privilege of the Byzantine Emperor and several emperors had taken advantage of this fact in order to strengthen their position. Apart from conforming to the diplomatic tradition of offering a valuable diplomatic gift to significant recipients, the fact that the distribution of relics was a unique privilege of the emperor helped him confirm his place in the international world order. And it is in that fact that lies the importance of Manuel's actions to offer relics as diplomatic gifts to the rulers of Europe, especially relics associated with Christ. It represented a carefully calculated political move that was designed to remind the western rulers of the nature of his role as emperor and the superiority of his office, which had remained unchanged despite the hardships that had befallen his empire.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ G.T. Dennis, 'Official documents of Manuel II', 49; *idem*, 'Two Unknown documents of Manuel II' 397-404. DEN1402 (59).

⁵⁹⁰ VEN1395-96 (33), Thiriet, *Régestes* I, 892; Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors and holy relics', 55-56.

⁵⁹¹ Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors and holy relics', 57-58 and n. 93.

Manuel placed much importance on familial relationships and surrounding himself with a large network of people, with whom he was connected with family or friendship bonds. This is evident from the large number of *oikeioi* and relatives of his in his court, and even from his diplomatic corps, which incorporated many of these people, as we have already observed in Chapter II. Therefore, it appears logical that Manuel II would consider the policy of marriage agreements a very useful way of creating a network of allies, with whom he was also connected by family ties.

During the reign of Manuel II there are several marriage alliances with westerners, as almost all of Manuel's sons received Latin brides. However, only two of them were from the West proper; Sophia of Montferrat and Cleopa Malatesta, who were married to John VIII and Theodore II of Morea respectively. The two women were escorted to their husbands by a prominent ambassador of Manuel II, Nicholas Eudaimonioannes in 1420.⁵⁹² The choice of these two women as brides for his sons created further bonds with their respective families in the West; in the first case strengthening further the already existing tie with the house of Montferrat, while at the same time creating familial ties with the pope himself, since

⁵⁹² VENPOPVEN1420c(99).

Cleopa Malatesta was his relative.⁵⁹³ Constantine XI was married first to Maddalena-Theodora Tocco and then to Caterina Gattilusio,⁵⁹⁴ and finally, Manuel's youngest son Thomas was married to Caterina Asenina Zaccaria, daughter of Centurione Zaccaria, prince of Achaia. Even an illegitimate daughter of Manuel's, Isabella or Zambia, was married to a man of Genoese origin, Hilario Doria, who was an important ambassador of Manuel's to England and the pope.⁵⁹⁵

Three other diplomatic techniques employed by Manuel II have already been discussed indirectly, in conjunction with the recipients they involved: the union of the Churches in exchange for military help, the efforts for the creation of an anti-Turkish league, and the personal involvement of Manuel in diplomacy. The union of the Churches and by extent the military help that would be provided by an alliance of western leaders under the papacy in the form of a crusade was a focal point in

⁵⁹³ Doukas, XX, 5: 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς μετὰ παραδρομὴν ἐτῶν τριῶν ἐγγύς που ἠβουλήθη ἐτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι νύμφην τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῷ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ στείλας ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἠγάγετο θυγατέραν Θεοδώρου μαρκεσίου Μόντης Φεράρα τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ, τῷ δὲ Θεοδώρῳ θυγατέραν κόντε Μαλατέστα.'; Zakythinios, *Despotat grec*, 189-191 and Appendix I, 299-300, Letter of Martin V to Theodore II Palaiologos: 'Nam cum dilectam in Christo filiam nobilem muliere Cleofe domicellam Pensauriensem, inter caeteras consaguineas nostras carissimam haberemus...'

⁵⁹⁴ Sphrantzes, XVI, 3: '...ἐκεῖσε καὶ τὴν ἀνεψιὰν τοῦ δεσπότης Καρούλου ἔφερον κυρὰ Θεοδώραν καὶ ἐκεῖσε αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ δεσπότης κύρ Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν εὐλογήθη.'; XXIV, 7: 'Καὶ τῇ ζ' δεκεμβρίου τοῦ μθ^{ου} ἔτους ὀρισθεὶς ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν νῆσον Λέσβον καὶ κατέστησα το συμπενθέριον καὶ ἐποίησα καὶ μνηστείαν γάμου μετὰ κυρᾶς Αἰκατερίνας τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ αὐθέντου τῆς Μιτυλήνης καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς κύρ Ντωρῆ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Γατελιούζη.'; XXIV, 10: 'Καὶ τῇ κζ' τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην μετὰ κατέργων βασιλικῶν καὶ εὐλογήθη, ὁ αὐθέντης μου δηλονότι, τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν κυρὰν Αἰκατερίναν τὴν Γατελιούζεναν, καπετανίου ὄντος εἰς τὰ κάτεργα τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότος μεγάλου δουκὸς Λουκᾶ τοῦ Νοταρᾶ.'

⁵⁹⁵ *MM* III, 162.

John V's policy but it does not feature at all prominently in Manuel's. By Manuel's own admittance the union was an important issue to promote but not one that should ever come to completion.⁵⁹⁶ And indeed, he kept communication with the papacy alive, even approaching the anti-pope of Avignon, and resuming regular communication with Pope Martin V after the end of the Great Schism (for the papacy); this communication was continued by his son John VIII and prepared the ground for John VIII's main policy, the promotion of the union of the Churches.

The issue of military support for Byzantium, during the reign of Manuel II, instead of being linked to ecclesiastical union was directed this time toward all possible allies in Western Europe, including, but not limited to, the papacy. This is evident by the large number of recipients of Manuel's embassies, and especially by his communication with Venice. The regular responses of the Venetian Senate, as well as the letters of other European rulers reveal that Manuel II consistently pressured them for military aid, and the creation of an alliance against the Turks.⁵⁹⁷ Manuel II's efforts to mobilise the western powers against the Ottomans materialised with a practice began by his father, John V, the personal participation of the Byzantine emperor to diplomacy. Only this time, Manuel visited several Italian cities, France and England, while his

⁵⁹⁶ See n. 578.

⁵⁹⁷ Appendix A, Table 2.2.

ambassadors were dispatched to all other Western powers, such as Spain and Hungary, in an effort to create as many political alliances as possible.

1.3 John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448)

John VIII sent sixty-three (63) embassies to eleven (11) destinations to the West.⁵⁹⁸ Apart from a small number of missions, dealing with commercial or financial issues of other nature,⁵⁹⁹ almost all of his diplomatic advances toward the West were concentrated on the issue of obtaining help for his empire. His main approach toward achieving this goal was through using the issue of ecclesiastical union as his main negotiating means for obtaining western help. Foreign policy focusing on an ecclesiastical issue and approach with the papacy was brought once again to the forefront, as in John V's reign. However, John VIII advanced one step further by beginning negotiations and achieving the organisation of an ecumenical council that decided upon the union of the Churches in 1439.

John VIII's diplomatic advances toward the West could be distinguished into two periods: the first begins in 1422, with John VIII's

⁵⁹⁸ These were: Aragon, the Council of Basle, Burgundy, Florence, France, Genoa, Hungary, Poland, the papacy, Ragusa and Venice. Appendix A, Chart 3.3. For the complete table of John VIII's embassies see Appendix A, Table 1.3.

⁵⁹⁹ Such missions were, for example, the embassies to Florence in 1430, FLO1430 (118) and Genoa in 1434, GEN1434 (126), which concerned mainly matters of the Genoese community of Pera.

first approach to Pope Martin V, while he was still co-emperor of his father Manuel II⁶⁰⁰ and ends in 1439 with the signing of the union in the Council of Florence. The second period contains John VIII's diplomatic communication with the West after the Council of Florence. After the eastern and western Churches have been re-united, John VIII expected to receive the support that had been promised to him, and this is evident by his appeals for such help, not only to the papal court but also to secular European rulers. His policy, throughout the entire period of his reign, is the perfect example of the diplomatic practice of using Church union as a means to an end, and the steps that he took to achieve it are evident: complete a union, with the most beneficial results possible for Byzantium, and, afterward, appeal for military support not any more as a schismatic, in the eyes of the Western Church, but as a Christian monarch with a strong alliance to the papacy.⁶⁰¹

The most frequent recipients of his diplomatic advances during the first period of John VIII's reign, 1422⁶⁰²-1439 were the papacy,⁶⁰³ Sigismund

⁶⁰⁰ POP1422 (106).

⁶⁰¹ Appendix A, Table 2.3 shows the distribution of John VIII's embassies throughout each year of his reign, according to each of the recipients of his diplomatic advances. From that table we can clearly see a larger concentration of embassies during the preliminary negotiations for the Council of Florence, in the period 1430-1439, while embassies to secular rulers like Aragon, Burgundy, France, and mainly Venice, mostly take place after that period.

⁶⁰² John VIII became sole emperor in 1425, after the death of his father's Manuel.

⁶⁰³ Thirteen (13) out of twenty (20) embassies to the papacy sent in the period 1422-1439: POP1422 (106), POP1426 (114), POPVEN1430a (116), POP1431i (119), POP1431ii (120), POP1432-33 (121), POPBAS1434-35a (127), POPBAS1435-36a (130), POPBAS1436-37b (135), POP1437 (140), POP1437-39 (141), POP1438i (143), POP1438ii (147).

of Hungary⁶⁰⁴ and the Fathers assembled in the Council of Basle.⁶⁰⁵ Six (6) embassies were also dispatched to Venice,⁶⁰⁶ while there were also two (2) embassies to Genoa and one (1) to Poland.⁶⁰⁷ His approach toward the West, during the first period when he concentrated on promoting the issue of ecclesiastical union marks a significant resemblance to that of his grandfather John V. John VIII also focused on gaining the support of a secular power with a strong interest on the issue of the union, Hungary, proceeded with a series of diplomatic approaches to the papacy and the Council of Basle, and finally personally visited the papal court in order to discuss and resolve this issue in the Council of Ferrara-Florence.⁶⁰⁸

John VIII's first significant diplomatic action was his personal journey to Hungary in 1423-1424, in an attempt to gain the support of Sigismund. Communication with Sigismund of Hungary had begun during Manuel II's reign, even before the Crusade of Nikopolis in 1396, and had resumed

⁶⁰⁴ Seven (7) out of nine (9) embassies to Hungary sent in the period 1422-1439: VENHUN1423b (111), HUN1429 (115), HUNBAS1434a (123), HUN1434 (125), HUN1436 (133), HUN1437 (138), HUN1438 (145).

⁶⁰⁵ The ten (10) embassies sent to the Council of Basle by John VIII were all concentrated in the first period of his reign, especially in the period 1433-1438, as the Council of Basle itself was an individual event, in session for a limited amount of time, until 1449: BAS1433-34 (122), HUNBAS1434b (124), POPBAS1434-35b (128), BAS1434 (129), POPBAS1435-36b (131), BAS1435-36 (132), POPBAS1436-37a (134), BAS1437i (137), BAS1437ii (139), BAS1438 (144).

⁶⁰⁶ Six (6) out of the eleven (11) embassies to Venice were sent during this first period: VENHUN1423a (107), VEN1424i (108), VEN1424ii (110), POPVEN1430b (117), VEN1438i (142), VEN1438ii (146).

⁶⁰⁷ GEN1424 (109), GEN1434 (125), POL1426 (112).

⁶⁰⁸ It should be noted, of course, that in John VIII's case there was a very significant difference from John V's journey to Rome in 1369, in that his visit to the papal court was not a personal act, but involved a large number of representatives of the eastern Churches, as well as the patriarch of Constantinople himself, as it led to the ecclesiastical council of Ferrara-Florence.

after the Council of Constance in 1414, concentrating also, among other things, on the issue of mediation between Sigismund and Venice.⁶⁰⁹ Unfortunately, almost nothing survives from the negotiations of the two rulers in 1424, but it is certain that the union of the Churches was brought up as a significant topic. This is known from John VIII's own admission at a later meeting of the Byzantine officials in Constantinople, when the Byzantine emperor, speaking of the significance and benefits of ecclesiastical union, also mentioned that Sigismund during their meeting emphasised this issue and how advantageous the union would be for the Church. He also, allegedly, offered to make John VIII the heir to his throne if indeed the union was agreed.⁶¹⁰

Therefore, both the approach of Sigismund and John VIII's journey to Hungary in 1424, as that of John V in 1366, was closely connected to the issue of the union of the Churches. However, this event further indicates the interrelation among all of John VIII's diplomatic practices, as the quest for military support and the issue of the union were also closely connected to the personal involvement of the Byzantine emperor in diplomacy. As the third Palaiologan emperor to act as his own ambassador and travel to the West, John VIII was following what could, by now, be considered a

⁶⁰⁹ Barker, *Manuel II*, 375.

⁶¹⁰ Syropoulos, II, 44: 'Εἶπέ μοι δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν, ὅτε εἰς ἐκεῖνον παρεγενόμεν, ὅτι [...] Εἰ οὖν ποιήσεις τὴν ἔνωσιν, διορθώσεις καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους. Εἶπέ μοι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ καλῶς οἶδα ἐγὼ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐκείνου σκοπὸν καὶ ὅσα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν βούλεται, εἴπερ γένηται ἡ ἔνωσις· μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων εἶπε ποιήσῃν ἐμὲ καὶ τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας διάδοχον.'

tradition among his immediate predecessors, John V and Manuel II, who have also implemented this policy in a similar fashion.

Apart from this personal meeting of the two rulers, diplomatic communication between Byzantium and Hungary continued, with six (6) more embassies sent to Sigismund, until his death in 1438. In these discussions, the issue of the union remained at the forefront, as is evident by Sigismund's support of the Council of Basle as opposed to the papacy as allies for the organisation of an ecclesiastical council, while he was also involved in the discussions for the location of the council. In the midst of the negotiations of such a council, in 1434, the Byzantine ambassadors, during their mission to the Council of Basle, also visited Sigismund in Ulm twice, who in letters to John VIII and to the Council of Basle, expressed his satisfaction for the negotiations between these two parties.⁶¹¹ As these negotiations progressed and John VIII began to face more clearly the dilemma of choosing between the papacy and the Council of Basle, Sigismund also wrote to the Byzantine emperor advising him not travel to the West at that particular time.⁶¹²

The negotiations between John VIII and the two popes of this period, Martin V (1417-1431) and, most importantly, Eugenius IV (1431-1447) for

⁶¹¹ Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze*, no XXXIII, XXXIV; HUNBAS1434a (123), HUN1434 (125).

⁶¹² HUN1437 (138); Syropoulos II, 20 and n. 1; Cecconi, *Consilio di Firenze*, no CXXXVIII. In reality, Sigismund was opposed to a council that would take place in Italy, while he intended to propose that it assembled in Buda. Possibly knowing that John VIII considered him an important political ally, he took the initiative of advising the Byzantine delegation not to depart from Constantinople at all at that time.

the organisation of an ecclesiastical council clearly dominate the Byzantine emperor's diplomatic activity, especially in the first period of his reign, before and during the Council of Ferrara-Florence.⁶¹³ The first diplomatic approach between John VIII and Pope Martin V took place in 1422, with a letter to the pope, as a reply to the embassy of the papal legate Antonio de Massa to Constantinople; he was dispatched there to resume discussions on the union of the Churches, which had began earlier with Manuel II's ambassadors to the same pope.⁶¹⁴

However, it was in 1430 that communication with the papacy began in earnest; the two parties exchanged embassies regularly, almost once a year, for the period 1430-1439 until the Council of Ferrara-Florence. At the same time, almost simultaneously with his negotiations with the papacy, John VIII opened diplomatic communications with the representatives of the Council of Basle, with regular embassies dispatched there from 1433 to 1437,⁶¹⁵ also focusing on the issue of organising an ecclesiastical council.

⁶¹³ Appendix A, Chart 3.4 and Table 2.3.

⁶¹⁴ For the reply of John VIII to Pope Martin V, see Cecconi, *The Consilio di Firenze*, no IV. The previous Byzantine ambassadors are named as Theodore (Chrysoberges), bishop of Olenos and Nicholas Eudaimonioioannes, who were sent to the pope in 1420. VENPOPVEN1420b (98).

⁶¹⁵ Appendix A, Table 2.3.

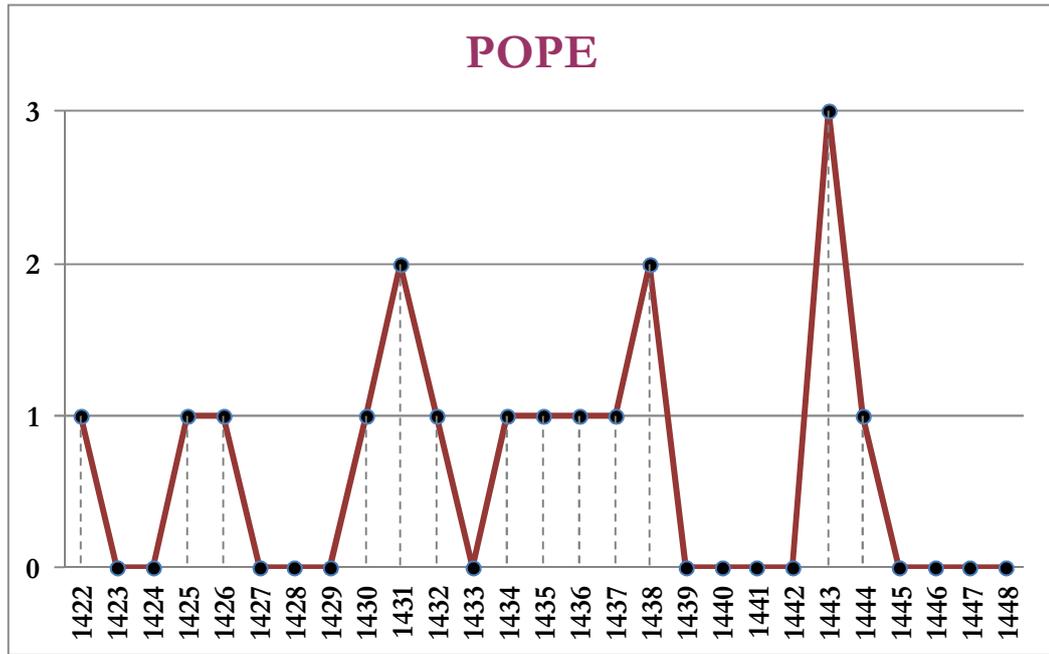


Figure 5: Embassies to the papacy per year during the reign of John VIII.

During that first period of his reign, therefore, John VIII's policy was very consistent and focused, concentrating on implementing the union of the Churches through negotiations with the papacy, the Council of Basle and a secular power, Hungary. It was very unfortunate that his efforts coincided with a period of internal turmoil for the papacy, caused, among others, also by the Fathers of the Council of Basle, who undermined papal primacy and promoted the idea that Councils should represent the highest authority within the Church.⁶¹⁶ No matter how deep John VIII's understanding was of the rift between the two sides, his diplomacy during that period indicates that he was attempting to take advantage of that

⁶¹⁶ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 40-47.

strife.⁶¹⁷His continued embassies both to the papacy and to Basle right until the very eve of his departure from Constantinople for Italy in 1437 show that he endeavoured to participate in political manoeuvres, handled primarily by his main ambassadors, such as the Dishypatoi brothers, in order to reach the best possible agreement that would better suit the interests of his empire.

Apart from negotiating the issue of the ecumenical council, the matter of military help was also present and interlinked to the issue of the union. The combined approach of Sigismund of Hungary, as a secular ally, and the ecclesiastical side of the papacy and the Council of Basle further corroborates that argument. This is also evident by the effect that Sigismund's death had on the Byzantine delegation, who had almost reached Venice when this news arrived. According to Syropoulos, the opinion was expressed that had they (the Byzantines) heard this news earlier, while they were still in the Peloponnese, they would not have continued their journey.⁶¹⁸ Finally, the promise of military aid should the union be successful seemed to be a central focus within the council itself,

⁶¹⁷ Syropoulos narrates in detail all the preliminary discussions and negotiations between John VIII, the papacy and the Council of Basle in Books II and III.

⁶¹⁸ Syropoulos IV, 15: 'Τότε δ' ἐλαλήθη καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς, εἶπερ ἤκουον τὸν τοῦ Σιγισμούντου θάνατον ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπήρχοντο εἰς τὴν σύνοδον.' It is not certain that Sigismund of Hungary would have indeed joined the Byzantine delegation in Italy had he lived, since he had already advised them not to attend any council in the West. However, such a reaction, however exaggerated, in my opinion points to the fact that John VIII must have still considered Sigismund's participation a possibility and that his death marked the loss of a useful ally for the Byzantine emperor.

as many ecclesiastical members of the Byzantine delegation felt pressured, during the discussions to reach a favourable conclusion.⁶¹⁹

The second period of approaching the West during the reign of John VIII took place after the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-1439, and the implementation of the union of the Churches. Especially during the years 1442-1448, there were embassies dispatched to several recipients, which did not deal primarily with the issue of the union any longer, since this was officially, though not actually, concluded. Five (5) embassies were sent to Venice,⁶²⁰ six (6) to the papacy,⁶²¹ while two (2) were sent to Burgundy,⁶²² two (2) to Hungary,⁶²³ one (1) to France,⁶²⁴ one (1) to Ragusa⁶²⁵ and one (1) to King Alfonse V of Aragon in Naples.⁶²⁶ The subject matter of these missions is shifted to the issue of military help for Byzantium, as this is also indicated by the change of recipients to include more secular European powers. Further, following up on the promise he had made in 1439, Pope Eugenius IV began preaching for a crusade that would assist the Christians of the East, who were threatened by the Ottoman advances, his efforts coinciding with the embassies to the West by the Byzantine

⁶¹⁹ J. Gill, 'The freedom of the Greeks in the Council of Florence', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970) 226-236.

⁶²⁰ VENHUN1442a (150), VENPOP1442a (152), VENPOPBURG1443a (155), POPVEN1444-45b (164), VEN1445 (166).

⁶²¹ VENPOP1442b (153), VENPOPBURG1443b (156), POP1443i (158), POP1443ii (159), POPVEN1444-45a (163), POP1448 (168).

⁶²² VENPOPBURG1443c (157), FRBURG1444b (162).

⁶²³ VENHUN1442b (151), HUN1444 (160).

⁶²⁴ FRBURG1444a (161).

⁶²⁵ RAG1445 (165).

⁶²⁶ AR1447 (167).

emperor. As will be discussed in the second section of this chapter, John VIII's advances to several political entities in Europe during the later years of his reign coincide with the negotiations for the organisation of the so-called Crusade of Varna, which resulted in a defeat of the united European forces in 1444.

1.4 Constantine XI Palaiologos (1448-1453)

Constantine XI's diplomatic communication with the West covers five years of his short reign, from 1449 to 1453. Despite reigning for a much shorter period than his predecessors, Constantine dispatched twenty-six (26) embassies to the West.⁶²⁷ This is interesting to note, especially since John V, who ruled for thirty-seven years, the longest reign out of all four emperors under consideration, also sent twenty-six (26) embassies to the West.⁶²⁸ The large concentration of embassies in such a short period of time is a clear reflection of the urgency that marked Constantine's reign, when it came to appealing to the West for help. This is also evident from the political powers of Western Europe that he chose to reach out to with his diplomacy. The vast majority of Constantine's appeals for aid were directed to political entities in the Italian peninsula: six (6) embassies were

⁶²⁷ Appendix A, Table 1.4.

⁶²⁸ Appendix A, Table 1.1.

dispatched to King Alfonso V of Aragon in Naples,⁶²⁹ six (6) were sent to Venice,⁶³⁰ four (4) to Pope Nicholas V⁶³¹ and from one (1) embassy to Ferrara, Florence and Genoa.⁶³² Outside Italy, Ragusa was a very popular recipient of embassies with five (5) missions sent there, while two (2) missions also went to Hungary.⁶³³ We can observe, therefore, that the most frequent recipients of Byzantine embassies in the final six years of the empire's life were western powers, who had been in constant communication with Byzantium through the late Palaiologan period, and had regularly entered negotiations concerning the subject of military help for the empire.

Obtaining military support for Constantinople was clearly the predominant aim of Constantine's foreign policy toward the West. Embassies left the capital every year during his short reign for this purpose, while their frequency increased from 1451 onward, as the situation of the empire became more crucial. In fact, in 1452 embassies requesting help were dispatched to almost all the recipients mentioned

⁶²⁹ Alfonso V of Aragon was Alfonso I of Naples since 1442. Appendix A, Table 1.4: POPAR1449b (170), AR1451 (176), VENFERPOP1451d (180), AR1452 (188), AR1453i (192), AR1453ii (194).

⁶³⁰ VEN1450 (175), VENFERPOP1451a (177), VENFLOPOP1452a (182), VEN1452 (189), VEN1453i (191), VEN1453ii (193).

⁶³¹ POPAR1449a (169), VENFERPOP1451c (179), VENFLOPOP1452c (183), POP1452 (186).

⁶³² VENFERPOP1451b (178), VENFLOPOP1452b (183), GEN1449 (171).

⁶³³ RAG1449 (172), RAG1450i (173), RAG1450ii (174), RAG1451 (181), RAG1452 (185); HUN1452 (187), HUN1453 (190). See also Appendix A, Chart 3.4.

above.⁶³⁴ Ambassadors departed for the West in close succession, while it was common for one ambassador to undertake more than one mission during a single journey to the West; such is the case of Andronikos Bryennios Leontares, who visited Venice, Ferrara, Pope Nicholas V and Naples in 1451.⁶³⁵

The king of Aragon, Alfonse V, was the most frequent recipient of Byzantine embassies throughout the six years of Constantine XI's reign. Communication with Alfonse V had begun already from the reign of John VIII, with two embassies sent to him, in 1437 and 1447.⁶³⁶ Constantine XI continued this communication by sending the first official embassy of his reign to the king of Aragon, requesting military help and negotiating a marriage alliance.⁶³⁷ Aragon had the potential to prove a very useful ally for the Byzantine Empire, in terms of providing military assistance, as it was one of the few powers of Western Europe that had not been involved in the Crusade of Varna in 1444. Constantine XI probably realised the significance of such an alliance, as is indicated by his choice of diplomat in the first embassy to Aragon in 1449. He sent Manuel Dishypatos, an experienced ambassador of John VIII's, specialising in diplomatic

⁶³⁴ The only exceptions were Florence and Genoa, while Pope Nicholas V and Venice received two Byzantine embassies that year. Appendix A, Table 2.4.

⁶³⁵ VENERPOPAPAR1451a, b, c, d (177, 178, 179, 180).

⁶³⁶ Appendix A, Table 1.3: AR1437 (136), AR1447 (167).

⁶³⁷ POPAR1449b (170).

negotiations with the papacy and the Council of Basle.⁶³⁸ He and his brothers George and John were three of the most prominent representatives of John VIII during the preliminary negotiations for the Council of Ferrara-Florence and in the council itself. This distinguished member of the diplomatic corps was, therefore, employed by Constantine XI to handle this emperor's first communication with Alfons V of Aragon, possibly indicating the significance that this mission held for the Byzantine emperor.

As far as diplomatic practices are concerned, apart from direct appeals for ships and manpower, Constantine also employed other approaches of maintaining his alliances to the West. His five (5) missions to Ragusa included primarily the offer of commercial privileges and tax exemptions to Ragusan merchants. With these concessions to a maritime power with whom he had good relations since his time as despot in the Morea, Constantine XI made the attempt to lessen the hold of the Venetians on the commercial activity in the Byzantine capital.⁶³⁹

Constantine XI attempted only in one instance during his reign to create an alliance through marriage, employing a diplomatic practice that had also been used by his predecessors and by himself, when he was despot of Mistras. In 1449 he dispatched Manuel Palaiologos to complete

⁶³⁸ Appendix C, Table 3, no 48.

⁶³⁹ Krekić, *Raguse*, 59-61; Malamut, 'Les ambassades du dernier empereur', 441-442.

two missions, one to Pope Nicholas V and one to the king of Aragon in Naples.⁶⁴⁰ The proposal extended to Alfonso V of Aragon concerned the marriage of Constantine himself to the daughter of the king of Portugal. Negotiations for this alliance fell through, but another marriage was also negotiated between the brother of the king of Portugal, and the daughter of the king of Cyprus.⁶⁴¹

However, as in previous instances of use of the practice of marriage alliances, Constantine had chosen to ally himself through marriage with independent rulers of Latin, mainly Genoese origin, even before succeeding his brother to the Byzantine throne. In 1428 he had married Maddalena-Theodora Tocco, daughter of Carlo Tocco, ruler of Epiros and Cephallonia,⁶⁴² and after her death he had allied himself with the Gattilusi family of Lesbos, marrying Caterina, daughter of Dorino Gattilusio in 1440.⁶⁴³ Constantine's marriage policy included also other examples that fall outside the scope of this study, as he directed his advances for a marriage alliance also to Trebizond in 1449.⁶⁴⁴

The issue of ecclesiastical union, which had been concluded - at least in name - at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39 was also still very much a factor in Constantine's policy. His four (4) embassies to Pope

⁶⁴⁰ POPAR1449a, b (169, 170).

⁶⁴¹ Lambros, *NE* 4, 433-436.

