

## CATHOLICS

CHARLES FRAZEE

The Catholic community is one of the larger religious minorities in Greece, yet it is but a small fraction of the country's population, numbering about one-half of one percent of the total. The Catholics are of both the Latin and Eastern rites, although the latter are newcomers, having come to Greece as a result of the exchange of population in the 1920s and are but several thousand people with only two parishes in all of Greece. The Latins have the much larger population, principally located on two of the Cycladic Islands, in Athens and its suburbs, and in the larger towns where island emigrants have settled in recent years.

### The early centuries

The origins of the Latin Catholic Church in Greece date from the early thirteenth century. Previous to that time all the population of the Greek peninsula, the Ionian and the Aegean islands belonged to the Eastern church. It should be noted, however, that European Greeks for many centuries were a part of the Roman patriarchate. At Nicaea, when Canon VI set up jurisdictions for Alexandria, less clearly for Antioch, and without mention of Rome, there was a presumption that papal territory included all of the European lands and Latin North Africa.<sup>1</sup>

This ecclesiastical structure was jeopardized once Constantinople became the capital of the Roman Empire and its bishop was elevated to a major position within the Christian hierarchy. First Thrace and then other nearby provinces joined Constantinople as the political boundary between the two parts of the Empire shifted westwards. The popes vainly sought to hold the line by appointing Thessaloniki's archbishop to vicarial status with the right to consecrate bishops, hear disputes, call local synods, and, in general, to supervise the subordinate Balkan churches.<sup>2</sup>

The exact moment when the Greeks finally shifted their allegiance to Constantinople's patriarch is unclear. Some authors date it from 727 and Emperor Leo III's seizure of papal patrimonies in Illyricum. It is preferable, however, to place it closer to 752 and the fall of Ravenna to the Lombards. For the Byzantine Greeks, Italy became like Syria, under foreign and barbarian occupation, which made it impossible for the bishops of both Rome and Antioch to carry out their duties. There was, therefore, no other choice than to look henceforth to the patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

### The Fourth Crusade and the Duchy of the Archipelago

While Latins and Greeks, delegations from Rome and Constantinople, passed back and forth over the following centuries, it was only with the foundation of Italian merchant colonies in Constantinople that members of the Latin Church began to take up permanent residence in the East. While properly the Italians from Amalfi, Pisa, and more importantly, Venice and Genoa, could have attended the Byzantine Churches of the imperial capital, they preferred to bring their own clergy with them, and to build Latin churches in their sections of the city. Relations between Latins and Greeks were often strained, for Westerners were a privileged elite, and bore the onus of representing foreign interests in the Byzantine capital. The status of these Constantinopolitan colonies was a fragile one. However, the arrival of the Venetians and Franks of the Fourth Crusade established a much more permanent footing for Latin Christians in the capital and its lands. A direct result of the Fourth Crusade was the foundation of the first permanent Latin churches on what is now the territory of the nation of Greece.<sup>4</sup>

In the spring of 1205 a noble adventurer from Venice, Marco Sanudo, with a small fleet of ships cruised into the Aegean. His goal was to carve out an empire for himself and his friends, to create a thalassocracy based on the island of Naxos. During the negotiations carried on between the Venetians and the Crusaders which divided the Byzantine Empire between them, Tinos was assigned to the Latin Emperor, Andros to Venice, but the other islands seemed so unimportant that they were omitted from the partition. This permitted Sanudo and captains from several other prominent Venetian families, the Ghisis and the Dandolo, with the blessing of the Venetian Doge and the Latin Emperor, to create an independent state in the Aegean. Sanudo met only token resistance when he occupied Naxos and proceeded to build a fortified palace, his *castro*, on the site of the ancient city. The *castro* was fortified with a wall which circled the acropolis of the town. Next to the palace Sanudo or his successor built a cathedral for his Venetian aides and the first Latin hierarch, his name unknown, arrived to take up residence on the island. The Naxian archbishop shared jurisdiction over Greece since he had colleagues on the mainland, in Athens, Corinth, Patras, Thebes and Thes-

saloniki. Moreover, Pope Innocent III, who had accommodated himself to the Latin conquest, went about creating additional Latin bishoprics throughout the Aegean. The Cycladic islands of Andros, Santorini, Milos, Syros, Kea, Kythnos, and Tinos also received Latin bishoprics.<sup>5</sup>