⁶⁴² Sphrantzes, *XVI*, 3. See above n. 594.

⁶⁴³ Sphrantzes, *XXIV*, 7, 10. See above n. 594.

⁶⁴⁴ Sphrantzes, *XXX*, 1-2.

Nicholas V, as well as one of his embassies to Genoa,⁶⁴⁵ pertained to that subject, attempting mainly to deal with problems of implementing the union in Constantinople. The fierce opposition this policy of approach with the Catholic Church both John VIII and Constantine faced in the Byzantine capital created an obstacle in the emperors' efforts to obtain the assistance that they hoped they could have received after the union. In any case, the embassies to the pope also dealt with the issue of military help, once again creating a link between the issue of the union and that of assistance for Constantinople.

2. Diplomatic practices and innovation

The presentation of each individual emperor's policies, despite the differences in practice and focus, also affected by the political context of each time, highlights that during the last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire's life, diplomacy had taken on a clear and specific purpose; the prolongation of the empire's life through several means, such as peace treaties and agreements, and by seeking allies that could provide military and economic support at a time of need. Its aim was to create the conditions possible for Byzantium to overcome the external threat, posed

⁶⁴⁵ GEN1449 (171): In his only embassy to Genoa, Constantine XI asked the Genoese to convey to Pope Nicholas V his (the emperor's) good intentions concerning the issue of the union.

more and more clearly by the Ottoman Turks, in order to be able to recover economically, demographically and politically.⁶⁴⁶

This main aim is evident in many of the practices that the emperors utilised. Often traditional diplomatic practices were brought into play, such as the diplomatic gifts, offered to western rulers especially by Manuel II, or marriage alliances with influential families, in an effort to create political alliances. Other times, issues that had occupied western-Byzantine relations in the past, such as the union between the eastern and western Churches, were being used for a specific purpose; in this case, as a means of securing military and economic help against the Ottomans. Finally, a very important and innovative practice was introduced, that of the emperor acting as his own ambassador and personally travelling to the West in search of help.

The practice of envoys offering gifts to the recipient of an embassy on behalf of their sovereign was part of Byzantine diplomatic tradition and was often used as a means of serving specific purposes in the interaction with other nations. Gold, silk textiles, silver cups and other jewellery items were presented as gifts, especially in the early and middle Byzantine periods, and had as their purpose to pacify enemies and bribe allies, while at the same time promoting the wealth and prosperity of the Byzantine Empire and confirming its place at the top of the world pyramid. Further,

⁶⁴⁶ Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος*, 17.

the value of the gifts often reflected the importance of the embassy and the honour that the Byzantine Emperor bestowed upon the recipient.⁶⁴⁷ This tradition of diplomatic gifts continued in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and was an important diplomatic practice particularly during the reign of Manuel II, even at a period when the Byzantine Empire was weakened financially and could not afford to give out such valuable objects; as such it signifies an aspect of Byzantine diplomacy that remained unchanged and continued to serve the same purposes in a different political and economic context.

Similarly, the practice of dynastic marriages, either by 'exporting' Byzantine princesses to marry foreign rulers or 'importing' Latin or other foreign spouses for members of the imperial family is considered one of the most characteristic practices of Byzantine diplomacy. There are many examples from the whole of the Palaiologan period that show how frequently the Palaiologan emperors pursued this policy as well as the influence and results these western marriages had.⁶⁴⁸ These results are evident in examples, such as the long familial relationship between Byzantium, and Montferrat and Savoy.⁶⁴⁹ Influential Byzantine empresses

⁶⁴⁷Udalcova, Litavrin, Medvedev, *Βυζαντινή Διπλωματία*, 72.

⁶⁴⁸ S. Origone, 'Marriage connections between Byzantium and the West in the age of the Palaiologoi,' in B. Arbel (ed), *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, (London, 1996), 226-241.

⁶⁴⁹ This relationship was especially strengthened after Theodore, son of Andronikos II Palaiologos and Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat, became marquis of Montferrat in 1306. See

in the first half of the fourteenth century included Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat, and Anne of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III. The examples of Latin marriages that have already been presented in the cases of the last four Palaiologan emperors⁶⁵⁰ indicate that, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, the practice was still consistently in use, in the emperors' efforts to obtain support in a time of need, by forming ties of friendship and kinship.⁶⁵¹

The political significance of the diplomatic marriages and the several results these were called to produce were evident in the particular circumstances of some of these marriage alliances. Francesco Gattilusio was allowed to marry Maria, sister of John V, in 1354, as a reward for helping the emperor to reclaim his throne from John VI Kantakouzenos.⁶⁵² On the other hand, Constantine XI married Maddalena-Theodora Tocco after he had defeated her uncle Carlo Tocco in 1428; she was offered as a reward of a different kind, restoring the peace between two rivals.⁶⁵³

A. Laiou, 'A Byzantine prince Latinized: Theodore Palaeologus, Marquis of Montferrat', *B* 38 (1968), 386-410.

⁶⁵⁰ The marriages that concern us in this particular section are: Maria (sister of John V)- Francesco Gattilusio, Isabella (illegitimate daughter of Manuel II) - Hilario Doria, John VIII-Sophia of Montferrat, Theodore II, despot of Morea-Cleope Malatesta, Constantine XI-Maddalena (Theodora) Tocco and Caterina Gattilusio, Thomas, despot in the Morea-Caterina Asenina Zaccaria.

⁶⁵¹ R.J. Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship' in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the 24th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Cambridge, March 1990* (Cambridge, 1992) 263-280, esp. 265.

⁶⁵² Doukas, XII, 5: 'Τὸν δὲ Φραντζῆσκον Γατελοῦζον, ὃν ὁ λόγος ὡς φίλον καλὸν καὶ πιστότατον ἐδήλωσε προλαβών, δίδωσι τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ εἰς προῖκα τὴν νῆσον Λέσβον'.

⁶⁵³ Sphrantzes, XVI, 3. See above n. 594.

Cleope Malatata was a relative of the pope and her marriage to Theodore II was designed to win over the favour of the papacy toward the despotate of Morea.⁶⁵⁴

None of these brides came from royal families of Europe, but it should be noted that the two Latin brides for the sons of Manuel II, Sophia of Montferrat and Cleope Malatesta were both members of significant Italian families, which, in the case of Sophia, had a long standing relationship and connection to the Byzantine imperial family. The other families with which the Palaiologoi chose to ally themselves, the Gattilusi, Tocco and Zaccaria, were those of significant rulers that have come to create bases of power in former areas of the Byzantine empire, such as Lesbos, Kephallonia (and Epiros), and Achaia.

More importantly some of these families, such as the Gattilusi and the Zaccaria, but also the Montferrat, had ties with Genoa and often represented the commercial and political interests of the Genoese in the area. Despite the fact that diplomatic communication between Byzantium and Genoa itself was limited in terms of embassies being dispatched directly to that destination, marriage alliances either with western families with ties to Genoa, or with individuals of Genoese origin, who had established themselves in the East, provide evidence that the Genoese

⁶⁵⁴ Zakythinios, *Despotat grec*, 189-191 and Appendix I, 299-300. See above, n. 593.

were promoting their interests in the Byzantine Empire, also by applying subtle forms of diplomacy, by infiltrating the imperial family.⁶⁵⁵

The issue of ecclesiastical union was an important concern of popes and emperors since the 'schism' itself in 1054, and Byzantine emperors had often exploited the matter, viewing it as a means for carrying out political designs, or securing the defence of the empire against external threat. In the eleventh century, it was brought to the forefront of negotiations with the papacy as a way of defending the Byzantine Empire both against the Normans and against the Seljuk Turks, while the Komnenoi had viewed it as a means of re-conquering Italy. The Nicaean emperors had attempted communication with the papacy, making use of the issue of the union as a means for negotiation, while after the restoration of the empire in Constantinople in 1261, Michael VIII Palaiologos actually carried out the union in order to secure himself against an attack from Charles of Anjou. Anne of Savoy, in 1343, had also approached the papacy, expressing her favourable sentiments toward the union of the Churches, asking, in exchange, for military reinforcement not only against the Turks, but also against John VI Kantakouzenos. However, only three times was the union actually implemented; in 1204 with the fall

⁶⁵⁵ Origone, 'Marriage connections', 226, 233.

of Constantinople to the Crusaders, albeit by force, in 1274 at the Council of Lyons and in 1438-1439 at the Council of Ferrara-Florence.⁶⁵⁶

As a diplomatic practice, negotiations with the papacy for a union between the Churches as a means of obtaining military help were also used consistently during the late Palaiologan period. I have already explored the individual attitudes of each of the emperors of the period concerning the union, and the different forms this practice took during each of their reigns. That this strategy remained in the forefront of western foreign policy for the better part of the late period also becomes evident from the total number of embassies dispatched to the papacy and the western ecclesiastical councils of the period.⁶⁵⁷ An exception to the continuity of this diplomatic practice is observed in the reign of Manuel II, where there were only ten (10) embassies to popes and anti-popes out of a total seventy-nine (79); as it has already been stated, the communication between the Byzantine emperor and the papacy during Manuel's reign

⁶⁵⁶ L. Bréhier, 'Attempts at reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches', *The Cambridge Medieval History* IV, (1923)594-626; M.-H. Blanchet, 'La question de l'union des églises (13e-15e s.)', *REB* 61 (2003), 5-48.

⁶⁵⁷ There were forty (40) embassies dispatched to the papacy, almost twenty per cent (20%) of the total diplomatic missions to the West. To the embassies dealing with ecclesiastical union, there should also be added the two embassies to the Council of Constance and the ten embassies to the Council of Basle. See Appendix A, Chart 3.5. The four (4) embassies to the anti-popes were sent during the reign of Manuel II, and mostly involved the relics that Manuel sent as gifts to the recipients of his embassies during his personal journey to the West and did not seem to be dealing with the issue of the union directly.

became more frequent and began focusing on the issue of union after the election of Martin V in 1417.⁶⁵⁸

The use of Church union in order to obtain military help, therefore, was a traditional Byzantine diplomatic practice, which continues in the late Palaiologan period, employed particularly by John V, John VIII and, to a certain extent, Constantine XI. However, it should be considered in conjunction with another diplomatic practice of the period, that of the emperor as an ambassador, which will be analysed below, in order for us to comprehend fully the new elements that this traditional practice acquired in the late Palaiologan period. The two instances that the matter of union, or at least approach with the Latin Church, has been raised in an active way that went further than negotiations were during the reigns of John V and John VIII.⁶⁵⁹ In both those instances, discussion of the union involved two elements: firstly, it was always accompanied by an appeal to secular powers of Europe, mainly Hungary the one catholic power that was in the most immediate danger from the Ottomans and was more likely to support the Byzantines' cause. Secondly, in the cases of both the aforementioned emperors the appeals both to Hungary and to the papal court were also accompanied by a personal visit of the Byzantine emperor.

⁶⁵⁸ Appendix A, Table 1.2 and Table 2.2.

⁶⁵⁹ As it has already been argued, John V did not implement the union of the Churches during his personal journey to Rome in 1369. However, his overall policy, as well as his embassy to Hungary and his agreements with Amedeo of Savoy, show his interest and active promotion of the subject.

Therefore, the fact that the issue of the union and military help was closely connected to the most innovative diplomatic practice of the late Palaiologan period, their personal involvement in diplomatic missions, at least in the case of two of the emperors, provides a new element for a traditional practice and distinguishes it from the previous instances in Byzantine history that this practice has been employed. Further, it reveals the increase of its significance, as one of the central matters that could still be employed as a strong negotiating card that could potentially unite the powers of Western Europe to go to the aid of Byzantium.

Despite the efforts of the Byzantine emperors to incite a military alliance, possibly in the form of a crusade in the name of helping their empire overcome the constantly increasing Turkish threat, the Byzantines' practical involvement in the crusading expeditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was virtually non-existent. However, the fact that these expeditions often coincided with the diplomatic advances of the Byzantine emperors to the papacy or other western powers, cannot be considered a mere coincidence. While one needs to be cautious not to read too much into the Byzantine emperors' influence of the crusading movement of this period, any effect that Byzantine diplomacy might have had, however limited, on these campaigns, should be highlighted.

In 1365, after visiting most of the courts of Western Europe himself, the king of Cyprus, Peter Lusignan departed with his assembled army for a

crusade, one of the last to have as an objective the recovery of the Holy Land.⁶⁶⁰ The Byzantines were aware of a crusading expedition being prepared in the West, as John V sent Michael Malaspina with a letter to Pope Urban V, promising to assist the crusaders with all his power, as long as they did not harm the Byzantines.⁶⁶¹

While the crusade of Lusignan did not follow the route to the East via Constantinople, its preaching prompted the smaller expedition of Amedeo of Savoy, which had a direct link to Byzantium. Amedeo was a close relative of John V, and during the course of his expedition he managed to help the Byzantine emperor, who was at the time, in 1366, trying to return to his capital from his journey to Hungary, but was being hindered by the Bulgarian ruler John Šišman. Apart from the help that Amedeo offered his imperial cousin, another element that linked his expedition to the Byzantine was that Amedeo was explicitly appointed by Pope Urban V to discuss the issue of the union of the Churches with John V.⁶⁶² Therefore, in this case, the expedition of Amedeo was not the direct result of John V's efforts and advances both to Pope Urban V and the Hungarian king, Louis I, but it was the result of the pope's call for a crusade after these advances,

⁶⁶⁰ Runciman, *A history of the Crusades* III, 448.

⁶⁶¹ The letter of John V does not survive, but its content is known from Urban V's response, which was vague and once again brought up the issue of the union, as a pending problem between them, that should be resolved soon. Lecacheux, *Lettres d'Urban V*, no 1305. Further information on the letter of John V's content comes from a letter of Kydones in *Correspondance* I, no 93; Halecki, *Un empereur*, 86-88; POP1364(8).

⁶⁶² *Acta Urbani V*, no 90.

in conjunction to Amedeo's belief that the area around the Byzantine capital was a significant starting point in the fight against the advancing Ottomans.⁶⁶³

Byzantine influence on the crusade of Nikopolis in 1396 is not as straightforward, nor as apparent. It is certain that Manuel II did not actively join the united western European forces that collided with the Ottomans in Nikopolis, as at the time Constantinople was under blockade by the Ottomans. However, his diplomatic activity toward the West during the previous period, from 1394, coincided with the preaching of the crusade by both Pope Boniface IX in Rome and the Avignonese anti-pope Benedict XIII, and the preparations of Sigismund of Hungary.⁶⁶⁴ Manuel II, in 1394-1395, sent a series of embassies to Venice, France, Pope Boniface IX and Sigismund in Hungary, stressing the critical condition in Constantinople.⁶⁶⁵ At the same time, in the winter of 1395-96, Manuel II dispatched his ambassador Manuel Philanthropenos to Hungary, in order to conclude an alliance against the Turks.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶³ Cox, *The green count of Savoy*, 206.

⁶⁶⁴ The preaching of the crusade from the part of the popes began as early as 1394, with the issue of bulls by Boniface IX, followed by the bulls of the anti-pope Benedict XIII the next year. See Raynaldi, *Annales* 26, 584-5, 585-6. Sigismund of Hungary sent a large number of ambassadors appealing for military reinforcement to all powers of Europe. For a detailed narrative of the preparations for the crusade see Atiya, *Nikopolis*, 33-49 and Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 341-360.

⁶⁶⁵ VEN1394 (27), VENFRPOPHUN1394-95a, b, c, d (28, 29, 30, 31), VEN1395 (32), VEN1395-96 (33).

⁶⁶⁶ HUN1395-96 (34).

Narrative sources of the period are divided as to Manuel's actual involvement in the crusade of Nikopolis. Chalkokondyles and Pseudo-Phrantzes do not mention Manuel's role, and attribute the crusade solely to Sigismund, who was motivated by the threat to his own dominions. It was Doukas, who mentioned a series of embassies sent by Manuel to different recipients in the West, asking for help, and who stated that the alliance of the western powers in Nikopolis was a direct response to Manuel's requests.⁶⁶⁷ While the Byzantine involvement should not be considered as the sole reason for this uprising, the fact that Manuel II's first organised diplomatic advance toward the West for the request of military help coincided with the organisation of a crusade against the Turks under the leadership of the Hungarian king shows that Manuel's appeals must have played some additional part, however small.⁶⁶⁸

Finally, the last crusading enterprise, the so-called crusade of Varna in 1444, was preached by Eugenius IV, and it involved an army, which comprised of the allied forces of several western powers.⁶⁶⁹ The significance of this alliance for Byzantium lies also in the fact that it could

⁶⁶⁷ Doukas, XIII, 8: "Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μανουὴλ ἀπορήσας καὶ μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν οὖσαν ἐξάπαντος, γράφει πρὸς πάππαν, πρὸς τὸν ῥήγα Φραγγίας, πρὸς τὸν κράλην Οὐγγρίας, μηνύων τὸν ἀποκλεισμόν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς Πόλεως καὶ εἰ μὴ τάχος φθάσει ἀρωγή τις καὶ βοήθεια, παραδίδεται εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως. Καμφθέντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις οἱ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ καθοπλίσαντες ἑαυτούς, ἦλθον εἰς Οὐγγρίαν [...]"

⁶⁶⁸ Barker, *Manuel II*, 129-130 and n. 13, 14.

⁶⁶⁹ O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A discussion of controversial problems* (New York, 1943); Gill, *Council of Florence*, 328-333; Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, 361-364.

be considered as the fulfilment of Pope Eugenius IV's promises to the Byzantines for military aid in the event of completion of the union of the Churches. In fact, the pope had outlined his plan in detail in a letter to the Church on 7 October 1439.⁶⁷⁰ A closer look at the diplomatic activity of John VIII in the period after the union in 1439 until the eve of the crusade of Varna in 1444 reveals that the Byzantine emperor did not remain idle, and was also directing his embassies toward some of the powers, who later participated in the anti-Turkish alliance; from 1442 to 1444 there were continuous embassies to Venice, Hungary, the papacy, Burgundy and France.⁶⁷¹

The examples presented above indicate that the Byzantines were aware of crusading movements in the West in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and had included that knowledge in their own diplomatic advances toward the West. The impact these advances had on the actual organisation and completion of the campaigns was indirect and did not include actual participation of Byzantine forces either in the organisation or the fighting. However, we should not ignore the fact that Byzantine diplomacy must have played a part in stressing the great need

⁶⁷⁰ Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae*, no 220.

⁶⁷¹ VENHUN1442a, b (150, 151), VENPOP1442a, b (152, 153), VENPOPBURG1443a, b, c (155, 156, 157), POP1443i (158), POP1443ii (159), HUN1444 (160), FRBURG1444a, b (161, 162).

for a military alliance against the Turks, and by serving as a constant reminder of the Ottoman threat for Western Europe as well.

The last diplomatic practice that will be examined is the most innovative aspect of Byzantine diplomacy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; the personal involvement of the Byzantine emperor in diplomacy, by undertaking a personal journey to the West. Three of the four Byzantine emperors of the late Palaiologan period were involved in such journeys: John V travelled to Buda in 1366 and to Rome in 1369,⁶⁷² Manuel II visited Italy, France and England in 1399-1403,⁶⁷³ and John VIII went to Hungary in 1423-1424 and to Italy for the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1437-1439.⁶⁷⁴ Elements of these journeys, such as their duration, the vessels that the emperors used, the members of their retinue and the individual circumstances that led them to make such a radical decision have already been examined in previous sections of this study.⁶⁷⁵ These personal missions of the Byzantine emperors to the West constitute a very bold significant political action, as they deviate from Byzantine traditional

⁶⁷² Appendix A, Table 1.1, HUN1366 (9), POP1369 (14).

⁶⁷³ Appendix A, Table 1.2,

⁶⁷⁴ Appendix A, Table 1.3, VENHUN1423a, b (107, 111), POP1437-39 (141).

⁶⁷⁵ See Chapter I, section 2 (Exceptional journeys) for issues that involve travel, such as the route, speed and duration, means of travel. Chapter II deals in further detail with the size of the emperors' retinues and the people, who accompanied them to the West, while section 1 of the present chapter (diplomacy of the emperors) is concerned with how this innovative practice was connected with other diplomatic policies and the individual choices of each emperor.

ideology, concerning the superiority of the Byzantine emperor, and the way he communicated with foreign rulers.⁶⁷⁶

There are no precedents of Byzantine emperors travelling to the West before John V visited the court of Louis I of Hungary in 1366. Any parallels that might exist, either for the personal involvement of monarchs in diplomacy or travelling in person to another political power in order to appeal for military help, should be sought in the West. Negotiations and personal meetings between western rulers appeared to have been a common practice in the West, even before the middle of the fourteenth century, when the first Byzantine example of an emperor travelling to the West occurred.⁶⁷⁷ Such examples within our period of interest include personal meetings between the kings of England and France, at the beginning of or during the Hundred Years War, but there were also cases of other rulers visiting the king of France or England in an attempt to restore peace between them.⁶⁷⁸

Those meetings between rulers were most of the times preceded by the dispatch of preliminary missions that would prepare the ground for

⁶⁷⁶ Mergiali-Sahas, 'Το άλλο πρόσωπο της αυτοκρατορικής διπλωματίας', 238-239.

⁶⁷⁷ Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, 283.

⁶⁷⁸ Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, 284-285: In the period after 1354, the cases that interest us are the meeting of Charles VI of France and Richard II of England in 1396, Charles IV of Germany and Charles V of France in 1378, and Sigismund of Hungary and Henry V of England in 1416. In fact, Ganshof mentions various negotiations between heads of states, not only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but in the preceding period as well. See Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, 36-56 for similar examples in the Carolingian era that prove that this practice was well-known and familiar to Western Europe, despite being considered innovative for Byzantine standards.

the personal arrival of the kings. This was also the case in three of the Byzantine journeys. The two journeys to the papacy, which combined discussions on ecclesiastical issues, as well as political negotiations, were carefully planned both in the case of John V and John VIII. In the latter's case especially, negotiations had lasted for years, as the matter did not only involve the meeting of the emperor and Pope Eugenius IV, but also the patriarch and a large number of ecclesiastic representatives of the Eastern Church. In the case of Manuel II's journey to the West preliminary and introductory embassies were also sent, mainly to the courts of France and England, attempting to establish a level of communication among the rulers.

In Western Europe, apart from the personal meetings of the rulers themselves, important representatives took over the negotiations.⁶⁷⁹ This is especially evident in the cases of the Byzantine emperors' travelling. As it has already been argued in Chapter II, the presence of the *mesazon* or *mesazontes* of the emperors was especially significant during their visits to the West. They were the people, who took over the discussions, conducted further negotiations, or even acted as interpreters. Such cases include the *cancellarius* George Manikaites and the *mesazon* Demetrios Kydones.⁶⁸⁰ During John VIII's journey to Italy, the two *mesazontes* Loukas Notaras and

⁶⁷⁹ Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, 284.

⁶⁸⁰ Appendix C, Table 1, nos 12 and 8.

Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos opted to remain in Constantinople.⁶⁸¹ However, the presence of people in that capacity during the emperor's journey was considered so significant that two other members of the court, George Philanthropenos and Andronikos Palaiologos Iagares,⁶⁸² were appointed as temporary *mesazontes* and accompanied the emperor to Italy.

A most interesting parallel to imperial journeys to the West, apart from the meetings of individual western rulers, could have provided the precedent for personal appeals to the West on behalf of the Byzantine emperors. It was the journey to the West of Peter I of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who travelled to the West in 1362. After meeting with the pope and expressing his intent to preach a Crusade and assemble an army for that purpose, Peter Lusignan proceeded to the courts of France, England and Hungary, appealing for military support for his cause.

The similarities between the journey of Peter Lusignan and the five journeys of the Byzantine emperors concern two different aspects. Firstly, this journey is very similar to those of John V and John VIII to Hungary and, by extent the papacy, since they were concerned with forming an alliance, based on an ecclesiastical issue. In the case of Peter Lusignan, a Catholic ruler, this issue pertained to the organisation of a crusade for the

⁶⁸¹ Syropoulos, IV, 18.

⁶⁸² Appendix C, Table 3, no 52.

liberation of the Holy Land, while in the case of the Byzantine emperors to the union of the Churches, or the conversion of the Byzantine emperor (in the case of John V), as a gesture that would provide the assurance to the pope to promote the creation of an anti-Turkish league. On a second level, the 'tour of Western Europe' undertaken by Peter I Lusignan provides a parallel for Manuel II's own journey to the West some decades later. The two rulers followed a similar route - although not identical - both travelling first to Venice, and then focusing on the approach of Western European monarchs, such as the kings of France and England.

This innovative practice of the late Byzantine emperors on the one hand reflected the urgency for western help, but, in my opinion, it should also be considered as a carefully calculated move that further indicates the evolution and adaptability of Byzantine diplomacy at a time of need. By employing a method already familiar to their western recipients, the Byzantine emperors of the late period were adjusting their diplomatic methods to fit better the purpose they desired to achieve: to awaken the political powers of Western Europe to the Turkish threat and persuade them to undertake a military campaign that would have the explicit aim to aid the Byzantine Empire.

The diplomatic practices that have been examined in this chapter were employed by the last Palaiologan emperors in the one hundred ninety four (194) embassies, dispatched to the West in the period 1354-1453, in twenty-

three (23) different destinations. As already explained, these destinations and the frequency of the embassies sent to them depended upon the individual policy of each emperor; however, it is possible from the total numbers of embassies dispatched to each destination to draw some conclusions about the recipients of Byzantine diplomacy and their relationship with the empire in the last hundred years of its life.⁶⁸³

The recipients of Byzantine embassies in the West represent almost all the political powers of Western Europe. Communication with some of them, such as Burgundy, Castile, Denmark, Portugal, or the Italian cities of Ancona and Siena, was limited to one or two embassies, since the approach toward them on the part of the Byzantine emperors was dependent on the circumstances of the particular missions. This is especially evident in the case of Constance. Two (2) diplomatic missions were dispatched there, during the course of the ecclesiastical council; after its end there was no reason for further communication. Similar is the case of the several European kingdoms or Italian cities, which were the targets of Manuel II's approaches in order to obtain military help, such as Castile, Navarre, Denmark, Portugal, Siena. They were included in Manuel II's plan to spread his requests for help as wide as possible, but it did not necessarily mean that they marked the beginning of a more extensive diplomatic communication with Byzantium. The same could also be held

⁶⁸³ Appendix A, Chart 3.5.

true for Manuel II's approach of the anti-popes in Avignon and Bologna. Therefore, there were recipients of Byzantine diplomacy, who were approached on specific occasions, when they could serve a particular purpose, without necessarily evolving to become regular correspondents of the Byzantine emperor.

Five (5) recipients of Byzantine diplomatic activity stand out from the list of destinations of Byzantine embassies, as the most regular correspondents with Byzantium, and ones that consistently appear throughout the period to accept the Palaiologan emperors' diplomatic advances. Ten or more embassies have been directed toward them over the course of a hundred years: the Council of Basle (ten (10) embassies), Hungary (seventeen (17) embassies), the Aragonese royal family, both in Aragon itself and Naples (eighteen (18) embassies), the papacy (fourty (40) embassies) and Venice (fifty-six (56) embassies).

Indeed these destinations are, not surprisingly, the highest recipients of Byzantine embassies, as they represented some of the central powers, to whom the diplomatic advances of the Byzantine emperors were directed. Aragon features more prominently during the reigns of Manuel II and Constantine XI, in periods when the two Byzantine emperors approached the kings of Aragon, Martin I and Alfonse V respectively, in order to ask for their military support for Constantinople. The choice of these two emperors to direct their diplomacy toward Aragon must not have been a

coincidence. In both cases, communication with this particular power intensified after the powerful loss of the allied European forces against the Turks, first in the Crusade of Nikopolis, in 1396 and later in the Crusade of Varna, in 1444. As a non-participant in these two expeditions, Aragon presented a significant ally, which had the potential to assist the Byzantine emperors, at times when other political entities of Western Europe could be reluctant to undertake another military expedition. Therefore, it is understandable that eleven of the eighteen embassies to Aragon deal with appeals for military help.⁶⁸⁴

Hungary was another secular power, which received seventeen (17) embassies from the Byzantine emperors, especially during the reigns of Manuel II and John VIII; fourteen (14) out of the seventeen (17) missions were dispatched to Hungary by these two emperors. However, John V's communication with that power, which includes only one embassy, should not be underestimated, as it consisted of his first personal journey to the West, and the beginning of the very innovative diplomatic practice, the emperor acting as his own ambassador.⁶⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it was during Manuel II's reign and mainly during John VIII's that communication with Hungary and the court of Sigismund became more regular. Sigismund

⁶⁸⁴ ARCASTNAV1400a (48), ARCAST1401-03^a (54), ARNAV1404-05^a (64), AR1404 (67), VENFRENGARa-POP1407-10d (76), AR1447 (166), POPAR1449b (169), VENFERPOPAR1451d (180), AR1452 (188), AR1453i (192), AR1453ii (194).

⁶⁸⁵ HUN1366(9).

was the main driving force behind the Crusade of Nikopolis in 1396, and also played a significant part both in the Council of Constance, which ended the papal Schism, and in the Council of Basle. Therefore, in their correspondence with this ruler, the Byzantine emperors sought the opportunity to form an alliance with the western power most closely threatened by the Ottoman Turks, in terms of geography, by promoting their plan for the union of the Churches and, in exchange, for securing military help.⁶⁸⁶

The ten (10) embassies sent to the Council of Basle during the reign of John VIII should be examined in conjunction with the forty (40) diplomatic missions dispatched to the papacy. As we have already argued, these embassies that had as their purpose a clear ecclesiastical subject matter, the union of the Churches and the organisation of an ecumenical council that would decide upon that union, were part of a diplomatic practice that was used by all the late Palaiologan emperors, in different degrees of importance. The negotiations for Church union remained part of their effort to use this ecclesiastical issue as a means for obtaining obtain military help against the advancing threat of the Ottoman Turks.

⁶⁸⁶ Appendix A, Table 1.2 (Manuel II):VENFRPOPHUN1394-95d (31), HUN1395-96 (34), HUN1411 (78), HUN1414 (82), VENHUNPOL1420b (101) ; Table 1.3 (John VIII) : VENHUN1423b (111), HUN1429 (115), HUNBAS1434a (123), HUN1434 (124), HUN1436 (133), HUN1437 (138), HUN1438 (145), VENHUN1442b (151), HUN1444 (160).

The majority of the embassies in the period 1354-1453 were sent to Venice; fifty-six (56) embassies out of a total one hundred ninety-four (194).⁶⁸⁷ In this study, I do not attempt to offer a thorough and exhaustive analysis of the complex relationship between the Byzantine Empire and Venice in the late period. Aspects of the Venetian presence in the Levant, and more importantly for this study, aspects of Venetian presence and activities in Byzantine Constantinople have been examined and analysed by many distinguished scholars.⁶⁸⁸ My main focus in this particular section is to determine, through the information deriving from my database of embassies to Venice in the period 1354-1453 whether the significance of Venice as a crucial factor in influencing Byzantine affairs is justified by the diplomatic communication.

There are two important observations that become apparent from the study of the embassies to Venice during the late Palaiologan period. The first is that the number of embassies to Venice remains high, compared to those sent to other destinations, regardless of the main focus of each emperor's foreign policy. The predominant attitude toward the West throughout the late period was the consistent and continuous appeals of the Byzantine emperors for military and economic help. However, as the

⁶⁸⁷ Appendix A, Chart 3.5.

⁶⁸⁸ As examples: Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*; Maltezou, *Ὁ Θεσμός*; Lane, *Venice*. For a more comprehensive list of articles and books that deal with Venice see the bibliography provided.

methods each emperor employed differed slightly, so did the focal point of their diplomacy. John V and John VIII were more focused on obtaining said help through the use of ecclesiastical union, as a means for negotiation, and through alliance with the papacy. Manuel II was more intent on secular political alliances, focusing more on the organisation of an anti-Turkish league, comprising of Western rulers. Finally, Constantine XI, in his short term on the throne, attempted to approach both the papacy and secular powers of his time, focusing on those who have regular recipients of Byzantine embassies in the past. No matter what the focus of each emperor was in his diplomacy, we can observe that diplomatic communication with Venice remains consistent and continuous throughout the whole period, and there are very few periods of non-communication with that power.⁶⁸⁹ In the reigns of all four emperors Venice was the primary recipient of diplomatic missions, the only exception being the reign of John VIII. However, even in that case, Venice was an important diplomatic destination, with eleven (11) embassies sent there.⁶⁹⁰

The second observation, which also reveals the complicated role that Venice played in the affairs of Byzantium, was that embassies to Venice

⁶⁸⁹ Examples of the continuity of diplomatic communication with Venice can be seen in Figures 2 and 3. See also Appendix A, Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, which show the frequency of embassies per year dispatched to Venice in each emperor's reign.

⁶⁹⁰ Appendix A, Chart 3.5 shows the clear predominance of missions sent to Venice, compared to the other destinations.

were sent for a variety of reasons, which include almost the entire range of purposes of all the embassies sent to the West. In other words, Venice was involved in almost all the issues that concerned the diplomatic communication between the late Byzantine emperors and the West, and has been the recipient of embassies about them. One such issue, which pertained mainly to Venetian-Byzantine relations, was the renewal of the treaties, preserving the rights of the Venetian community of Constantinople and Venetian commercial interests in the area.⁶⁹¹ Another issue that appeared to have been the prerogative of the Venetians was providing galleys for the transportation of the Byzantine envoys to the West, including some of the emperors, during their personal journeys.⁶⁹² Other topics of Byzantine embassies to Venice dealt with subjects that were also directed to other recipients, such as financial help and the collection of funds that would aid Constantinople, and military help in the sense of organising an anti-Turkish alliance, comprising with as many western powers as possible.

Even subjects such as the union of the Churches indirectly found their way in the communication between Byzantium and Venice. Venice was never directly involved in negotiations that dealt with that issue; however, when the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to offer an opinion on

⁶⁹¹ VEN1359 (4), VEN1362 (6), VEN1362-63 (7), POPVEN1369b (13), VEN1370 (16), VEN1395 (32).

⁶⁹² See Chapter I, Sections 1.2 and 2.2 for examples.

the matter. During the journey of John VIII to Venice before he made his way to Ferrara to meet the pope for the ecclesiastical council, the emperor met with the doge of Venice Francesco Foscari in order to ask for advice on the matter of the Council.⁶⁹³

The examples presented above provide further evidence for the unique and diverse presence of Venice in the diplomatic activity of the late Palaiologan emperors. Most of the subject matters of the embassies to the West can be detected within Byzantium's diplomatic communication with Venice; we could even say that communication with Venice provides a microscopic view of the entire western diplomacy of the late Byzantine period.

⁶⁹³ Syropoulos, IV, 24.

CONCLUSIONS

The late Byzantine period and especially the last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire's life marked a period of hardships and threats, not only from a military point of view but also socially, economically and politically; in particular it brought to the surface many underlying contradictions between the struggle to hold on to a glorified past on one hand, and face the realities of the constantly evolving surrounding world on the other. Byzantium in the late period continued to hold on to the idea of a great power, a universal empire, and the idea of an emperor, who held a special status among other rulers. At the same time, however, evolution and change, evident in several aspects of society, also affected to a great extent the foreign policy toward the West, as well as the different components of diplomacy, the practical realisation of that foreign policy.

Diplomatic activity is considered 'a most important instrument for conducting foreign affairs'⁶⁹⁴ and throughout the long history of the Byzantine Empire this statement has been proven correct in the communication between Byzantium and its enemies or network of allies. Byzantine diplomacy focused mainly on maintaining a network of relations with its neighbours, with the Byzantine Empire at its centre, as the unifying and controlling factor; this goal was realised by employing

⁶⁹⁴ Oikonomides, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 1204 - 1453: means and ends', 73.

several methods and practices that promoted the emperor's foreign policy. The main aim of Byzantine diplomacy directed to Western Europe during the last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire also reflected that goal, as it was clearly directed toward the creation of a network of allies, who would provide the necessary military and financial support that would ensure the prolongation of the empire's life.

The focal objective of my thesis was to explore this practical realisation of the foreign policy of the late Palaiologan emperors toward the West, by studying its different components, in an effort to detect elements of evolution and change within Byzantine diplomacy during this period. These components included the travels of the envoys and the logistics of their journeys, such as the means of transport, the route and the duration of the voyages, the profile of the diplomats and the criteria for their selection, and the methods and techniques that each of the emperors under consideration employed in order to execute his foreign policy.

The first chapter of this study concentrated on the journeys of Byzantine ambassadors to the West, looking into their main characteristics. Therefore, I have analysed the routes followed, the vessels used as means of transport, the speed and duration of journeys and the seasons of travel. The emperors' travels, as exceptional forms of journeys were analysed separately, but with attempts of comparison to regular ambassadorial travels. In fact, I would argue that if we clearly define and

isolate the limitations and particularities of these exceptional journeys, the more extensive details that they provide can be utilised to complete or confirm the information that we extract from the often less detailed regular journeys of ambassadors.

The study of the routes and the means of transport of Byzantine envoys to the West in the late Palaiologan period revealed that sea travel was the most common way to reach the West. Alternate routes also existed, such as via the Black Sea and the Danube, which involved a combination of sea voyage, river sailing and land travel, mainly leading to Hungary. However, the importance of following the sea routes across the Aegean to Italy quickly becomes evident, as the majority of ambassadorial journeys travelled by sea, usually to a destination in the Italian peninsula, mostly Venice.

In fact, it is the importance of Venice and its involvement in the transportation of Byzantine ambassadors that stands out in almost all the different aspects of travel examined in this chapter. Venetian vessels provided the main means of transportation to Italy, following the trade route across the Venetian colonies in the Aegean. Their advances in shipbuilding and nautical technologies facilitated winter travel and also improved the speed of the journey. Therefore, the emperors were given the opportunity to dispatch embassies based on the urgency of their subject matter, rather than depending on weather conditions and

restrictions of travel. Further, Byzantine ambassadors, mainly travelling aboard Venetian galleys, were transported first to Venice, which developed into the entry-way to the West, and thus controlled the traffic to and from Constantinople and western Europe, at least as far as diplomatic communication was concerned.

The second chapter turned its attention to the composition of embassies and the diplomatic corps of the last four Palaiologan emperors. By studying the database of seventy-five names of ambassadors during this period, I have tried to present the criteria for one's selection as a representative of the Byzantine emperor to the West. These criteria were clearly defined and were in place during the entire period, but were adjusted during the reign of each emperor, in order to agree with his individual political choices and the main aims of his diplomatic advances toward the West.

Therefore, the presence of ecclesiastics in diplomacy does not appear as common, with only thirteen envoys out of seventy five, indicating that their presence in diplomacy as imperial agents was not a necessity. The fact that seven of these clergymen were in the service of John VIII further shows that their participation in embassies became slightly more pronounced when these embassies involved ecclesiastical issues. More significant a criterion was one's relationship to the emperor, either by being a member of the imperial family or by being an *oikeios* of the

emperor, while holders of high-ranked court titles were often present in diplomatic activity. Very important was the involvement of the *mesazon*, who assumed the leading diplomatic role during the personal missions of the Byzantine emperors to the West. Also significant was the familiarity of the envoys with the West, shown either by their knowledge of Latin or by their religion, as some of them were converted Catholics or known for their pro-Latin sentiments. Finally, ambassadors often came from well-known Byzantine families, both of the old Byzantine aristocracy or from families that have risen to power during the late period, through commercial activities. However, it should be noted that the criteria employed by each of the emperors in the selection of their diplomatic agents depended heavily on and were affected by the political choices and the foreign policy of each emperor.

In this chapter, it was also very interesting to pinpoint and define certain patterns that appeared in diplomatic activity, pertaining to the ambassadors. Envoys often acquired a specialisation in their missions and were repeatedly sent to the same destination in the West, effectively becoming experts in diplomatic communication with certain western powers. Some of these envoys could also be considered 'career diplomats' as they are known to us only from their diplomatic activities. Finally, diplomacy in the late period often evolved into a family tradition, as we

encounter several members of the same family being sent to the West as diplomats, often working together, such as the Dishypatoi brothers.

The third chapter presented the most common diplomatic practices and techniques that the emperors of the late period used in order to promote their main diplomatic aim toward the West, which was to procure military and economic aid. As with the selection of their ambassadors, the choice of diplomatic methods was an issue that differed according to the main focus of each emperor. That focus was reflected also by each emperor's choice of correspondents. Therefore, I have attempted to show how the distribution of embassies to the different recipients highlighted the aspects of foreign policy considered focal by each emperor. The importance of Venice came into the forefront once more, with the majority of embassies directed to this power. Further, embassies to Venice included a variety of aims, indicating that this political entity was involved almost in all aspects of the diplomatic advances of the late Byzantine emperors.

The diplomatic practices of the late period included methods that have often been employed in Byzantine diplomacy: the offer of diplomatic gifts, marriage alliances and employing the issue of ecclesiastical union as means to achieve political benefits. However, all these practices included an innovative element, because they were also associated and employed in conjunction with the most significant diplomatic method that emperors

used in this period: the involvement of the Byzantine emperor in diplomacy, by personally travelling to the West and negotiating with secular rulers, as well as the papacy.

The most evident attribute of Byzantine diplomacy of the late period, as is reflected in the three aspects of Byzantine diplomatic activity presented in my thesis, that is travel, ambassadors and diplomatic techniques, is the ability to adapt to new and evolving circumstances and to take advantage of emerging opportunities. Therefore, Byzantine emperors made regular use of Venetian merchant convoys as a means for their ambassadors' journeys to the West, utilising the apparent control of Venice over trade routes and transportation to western destinations. The fact that Venice itself was usually an intermediate stop of journeys to other destinations in the Italian peninsula was often used by Byzantine ambassadors as an opportunity to extend further their appeals for help or usually financial support. At the same time, the diplomatic agents selected for each western destination were carefully chosen to complement the emperors' political decisions with their skills and attributes.

Finally, the ability of Byzantine diplomacy to adapt is mainly reflected on the diplomatic practices of the Byzantine emperors during this period. The main aim of Byzantine diplomacy, as already mentioned, was to obtain help against the advancing Turkish threat, primarily by uniting the political powers of Western Europe under this common goal. This

unification could be achieved under the umbrella of a crusade or a military alliance, in the name of ecclesiastical union, or by financial agreements and treaties that further promoted the economic unification of the Mediterranean. The personal involvement of the late Palaiologan emperors in diplomacy, a practice that effectively changed the 'imperial' character of the Byzantine emperor and placed him on equal ground with other European rulers, presents the most characteristic example of late Byzantium's ability to adapt. The late Palaiologoi continued to promote the idea of an alliance of Christian powers that would be directed toward helping their empire, but with their practices, showed the political realism of understanding that this alliance could no longer be created around Byzantium as the controlling force.

In the last century of its life, the Byzantine Empire was reduced in territory, as well as in economic and political power. However, even affected by enemy invasions and territorial threats, economic decline and internal struggles, the empire's foreign policy was effective in the sense that it gave rise to frequent and high-level diplomatic activity, which played a very important role in the prolongation of its life. This efficient diplomacy emerging from a state seemingly in decline employed traditional practices, which were also adapted and evolved to correspond to the particular circumstances of the period; in fact, diplomacy seems to embody the contrast between tradition and transformation.

appendix **A**

Embassies

Tables

1. Embassiesⁱ

Table 1.1 Embassies during the reign of John V

α	Code ⁱⁱ	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten ⁱⁱⁱ	Sources
1	GER1355	1355	Charles IV of Luxemburg (Italy)	unknown	unknown	John V's victory Help against Turks	3037	<u>Reply of Charles IV</u> : Schannat, <i>Vindemiae Litterariae</i> , no 30, 131. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 47.
2	POP1355	1355	Pope Innocent VI (Avignon)	2	Paul of Smyrna Nicholas Sigeros	Union of Churches Help against Turks	3052 3056	<u>John V's Chrysobull (15 December 1355)</u> : Theiner and Miklosich, <i>Monumenta spectantia</i> , no 8, 29-33 (Greek text), 33-37 (Latin text). <u>Reply of pope</u> : Raynaldi, <i>Annales</i> , no 32. Baluze, <i>Vitae paparum Avenionensium</i> I, 334: 21. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 31-42; 52-53. Gill, <i>Byzantium and the papacy</i> , 208-211 Schäfer, <i>Die Ausgaben</i> , 605.

β	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
3	POP1357	1357	Pope Innocent VI (Avignon)	unknown	unknown	Union of Churches	3071	<u>John V's Chrysobull (7 November 1357):</u> Smet, <i>Life of St Peter Thomas</i> , 76-79 Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 60-61. Gill, <i>Byzantium and the papacy</i> , 211.
4	VEN1359	1359	Venice	unknown	unknown	Negotiations for treaty	3073a	Thiriet, <i>Régestes I</i> , no 340, 341, 342.
5	VEN1361	1361	Venice	unknown	unknown	Concerning the dispatch of envoys to Constantinople	3079	<u>John V's letter (9 June 1361):</u> <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum II</i> , no 45.
6	VEN1362	1362	Venice	1	Andronikos Oinaïotes	Negotiations for renewal of treaty	3081	<u>Reply of Venice (31 March 1362):</u> Predelli, <i>Monumenti storici VI</i> , no 308. <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum II</i> , no 49.

γ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
7	VEN1362-63	1362-1363	Venice	2	Theophilaktos Dermokaites Constantine Kaballaropoulos	Renewal of treaty	3089	<u>Appointment of Byzantine ambassadors (1 October 1362):</u> <i>MM</i> III, no 31, 129-130. <u>Byzantine-Venetian treaty (13/3/1363):</u> <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> II, no 53. Kydones, <i>Correspondance</i> I, no 93, 125.
8	POP1364	1364	Pope Urban V (Avignon)	1	Michael Malaspina	Help against Turks Collaboration with the Crusade of Lusignan	3097	<u>Reply of pope (16 October 1364):</u> Lecacheux, <i>Lettres d'Urbain V</i> , no 1305. Baluze, <i>Vitae paparum Avenionensium</i> I, 401: 13. Kydones, <i>Correspondance</i> I, no 93, 127. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 86-88.

δ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
9	HUN1366	1366	Louis I (Hungary)	John V and retinue	Known members of John V's retinue: Manuel (II) Palaiologos (son) Michael Palaiologos (son) George Manichaites	Help against Turks Union of Churches Conversion of John V	3108	Kydones, <i>On accepting Latin aid</i> , PG 154, 1000B, D. von Lingenthal, <i>Prooemien</i> , 1419, 28-31. Meyendorff, 'Projets', 173. Schreiner, <i>Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken</i> II, 295. <i>Monumentia spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i> IV, no 148. <i>Monumentia Hungariae historica</i> II, no 483 and 485. Giovanni da Ravenna, 295-6. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 111-137. Gill, 'John V Palaiologos at the court of Louis I', 31-38. Nerantzi-Varmazi, <i>To Βοζάντιο και η Δύση</i> , 66-107. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Το άλλο πρόσωπο της αυτοκρατορικής διπλωματίας', 243.

ε	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
10	POP1366	1366	Pope Urban V (Avignon - from Buda)	1	George Manichaites (with 1 other envoy from Louis I: Stephen, bishop of Nitra)	Union of Churches Help against Turks	3107	<i>Acta Urbani V</i> , no 102, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111. Nerantzi-Varmazi, <i>To Βυζάντιο και η Δύση</i> , 78-97.
11	POP1367	1367	Pope Urban V (Viterbo)	8	megas chartophylax Theodore metropolitan Neilos archimandrites Makarios parakoimomenos Theophylaktos Theodore Domestikos Proximos Constantine Metaxopoulos 2 unnamed persons (travelled with Paul of Smyrna and Amadeo of Savoy)	Union of Churches	3115	Baluze, <i>Vitae paparum Avenionensium I</i> , 364: 26. <i>Acta Urbani V</i> , no 126, 127, 127a, 128, 129, 129a, 130, 131, 131a, b, c, d, 132, 132a. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , no 10, 369.
12	POPVEN1369a	1369	Pope Urban V (Rome - from Italy)	2	Paul (of Smyrna) Demetrios Kydones	Announcement of John's journey	3120	<u>Reply of pope (2 September 1369):</u> Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , no 12, 370-1.

στ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
13	POPVEN1369b	1369	Venice (from Italy)	(2)	(Possibly) Paul (of Smyrna) Demetrios Kydones	Announcement of John's journey Negotiations for renewal of treaty	3121	<u>Reply of Venice (6-29 October 1369):</u> Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , no 13, 371-78.
14	POP1369	1369	Pope Urban V (Rome)	John V and retinue	Known members of John's retinue: Demetrios Kydones Francesco Gattilusio Constantine Asanes Demetrios Palaiologos Andronikos Palaiologos Alexios Laskares Michael Strongylos Manuel Angelos Philippos Tzykandyles	Conversion of John V Union of Churches Help against Turks	3122	Theiner and Miklosich, <i>Monumenta spectantia</i> , no 9, 10. Lambros, <i>NE</i> 11, 241-249. Baluze, <i>Vitae paparum Avenionensium</i> I, 391. <i>Chronicon Siculum</i> , 22. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , no 14 Kydones, <i>Correspondance</i> I, no 71, 102-3. <i>Acta Urbani V</i> , no 168. Kianka, <i>Demetrius Cydones</i> , 174. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 188-234. Gill, <i>Byzantium and the papacy</i> , 218-221. Setton, <i>Papacy and the Levant</i> , I, 312-321.

ζ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
15	POP1370	1370	Pope Urban V (Rome – from Italy)	unknown	unknown	Conversion of John V	3126	Theiner and Miklosich, <i>Monumenta spectantia</i> , no 10. Lambros, <i>NE</i> 11, no 13.
16	VEN1370	1370	Venice (in Rome)	-	Witnesses of treaty: Demetrios Palaiologos Andronikos Palaiologos Alexios Laskares Manuel Angelos Philippos Tzykandyles (scribe)	Renewal of treaty	3127	<u>Byzantine-Venetian treaty 1 February 1370:</u> <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> II, no 89.
17	AR1370	1370	Aragon (from Italy)	1	Andreu Paó	unknown	3129	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , CCCXIX.
18	VEN1373	1373	Venice	unknown	unknown	Request for a reliable and Greek speaking Venetian envoy	3137	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 521. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 271, n. 1.

η	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
19	VEN1374i	1374	Venice	unknown	unknown	Announcement of Manuel II's coronation (25 September 1373)	3139	Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 302, n. 1.
20	VEN1374ii	1374	Venice	unknown	unknown	Request to Venice to hire to the crew of a Byzantine galley	3141	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 547. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 305, n. 4.
21	POP1374-75i	1374-1375	Pope Gregory XI (Avignon)	1	Philippos Tzykandyles (with Kassianos, representative of the despot of Morea)	Help against Turks Union of Churches	3142	<u>Reply of pope (13 December 1374):</u> Raynaldi, <i>Annales</i> , 1374, no 4. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 306, 307, n.2.
22	POP1374-75ii	1374-1375	Pope Gregory XI (Avignon)	-	Delivered by John, bishop of Tauris on his way back to Avignon from Constantinople	Help against Turks as promised by Louis of Hungary	3143	<u>Reply of pope (28 January 1375):</u> Wadding, <i>Annales Minorum</i> VIII, 303: 38. Halecki, <i>Un empereur</i> , 307-8.
23	VEN1382-83	1382-1383	Venice	1	Andronikos Sebastopoulos	Regarding Tenedos	3178	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 637, 638, 649. Kydones, <i>Correspondance</i> II, no 264, 267.

θ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
24	AR1383	1383	Peter IV (Aragon)	unknown	unknown	Problems with Catalan merchants in Thessalonike	3179	<u>Reply of Peter IV (23 December 1383)</u> ; <i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DLVI, DLVII. Dennis, <i>Manuel II</i> , 130-1.
25	GEN1387-91	1387-1391	Genoa	unknown	unknown	Complains about Byzantine-Genoese relations	3184	Loenertz, 'Fragment d'une lettre de Jean V Palaiologue', 37-40.
26	GEN1389	1389	Genoa	1	Manuel Kabasilas	Commercial agreement for sale of grain	3191	Barker, 'John VII in Genoa', 229 n. 3; Appendix I, 236. Musso, <i>Navigazione e commercio</i> , 162, 243-245. Balard, <i>Romanie Génoise II</i> , 758.

Table 1.2 Embassies during the reign of Manuel II

α	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
27	VEN1394	1394	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople	3246a	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 860. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 124-125.
28	VENFRPOPHUN 1394-95a	1394- 1395	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople	3248	<i>Monumentia spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i> , no 482, 338. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 868. <i>PP</i> III, “Ανωνύμου πανηγυρικός εις Μανουήλ και Ίωάννην Η΄ τοὺς Παλαιολόγους”, 159. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 125-126.
29	VENFRPOPHUN 1394-95b	1394- 1395	Charles VI (France)	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople	3249	<i>PP</i> III, “Ανωνύμου πανηγυρικός εις Μανουήλ και Ίωάννην Η΄ τοὺς Παλαιολόγους”, 159. Doukas, XIII, 8. Halecki, ‘Rome et Byzance’, 504. Champollion-Figéac, <i>Louis et Charles</i> III, 39. Atiya, <i>Nicopolis</i> , 172.

β	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
30	VENFRPOPHUN 1394-95c	1394- 1395	Pope Boniface IX (Rome)	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople	3250	Doukas, XIII, 8.
31	VENFRPOPHUN 1394-95d	1394- 1395	Sigismund (Hungary)	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople	3251	<i>PP III</i> , "Ανωνύμου πανηγυρικός εις Μανουήλ και Ιωάννην Η' τους Παλαιολόγους", 159. Doukas, XIII, 8.
32	VEN1395	1395	Venice	unknown	unknown	Negotiations for renewal of treaty	3252	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> , I, no 871.
33	VEN1395-96	1395- 1396	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help for Constantinople Relics for loan Anti-Turkish league	3256	Thiriet <i>Régestes</i> I, 892, 896. Iorga, 'La politique vénitienne', 329, n. 7. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 130-131.
34	HUN1395-96	1395- 1396	Sigismund (Hungary)	1	Manuel Philanthropenos	Help for Constantinople	3255	<i>Monumentia spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i> , no 508, 359-360; no 513, 363-364. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 900, 901. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 131-132.

γ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
35	FRENG1397-98a	1397-1398	Charles VI (France)	1	Nicholas Notaras	Help for Constantinople	3271	Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , Appendix XII, 486-487. <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> II, no 150. Champollion-Figéac, <i>Louis et Charles III</i> , 40. Marinesco, 'Manuel II et les rois d' Aragon', 193. Atiya, <i>Nicopolis</i> , 174.
36	FRENG1397-98b	1397-1398	Richard II (England)	1	Nicholas Notaras	Help for Constantinople	-	Du Cange, <i>Familiae augustae byzantinae</i> , 242.
37	FR1397-98	1397-1398	Charles VI (France)	1	Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	Help for Constantinople	3269	Barker <i>Manuel II</i> , Appendix XIII. <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> II, no. 149. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, no 946, 951.
38	FLOENGPOPENG 1398-99a	1398-1399	Florence	1	Hilario Doria	Help for Constantinople	-	Langkabel, <i>Die Staatsbriefe Coluccio Salutati</i> , no 161.

δ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
39	FLOENGPOPENG 1398-99b	1398- 1399	Richard II (England)	1	Hilario Doria	Help for Constantinople	-	Legge, 'Anglo-Norman letters and petitions', no 103, 152. <i>Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi</i> , 151. <i>Foedera</i> , 65. Nicol, 'A Byzantine emperor in England', 206-207. Lymperopoulos, 'Βυζαντινές διπλωματικές αποστολές στη Δύση', 48.
40	FLOENGPOPENG 1398-99c	1398- 1399	Pope Boniface IX (Rome)	1	Hilario Doria	Help for Constantinople	3270	<i>Monumenta Hungariae Historica</i> II, no 331.
41	FLOENGPOPENG 1398-99d	1398- 1399	Richard II (England)	1	Hilario Doria	Help for Constantinople	3273	-
42	SIEN1399	1399	Siena	2	Nicholas Notaras Galeotus Lomelini	Collection of money to help Constantinople	3275	PP III, "Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγου. Γράμμα πρὸς τοὺς Σιεναίους", 120.

ε	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
43	VEN1399		Venice (from Peloponnese)	unknown	unknown	Arrangements for Manuel's family	3279	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 978. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 96-97.
44	VENITFRENG 1399-1403a	1399-1403	Venice	Ca. 50	Manuel II and retinue Known members: Alexios Branas Demetrios Palaiologos (Goudeles) Manuel Holobolos Makarios, bishop of Ankara Antiochos (servant) Aspietes (servant) Stafidakes (servant)	Help against Turks	-	Manuel II, <i>Funeral oration</i> , 160-164. <i>PP</i> III, «Χρονικά σημειώματα περί Μανουήλ και Ἰωάννου Η΄ Παλαιολόγου», 360-1. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 978. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 96-97. Doukas, XIV, 3-5. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 165-238.

στ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
45	VENITFRENG 1399-1403b	1399-1403	Italian cities: Padua, Vicenza, Pavia, Milan, Verona, Sarravale	Ca. 50	Manuel II and retinue	Travelling through Italy	-	<i>Annales Estenses</i> , coll. 947-948. Triantafyllopoulos, <i>An annotated critical edition of the treatise Against the errors of the Latins by Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405)</i> , ii, 336.117.
46	VENITFRENG 1399-1403c	1399-1403	Charles VI (France)	Ca. 50	Manuel II and retinue	Help against Turks	-	Religieux de Saint-Denys XXI, i, 754-5. Manuel II, Letter λζ, ed. Legrand, 50-51.
47	VENITFRENG 1399-1403d	1399-1403	Henry IV (England)	Ca. 50	Manuel II and retinue	Help against Turks	-	Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 178 n. 101, 102, 103. Manuel II, Letter λη, ed. Legrand, 51-52. Nicol, 'A Byzantine emperor in England'.
48	ARCASTNAV 1400a	1400	Martin I (Aragon) (from Paris)	1	Alexios Branas	Help against Turks Relics	3281	<i>Diplomatari de l' Orient Català</i> , DCLVIII, DCLIX, DCLX.