The Greek bishops on the islands and the mainland found themselves forced into exile. Their cathedrals and revenues were now as a consequence attached to the Latin Church. On the other hand, Greek parish priests and monks were left in place so long as they agreed to recognize the Latin bishops as their superiors and were willing to commemorate the Pope of Rome and the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople in the *diptychs* of the Liturgy. The Latins dealt with the Greeks through their representative, the *protopapas*.<sup>6</sup> Nothing of the Catholic Church on mainland Greece remained after the Ottoman conquest. Western Christians either died in battle or fled the country, leaving no one to continue the heritage of the Latin principalities of the Middle Ages.

In 1385 the Venetians settled on Corfu, establishing a Catholic presence in the Ionian Islands which expanded over the years to include Kephallonia, Zakynthos, Kythera and finally, in 1684, Leukas. As was usual in Venetian lands only Latin bishops were permitted to function and Greek parish clergy and monks had to accept the Catholics as their superiors. Nominally they became Byzantine-rite Catholics so long as Venice was the master of the islands. Venetian rule on Corfu was patterned on that of the mother city, complete with a *Libro d'Oro* that listed the island aristocrats, both Greek and Latin. The Italian immigrants who settled in the Ionian islands were obviously Latins, and over the centuries, a handful of Greek families joined the Catholic church.<sup>7</sup>

The Latins of Sanudo's territories, the Duchy of the Archipelago, were always few in number. While accurate figures for the Middle Ages are impossible to determine, it is likely that the Catholics of Naxos may have reached 500, one-tenth of the total population. On the smaller islands the numbers were even less. A few families from the West, some from Spain, France, or Dalmatia, as well as Italians were found on each of the Cyclades as administrators, landowners, and merchants. On all twenty inhabited Cycladic islands the Latin lords built one or sometimes more *castros* to fend off their enemies – and enemies they had in abundance: the Byzantine fleet after the Palaiologans regained Constantinople, the Catalans of mainland Greece, the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia, but more dangerous than all the rest, swarms of pirates of every Mediterranean nationality. Every *castro* had its Latin church but it proved difficult to find enough clergy to view clerical life in the Cyclades attractive. Even bishoprics went unattended for long periods by their appointees.

So long as the Duchy of the Archipelago existed, the number of Catholics appears to have remained constant. Because it was difficult to find women from the West willing to emigrate to the Cyclades, Italian men frequently

took Greek wives and the children were more likely to enrol in the church of their fathers, if for no other reason than the economic and social privileges that came with Latin church memberships.<sup>8</sup>

During the Middle Ages, on two Cycladic islands, the Catholic community found itself in a much more favoured position. On Syros and Tinos the Catholics became a Church of the majority. On Syros the Latin Church seems to have gained its position through conversion. Without sufficient records to document exactly when or how this occurred, a strong possibility exists that the Greek clergy on the island were so few that the several hundred people who lived on Syros in the Middle Ages simply opted to receive the sacraments in the Latin cathedral built atop the hill of Ano Syros.<sup>9</sup>