ζ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
49	ARCASTNAV 1400b	1400	Henry III (Castile) (from Paris)	1	Alexios Branas	Help against Turks Relics	3281	<i>Diplomatari de l' Orient Català</i> , DCLVIII, DCLIX, DCLX.
50	ARCASTNAV 1400c	1400	Charles III (Navarre) (from Paris)	1	Alexios Branas	Help against Turks Relics	3282	<i>Diplomatari de l' Orient Català</i> , DCLVIII.
51	POR1401	1401	John I (Portugal) (from Paris)	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3284	Marinesco, 'Relations', 425.
52	a-POP1401	1401	anti-pope Benedict XIII (Avignon) (from Paris)	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3285	Dennis, 'Two unknown documents', 402-404. Cirac-Estopañan, 'Chrysobullos', 92-93. Halecki, 'Rome et Byzance', 518.
53	FLO1401	1401	Florence (from Paris)	1	Demetrios Palaiologos (Goudeles)	Help against Turks	3286	<i>Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane</i> , 148.

η	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
54	ARCAST1401-03a	1401-1403	Martin I (Aragon) (from Paris)	1	Alexios Branas	Help against Turks	3287	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DCLXV, DCLXVI, DCLXVII.
55	ARCAST1401-03b	1401-1403	Henry III (Castile) (from Paris)	1	Alexios Branas	Help against Turks	3295	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DCLXXXVI.
56	VEN1402i	1402	Venice (from Paris)	unknown	unknown	Arrangements for Manuel's return journey	3288	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1055. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> II, 118.
57	a-POP1402	1402	anti-pope Benedict XIII (Avignon) (from Paris)	unknown	unknown	Help Confirmation on originality of relic (sent in 1401 - a-POP1401)	3290	Cirac-Estopañan, 'Chrysobullos', 92-93.
58	VEN1402ii	1402	Venice (from Paris)	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks Intervention of Venice to France on behalf of Manuel	3291	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1063.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
59	DEN1402	1402	Margaret (Denmark) (From Paris)	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks Relics	-	Dennis, 'Two unknown documents', 398-402.
60	VEN1402iii	1402	Venice (from Europe - en route to Italy)	unknown	unknown	Preparations for Manuel's return journey	3292	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 126. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1088.
61	VEN1403i	1403	Venice (from Genoa)	unknown	unknown	Preparations for Manuel's return journey	3293	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 131. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1092.
62	VEN1403ii	1403	Venice (from Italy)	unknown	unknown	Preparations for Manuel's return journey	3294	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 132-133. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1097.
63	POP1404	1404	Pope Boniface IX (Rome)	unknown	unknown	[Union?]	3296	Adam of Usk, <i>Chronikon</i> , 96.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
64	ARNAV1404-05a	1404	Martin I (Aragon)	2	Constantine Ralles Theodore Ralles	Help against Turks	-	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DCLXXXI, DCLXXXII, DCLXXXV. Marinesco, 'Manuel II et les rois d' Aragon', 198. Marinesco, 'Relations', 432, 433. Cirac-Estopañan, <i>Bizancio y España</i> , 57.
65	ARNAV1404-05b	1405	Charles III (Navarre)	1	Theodore Ralles	Help against Turks	-	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DCLXXXV.
66	FR1404	1404	Charles VI (France)	2	Constantine Ralles Alexis Dishypatos	Help against Turks	3298	<i>Acta Pseudopontificum Benedicti XIII</i> , no 82, 119.
67	AR1404	1404	Martin I (Aragon)	1	_Angelos	Help against Turks	3302	<i>Diplomatari de l'Orient Català</i> , DCLXXXIII, 704.
68	VEN1404-05	1404-1405	Venice	1	John Moschopoulos	Negotiations concerning Tenedos Disputes concerning Theodora Ghisi and John Laskares Calopheros	3303	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> I, 1175, 1176. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 144-146. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 260, n. 106.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
69	VEN1406	1406	Venice	unknown	unknown	Treaty	3310	<u>Byzantine-Venetian treaty (22 May 1406)</u> <i>MM</i> III, no 34, 144-153. (Greek text) <u>Confirmation of treaty:</u> <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum</i> II, no 163.
70	VEN1407	1407	Venice	-	Sent with Venetian envoy, Paolo Zane	Help against Turks	3315	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> IV, 288.
71	VENFRENGAR a-POP 1407-10a	1407	Venice	1	Manuel Chrysoloras	Discussions concerning the Morea and Manuel's transportation there	3318	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1290, 1291. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 159-162.
72	VENFRENGAR a-POP 1407-10b	1408	Charles VI (France)	1	Manuel Chrysoloras	Help against Turks	3319	Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 263 (Figure 20); Appendix XXIV, 545.
73	VENFRENGAR a-POP 1407-10c	1409	Henry IV (England)	1	Manuel Chrysoloras	Help against Turks	-	Chrysoloras, <i>Comparison of Old and New Rome</i> , col. 33. Cammelli, <i>Χρυσολωράς</i> , 150 and n.9. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Manuel Chrysoloras', 8, n.45.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
74	a-POP1409-10	1409-1410	anti-Pope Alexander V (Bologna)	1	John Chrysoloras	Congratulations for the pope's election	3326	Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 15, n. 42. Halecki, 'Rome et Byzance', 531.
75	VEN 1410	1410	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3327	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1362.
76	VENFRENGAR a-POP 1407-10d	1410	Martin I (Aragon)	1	Manuel Chrysoloras	Help against Turks Relics	3317	Cammelli, <i>Χρυσολωράς</i> , 150. <i>Diplomatari de l' Orient Català</i> , DCXCIV.
77	VENFRENGAR a-POP 1407-10e	1410	anti-Pope John XXIII (Bologna)	1	Manuel Chrysoloras	Help against Turks		Syropoulos, II, 7, n. 7. Cammelli, <i>Χρυσολωράς</i> , 150-155.
78	HUN1411	1411	Sigismund (Hungary)	unknown	unknown	Union of Churches	3329	Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , Appendix XXI, 523.
79	VEN1412	1412	Venice	unknown	unknown	Issues concerning the Greeks inhabitants of Methone and Korone	3332a	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1452.

nr	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
80	VEN1413-14	1413-1414	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3335	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1514. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 217.
81	VEN1414	1414	Venice	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3338	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1544.
82	HUN1414	1414	Sigismund (Hungary)	2	John Chrysoloras Manuel Chrysoloras	Union of Churches	3339	Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 13, n. 30, 31.
83	AR1414	1414	Ferdinand I (Aragon)	unknown	unknown	unknown	3343	Marinesco, 'Manuel II et les rois d' Aragon', 205. Zakythinos, <i>Despotat</i> I, 168. Cirac-Estopañan, <i>Bizancio y España</i> , 11, n. 14.
84	CON1414-15	1415	Council of Constance	3	Manuel Chrysoloras Nicholas Eudaimonioioannes Andronikos Eudaimonioioannes	Council of Constance Union of Churches	3345	Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 13-14, n. 37. Cammelli, <i>Χρυσολωράς</i> , 163. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 20-21. Barker, <i>Manuel II</i> , 321-324.

ιδ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
85	POL1415	1415	Poland	unknown	unknown	Help against Turks	3347 3349	Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 18 and 37.
86	VEN1415i	1415	Venice (from Peloponnese)	unknown	unknown	Arrival of Manuel in Peloponnese	3351	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1583. <i>PP</i> III, "Γράμματα τῆς Βενετικῆς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγον", 127.
87	VEN1415ii	1415	Venice (from Peloponnese)	unknown	unknown	Concerning the transportation of Manuel back to Constantinople Anti-Turkish league	3352	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II 1592 Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 238-239. Zakythinios, <i>Despotat</i> I, 168-171.
88	VENCON1416-18a	1416-1418	Venice	3	Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes John Bladynteros	Mediation between Venice and Sigismund Hexamilion	3354	<i>PP</i> III, "Γράμματα τῆς Βενετικῆς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγον", 129. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 22.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
89	VENCON1416-18b	1416-1418	Council of Constance	3	Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes John Bladynteros	Union of Churches Permission for Latin women to marry sons of Manuel	3369	Syropoulos, II, 5. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , doc. I. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 22.
90	AR1416	1416	Ferdinand I (Aragon)	-	Letter given to 'Juvenis Catalanus', who was returning to Aragon	unknown	3357	Marinesco, 'Manuel II et les rois d' Aragon', 206.
91	VEN1416-17	1416-1417	Venice	unknown	unknown	Anti-Turkish league	3367	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1635. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 258-259.
92	VEN1418i	1418	Venice	unknown	unknown	Problems in the Peloponnese	3370	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1705. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 281-282.
93	VEN1418ii	1418	Venice	unknown	unknown	Negotiations for prisoners, taxation, conduct of Venetians in Constantinople	3371	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1705

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
94	POP1419	1419	Pope Martin V (Florence)	1	John Bladynteros	Union of Churches	3374	Syropoulos II, 8. Mercati, <i>Notizie</i> , 477. Loenertz, 'Les dominicains byzantins', 42. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 29.
95	ANC1419	1419	Ancona	unknown	unknown	unknown	3375	-
96	AR1419	1419	Alfonse V (Aragon)	1	Paul Sophianos	About Catalan pirates	3377	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , no 2691, 2571.
97	VENPOPVEN 1420a	1420	Venice	1	Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes	Mediation between Venice and Sigismund Taxation in Constantinople	3378	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1757. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 300-301.
98	VENPOPVEN 1420b	1420	Pope Martin V (Florence)	2	Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes Theodore Chrysoberges	Union of Churches	3380	Syropoulos, II, 8-9. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , doc. II.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
99	VENPOPVEN 1420c	1420	Venice	2	Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes Theodore Chrysoberges	Escort of Cleopa Malatesta and Sophia Monferrat	3372	Doukas, XX, 5. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 306-307.
100	VENHUNPOL 1420a	1420	Venice	1	Manuel Philanthropenos	Mediation between Venice and Sigismund	3379	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1758. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 301.
101	VENHUNPOL 1420b	1420	Sigismund (Hungary)	1	Manuel Philanthropenos	Mediation between Venice and Sigismund	3379	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, 1758. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 301.
102	VENHUNPOL 1420c	1420	Ladislav Jagello (Poland)	1	Manuel Philanthropenos	unknown	3381	Halecki, 'La Pologne', 55. Loenertz, 'Les dominicains', 44.
103	FLOPOP1421a	1421	Florence	1	John Bladynteros	Sauf-conduit to the pope	-	<i>PP</i> III, , "Γράμματα της Βενετικής πολιτείας προς τὸν Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγον", 126, 10 <i>Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane</i> , CIII.

№	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
104	FLOPOP1421b	1421	Pope Martin V (Rome)	1	John Bladynteros	Union of Churches	3386	Syropoulos, II, 9. Mercati, <i>Notizie</i> , 477. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 32.
105	VEN1422	1422	Venice	unknown	unknown	unknown	3395	Zakythenos, <i>Despotat I</i> , 195.

Table 1.3 Embassies during the reign of John VIII

α	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
106	POP1422	1422	Pope Martin V (Rome)	-	Letters carried by the papal envoy Antonio de Massa	Union of Churches	3406	Syropoulos, II, 10. <u>John VIII's letter (14 November 1422)</u> : Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no IV. Mercati, <i>Notizie</i> , 474, 477, 480. Laurent, 'Les neuf articles', 26-27. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 33-36.
107	VENHUN1423a	1423-1424	Venice	unk.	John VIII and retinue	Taxation and financial arrangements John VIII's transportation	3408a 3409 3410 3411	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II no 1915, 1916, 1918, 1919, 1920. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 350-353. Syropoulos, II, 12. Sabbadini, <i>Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa</i> , I, 8, n. 1.

β	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
108	VEN1424i	1424	Venice (from Lodi)	unk.	unknown	Anti-Turkish league	3416	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 1927.
109	GEN1424	1424	Genoa (from Italy)	unk.	unknown	Renewal of treaty	3415	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> I, 362.
110	VEN1424ii	1424	Venice (from Italy)	unk.	unknown	Request for loan	3417	<i>PP</i> III, “Ἰωάννου Ἡ Παλαιολόγου ἐπιστολή πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Βενετίας Φραγκίσκον Φώσκαριν”, 353
111	VENHUN1423b	1423- 1424	Sigismund (Totis - Hungary)	unk.	John VIII and retinue	Help against Turks Union of Churches	-	Syropoulos, II, 12. Sphrantzes, XII, XIII. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 38-39 and n.6.
112	POL1426	1426	Poland	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3419	Halecki, ‘La Pologne’, 57.
113	POP1425-29	After 1425 – before 1429	Pope Martin V (Rome)	unk.	unknown [possibly John Bladynteros]	Preparations for council	–	Argyriou, <i>Macaire Makrès</i> , §68-104, 211-226 and 52-56.
114	POP1426	1426	Pope Martin V (Rome)	unk.	Unknown	Preparations for council	3420	Syropoulos, II, 13, 14, 15. <i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> , no 23. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 39-40.

γ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
115	HUN1429	1429	Sigismund (Hungary)	1	Benedetto Fulcho	Union of Churches	3424	<u>Sigismund's letter (10 October 1429):</u> <i>PP</i> III, 323, 13. <i>Zakythenos Despotat</i> I, 220.
116	POPVEN1430a	1430	Pope Martin V (Rome)	2	Markos Iagares Makarios Makres	Preparations for council	3425	Syropoulos, II, 16. <i>Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium</i> , tom.I, vol.I, 162-3. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no VI. Argyriou, <i>Macaire Makrès</i> , §68-106, 211-226
117	POPVEN1430b	1430	Venice	2	Markos Iagares Makarios Makres	Preparations for council	3426	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> II, no 2209. Sphrantzes, XXI, 5. <i>Zakythenos, Despotat</i> I, 222.
118	FLO1430	1430	Florence	unk.	unknown	Commercial privileges	3429	<i>Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane</i> , no CXI, 156.

δ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
119	POP1431i	1431	Pope Martin V (Rome)	3	Markos Iagares Makarios Kourounas Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates	Union of Churches Council	3431	Syropoulos II, 17.
120	POP1431ii	1431	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome)	1	Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates	Union of Churches	3432	<i>Monumenta Conciliorum</i> I, 119; II, 71. <i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> .I, no 29. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no VII, VIII, XI. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 51-52.
121	POP1432-33	1433	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome)	3	Markos Iagares monk Ioasaph Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates	Preparations for council	3436	Syropoulos, II, 20. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XI.
122	BAS1433-34	1433-1434	Council of Basle	-	Carried by Antonio de Suda (envoy of Council of Basle)	About the delay of the Byzantine embassy	3440	<u>John VIII's letter (28 November 1433):</u> Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XVI <i>Concilium Basiliense</i> I, 334.

E	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
123	HUNBAS1434a	1434	Sigismund (Ulm)	3	Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites Isidore John Dishypatos	Union of Churches Preparations for council	3437 3438	<u>Instructions to envoys (11 November 1433):</u> Theiner and Miklosich, <i>Monumenta spectantia</i> , 44. Syropoulos, II, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no. XXVI.
124	HUNBAS1434b	1434	Council of Basle	3	Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites Isidore John Dishypatos	Union of Churches Preparations for council	3439	Syropoulos, II, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28. <i>Concilium Basiliense</i> I, 339; III, 616-617. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XXX. <i>Monumenta Conciliorum</i> II, 753-756.
125	HUN1434	1434	Sigismund (Ulm) (from Basle)	2	Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites John Dishypatos	Union of Churches Preparations for council	3443	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XXXIII, XXXIV.

Στ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
126	GEN1434	1434	Genoa	1	Manuel [Dishypatos]	Concerning Pera	3441	Belgrano, 'Seconda serie di documenti', no 15. Manfroni, 'Le relazioni', 732-733.
127	POPBAS1434-35a	1434-1435	Pope Eugenius IV (Florence)	2	George Dishypatos Manuel Dishypatos	Preparations for council	3444	<u>Appointment of ambassadors (12 November 1434):</u> Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XLI. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XLIV. <i>Concilium Basiliense</i> I, 342. <i>Monumenta Conciliorum</i> II, 786.
128	POPBAS1434-35b	1434-1435	Council of Basle	2	George Dishypatos Manuel Dishypatos	Preparations for council	3445	<u>John VIII's letter to Basle (12 November 1434):</u> Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum</i> , XXIV, 623 B. [deleted gap] Hofmann, <i>Orientalium documenta minora</i> , no 8. <i>Concilium Basiliense</i> I, 352. <i>Monumenta Conciliorum</i> II, 786. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 57-60.

Z	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
129	BAS1434	1434	Council of Basle	unk.	unknown	Announcement of new envoys Instructions to old envoys to Basle	3444 3446 3447	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XLI. [deleted name] <i>Concilium Basiliense</i> I, 343, 361, 364.
130	POPBAS1435-36a	1435-1436	Pope Eugenius IV (Florence)	-	Carried by the envoy of Basle, Henry Menger	Negotiations for the place of the Council	3348	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , LXI, LXX, LXXV.
131	POPBAS1435-36b	1435-1436	Council of Basle	-	Carried by the envoy of Basle, Henry Menger	Negotiations for the place of the Council	3349	Hofmann, <i>Orientalium documenta minora</i> , no 14. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , LXVI, LXX. Syropoulos, II, 48.
132	BAS1435-36	1435-1435	Council of Basle	unk.	unknown	Confirmation of previous letters	3542	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no LXXIV.
133	HUN1436	1436	Sigismund (Prague)	1	Demetrios [Palaiologos]	preparations for Council	3463	<i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten</i> XII, 32.

H	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
134	POPBAS1436-37a	1436-1437	Basle	2	John Dishypatos Manuel Tarchaneiotes Boullotes	Preparations for Council	3465	<u>Instructions for ambassadors (20 November 1436):</u> Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no XCIV. Syropoulos, III, 7. Laurent, 'La profession de foi', 65.
135	POPBAS1436-37b	1436-1437	Pope (Bologna)	2	John Dishypatos Manuel Tarchaneiotes Boullotes	Preparations for Council	3465 3467	<u>Instructions for ambassadors (20 November 1436):</u> Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , XCIV. Syropoulos, III, 7.
136	AR1437	1436-1437	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	1	Manuel Koresses	Problem of Catalan pirates Request for ships to sail to Basle Marriage proposal	3469	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , no 2694, fol. 87r-89r. Marinesco, 'Contribution', 212-214.

⊕	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
137	BAS1437i	1437	Basle	unk.	unknown	Preparations for Council-concerning the place of the Council.	3470	Hofmann, <i>Orientalium documenta minora</i> , no 22. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 76, n.1.
138	HUN1437	1437	Hungary	1	Manuel Dishypatos	Preparations for Council	3471	Syropoulos, III, 20. Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no CXXXVIII. <i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten</i> XII, no 158. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 82, n.3.
139	BAS1437ii	1437	Basle	unk.	unknown	Departure from Constantinople	3476	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no CLXVII. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 82.
140	POP1437	1437	Pope Eugenius IV (Ferrara)	-	Carried by Michael Zeno	Departure from Constantinople	3477	Hofmann, <i>Orientalium documenta minora</i> , no 27.
141	POP1437-39	1437-1439	Pope Eugenius IV (Ferrara-Florence)	Ca. 700?	John VIII and Byzantine delegation to Council of Ferrara-Florence	Union of Churches	-	Syropoulos, IV, 1-2. Doukas, XXXI, 1-6. Sphrantzes, XXIV, 4.

I	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
142	VEN1438i	1438	Venice (from Italy)	1	[John] Dishypatos (with Sylvester Syropoulos, envoy of patriarch)	Announcement of delegation's arrival to Venice	-	Syropoulos, IV, 16.
143	POP1438i	1438	Pope Eugenius IV (Ferrara) (from Venice)	2	[George and John] Dishypatoi brothers (with two envoys from patriarch – bishops of Heracleia and Monemvasia)	Announcement of delegation's arrival to Ferrara	-	Syropoulos IV, 26-27.
144	BAS1438	1438	Council of Basle (from Venice)	unk.	unknown	Announcement of the delegation's arrival to Italy for the Council Invitation to the Fathers in Basle to join them in Ferrara	3478	Cecconi, <i>Concilio di Firenze</i> , no CLXXXVI. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 104.
145	HUN1438	1438	Hungary (from Italy)	unk.	unknown	Invitation to join the Council in Ferrara	3479	<u>John VIII's letter (25 February 1438):</u> <i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten</i> XIII, no 121. <u>Reply (11-19 March 1438):</u> <i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten</i> XIII, no 128.

Iα	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
146	VEN1438ii	1438	Venice (from Ferrara)	2	Manuel Dishypatos Markos Iagares (with a papal envoy)	Request for armed ships to be sent to Constantinople	3480 3481 3482	Syropoulos, V, 22-23. Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2472, 2473. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 115-117.
147	POP1438ii	1438	Pope Eugenius IV (Ferrara)	1	Andronikos Iagares	Organisation of the Council	-	Syropoulos, IV, 23. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 130.
148	FLO1438	1438	Florence (from Ferrara)	1	John Dishypatos	Concerning the transfer of the Council from Ferrara to Florence	3585	Syropoulos, VII, 24. <i>Documenti sulle relazioni della città Toscane</i> , no CXX. Gill, <i>Council of Florence</i> , 177 and n. 4.
149	FLO1439	1439	Florence (From Italy)	unk.	unknown	Privileges to Florence	3487 3488 3489	MM III, no 41, 42. <i>Documenti sulle relazioni della città Toscane</i> , no CXXI, CXXII. Lambros, <i>NE</i> 4, 299-302; 296-299.

Iβ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
150	VENHUN1442a	1442	Venice	1	John Torcello	Help against Turks	3494	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2568.
151	VENHUN1442b	1442	Hungary	1	John Torcello	Help against Turks	3494	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2568.
152	VENPOP1442a	1442	Venice	1	Fr Jacob, Franciscan	Help against Turks	3495	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2588.
153	VENPOP1442b	1442	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome?)	1	Fr Jacob, Franciscan	Help against Turks	3495	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2588.
154	FLO1442	1442	Florence	unk.	unknown	unknown	3496	<i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> III, no 261.
155	VENPOPBURG1443a	1443	Venice	1	Theodore Karystinos	Help against Turks	3498	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2603.
156	VENPOPBURG1443b	1443	Pope Eugenius IV (Siena)	1	Theodore Karystinos	Help against Turks	3499	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, 2603.
157	VENPOPBURG1443c	1443	Burgundy	1	Theodore Karystinos	Help against Turks	3500	Marinesco, 'Philip le Bon', 156. Marinesco, 'Notes', 421.

Iy	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
158	POP1443i	1443	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome)	1	Andronikos Iagares	Help against Turks	3503	<i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> III, no 266. Chalkokondyles, VI, 322, 22.
159	POP1443ii	1443	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome)	1	John Torcello	Help against Turks	3504	<i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> III, no 267.
160	HUN1444	1444	Hungary	1	monk George	Help against Turks	3505	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no1041, 1042. Andreeva, 'Le traité de commerce', 122.
161	FRBURG1444a	1444	France	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3506	Chalkokondyles, VI, 323, 6.
162	FRBURG1444b	1444	Burgundy	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3506	Chalkokondyles, VI, 323, 6.
163	POPVEN1444-45a	1444-1445	Pope Eugenius IV (Rome)	unk.	unknown	About Venetian fleet in Tenedos	3508	-

Iδ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose of embassy	Regesten	Sources
164	POPVEN1444-45b	1444-1445	Venice	unk.	unknown	About Venetian fleet in Tenedos	3508	-
165	RAG1445	1445	Ragusa	unk.	unknown	unknown	3508a	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no 1094.
166	VEN1445	1445	Venice	1	archbishop Pachomios	About negotiations with other European rulers	3510	-
167	AR1447	1447	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	1	John Torcello	Help against Turks	3512	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , no 2654. Marinesco, 'Contribution,' 211. Marinesco, 'Notes', 423.
168	POP1448	1448	Pope Nicholas V (Rome)	1	Gregorios of monastery of St Demetrios in Constantinople	unknown	3515	<i>Epistolae pontificiae</i> III, no 296.

Table 1.4 Embassies during the reign of Constantine XI

α	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
169	POPAR1449a	1449	Pope Nicholas V (Rome)	1	Manuel Dishypatos	Help against Turks	-	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , 2655, f. 61v-62, 66v. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 3, 435. Marinsco, 'Notes', 425.
170	POPAR1449b	1449	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	1	Manuel Dishypatos	Help against Turks Negotiations for marriage alliance	3522	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , 2655, f. 61v-62, 66v. Lambros, <i>NE</i> 4, 433-436. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 4, 435. Zakythinios, <i>Despotat</i> I, 239, 278.

β	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
171	GEN1449	1449	Genoa	1	John de Mare of Pera	Union	3523	Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 6, 435. Guilland, 'Les appels', 227.
172	RAG1449	1449	Ragusa	unk.	unknown	Tax exemption of merchants	3524a	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no 1144. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 7, 436.
173	RAG1450i	1450	Ragusa	unk.	unknown	Tax exemption of merchants	-	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no 1175. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 9, 436.
174	RAG1450ii	1450	Ragusa	1	'duka Lathi'	Commercial agreement	3526	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no 1197. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> , III, 442-443. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 10, 436.
175	VEN1450	1450	Venice	-	Letter carried by Venetian envoy, Nicolò de Canale	Measures to improve finances of Constantinople that involve Venetian citizens	3527 3528	<i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> , no 206, 207. Guilland, 'Les appels', 229-30.

γ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
176	AR1451	1451	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	1	Manuel Palaiologos	unknown	3529	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> III, 47-48, 50. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 12, 436. Marinesco, 'Notes', 424. Marinesco, 'Pape Nicolas', 336.
177	VENFERPOPAR 1451a	1451	Venice	1	Andronikos Bryennios Leontares	Negotiations about taxation and customs	3532	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, no 2856. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> , III, 264, n.1. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 14, 436. Guilland, 'Les appels', 237. Nicol, <i>The immortal emperor</i> , 49-50.
178	VENFERPOPAR 1451b	1451	Marquis d'Este (Ferrara)	1	Andronikos Bryennios Leontares	Assurance of emperor's friendship toward the marquis	3533	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> IV, 46. <i>PP</i> IV, "Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου γράμμα πρὸς τὸν Μαρκίωνα Φερράρας Μποροσόν (1451)", 26-27. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 15, 436. Nicol, <i>The immortal emperor</i> , 49-50.

δ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
179	VENFERPOPAR 1451c	1451	Pope Nicholas V (Rome)	1	Andronikos Bryennios Leontares	Union and re- establishment of Gregory Mammias to the patriarchal throne	3534	<p><u>Reply of pope (10 October 1451):</u> PG 160, col.1201-1212</p> <p>PP IV, 49-63.</p> <p>Doukas XXXVI, 1.</p> <p>Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 16, 436.</p> <p>Marinesco, 'Notes', 426-427.</p> <p>Marinesco, 'Pape Nicolas', 332-333.</p> <p>Guilland, 'Les appels', 231-232.</p> <p>Nicol, <i>The immortal emperor</i>, 50.</p>
180	VENFERPOPAR 1451d	1451	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	1	Andronikos Bryennios Leontares	Help against Turks	3535	<p><i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i>, 2655 f.182; 2549 f. 44; 2655 f. 184.</p> <p>Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 17, 437.</p> <p>Marinesco, 'Notes', 427.</p> <p>Marinesco, 'Pape Nicolas V', 336.</p>

ε	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
181	RAG1451	1451	Ragusa	unk.	unknown	Commercial privileges	3537	<u>Constantine's Chrysobull (June 1451):</u> <i>PP IV</i> 23-25. <i>MM III</i> , 228-230.
182	VENFLOPOP 1452a	1452	Venice	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3539 3541	Thiriet, <i>Régestes III</i> , no 2881. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 19, 437. Guilland, 'Les appels', 238.
183	VENFLOPOP 1452b	1452	Florence	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3539 3541	Thiriet, <i>Régestes III</i> , no 2881. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 20, 437. Guilland, 'Les appels', 238.
184	VENFLOPOP 1452c	1452	Pope Nicholas V (Rome)	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3539 3541	Thiriet, <i>Régestes III</i> , no 2881. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 21, 437. Guilland, 'Les appels', 238.

σ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
185	RAG1452	1452	Ragusa	1	Manuel	Help against Turks	3544	Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no 1249. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 24, 437. Iorga, <i>Notes</i> II, 4 n. 2.
186	POP1452	1452	Pope Nicholas V (Rome)	1	Manuel Palaiologos Iagares (his 'father')	Help against Turks		Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 25. Kritoboulos I, 19, 1. Laurent, 'Un agent efficace', 194-195. Ganchou, 'Sur quelques erreurs relatives', 64-67.
187	HUN1452	1452	Hungary	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3545	Malamut, no 26, 27, 29. Pseudo-Phrantzes, IV, 2, 7.

ζ	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
188	AR1452	1452	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3546	Pseudo-Phrantzes, IV, 2, 8. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 29.
189	VEN1452	1452	Venice	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks	3548	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, no 2905. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 31. Guilland, 'Les appels', 241.
190	HUN1453	1453	Hungary	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks		Iorga, <i>Notes</i> II, 512. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 32.
191	VEN1453i	1453	Venice	unk.	unknown	Help against Turks		Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> III, no 2911. Guilland, 'Les appels', 242. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 33.

η	Code	Date	Recipient	No of envoys	Names of envoys	Purpose	Regesten	Sources
192	AR1453i	1453	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	2	Michael Trapperius (Draperio) Fr John Perera	Help against Turks	3549	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , 611. Marinesco, 'Notes', 427. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 34.
193	VEN1453ii	1453	Venice	1	Andreas Leontares	Help against Turks	3552	Iorga, <i>Notes</i> III, 284. Malamut, 'Les ambassades', no 36.
194	AR1453ii	1453	Alfonse V of Aragon (Naples)	3	Manuel Angelos Palaiologos Michael Radoslav (Manuel) Angelos Dishypatos	Help against Turks	3551	<i>Archivo de la Corona d'Aragó</i> , 616-624. Marinesco, 'Notes', 423-424.

2. Embassies (Destinations/Year)

Table 2.1 John V

	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389	
ARAGON																1																				
GENOA																																		1		1
GERMANY	1																																			
POPE	1		1							1		1	1		1	1				2																
VENICE					1		1	2							1	1			1	2								1								

Table 2.2 Manuel II

	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	1402	1403	1405	1404	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420	1421	1422
ANCONA																										1			
anti-POPE								1	1							1	1												
ARAGON							1	1				2					1				1		1			1			
CASTILE							1	1																					
CONSTANCE																						1	1						
DENMARK									1																				
ENGLAND				1	2											1													
FLORENCE					1			1																				1	
FRANCE	1			2								1			1														
HUNGARY	1	1																1			1						1		
[ITALIAN CITIES] ^{iv}																													
NAVARRRE							1					1																	
POLAND																						1					1		
POPE	1				1							1														1	1	1	
PORTUGAL								1																					
SIENA						1																							
VENICE	2	2				1			3	2		1	1	2			1		1	1	1	2	2		2		3		1

Table 2.3 John VIII

	1422	1423	1424	1425	1426	1427	1428	1429	1430	1431	1432	1433	1434	1435	1436	1437	1438	1439	1440	1441	1442	1443	1444	1445	1446	1447	1448	
ARAGON																1											1	
BASLE												1	3	2	1	2	1											
BURGUNDY																						1	1					
FLORENCE									1								1	1			1							
FRANCE																							1					
GENOA			1										1															
HUNGARY								1					2		1	1	1				1		1					
POLAND					1																							
POPE	1			1	1				1	2	1		1	1	1	1	2				1	3	1				1	
RAGUSA																								1				
VENICE			2						1								2				2	1	1	1				

Table 2.4 Constantine XI

	1449	1450	1451	1452	1453
ARAGON	1		2	1	2
FERRARA			1		
FLORENCE				1	
GENOA	1				
HUNGARY				1	1
POPE	1		1	2	
RAGUSA	1	2	1	1	
VENICE		1	1	2	2

Charts

3. Destinations of embassies

Chart 3.1 John V

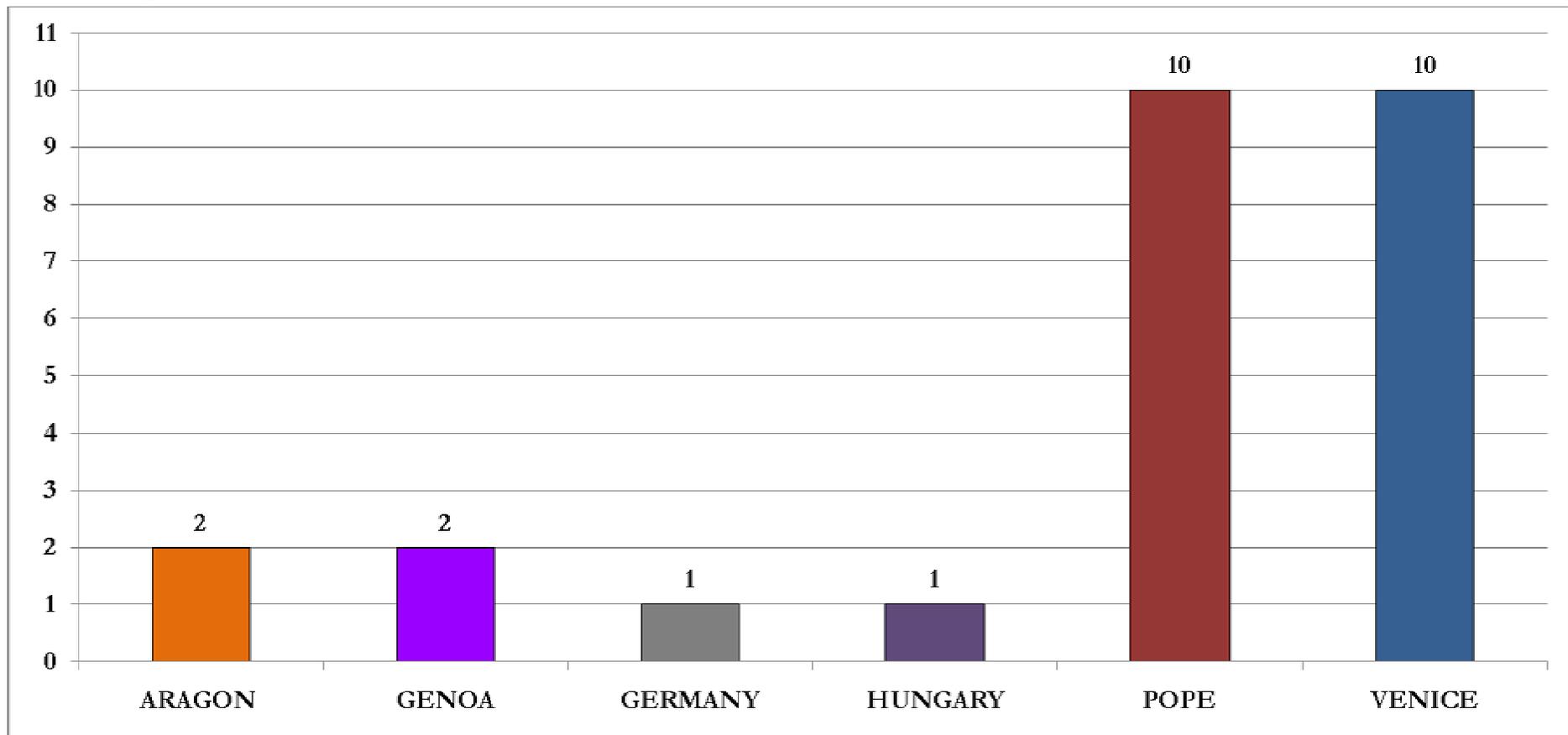


Chart 3.2 Manuel II

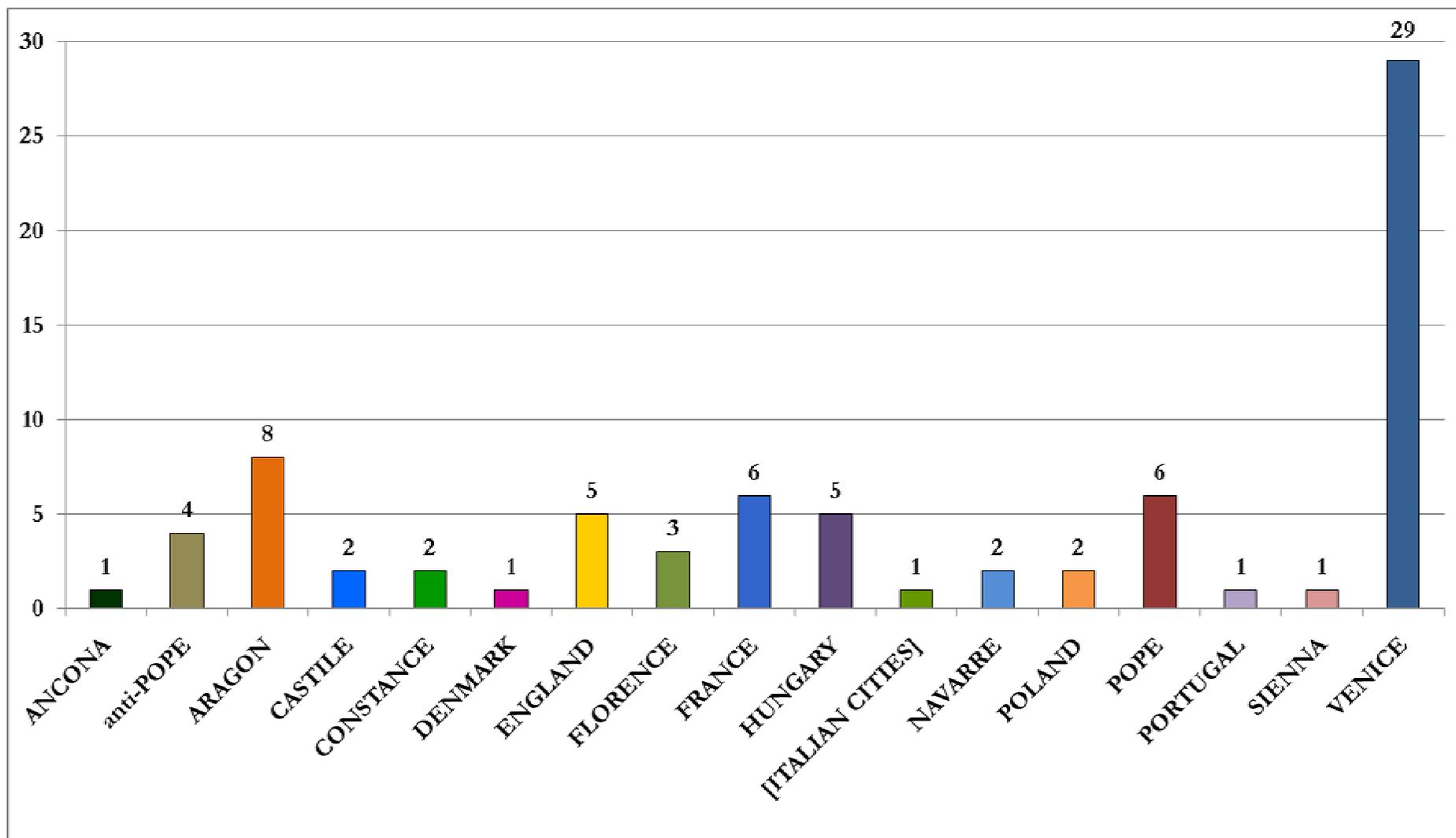


Chart 3.3 John VIII

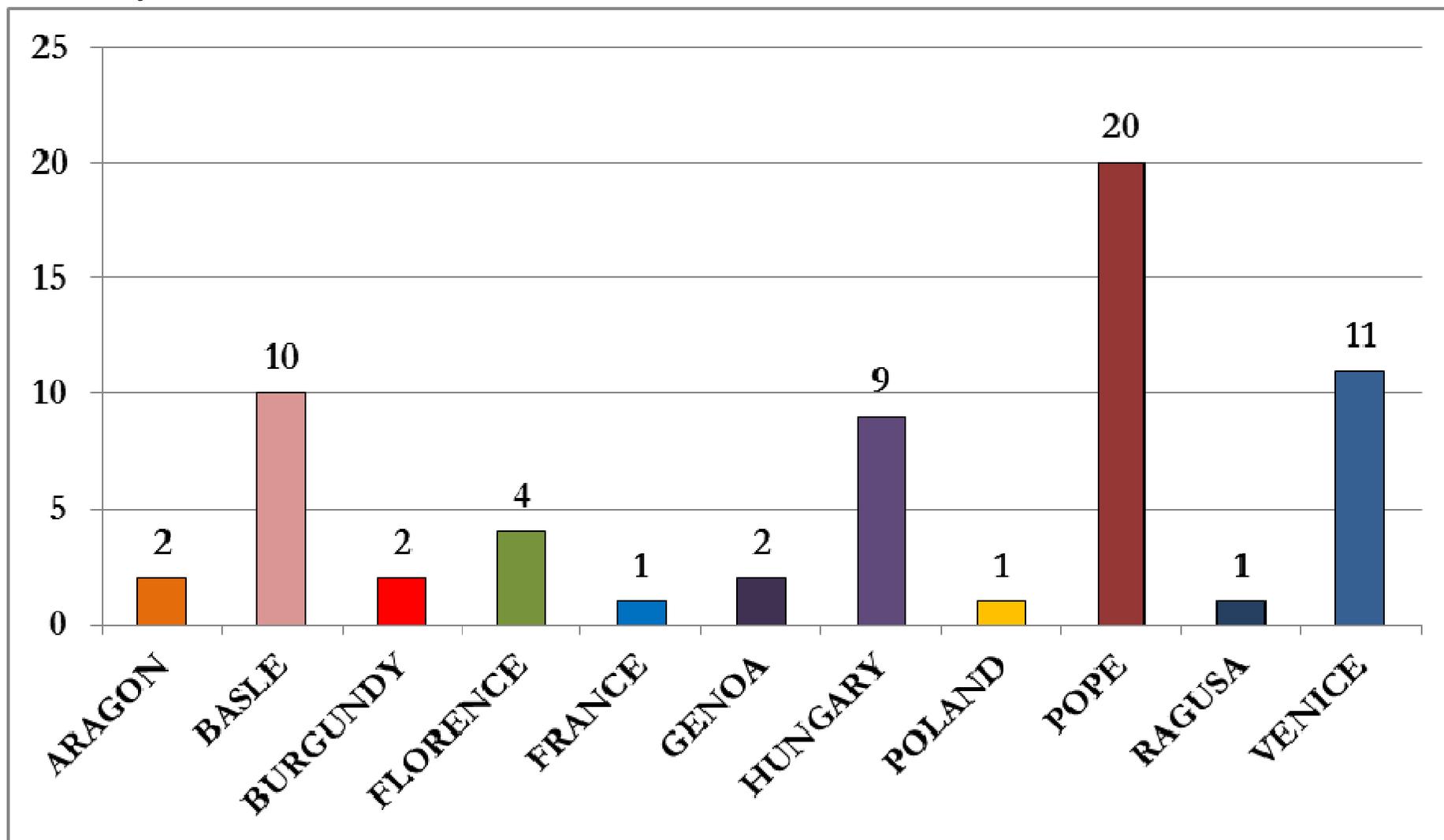


Chart 3.4 Constantine XI

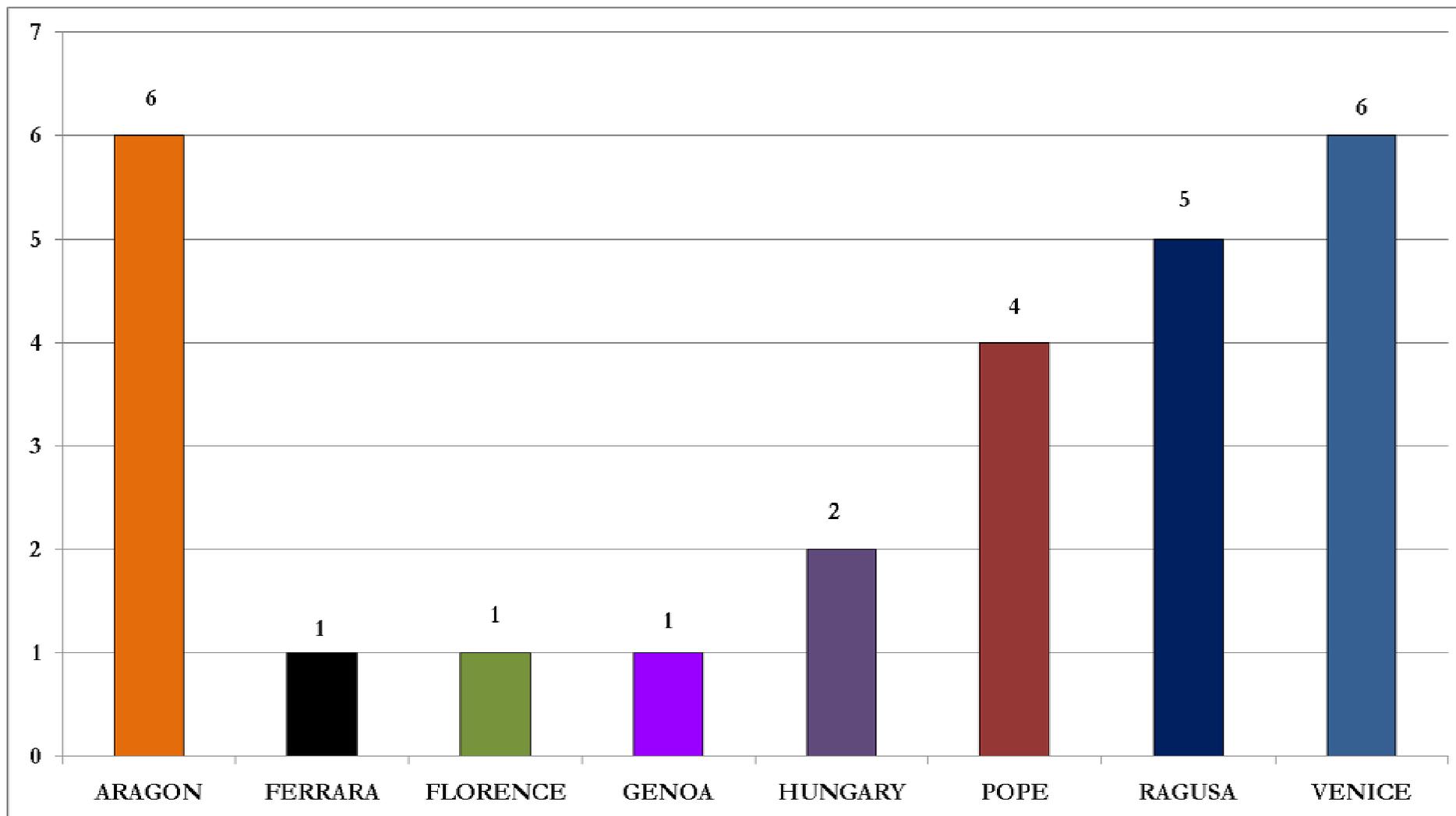
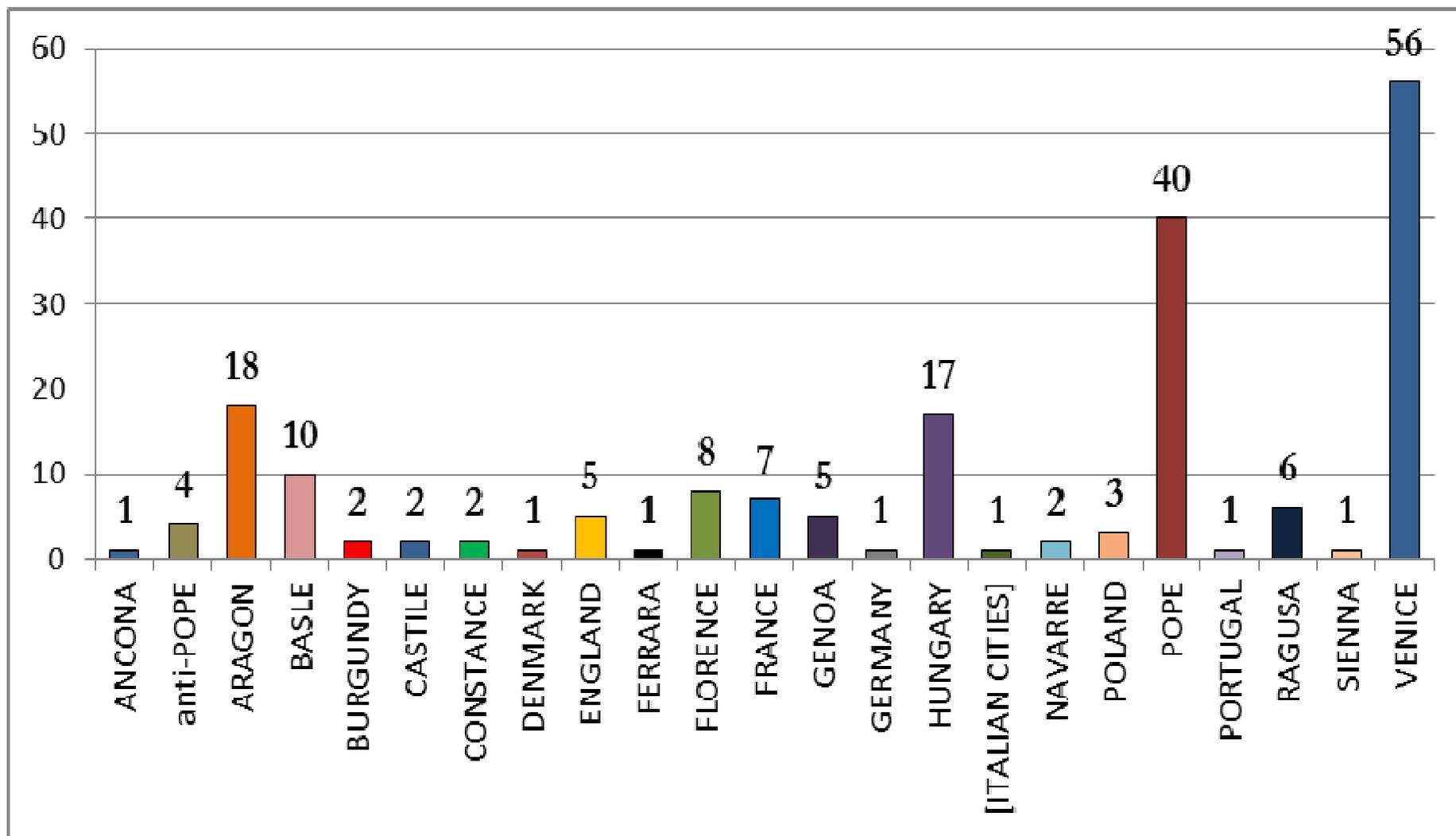