Tinos had a different experience, for this island was not a part of the Duchy of the Archipelago, but had been taken in the thirteenth century by the Ghisi brothers, Andrea and Geremia. In 1379, when the last of their dynasty, Giorgio III, died, he willed the island to Venice. Henceforward the Republic of St. Mark held Tinos and nearby Mykonos, appointing its governors and staffing its civil and military officials. Tinos was fortunate to have a formidable mountain located on it. Here the Ghisis and later the Venetians constructed a *castro* and located St. Helena's fort. The Venetian town, the Exombourgo, was walled and beneath it the Greek inhabitants had their residences in the Bourgo. Both Latin and Greek churches shared the mountain. Time after time, when all other islands were struck by enemy fleets and armies, or pirates seeking captives and loot, Exombourgo remained secure. Catholic citizens from all over the Aegean were always assured that they could find a protecting wing in its shadow. Crete received the major share of Westerners who fled their homes in difficult times, but Tinos was not far behind. The Catholic community of Tinos prospered, therefore, since for half a millennium it took in foreign Catholics, the children of mixed marriages who were brought up to be Catholic, and converts from the Greek Church.<sup>10</sup> Syros and Tinos were unique. It was only on those two islands of the Cyclades that Catholics put down strong roots. On all the other islands the natives remained firmly attached to the Greek church and the Latins remained a small minority.

The Catholic Church was also represented on Chios, Rhodes, and Crete, islands that today form part of Greece. The Latin period in Chios begins with the Genoese occupation, which began in the thirteenth century after Michael Palaiologos signed the Treaty of Nymphaion. Soon the Genoese built Latin churches, invited western clergy to settle there and a Latin bishopric was established. Several churches here, and on Santorini, were double churches shared by both Catholics and Orthodox. The stability found on Chios attracted the Franciscans and Dominicans to build convents, which became the largest in the Aegean.<sup>11</sup> The Catholics of Rhodes have a history only because of the presence on that island of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. Once expelled from the Holy Land in 1306, the Knights came to



Rhodes, making it the centre of their activities in the East. A Catholic archbishop, sponsored by the Knights, made his home on the island so long as it was in Latin hands. After the forces of Sultan Süleyman conquered Rhodes, no more Catholics remained on the island. Finally, the island of Crete, so long a Venetian possession, had a significant population of Western Catholics from the thirteenth century to the conclusion of the Candian War in 1669. The stormy relations between Venice and the native Greeks reflected on the status of the church. Catholics on Crete were equated with foreign rulers and the Western Church made little headway convincing the Greeks of Crete that there was anything to gain by acknowledging the Latin church as a friendly institution.<sup>12</sup>

### The Greek Catholic Church under the Ottomans

For over a century after the Fall of Constantinople, the Catholic rulers of the Duchy of the Archipelago and the Genoese on Chios were not troubled by the Ottomans. Both island governments paid tribute to the sultans, who, so long as they received these funds, were content to leave them alone. By 1500 most Catholics of Italian origin had become at least partially Hellenized, using the Greek language in their day to day business. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent in the early sixteenth century, the political condition of Catholics was to change. The Sultan's admiral Khair ad-Din Barbarossa, frustrated over a failed expedition against Italy and Venetian-held Corfu, took out his vengeance on the smaller Greek islands of the Aegean. The Ottoman fleet attacked Aegina in the Saronic Gulf, taking all who were survivors into slavery. Then Barbarossa laid siege to the *castro* of Kephalos on Paros. The Parians, some 6,000 of them, shared the same fate as the captives of Aegina. The Duke of Naxos, Giovanni II Crispo, bargained with Barbarossa, and agreed to pay a higher tribute. Therefore the Turkish admiral spared Naxos from pillage. Several years later a delegation from Naxos, complaining over Giacomo IV Crispo's misrule, asked the Sultan to remove him from office. Murad II agreed. He appointed his confidant, Joseph Nasi, to become the Duke of Naxos. This appointment was unique since Nasi was a Jew and never before had a non-Muslim held such a high position in the Ottoman state.

Nasi never went to Naxos, but appointed as his deputy, Francesco Coronello, who was a *converso*, a Catholic of Sephardic Jewish background, to govern his islands. It was a good choice, since Coronello's Catholicism made him more acceptable to the nobility of the islands, if not to the Orthodox. Coronello was anxious to keep the social structure of the archipelago as he found it. As a result on Naxos, Syros, and Santorini the Catholic landowners were not disturbed in their possessions and church life continued as before.<sup>13</sup> In 1566 Genoese rule on Chios came to an end when Piyali Paşa sailed into the harbour. A Turkish force was sent ashore, and placed the

heads of the more important families under arrest and the army plundered several of the Catholic churches. The bishop and many Franciscan and Dominican friars went into exile, an absence that allowed a Greek metropolitan from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to become the chief representative of Christianity on the island.<sup>14</sup>

Catholic fortunes were strengthened at this time thanks to the protection given to the Latins by the French. In 1527 a French ambassador arrived in Constantinople to discuss co-operation with the Ottomans in joint action against their common enemy, the Habsburgs. Over the years the upshot of talks between the French and Ottomans was a treaty, known as the Capitulations of 1569, which promised that France should be in a position to guarantee the safety of Catholics throughout the Ottoman Empire. Often renewed, the Capitulations allowed clergy to serve in Ottoman territories as chaplains to French merchants and diplomats.<sup>15</sup> Soon French missionaries, Jesuits and Capuchins, arrived in Constantinople and Thessaloniki to take up the positions given them under the Capitulations. The older religious orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, had been content to minister to the known Catholics. For the Jesuits and Capuchins this was not enough. They believed that they should aggressively work among the Greek and Armenian populations of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover they were especially anxious to introduce the reforms mandated at the Council of Trent.<sup>16</sup>

The papacy in Rome also hoped to win converts from the Orthodox. In 1576 Pope Gregory XIII opened the Greek College in Rome, attached to St Athanasius' Church, for training priests to work in the Greek missions and in Southern Italy which now held a significant Greek and Albanian population. If not Catholic already, students were expected to convert and subsequently receive ordination in the Byzantine rite. The College had a mixed record. For some students their stay in Rome made them able Catholic missionaries, but for others the experience gave them an abiding hatred for the Latin Church. Some of the latter, on their return to the islands rejoined the Orthodox community and received high positions at the Ecumenical Patriarchate or served as bishops in the hierarchy. Several years later, the founding of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith centralized the administration of the Catholic missions in the East Mediterranean. Henceforth, through this institution the Latin bishops in the Aegean made their reports to Rome.<sup>17</sup>

In 1579, upon the death of Joseph Nasi, the Cyclades were incorporated into the regular administration of the Ottomans. Sultan Murad III sent out a *bey* and a *kadi* to Naxos and to the other larger islands to represent his government. Murad issued an *ahd-nameh*, an imperial decree that promised the islanders, both Catholic and Orthodox, freedom of religion, a guarantee of their properties, and the right to build new churches and ring bells, both extraordinary exemptions for Christians living in Muslim lands. Island Christians were also exempt from the *devşirme*, the child-tribute, which

provided recruits for the Janissary Corps and the Sultan's Palace School.<sup>18</sup> After the early seventeenth century the bey of Naxos was usually an absentee. Other Cycladic islands also held few Turkish residents. This period was one of the great ages of piracy in the Aegean. Christian buccaneers liked nothing better than to capture a bey or kadi since they were not only Muslims, but were presumed to be the wealthiest individuals on the islands. After their capture Turkish officials could be sold as slaves in the markets of Malta or some Italian port.

On one occasion each year, both Catholics and Orthodox in the Cyclades were reminded that they were a subject people. The fleet of the *Kapudan paşa* sailed into Paros' Bay of Dhrio and awaited the arrival of delegations bringing their tax money. For the rest of the year the islanders were allowed to handle their own internal affairs. Elections were held for officials known as *epitropoi* or *syndikoi*. These officers headed the *koinotita*, the community, of each island. Their functions included fiscal, judicial, and administrative decisions. On Naxos there were three communities, one for the Catholics and two for the Orthodox. Each year the men of the Naxian Catholic community gathered at the old ducal chapel of the *castro*. They carried on their business in Italian rather than Greek, and their elected leader was known as the *capi del cittadini*. As often as not, elections went in favour of the Coronello family's candidates.

Throughout Naxos the Catholic nobles lived during the summer in towers, known as *pyrgoi*, which were both homes and fortresses. The *pyrgos* entrance was always on a second floor so that a ladder that connected to the ground could be retracted in case of danger. The roof was flat and provided a level place to throw down fires, rocks, or burning oil upon unwelcome invaders. The *pyrgoi* were difficult to take without a siege, which discouraged the efforts of pirates and rebels. When winter approached the Catholic families moved back to their homes in the *castro*.