Chart 3.5 Destinations of embassies 1354-1453



4. Size of embassies^v

Chart 4.1 John V

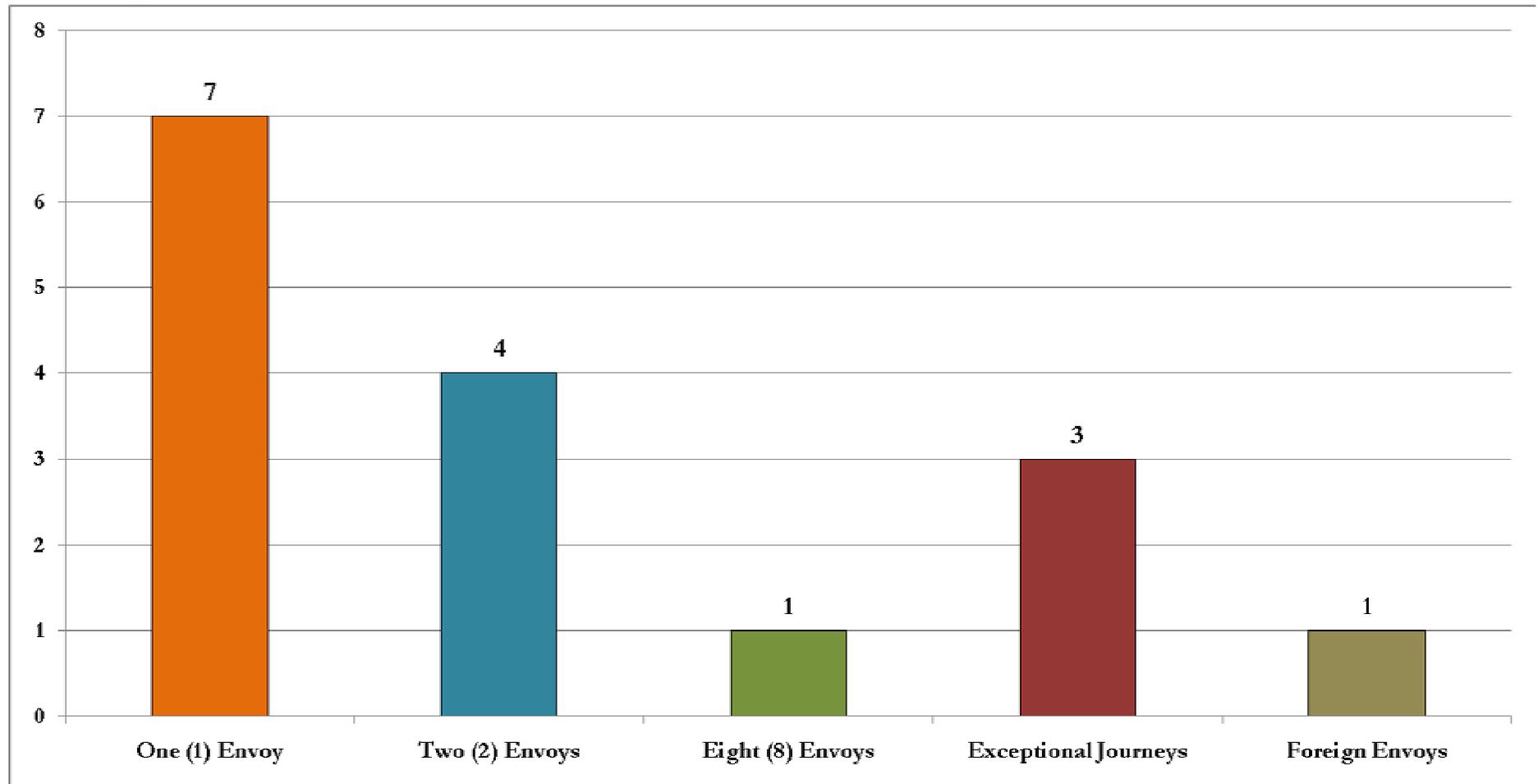


Chart 4.2 Manuel II

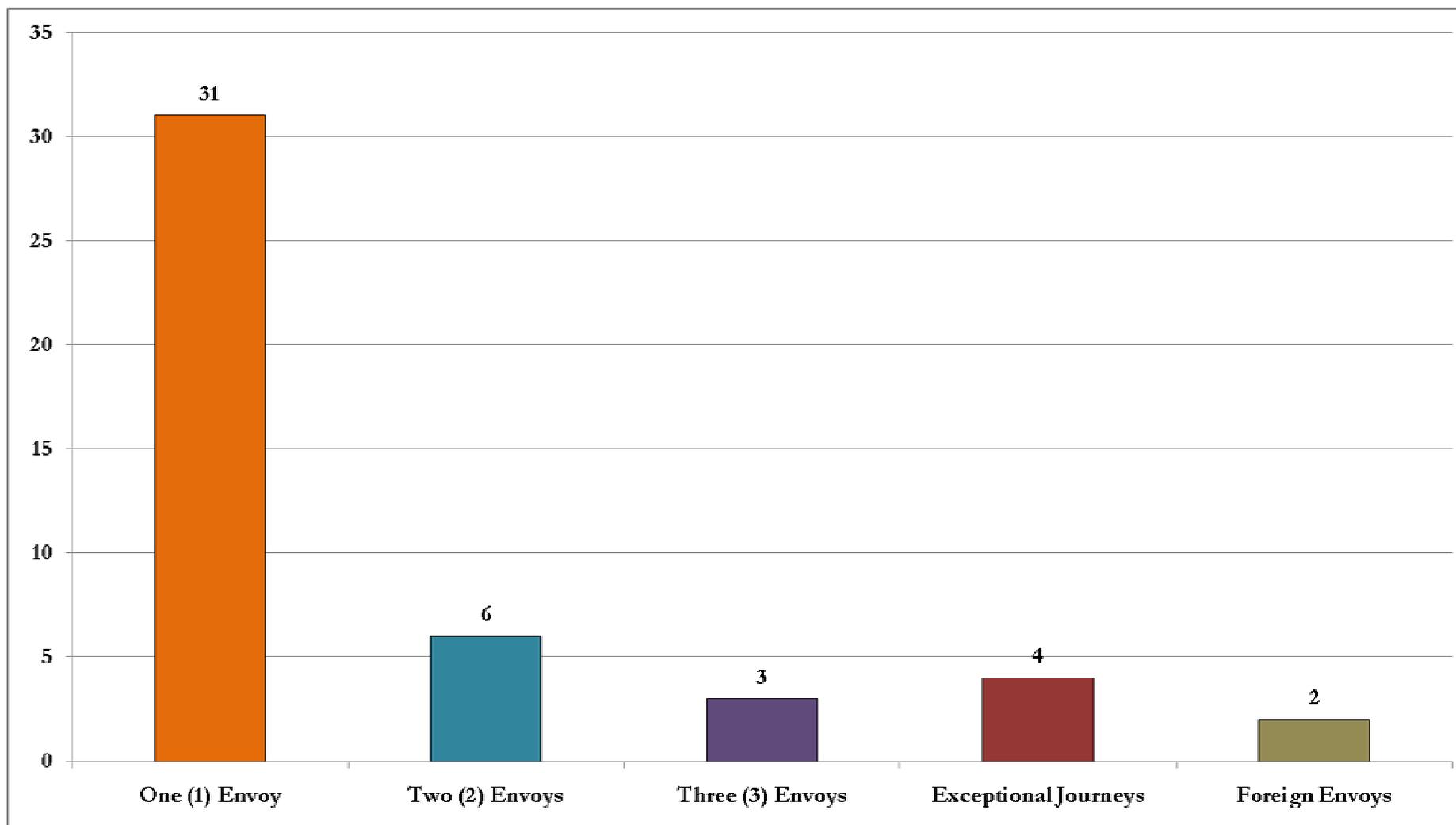


Chart 4.3 John VIII

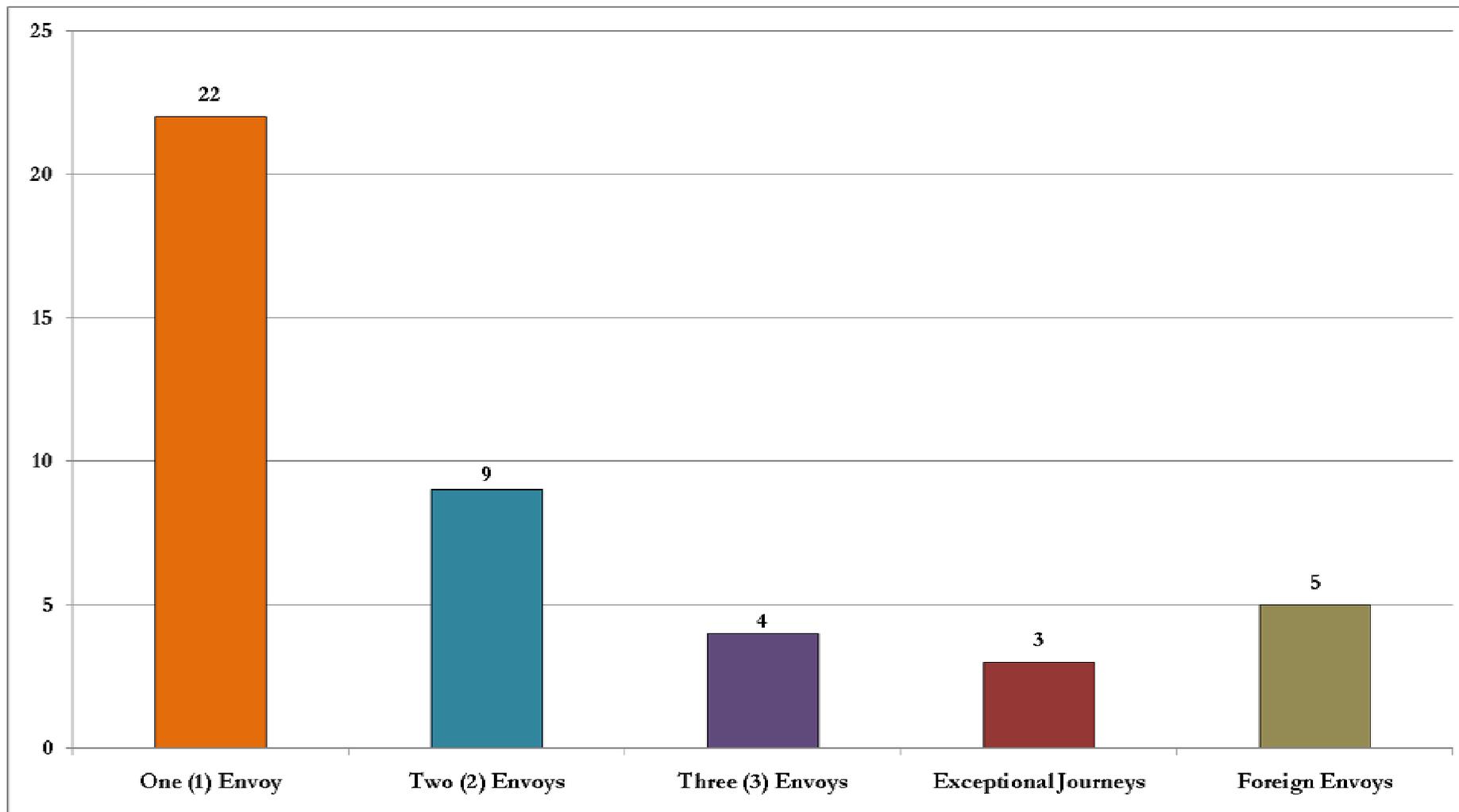


Chart 4.4 Constantine XI

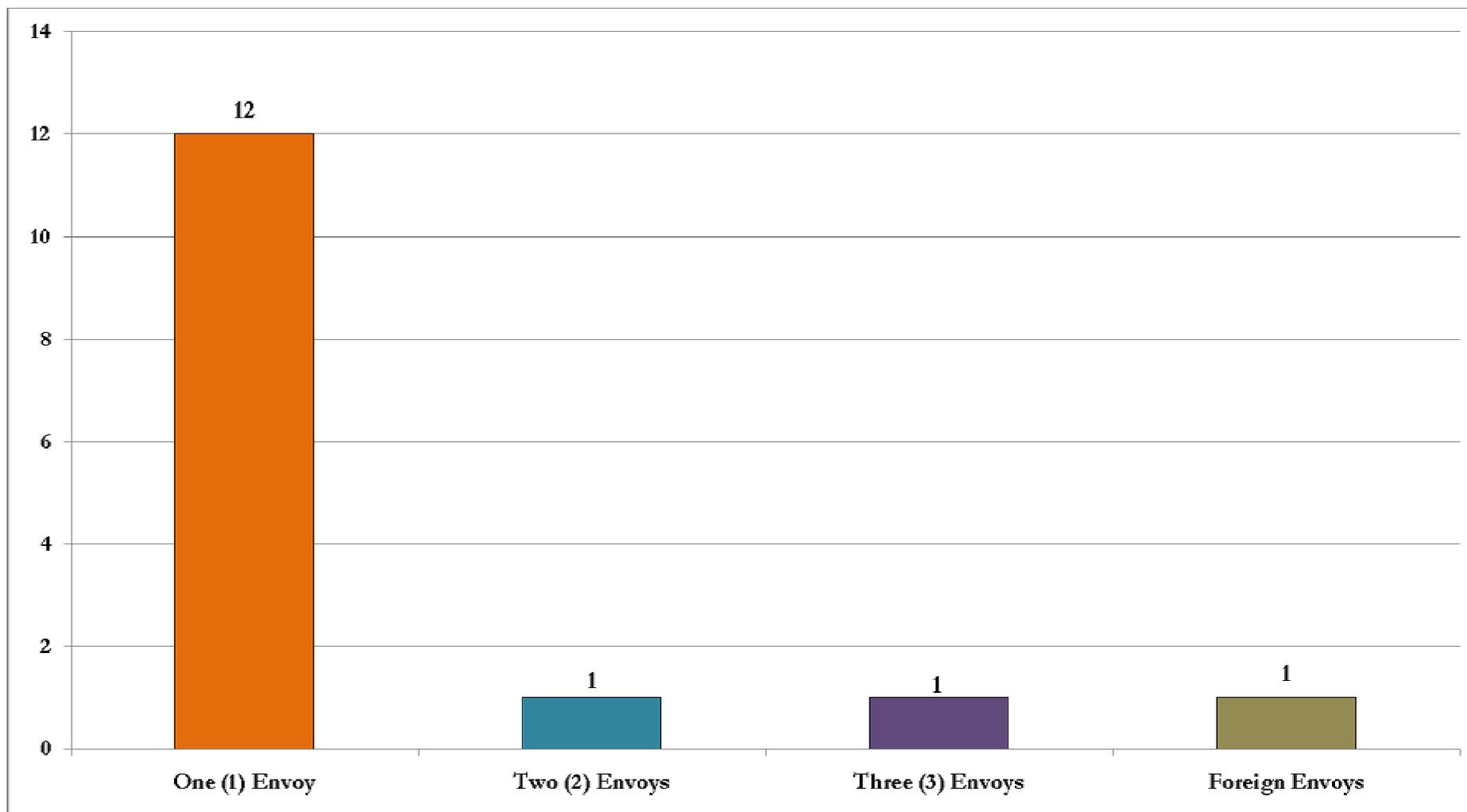
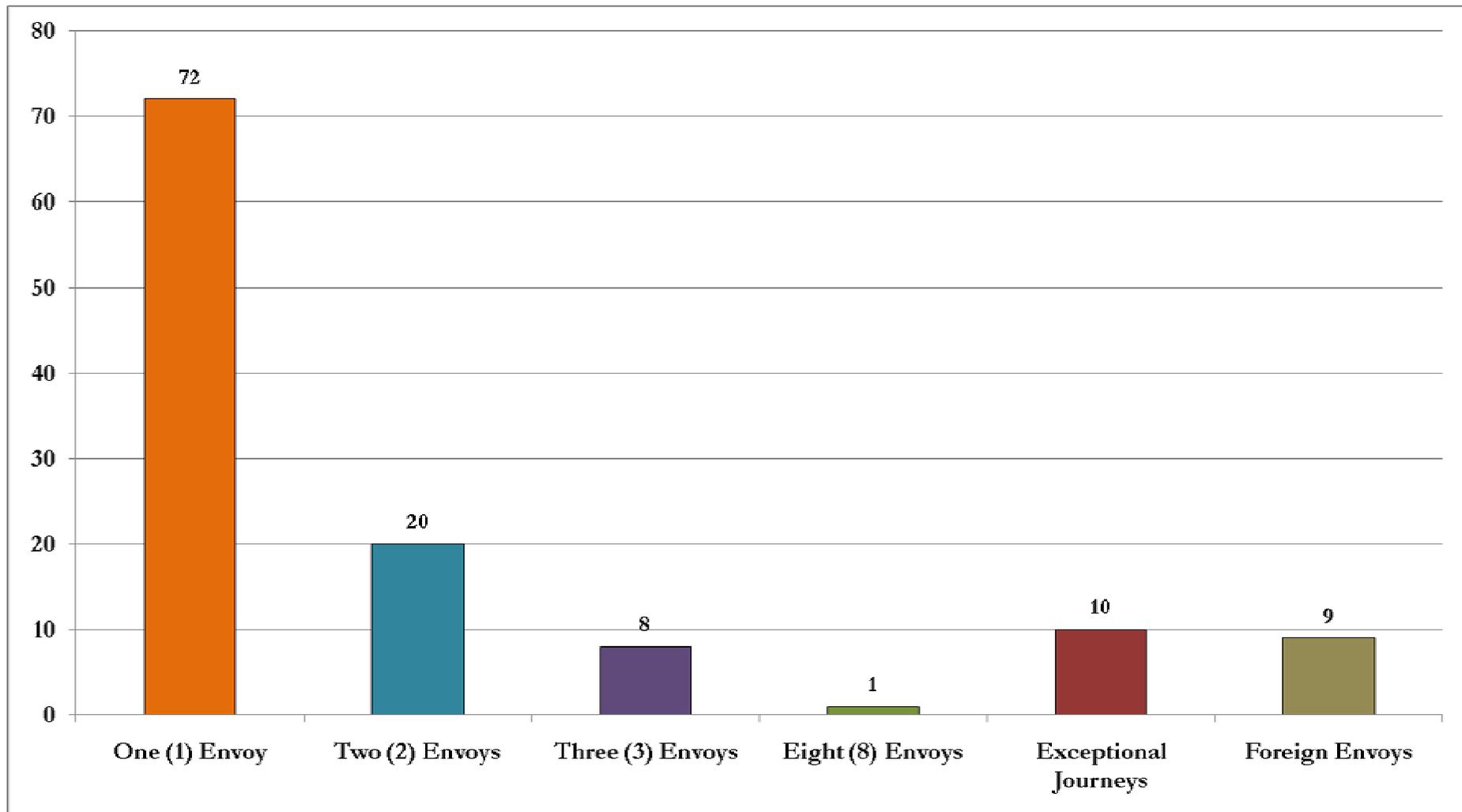


Chart 4.5 1354-1453



appendix **B**

Journeys

Tables

1. Journeys

Table 1.1 John V

α	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return Vessels
1	GER1355	[Italy]	Charles IV of Luxemburg	unk.	Before April 1355 (WINTER/SPRING)	Ca. April 1355	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
2	POP1355	Avignon	Pope Innocent VI	unk.	After 15 December 1355 (WINTER)	12-19 June 1356	Small galley	unk.	After 21 July 1356	unknown (ca. end of SUMMER)	unk.
3	POP1357	Avignon	Pope Innocent VI	unk.	After 7 November 1357 (AUTUMN/WINTER)	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
4	VEN1359	Venice	Doge Giovanni Dolfin	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER/SPRING)	Before 12 March 1359	unk.	[Yes]	After 12 March 1359 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.
5	VEN1361	Venice	Doge Giovanni Dolfin	[Yes]	After 9 June 1361 (SUMMER)	unknown	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.

β	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return Vessels
6	VEN1362	Venice	Doge Lorenzo Celsi	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 31 March 1362	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
7	VEN1362-63	Venice	Doge Lorenzo Celsi	[Yes]	After 1 October 1362 (AUTUMN)	Before 13 March 1363	unk.	[Yes]	After 13 March 1363 (SPRING)	Beginning of SUMMER	unk.
8	POP1364	Avignon	Pope Urban V	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	Before 16 October 1364	unk.	unk.	After 16 October 1364 (AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.
11	POP1367	Viterbo (and Rome)	Pope Urban V	Yes	Ca. 9 June 1367 (SUMMER)	Venice: ca. end of July Viterbo: 7 October 1367 Rome: 16 October 1367	Ships of Amadeo of Savoy	unk.	After 6 November 1367 (AUTUMN)	unk.	unk.
18	VEN1373	Venice	Doge Andrea Contarini	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 19 April 1373	unk.	[Yes]	After 19 April 1373 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.
19	VEN1374i	Venice	Doge Andrea Contarini	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 9 March 1374	unk.	[Yes]	After 9 March 1374 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.

γ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return Vessels
20	VEN1374ii	Venice	Doge Andrea Contarini	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	Before 24 August 1374	unk.	[Yes]	After 24 August 1374 (SUMMER/AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.
21	POP1374-75i	Avignon	Pope Gregory XI	unk.	unknown (ca. AUTUMN/WINTER)	Before 13 December 1374	unk.	Yes	After 13 February 1375 (from Venice)	unknown	Venetian galleys
22	POP1374-75ii	Avignon	Pope Gregory XI	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 28 January 1375	unk.	unk.	After 28 January 1375	unknown	unk.
23	VEN1382-83	Venice	Doge Antonio Venier	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 26 January 1383	unk.	[Yes]	After 23 May 1383 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.
24	AR1383	Aragon	Peter IV	No	After 26 August 1383 (SUMMER/AUTUMN)	Before 23 December 1383 (WINTER)	unk.	No	After 23 December 1383 (WINTER)	unknown	unk.
25	GEN1387-1391	Genoa	Republic of Genoa	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unk.	unknown	unk.
26	GEN1389	Genoa	Republic of Genoa	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER/SPRING)	15 April 1389	unk.	unk.	After 1 February 1390 (WINTER)	unknown	unk.

Table 1.2 Manuel II

α	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
27	VEN1394	Venice	Doge Antonio Venier	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	Before 24 July 1394	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
28 29 30 31	VENFRPOPHUN 1394-95 a, b, c, d	a. Venice b. France c. Rome d. Buda	a. Doge Antonio Venier b. Charles VI c. Pope Boniface IX d. Sigismund	[Yes]	unknown (ca. AUTUMN/ WINTER)	a. Before 23 December 1394	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
32	VEN1395	Venice	Doge Antonio Venier	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 12 March 1395	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.

β	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
33	VEN1395-96	Venice	Doge Antonio Venier	[Yes]	unknown (ca. AUTUMN/ WINTER)	Before 9 December 1395	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
34	HUN1395-96	Buda	Sigismund	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 27 February 1396	unk.	Yes	Left Buda: ca. 1 March 1396 Left Venice: Before 11 April 1396	unknown	Venetian galleys
35 36	FRENG1397-98a, b	a. France b. England	a. Charles VI b. Richard II	Yes	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Venice: Before 9 April 1397	unk.	Yes	From France: after 22 July 1398 From Venice: ca. September 1398	unknown	Venetian galleys

γ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
37	FR1397-98	France	Charles VI	unk.	After 1 July 1397 (SUMMER)	unknown	unk.	Yes	From France: after 28 June 1398 From Venice: after 17 September 1398	unknown	Venetian galleys
38 39 40 41	FLOENGPOPENG 1398-99 a, b, c, d	a. Florence b. England c. Rome d. England	b. Richard II c. Pope Boniface IX d. Richard II	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	a. Before 5 October 1398 b. Before 25 December 1398 c. After 20 January 1399 d. After 6 March 1399-Summer 1399	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.

δ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
42	SIEN1399	Siena	Republic of Siena	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	Before 22 September 1399	unk.	unk.	After 22 September 1399	unknown	unk.
63	POP1404	Rome	Pope Boniface IX	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
64 65	ARNAV1404-05a, b	a. Aragon b. Navarre	a. Martin I b. Charles III	No	unknown (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	a. Before 25 September 1404 b. After 24 April 1405	unk.	No	After April 1405	unknown	unk.
66	FR1404	France	Charles VI	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	After 25 September 1404	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
67	AR1404	Aragon	Martin I	No	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	Before 14 November 1404	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unk.
68	VEN1404-05	Venice	Doge Michele Steno	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 23 January 1405	unk.	[Yes]	After 31 January 1405 (WINTER)	unknown	unk.

ε	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
69	VEN1406	Venice	Doge Michele Steno	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 11 February 1406	unk.	[Yes]	Before 22 May 1406	unknown	unk.
70	VEN1407	Venice	Doge Michele Steno	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Ca. January 1407	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
71 72 73 76 77	VENFRENGARa-POP 1407-1410a, b, c, d, e	a. Venice b. France c. England d. Aragon e. Bologna	a. Doge Michele Steno b. Charles VI d. Martin I e. anti-Pope John XXIII	[Yes]	After 23 October 1407 (AUTUMN)	Before 8 December 1407	unk.	unk.	After May 1410 (SUMMER)	Ca. August 1410	unk.
74	a-POP1409-10	Bologna	anti-Pope Alexander V	unk.	After 25 December 1409 (WINTER)	Probably before 3 May 1410	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
75	VEN1410	Venice	Doge Michele Steno	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 10 January 1410	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.

$\sigma\tau$	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
79	VEN1412	Venice	Doge Michele Steno	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SPRING)	Before 5 May 1410	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
80	VEN1413-14	Venice	[Doge Tomasso Mocenigo]	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 8 January 1414	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
81	VEN1414	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	Before 20 July 1414	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
82	HUN1414	Buda	Sigismund	unk.	unknown (ca. SPRING)	Before summer 1414	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
83	AR1414	Aragon	Ferdinand I	No	After 28 November 1414 (AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unk.
85	POL1415	Poland	Ladislas	unk.	ca. SPRING	ca. SPRING	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
86	VEN1415i	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	(from Peloponnese) (ca. SUMMER)	Before 23 July 1415	unk.	[Yes]	Before 23 September 1415	unknown (to Peloponnese)	unk.
87	VEN1415ii	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	(from Peloponnese) (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	Before 23 September 1415	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown (to Peloponnese)	unk.

ζ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
88 89	VENCON 1416-1418a, b	a. Venice b. Council of Constance	a. Doge Tomasso Mocenigo b. Pope Martin V (after 1417)	[Yes]	(from Peloponnese) (ca. WINTER)	a. Before 8 February 1416	unk.	unk.	(from Constance) After 6 April 1418	unknown	unk.
90	AR1416	Aragon	Ferdinand I	No	After 25 March 1416 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unk.
91	VEN1416-17	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 12 January 1417	unk.	[Yes]	After 12 January 1417	unknown	unk.
92	VEN1418i	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	After 1 March 1418 (SPRING)	Before 21 July 1418	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
93	VEN1418ii	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	After 31 May 1418 (SUMMER)	Before 21 July 1418	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.
94	POP1419	Florence	Pope Martin V	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Ca. February 1419	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
95	ANC1419	Ancona	-	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 8 April 1419	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.

η	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival to destination	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return - Departure	Arrival in Constantinople	Return vessels
96	AR1419	Aragon	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	unknown	Ca. end 1419	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unk.
97 98 99	VENPOPVEN 1420 a, b, c	a. Venice b. Florence c. Venice	a. Doge Tomasso Mocenigo b. Pope Martin V	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 17 January 1420	unk.	[Yes]	After 30 August 1420	Before 19 January 1421	Venetian galleys
100 101 102	VENHUNPOL 1420a, b, c	a. Venice b. [Hungary] c. Poland	a. Doge Tomasso Mocenigo b. Sigismund c. Ladislas Jagiello	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 17 January 1420	unk.	unk.	After August 1420	unknown	unk.
103 104	FLOPOP1421a, b	a. Florence b. Rome	b. Pope Martin V	unk	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	a. 10 June 1421 b. After 13 June 1421	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
105	VEN1422	Venice	Doge Tomasso Mocenigo	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unk.	[Yes]	unknown.	unknown	unk.

Table 1.3 John VIII

α	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
106	POP1422	Rome	Pope Martin V	unk.	After 14 November 1422 (ca. AUTUMN/WINTER)	Before March 1423	unk.	No return	No return	No return	No return
112	POL1426	Poland	Vitold	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
113	POP1425	Rome	Pope Martin V	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
114	POP1426	Rome	Pope Martin V	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
115	HUN1429	[Hungary]	Sigismund	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER/AUTUMN)	Before 10 October 1429	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
116 117	POPVEN1430a, b	a. Rome b. Venice	a. Pope Martin V b. Doge Francesco Foscari	No	unknown (ca. WINTER)	In Ancona: Ca. 20 April 1430 a. (Rome) Spring 1430 b. (Venice) Before 19 July 1430	unk.	[Yes]	After 19 July 1430	After August 1430	unknown

β	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
118	FLO1430	Florence	-	unk.	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before 8 June 1430	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
119	POP1431i	Rome	Pope Martin V	No	Ca. 20/2/1431 (WINTER/ SPRING)	[did not reach destination]	unk.	unk.	unknown	[did not reach destination. Returned to Constantinople ca. March 1431]	unknown
120	POP1431ii	Rome	Pope Eugenius IV	unk.	After March 1431 (SPRING)	unknown	unk.	unk.	Before 15 October 1431	unknown	unknown
121	POP1432-33	Rome	Pope Eugenius IV	unk.	After November 1432 (WINTER)	Before May 1433	unk.	unk.	unknown	After January 1434	unknown
122	BAS1433-34	Basle	Council of Basle	unk.	After 28 November 1433 (WINTER)	2 May 1434	unk.	No return	No return	No return	No return

γ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
123 124	HUNBAS1434a, b	a. Ulm b. Basle	a. Sigismund b. Council of Basle	No	Before 18 January 1434 (WINTER)	a. ca. 25 June 1434 b. 12 July 1434	unk.	Yes	Envoys separated: [1] After 30 April 1435 (via Hungary) [2] shortly after 30 April 1435 (via Venice)	unknown	Venetian galleys
126	GEN1434	Genoa	Republic of Genoa	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
127 128	POPBAS1434-35 a, b	a. Florence b. Basle	a. Pope Eugenius IV b. Council of Basle	Yes	Between 12 and 16 November 1434 (AUTUMN)	Venice: Before 21 December 1434 a. Florence: 21 January 1434 b. Basle: after 23 February 1435 – before 5 April 1435	Venetian galleys	Yes	Envoys separated: [1] After 30 April 1435 (via Hungary) [2] shortly after 30 April 1435 (via Venice)	unknown	[2] Venetian galleys

δ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
129	BAS1434	Basle	Council of Basle	unk.	After 16 November 1434 (AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
130 131	POPBAS1435-36 a, b	a. Florence b. Basle	a. Pope Eugenius IV b. Council of Basle	Yes	After 22 November (AUTUMN/WINTER)	Venice: Before 4 January 1436	Venetian galleys	No return	No return	No return	No return
132	BAS1435-36	Basle	Council of Basle	unk.	After 28 December 1435 (WINTER)	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
133	HUN1436	Prague	Sigismund	unk.	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	Before November/December 1436	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
134 135	POPBAS1436-37 a, b	a. Basle b. Bologna	a. Council of Basle b. Pope Eugenius IV	unk.	After 20 November 1436 (AUTUMN/WINTER)	a. Before 15 February 1437	unk.	unk.	unknown	ca. September 1437	-
136	AR1437	[Naples]	Alfonse V	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unknown
137	BAS1437i	Basle	Council of Basle	unk.	After 11 February 1437 (WINTER)	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown

ε	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
138	HUN1437	[Hungary]	Sigismund	unk.	unknown (SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before or ca. 5 July 1437	unk.	unk.	unknown	ca. early November 1437	unknown
139	BAS1437ii	Basle	Council of Basle	unk.	After 25 October 1437 (AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
140	POP1437	Florence	Pope Eugenius IV	Yes	After 18 November 1437 (AUTUMN/ WINTER)	unknown	Venetian galley	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
150 151	VENHUN1442a, b	a. Venice b. [Hungary]	a. Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	a. Before 21 February 1442	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
152 153	VENPOP1442a, b	a. Venice b. Rome	a. Doge Francesco Foscari b. Pope Eugenius IV	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	a. Before 17 August 1442	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
154	FLO1442	Florence	-	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	Before 7 September 1442	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown

στ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
155 156 157	VENPOPBURG 1443a, b, c	a. Venice b. Siena c. Burgundy	a. Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SPRING)	a. Before 3 May 1443	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
158	POP1443i	Rome	Pope Eugenius IV	unk.	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before 13 June 1443	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
159	POP1443ii	Rome	Pope Eugenius IV	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER)	Before 6 July 1443	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
160	HUN1444	[Hungary]	-	Yes	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	After 3 April 1444	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
161 162	FRBUR1444a, b	a. France b. Burgundy	-	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown
163 164	POPVEN1444-45a, b	a. Rome b. Venice	a. Pope Eugenius IV b. Doge Francesco Foscari	unk.	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	a. Before 15 February 1445 b. ca. 15 February 1445	unk.	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown

ζ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return-Vessels
165	RAG1445	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	Before 18 November 1445	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unknown
166	VEN1445	Venice	Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	Before 19 October 1445	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unknown	unknown
167	AR1447	Naples	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	unknown (ca. SPRING)	Before 26 May 1447	unk.	No	unknown	unknown	unknown
168	POP1448	Rome	Pope Nicholas V	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 13 March 1448	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown

Table 1.4 Constantine XI

α	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return Vessels
169 170	POPAR1449a, b	a. Rome b. Naples	a. Pope Nicholas V b. Alfonse V of Aragon	unk.	Before February 1449 (WINTER)	a. ca. February 1449 b. February 1449	unk.	No	After 22 August 1449 (from Naples)	unk.	unk.
171	GEN1449	Genoa	Republic of Genoa	unk.	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 20 April 1449	unk.	unk.	After 20 April 1449	unk.	unk.
172	RAG1449	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before 14 June 1449	unk.	No	After 14 June 1449	unk.	unk.
173	RAG1450i	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before 18 June 1450	unk.	No	After 18 June 1450	unk.	unk.
174	RAG1450ii	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	After June 1450 (ca. SUMMER)	Before 15 December 1450	unk.	No	ca. December 1450	unk.	unk.

β	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return Vessels
175	VEN1450	Venice	Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	After 23 October 1450 (AUTUMN)	unknown	unk.	[Yes]	unknown	unk.	unk.
176	AR1451	Naples	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	ca. March-April 1451 (SPRING)	unknown (ca. SPRING)	unk.	No	unknown	unk.	unk.
177 178 179 180	VENFERPOP AR 1451 a, b, c, d	a. Venice b. Ferrara c. Rome d. Naples	a. Doge Francesco Foscari b. Marquis Borso d'Este c. Pope Nicholas V d. Alfonse V of Aragon	[Yes]	After 7 April 1451 (SPRING)	a. Before 11 June 1451 b. After 5 July 1451 c. Before 10 October 1451 d. Between 10 and 31 October 1451	unk.	[Yes]	After 31 October 1451	unk.	unk.
181	RAG1451	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	After June 1451 (SUMMER)	unknown	unk.	No	unk.	unk.	unk.

γ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return Vessels
182 183 184	VENFLOPOP1452 a, b, c	a. Venice b. Florence c. Rome	a. Doge Francesco Foscari c. Pope Nicholas V	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	a. Before 14 February 1452	unk.	[Yes]	unk.	unk.	unk.
185	RAG1452	Ragusa	Republic of Ragusa	No	unknown (ca. SPRING/ SUMMER)	Before 27 June 1452	unk.	No	unk.	unk.	unk.
186	POP1452	Rome	Pope Nicholas V	unk.	unknown	(ca. SUMMER)	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.
187	HUN1452	[Hungary]	John Hunyadi	unk.	unknown (ca. SUMMER/ AUTUMN)	Before October 1452	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.
188	AR1452	Naples	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	unknown	ca. AUTUMN 1452	unk.	No	unk.	unk.	unk.
189	VEN1452	Venice	Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. AUTUMN)	Before 16 November 1452	unk.	[Yes]	unk.	unk.	unk.
190	HUN1453	[Hungary]	John Hunyadi	unk.	unknown (ca. AUTUMN/ WINTER)	Before 16 January 1453	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.	unk.

δ	Code	Destination	Recipient	Via Venice	Departure from Constantinople	Arrival	Vessels	Return via Venice	Return departure	Arrival to Constantinople	Return Vessels
191	VEN1453i	Venice	Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. WINTER)	Before 29 February 1453	unk.	[Yes]	unk.	unk.	unk.
192	AR1453i	Naples	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	unknown (ca. WINTER/ SPRING)	Before 21 March 1453	unk.	No	unk.	unk.	unk.
193	VEN1453ii	Venice	Doge Francesco Foscari	[Yes]	unknown (ca. SPRING)	Before 7 May 1453	unk.	[Yes]	unk.	unk.	unk.
194	AR1453ii	Naples	Alfonse V of Aragon	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	No return	No return	No return	No return

2. Journeys: Destinations/Season of travel

Table 2.1 John V

	WINTER	WIN/SPR	SPRING	SPR/SUM	SUMMER	SUM/AUT	AUTUMN	AUT/WIN	UNKNOWN
ARAGON						1			
AVIGNON (Pope)	2					1		2	
GENOA		1							1
ITALY		1							
VENICE	1	4			2		1		
VITERBO (Pope)					1				
TOTAL	3	6	0	0	3	2	1	2	1

Table 2.2 Manuel II

	WINTER	WIN/SPR	SPRING	SPR/SUM	SUMMER	SUM/AUT	AUTUMN	AUT/WIN	UNKNOWN
ANCONA		1							
ARAGON			1			1	2		1
BOLOGNA (a-Pope)	1								
BUDA (Hungary)	1		1						
FLORENCE	1 ^{vi}				1				
FRANCE		1			1	1			
POLAND			1						
ROME (Pope)				1					1
SIENA						1			
VENICE	9	1	2		4	1	1	2	1
TOTAL	12	3	5	1	6	4	3	2	3

Table 2.3 John VIII

	WINTER	WIN/SPR	SPRING	SPR/SUM	SUMMER	SUM/AUT	AUTUMN	AUT/WIN	UNKNOWN
BASLE	3						2	1	
FLORENCE				1	1		1	2	
FRANCE									1
GENOA									1
HUNGARY		1		1		1			
NAPLES (Aragon)			1						1
POLAND									1
PRAGUE (Hungary)							1		
RAGUSA							1		
ROME (Pope)	3	1	1	1	1		1	1	2
ULM (Hungary)	1								
VENICE	1		1		1		1		
TOTAL	7	3	3	3	3	1	7	4	4

Table 2.4 Constantine XI

	WINTER	WIN/SPR	SPRING	SPR/SUM	SUMMER	SUM/AUT	AUTUMN	AUT/WIN	UNKNOWN
GENOA		1							
HUNGARY						1		1	
NAPLES		1	1						2
RAGUSA				3	2				
ROME	1								1
VENICE	2		2				2		
TOTAL	3	2	3	3	2	1	2	1	3

Table 2.5 1354-1453

	WINTER	WIN/SPR	SPRING	SPR/SUM	SUMMER	SUM/AUT	AUTUMN	AUT/WIN	UNKNOWN
ANCONA		1							
ARAGON			1			2	2		1
AVIGNON (Pope)	2					1		2	
BASLE	3						2	1	
BOLOGNA (a-Pope)	1								
BUDA (Hungary)	1		1						
FLORENCE (Pope*)	1			1	2		1	2	
FRANCE		1			1	1			1
GENOA		2							2
HUNGARY		1		1		2		1	
[ITALY]		1							
NAPLES (Aragon)		1	2						3
POLAND			1						1
PRAGUE (Hungary)							1		
RAGUSA				3	2		1		
ROME (Pope)	4	1	1	2	1		1	1	4
SIENA						1			
ULM (Hungary)	1								
VENICE	13	5	5		7	1	5	2	1
VITERBO (Pope)					1				
<i>TOTAL</i>	25	14	11	7	14	8	13	9	11

Charts

3. Destinations of journeys

Chart 3.1 John V

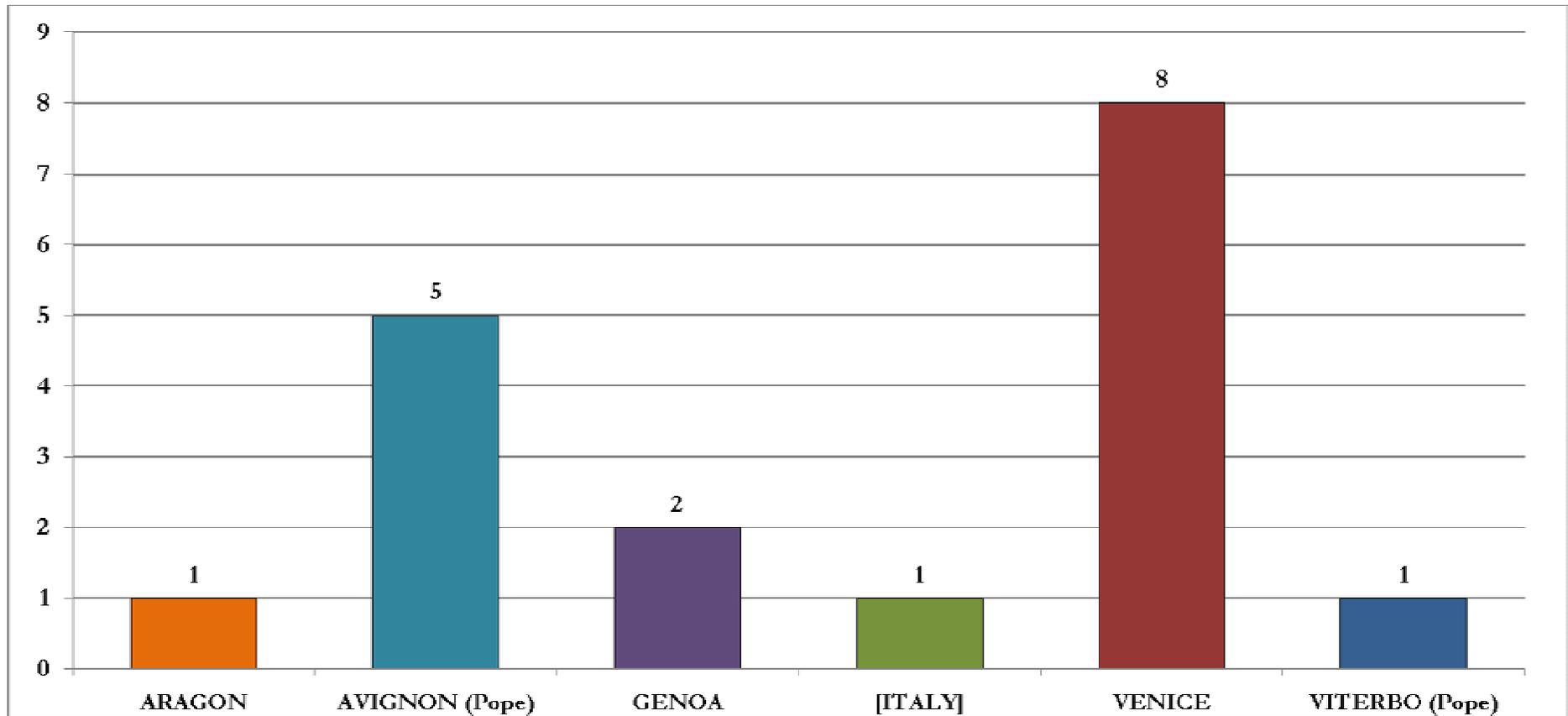


Chart 3.2 Manuel II^{vii}

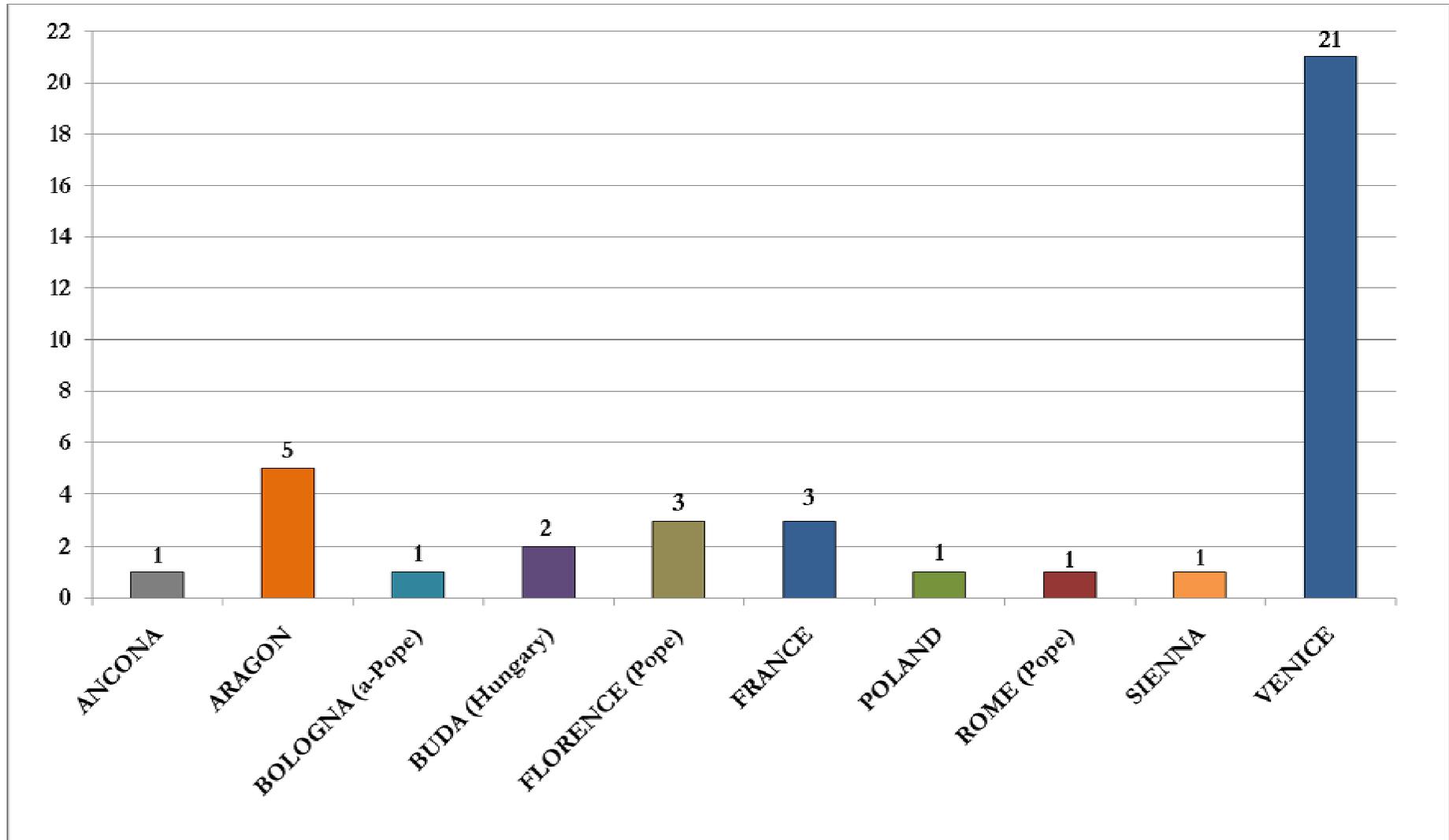


Chart 3.3 John VIII^{viii}

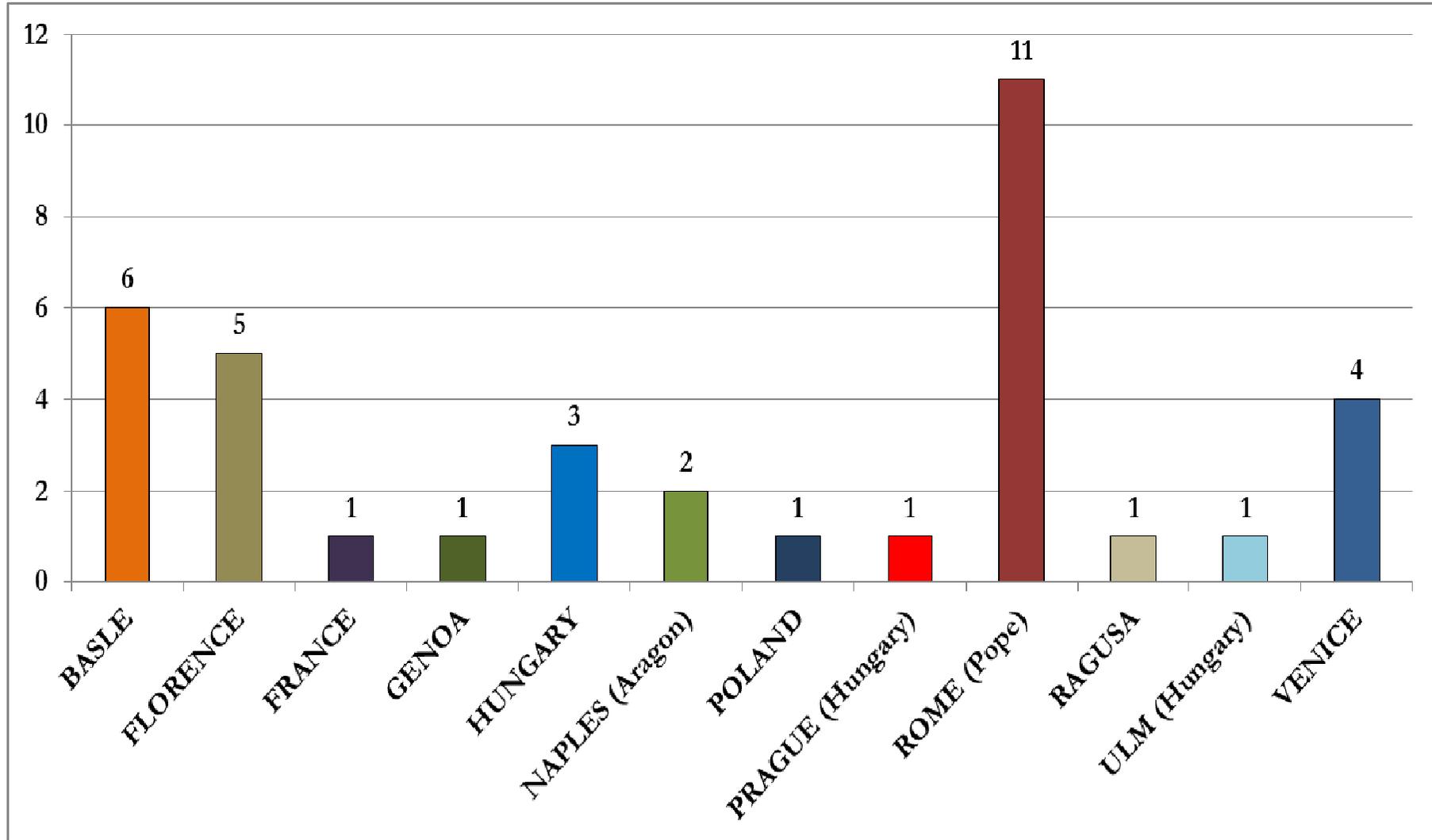


Chart 3.4 Constantine XI

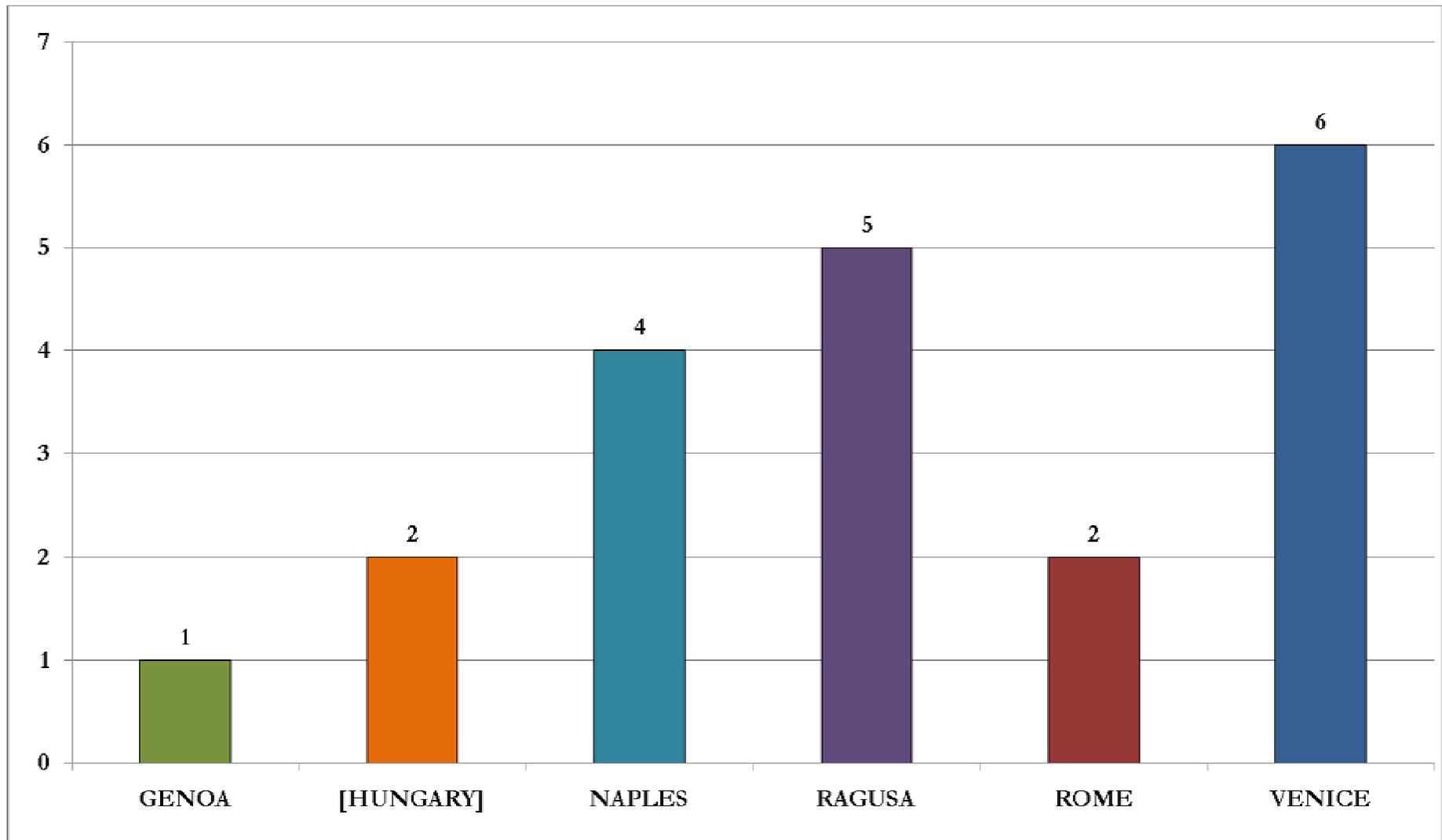
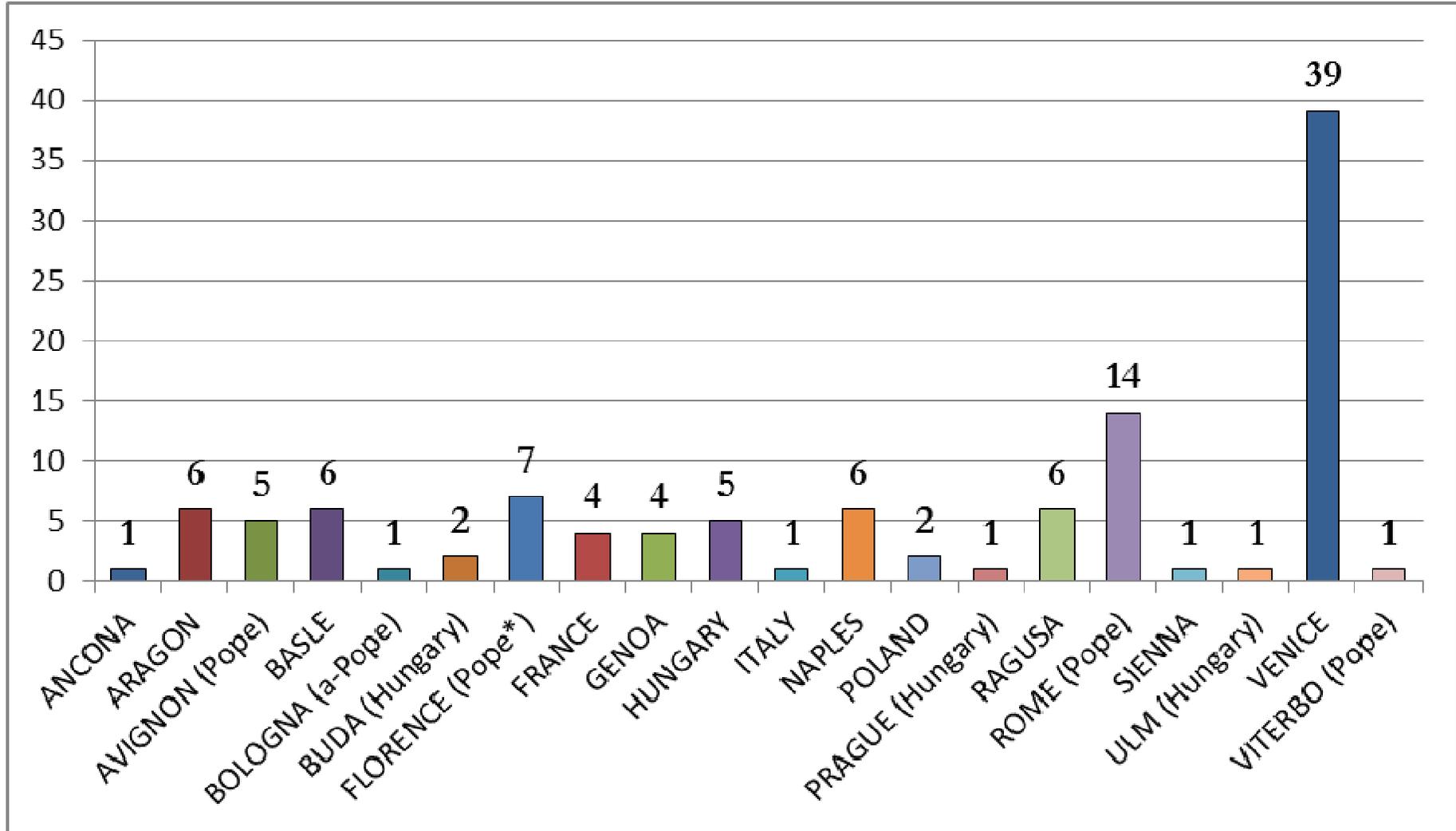