Latin nobles filled their days overseeing their crops, tending their herds, and hunting the wild animals that miraculously survived in the back country. Women occupied themselves in managing the household servants, in sewing, and embroidering. Parties and dances were frequent, gambling all pervasive. Each island had its own costume, but all tried to model it on the latest Italian fashions. Both sexes, even in the Aegean climate, believed in wearing multiple layers of clothing, which certainly served a purpose in winter but did little to promote comfort during the hot, dry summers.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the *ahd-nameh*, over the years a decline in the Catholic population occurred on most islands of the Cyclades. The Latins on Paros decreased to fifty people; Ios had even fewer. Siphnos held 100 Catholics in 1600, fifty years later there were none. The numbers on Syros fluctuated. At that time approximately 2,500 Catholics lived on the island, and only 100 Orthodox. Santorini had but 700 Catholics in a population of 10,000.<sup>20</sup> At this bleak moment the Catholics received an infusion from two very differ-

ent sources. One was from western pirates settling in the Greek islands. Small communities appeared, and with donations – no questions asked – new Catholic chapels were built or old ones repaired. Milos, the principal port of the Aegean, was especially favoured since foreign pirates preferred to winter in its spacious harbour. The other advance for Catholicism came as the result of a shipwreck by two French Jesuits on the island of Naxos. The Archbishop of Naxos (since 1522 Naxos had that honour once the Archbishopric of Rhodes had been eliminated) invited the Jesuits to stay. They were given the ducal chapel for their church. At that time, the Naxos clergy numbered nine secular priests and a single Franciscan Observant. The Jesuits on Naxos, and subsequently on other islands, befriended the Orthodox who welcomed them to preach and teach in their churches. The French missionaries were anxious to raise Catholic consciousness by forming religious confraternities, giving missions, and especially surrounding the Feast of Corpus Christi with pageantry. For a week candlelight processions made their way through the narrow *castro* streets. Forty Hours' Devotion was one more practice of personal piety introduced at the prompting of the Jesuits.<sup>21</sup> In 1587 a Jesuit foundation also opened on Chios, with a school on the site of a former Franciscan church. A few years later French Capuchins also appeared joining the Dominicans who had long been on Chios. In 1645 one of their members, Alessandro Baldrati, accused of apostasy from Islam, was burned alive.<sup>22</sup>

Syros also had a seventeenth century martyr, Bishop Giovanni-Andrea Carga. In 1617 a Turkish fleet anchored in the Syros harbour, and its admiral accused community leaders of providing Christian pirates with provisions, a charge that probably was true. Carga and 200 others were jailed. The *paşa* gave Carga the choice of conversion to Islam or death. The bishop remained constant in his faith and therefore on 18 November 1617 was hanged. Later his body was buried in St. George's Cathedral in Ano Syros.<sup>23</sup> The death of Carga did not intimidate the Catholics. A visitation later in the century counted 4,000 believers and 170 churches and chapels. The large number of these places of worship was due to a custom that required individual families to build a special chapel for themselves. Bishop Antonio Demarchis could report to Rome that 'the Pope's island remained firm in its loyalty to Rome'.<sup>24</sup> On Santorini the church was in good condition thanks to able bishops and a Jesuit presence. In Kartharatto Bishop Antonio Demarchis founded a convent of cloistered Dominican nuns, the only Latin community of sisters in all of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>25</sup>

After the Candian War, the French became more active in the eastern Mediterranean and a new Capitulation was agreed upon. This allowed the Catholics of the Aegean to fly the French flag before their churches, a practice that was intended to inform both Muslim and Orthodox of the special relationship between Paris and the Greek Catholics.<sup>26</sup> However, the conclusion of the Candian War proved a disaster for the Catholics of Crete. When



the island surrendered after a siege of twenty-five years, the Catholics had all their churches converted into mosques or they were sold to the Orthodox and the Armenians. Venice held on to two small garrisons, at Grabousa and Soudha, served by Capuchin friars. Many Latin landowners as well as Orthodox converted to Islam in order to hold on to their property.<sup>27</sup>

Catholic missionaries were also active on the Greek mainland in the seventeenth century. In 1640 two French Jesuits arrived in Athens before moving on to Khalkis in Euboea. The Capuchins followed the Jesuits to Athens, purchasing a house in the Plaka which held the 'Lantern of Demosthenes', in reality the choreographic monument of Lysikrates. One of the Capuchins introduced the tomato to Greece.<sup>28</sup> During the Ottoman-Venetian conflict, which in 1687 brought a Venetian army to Athens (and resulted in the bombardment of the Parthenon), the Venetian commander took all the Athenian mosques and handed them over to the Catholics. However, the western army's success was short-lived. In 1715 the Ottomans advanced on Navplion and its Latin archbishop, Angelo Maria Carlini, died in the defense of the Palamidis fortress. At the conclusion of this war the last Aegean Catholic bishopric was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, when the Treaty of Passarowitz ceded Tinos to the Turks.<sup>29</sup> Chian Catholics were also victimized by the war between Venice and the Ottomans. In 1694 the Venetian fleet put ashore on the island, ousted the Turks, and confiscated the mosques. Its actions were applauded by the 5,000 Catholics of the island, but Orthodox Chians showed no enthusiasm, well aware that a Turkish fleet would soon be coming their way. This in fact happened in the spring of 1695. The Latin bishop, many of his clergy and the leading families of the island boarded the ships of retreating Venetians. Only in 1720 was it possible to restore the Catholic bishopric on Chios, but times were turbulent and the restoration of the churches, which had been closed, long delayed. By 1747 the Catholics numbered but 2,000, and only three churches, in addition to the cathedral, were functioning. Due to emigration to Smyrna and Constantinople, the Catholic population continued to decline throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

During the same period, a French traveller, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, toured the Aegean and made a report of his findings. On most of the small islands he found the Catholics barely hanging on. Two Capuchins were on Crete, one was on Kimolos. When on Milos the bishop died, he had so many debts that his chalice and vestments had to be sold to pay them. Naxos' Catholics now stood at 350, served by Jesuits, Capuchins, and secular priests. On the positive side, local women had formed a convent of Catholic Ursuline nuns and opened the only girls' school in all of the Ottoman Empire. Syros counted 6,000 lay Catholics, thirteen secular priests, two Capuchins, twenty-seven Franciscans and nineteen Dominicans. There was certainly no dearth of Latin clergy.<sup>31</sup> Some years later a report on Tinos showed that the Turkish conquest had caused the destruction of Exom-

bourgo, but the Latin bishop now lived in Xinara at the foot of the mountain. The Catholics were 8,000 in a population of 11,000.<sup>32</sup>

Greek Catholics were dealt three serious blows at the end of the eighteenth century. The first was due to the suppression of the Jesuits, which forced the missionaries to go either into exile, losing their properties and churches, or to go underground, which at best put severe limitations on their work. Officially the French Lazarists were to replace them, but there simply were not enough members of this religious order to fill all of the abandoned posts left empty due to the Jesuits' misfortunes. A second setback appeared when, during the course of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774, a Russian fleet occupied the Cyclades. Albanians in the Tsaritsa's service desecrated many Naxian churches and seized others. Finally the 1789 Revolution meant that subsidies from the government and personnel no longer came from their protectors, the French. Greek Catholics were now isolated during the years of the Revolution and the Napoleonic era. It was not until 1815 that the restored Bourbon monarchy once more resumed France's traditional role as patron of the Catholics. Soon a new crisis appeared.