Chart 3.5 Destinations of journeys 1354-1453



4. Journeys: Season of Travel^{ix}

Chart 4.1 John V

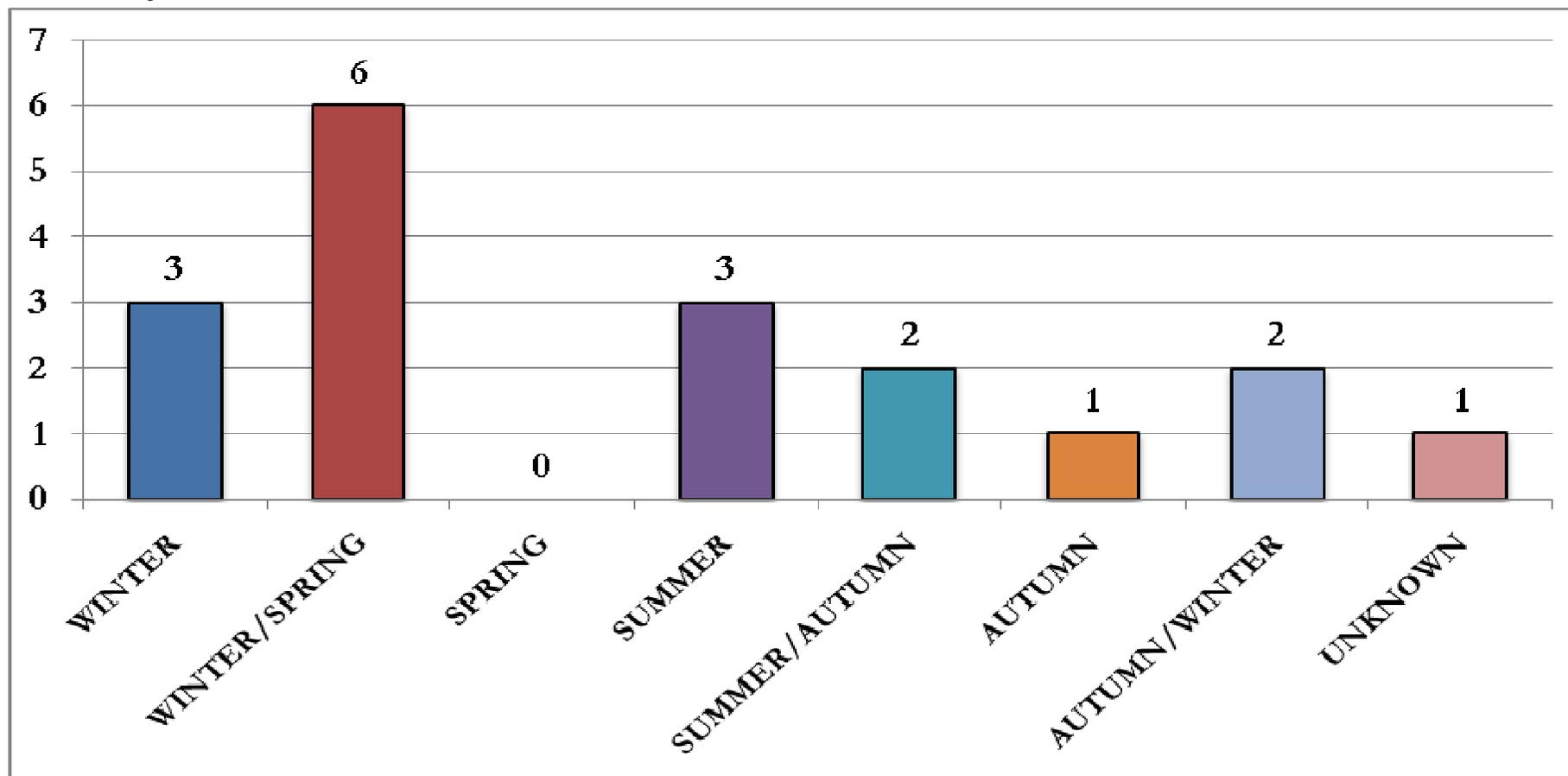


Chart 4.2 Manuel II

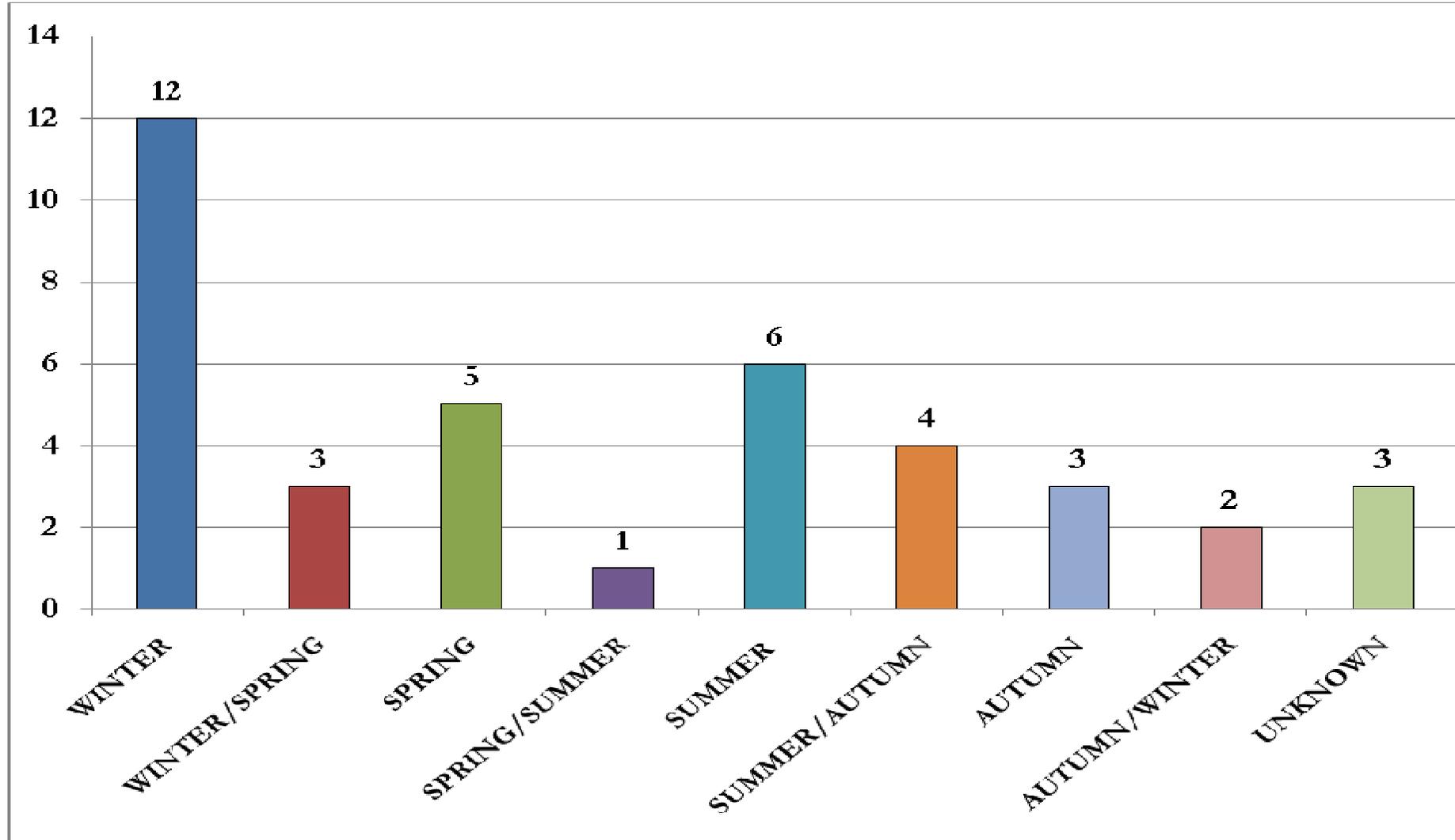


Chart 4.3 John VIII

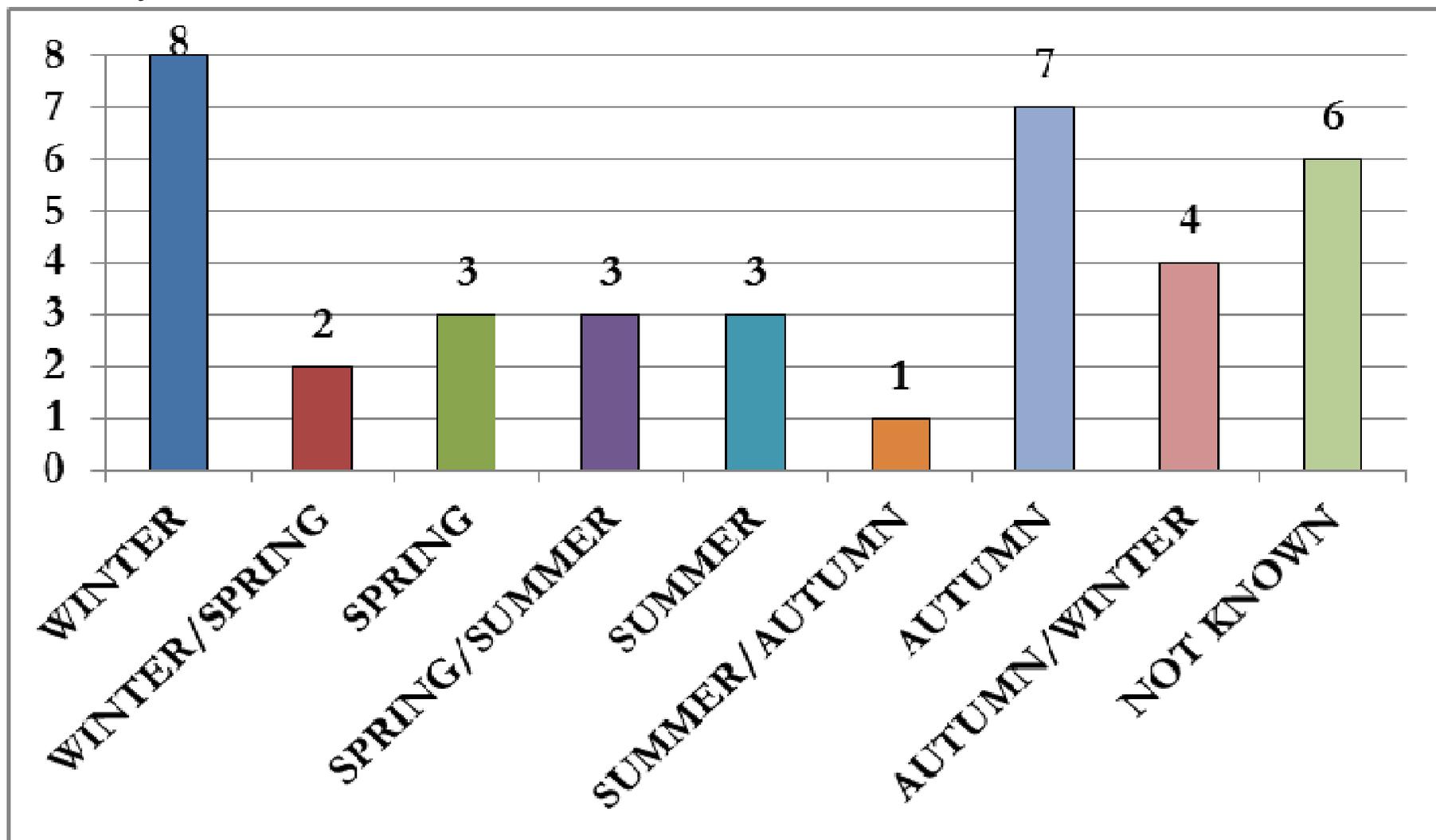


Chart 4.4 Constantine XI

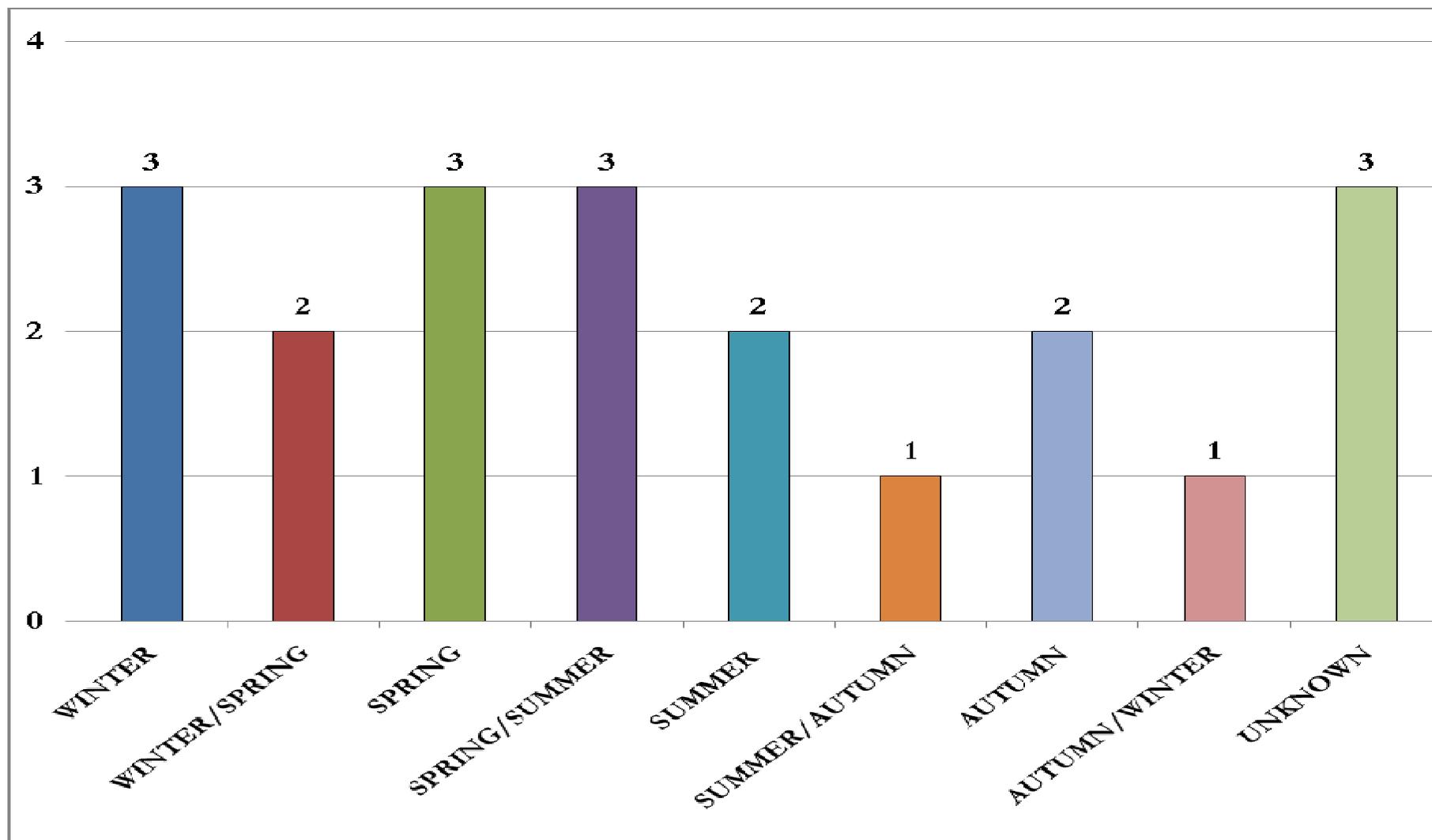
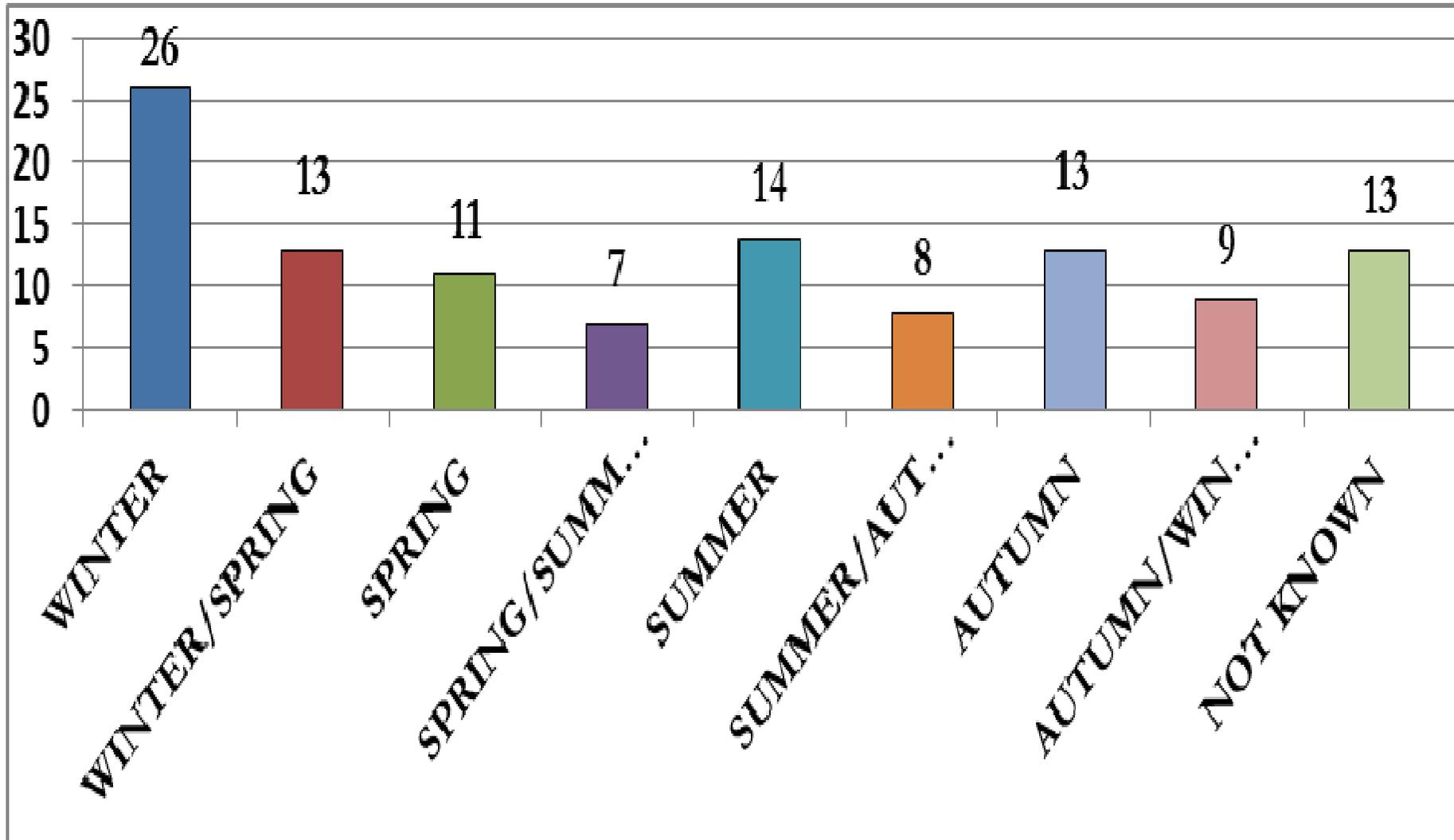


Chart 4.5 1354-1453



appendix **C**

Ambassadors

Tables^x

Ambassadors

Table 1. John V

α	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP ^{xi}
1	Manuel Angelos	2	POP1369 (14) VEN1370 (16)	unknown	<i>epi tou kanikleiou</i> (16)	No	Yes	unknown	Yes	unknown	1354: <i>katholikos krites</i>	214?
2	Constantine Asanes	1	POP1369 (14)	unknown	unknown	No	No	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	1503
3	Theophylaktos Dermokaites	1	VEN1362-63 (7)	<i>ambaxiator et procurator</i>	<i>katholikos krites index universalis</i>	No	unk.	unknown	Yes	No	unknown	5209
4	Theodore Domestikos Proximos	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>ambaxiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
5	Francesco Gattilusio	1	POP1369 (14)	unknown	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	Yes	<i>'dominus insulae Metelin'</i>	-
6	Constantine Kaballaropoulos	1	VEN1362-63 (7)	<i>ambaxiator et procurator</i>	<i>index</i>	No	No	unknown	Yes	No	unknown	10054
7	Manuel Kabasilas	1	GEN1389 (26)	<i>procurator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-

β	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
8	Demetrios Kydones	3	POPVEN1369a (12) POPVEN1369b (13) POP1369 (14)	<i>ambaxiator</i> (12)-(13)	<i>cancellarius</i> (12)-(13)-(14)	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	No	<i>mesazon</i>	13876
9	Alexios Hyalon Laskares (or Alexis Listares)	2	POP1369 (14) VEN1370 (16)	unknown	<i>megas betaireiarches</i> (14)-(16)	No	unk.	Yes	unknown	unknown	1349: <i>diermeneutes</i>	14526
10	Makarios	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>ambaxiator</i>	<i>archimandrites</i>	Yes	No	No	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
11	Michael Malaspina	1	POP1364 (8)	<i>nuncius</i>	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	16457
12	George Manikaites	2	HUN1366 (9) POP1366 (10)	<i>ambaxiator</i> (10)	<i>cancellarius</i>	No	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
13	Constantine Metaxopoulos	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>ambaxiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
14	Neilos	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>nuntius</i> <i>ambaxiator</i>	metropolitan	Yes	No	No	unknown	unknown	unknown	20045
15	Andronikos Oinaiotes	1	VEN1362 (6)	<i>ambaxiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	1369: <i>katholikos krites</i>	21024

γ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
16	Andronikos Palaiologos	1	POP1369 (14) VEN1370 (16)	unknown	<i>epi tou kanikleiou</i> (14)	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	21434?
17	Demetrios Palaiologos	1	POP1369 (14) VEN1370 (16)	unknown	<i>meγas domestikos</i> (14)-(16)	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	21455
18	Andreu Paó	1	AR1370 (17)	<i>missatge</i>	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	No	unknown	-
19	Paul	3	POP1355 (2) POPVEN1369a (12) POPVEN1369b (13)	(2) <i>nuntius</i> (12)-(13) <i>ambaxiator</i>	(2) archbishop of Smyrna (12)-(13) (Latin) patriarch of Constantinople	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	-	22143
20	(Andronikos) Sebastopoulos	1	VEN1382-83 (23)	unk.	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unk.	unknown.	unknown	25080
21	Nicholas Sigeros	1	POP1355 (2)	<i>nuntius</i>	<i>meγas betaireiarches</i>	No	unk.	unknown	Yes	unknown	1348: <i>meγas diermeneutes</i> 1352: <i>praitor tou demou</i>	25282
22	Michael Strongylos	1	POP1369 (14)	unk.	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unk.	unknown	unknown	-

δ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
23	Theodore	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>nuntius</i> <i>ambaxiator</i>	<i>megas</i> <i>chartophylax</i>	Yes	No	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	-
24	Theophylaktos	1	POP1367 (11)	<i>ambaxiator</i>	<i>parakoimomenos</i>	No	unk.	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
25	Philippos Tzykandyles	3	POP1369 (14) VEN1370 (16) POP1374-75i (21)	<i>ambaxiator</i> (21)	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	unknown	28131

Table 2. Manuel II

α	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
26	_ Angelos	1	AR1404 (67)	<i>ambaixador</i> <i>ambassiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
43	John Bladynteros	5	VENCON 1416-18a (88) VENCON 1416-18b (89) POP1419 (94) FLOPOP 1421a (103) FLOPOP 1421b (104)	unknown	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	2780

β	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
44	Alexios Branas	9	VENITFR ENG1399-1403a (44)									
			VENITFR ENG1399-1403b (45)									
			VENITFR ENG1399-1403c (46)	<i>embaxador</i>								
			VENITFR ENG1399-1403d (47)	<i>ambassiator</i> (48)-(49)-(50)	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
			ARCASTNAV14 00a (48)	<i>ambaxiator</i> (54)								
			ARCASTNAV 1400b (49)	<i>nuncius seu ambaxiator</i> (55)								
			ARCASTNAV 1400c (50)									
			ARCAST 1401-03a (54)									
ARCAST1401- 03b (55)												

γ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
27	Theodore Chrysoberges	2	VENPOPVEN 1420b (98) VENPOPVEN 1420c (99)	<i>ambassador</i> (98)	bishop of Olenos	Yes	Yes	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	31113
28	John Chrysoloras	2	a-POP1409-10 (74) HUN1414 (82)	unknown	unknown	No	unk.	Yes	unknown	No	unknown	31160

δ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
29	Manuel Chrysoloras	7	VENFRENG ARa-POP 1407-10a (71)									
			VENFRENG ARa-POP 1407-10b (72)									
			VENFRENG ARa-POP 1407-10c (73)	<i>ambaxiator</i> (71)								
			VENFRENG ARa-POP 1407-10d (76)	<i>ambassador, procurator, executor, comissarius</i> (76)	unknown	No	No	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	31165
			VENFRENG ARa-POP 1407-10e (77)									
			HUN1414 (82)									
			CON1414-15 (84)									
30	Alexios Dishypatos	1	FR1404 (66)	<i>procurator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	5528

ε	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
31	Hilario Doria	4	FLOENGPOP ENG1398-99a (38) FLOENGPOP ENG1398-99b (39) FLOENGPOP ENG1398-99c (40) FLOENGPOP ENG1398-99d (41)	<i>legatus</i> (38) <i>ambassador</i> (39)	unknown	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	<i>mesazon?</i>	29091
32	Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes	3	CON 1414-15 (84) VENCON 1416-18a (88) VENCON 1416-18b (89)	unknown	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	-

στ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
33	Nicholas Eudaimonioioannes	6	CON 1414-15 (84) VENCON 1416-18a (88) VENCON 1416-18b (89) VENPOPVEN 1420a (97) VENPOPVEN 1420b (98) VENPOPVEN 1420c (99)	<i>ambaxiator</i> <i>ambassiator</i> (88) <i>ambassiator</i> (98)	unknown	No	No	Yes	unknown	Yes	<i>megas stratopedarches</i>	6223
34	Galeotus Lomelini	1	SIEN1399 (42)	<i>ambassiator</i>	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	-
35	John Moschopoulos	1	VEN1404-05 (68)	unknown	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	-

ζ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
36	Nicholas Notaras	3	FRENG 1397-98a (35) FRENG 1397-98b (36) SIEN1399 (42)	<i>nuntius</i> (35)-(36) <i>ambassador</i> (42)	<i>diermenentes</i>	No	No	Yes	Yes	unknown	unknown	20733
37	Demetrios Palaiologos (Goudeles)	5	VENITFR ENG 1399-1403a (44) VENITFR ENG 1399-1403b (45) VENITFR ENG 1399-1403c (46) VENITFR ENG 1399-1403d (47) FLO1401 (53)	<i>orator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	1416: <i>mesazon</i>	4331 4335

η	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
38	Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	1	FR1397-98 (37)	<i>ambassiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	10966
39	Manuel Philanthropenos	4	HUN 1395-96 (34) VEN HUNPOL 1420a (100) VEN HUNPOL 1420b (101) VEN HUNPOL 1420c (102)	<i>ambaxiator</i> <i>ambassiator</i> (34)	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	29769
40	Constantine Rhalles (Palaiologos)	2	ARNAV 1404-05a (64) FR1404 (66)	<i>ambassiator</i> (64)	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	-
41	Theodore Rhalles (Palaiologos)	2	ARNAV 1404-05a (64) ARNAV 1404-05b (65)	<i>ambassiator</i>	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	Yes	unknown	-

θ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
42	Paul Sophianos	1	AR1419 (96)	unknown	unknown	No	unk.	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	26413

Table 3. John VIII

α	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
45	Manuel Tarchaneiotes Boullotes	3	POPBAS 1436-37a (133) POPBAS 1436-37b (134) POP1437-39 (140)	unknown	unknown	No	No (133-134) accepted union (140)	unknown	Yes	unknown	unknown	3088
46	George Dishypatos	4	POPBAS 1434-35a (126) POPBAS 1434-35b (127) POP1437-39 (140) POP1438i (142)	<i>ambassador orator</i> (126-127)	unknown	No	No	unknown	Yes	No	unknown	5529

β	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
47	John Dishypatos	9	HUNBAS 1434a (122) HUNBAS 1434b (123) HUN1434 (124) POPBAS 1436-37a (133) POPBAS 1436-37b (134) POP1437-39 (140) VEN1438i (141) POP1438i (142) FLO1438 (147)	<i>apokrisiarios ambassiator</i> (122-123) <i>ambassiator</i> (124)	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	Yes	No	1437: megas etaireiarches	5537

γ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
48	Manuel Dishypatos ^{xii}	9	GEN1434 (125) POPBAS 1434-35a (126) POPBAS 1434-35b (127) HUN1437 (137) POP1437-39 (140) VEN1438ii (145) POPAR1449a (168) POPAR 1449b (169) AR1453ii (193)	<i>ambassiator orator</i> (126-127)	unknown	No	unknown	Yes	Yes	unknown	unknown	5540
49	Benedetto Fulcho	1	HUN1429 (114)	<i>nuncijs</i>	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unk.	unknown	unknown	-
50	George_	1	HUN1444 (159)	unknown	Monk	Yes	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	-

δ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
51	Gregory	1	POP1448 (167)	unknown	abbot of the monastery of St Demetrios in Constantinople	Yes	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	-
52	Andronikos (Palaiologos) Iagares	3	POP1437-39 (140) POP1438ii (146) POP1443i (157)	unknown	unknown	No	No	unknown	unk.	Yes	1437-39: mesazon.	7808
53	Markos (Palaiologos) Iagares	6	POPVEN 1430a (115) POPVEN 1430b (116) POP1431i (118) POP1432-33 (120) POP1437-39 (140) VEN1438ii (145)	<i>orator</i> (120)	megas primikerios	No	No	unknown	Yes	Yes	ca. 1430: <i>megas primikerios</i> shortly after 1430: <i>megas stratopedarches</i>	7811

ε	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
54	Ioasaph	1	POP1432-33 (120)	<i>orator</i>	abbot of Prodomos monastery and <i>protosynkellos</i>	Yes	No	No	No	No	-	8916
55	Isidore	2	HUNBAS 1434a (122) HUNBAS 1434b (123)	<i>apokrisiarios ambassiator</i> (122-123)	abbot of St Demetrios	Yes	No	unknown	No	No	1436: metropolitan of Kiev	8300
56	Fr Jacob	2	VENPOP 1442a (151) VENPOP 1442b (152)	unknown	Franciscan monk	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	unknown	-
57	Theodore Karystinos	3	VENPOP BURG1443a (154) VENPOP BURG1443b (155) VENPOP BURG1443c (156)	unknown	unknown	No	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	11297

στ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
58	Manuel Koresses	1	AR1437 (135)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	13180 ?
59	Makarios Kourounas	1	POP1431i (118)	unknown	abbot of Manganes	Yes	No	No	No	unknown	unknown	13550
60	Makarios Makres	2	POPVEN 1430a (115) POPVEN 1430b (116)	unknown	abbot of the Pantokrator	Yes	No	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	16379
61	Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites	3	HUNBAS 1434a (122) HUNBAS 1434b (123) HUN1434 (124)	<i>apokrisiarios ambassiator</i> (122-123) <i>ambassiator</i> (124)	<i>protovestiarites</i> (122-123)	No	No	unknown	Yes	Yes	1435: <i>mezas primikerios</i> 1444: <i>mezas stratopedarches</i>	17981
62	Pachomios	1	VEN1445 (165)	unknown	archbishop of Amaseia	Yes	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	22221
63	Demetrios [Palaiologos]	1	HUN1436 (132)	unknown	unknown	No	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	-

ζ	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
64	Demetrios Angelos Kleidas Philommates	3	POP1431i (118) POP1431ii (119) POP1432-33 (120)	<i>orator</i> (119)	<i>grammatikos</i> of the emperor (118) <i>‘secretarium imperatoris graecorum ...’</i> (119-120)	No	No	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	29927
65	John Torcello	3	VENHUN 1442a (149) VENHUN 1442b (150) POP1443ii (158)	unknown	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unk.	unknown	unknown	29360

Table 4. Constantine XI

α	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
66	Manuel _	1	RAG1452 (184)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	-
71	Andronikos Bryennios Leontares	4	VENFERPOPAPAR 1451a (176) VENFERPOPAPAR 1451b (177) VENFERPOPAPAR 1451c (178) VENFERPOPAPAR 1451d (179)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	14668
67	Michael Trapperius (Draperio)	1	AR1453i (191)	unknown	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	No	unknown	unknown	-
68	'duka Lathi'	1	RAG1450ii (173)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	-
69	Manuel (Palaiologos) Iagares	1	POP1452 (185)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	Yes	unknown	7810 92054
70	Andreas Leontares	1	VEN1453ii (192)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.

β	Name	Number of Embassies	Code	Terminology	Title	Cleric	Catholic	Latin Speaking	Oikeios	Relative of Emperor	Other Titles (Before or after embassies)	PLP
72	John de Mare (of Pera)	1	GEN1449 (170)	unknown	unknown	No	Yes	Yes	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
73	Manuel Palaiologos	2	AR1451 (175) AR1453ii (193)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	Yes	unknown	unk.
74	Fr John Perera	1	AR1453i (191)	unknown	unknown	Yes	Yes	Yes	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.
75	Michael Radoslav	1	AR1453ii (193)	unknown	unknown	No	unknown	unknown	unk.	unknown	unknown	unk.

Endnotes

ⁱ As *embassies* I refer to all the delegations consisting of one or more people sent to the West with the particular purpose of delivering an oral or written message, and often entering into negotiations with the recipient of the delegation. This should be clearly distinguished from what I have been referring to as *journeys*, which refer to the actual travel of the envoys from Constantinople to the West, and which could include one or more embassies, carried out consecutively.

ⁱⁱ The code of the embassies consists of an abbreviated version of the destination of the embassy followed by the year in which it took place. A single journey which incorporated multiple embassies will be marked by using the same code for each embassy followed by the letters a, b, c, etc. When two embassies to a single destination took place in the same year the code is followed by a numeral.

ⁱⁱⁱ Regesten: Dölger, F. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453, V: 1341-1453*. (re-ed. P. Wirth). Munich/Berlin, 1960.

^{iv} Padua, Vicenza, Pavia, Milan, Verona and Sarravale.

^v In the following charts Exceptional Journeys refers to the missions undertaken by the emperors during their time in the West. Foreign Envoys refers to ambassadors of other political powers carrying a letter from the emperor on their return journey from Byzantium.

^{vi} This journey to Florence involved an embassy sent to the pope who was in Florence at the time: POP1419 (94).

^{vii} The three embassies to Florence included both embassies to the city itself and the pope who was there at the time.

^{viii} The five embassies to Florence included both embassies to the city itself and the pope who was there at the time. [Hungary] refers to embassies to Hungary for which we do not know the exact destination, in contrast to the embassies to Prague and Ulm.

^{ix} Winter: December, January and February; Spring: March, April and May; Summer: June, July and August; Autumn: September, October and November.

^x The number in brackets following the code refers to the number of the column in which the embassy appears in Appendix A.

^{xi} PLP: Trapp, E. et al. *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna, 1976-1996.

^{xii} Manuel Dishypatos was also an ambassador of Constantine XI, but he is not included twice in these tables.

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