### Catholics and the Greek War of Independence

The revolution of 1821 presented a dilemma for Greek Catholics in the Cyclades. On the one hand there was universal sentiment among all Christians to be done with Muslim rule, yet Catholic islanders had few grievances. The sultan's government was little interested in what the Catholics did, so long as tax monies were promptly delivered. Moreover, if the revolutionaries were successful, the Catholics would find themselves in a nation whose foundations were based upon Orthodoxy and Hellenic nationalism. French protection was likely to disappear and the Catholics would then become a very small minority in a state that was overwhelmingly Orthodox.

Throughout the eighteenth century, it appears that relations between Greek Orthodox and Catholics had become more tense. In the Ottoman lands the success of Latin missionaries in setting up churches united with Rome among the Armenians, Syrian Jacobites, and especially the Antiochene Melkites made the clerics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate ever more hostile. Wandering monks charged the Catholics with abundant crimes and in extreme Orthodox circles, the Pope was pictured as the devil incarnate.

In 1821 the total Greek Catholic population was approximately 16,000 people, almost all of them living on the two islands of Syros and Tinos. The various Greek revolutionary governments located in the Peloponnese did their best to convince their Latin countrymen and women that they should support the insurrection. Their officials visited the islands, promising that complete religious freedom would be guaranteed in any Greek nation state. The delegates also sought to collect monies from the Catholics as well as promises of support.

In April 1822 Alexandros Mavrokordatos, president of the Provisional Government, dispatched an invitation to Archbishop Andreas Veggetti of Naxos to come to Corinth to discuss the role of the Catholics. Veggetti wrote back that he needed permission from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and a safe-conduct from Constantinople before he could proceed. In addition to wooing their own island Catholics, other Greek governments that appeared during the conflict sent representatives to Rome seeking papal support, but Pius VII was cautious. Who could be sure that either Greek defeat or victory might not bring down the wrath of the Turks on the remaining Catholic communities of the Ottoman Empire? Pius did show a willingness to accept any refugees from Greece who sought asylum in the Papal States and appropriated funds for their support.<sup>31</sup>

Early in the conflict Archbishop Veggetti added to Catholic anxiety when he acted on behalf of a group of Turkish prisoners held on Naxos. He rescued the Turks, placed them in a building owned by the Church and saved their lives by putting them on board a French ship. The Orthodox bishop on Naxos prepared an assault on the Catholic-held *castro*, but cooler heads prevailed and the attack never materialized. Catholics throughout the islands complained that they were caught in the middle of a conflict not of their making, facing hostility from both the Ottomans and the Greek rebels.<sup>34</sup>

Throughout the Revolution the Latins on both Tinos and Syros flew the French flag before their churches and continued to pay the *cizye* to Constantinople. Their stance was difficult to maintain. An army of Greek insurgents landed on Syros attempting to require the Catholics to abandon their neutrality. This force made it possible for the landing of hundreds of refugees on Syros, nearly all of them Orthodox, especially after the massacres of Chios and Psara. Gathering at the port of Syros, the exiles put the town of Ermoupolis under construction, soon to become the largest city of the Cyclades and, in fact, in all Greece. The Chian massacre had taken place in 1822 as a result of a raid on the island's Turks from neighbouring Samos. Once the Samians withdrew, an Ottoman army appeared and clambered ashore. The Orthodox bishop was hanged and his cathedral burned to the ground. The Catholic cathedral also went up in flames. The only safe place of refuge on all of Chios was to be found in the French consul's grounds, where a Capuchin friar sheltered 300 men, women, and children.<sup>35</sup>

On Tinos, while the war was in progress, an Orthodox nun received a vision of a hidden icon. Workmen discovered the icon of the Panagia which was universally looked upon as a miracle by the Orthodox population. Needless to say, the icon discovery also became a symbol of God's blessing on the Revolution, and, in time, was placed in a church, the Evangelistria. It is now the most important pilgrimage site in all of Greece. The Catholics of Tinos, because of Mary's intervention, were further placed on the defensive.

## Catholics in the kingdom of Greece

There was little enthusiasm among Catholics when they learned that the Great Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, meeting in London to draw its boundaries intended to include the Cyclades, but not Chios, in the new Greek state. A dispatch to Rome from the Catholics on Syros in 1829 lamented:

The Greeks have revolted against their sovereign. Three Christian powers have decided to make a portion of the country of Greece independent and we have learned with deep sorrow that our island is included in this part. We will be forced to abandon our homeland or to change our religion in order to live with people so intolerant.<sup>36</sup>

As a matter of fact, the peace treaty creating the new Greek state provided guarantees for the Catholics, and the expected retaliation by the Orthodox never occurred.

As the Revolution progressed, an assembly of Greek insurgents met at Troezen and in early 1827 elected Ioannis Kapodistrias president of Greece. Kapodistrias realized that if the Revolution was to succeed it must secure the diplomatic support of the British and French as well as the Russians. As a former joint foreign minister in St. Petersburg, Kapodistrias knew well that the Paris government would be especially sensitive about the welfare of the Greek Catholics. Therefore, the President did his best to ameliorate incidents of dispute between Catholics and officials of the Greek government. As a result the Catholic community on Syros sent two delegates to participate in the National Assembly of Argos.

The Protocol of London, signed 3 February 1830, launched the Cycladic Greek Catholics, willingly or not, upon a new course. The French King, Charles X, renounced his role of protector over them in return for assurances that the Greek government would recognize their bishops and guarantee the special status of the Latins of the islands. An instruction to Kapodistrias required that Catholics enjoy freedom of worship, possession of their properties, and that Latin bishops should retain all the rights and privileges that they held before the conflict. No discrimination against Catholics in employment or serving in public office was to be permitted.<sup>37</sup> Helping the Catholic cause in Greece was the Powers' decision to invite Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a German Catholic, to become the ruler of Greece. Kapodistrias had little choice but to accept Leopold's nomination. He wrote him that it would make a great difference in his acceptance in Greece if Leopold was willing to convert to Orthodoxy, 'the religion of the country'. Negotiations were still in progress when assassins killed Kapodistrias, Leopold refused the kingship, and conditions in Greece fell into near anarchy.<sup>38</sup>



Again the Powers intervened and one more time their choice fell upon a German Catholic prince, Otto, the young son of the Bavarian king, Ludwig of Wittelsbach. After some delay Otto (the Greeks knew him as Othon), arrived in the country to the great encouragement of the people who had not had a stable government since Kapodistrias' death. The Russian representatives in Greece as well as the stronger Greek nationalists in the government did their best to convince Otto that he should abandon Catholicism for Orthodoxy, but throughout his life he remained a Catholic. If the king would not convert, the political leadership believed that an heir might well be brought up an Orthodox Christian, but such did not happen.<sup>39</sup> For the Greek Catholics there must have been some satisfaction in the knowledge that the sovereign shared their faith, although for political reasons the king was always careful not to give the impression he favoured his coreligionists.<sup>40</sup>

Soon after Otto's arrival the Vatican and the Catholic ambassadors appointed to Athens became active in seeking recognition for Luigi Blanci, the Franciscan bishop of Syros, to be named Apostolic Delegate to Greece. Such an appointment was considered to be one more assurance that the Catholics should not be submerged in the Orthodox sea of the new Greek state. On 22 May 1838, King Otto's government issued a document giving Blanci his title, an office he held until his death in 1851.<sup>41</sup> A statistical survey of Greece in 1835 counted 17,648 Latins in the country. Included in this number were 1,850 Bavarian troops who had come with King Otto.<sup>42</sup> Because several hundred Latins now made their home on mainland Greece, Blanci formed a Catholic council for Athens. At its head was the Austrian ambassador, Anton Prokesch-Osten, while its secretary was the Bavarian court chaplain, Andreas Arneth.

It was this council which supervised the foundation of the first new Catholic church to be built on the mainland of Greece, dedicated to St Paul the Apostle, in the Piraeus. Its financing was raised by subscription among the nobility in Western Europe, with Ferdinand I, the Austrian Emperor, and his wife Anna Maria Carolina as the major donors. Meanwhile the Bavarian soldiers worshipped in a chapel set up for their use. Dedicated to St. Luke the Evangelist, King Ludwig, Otto's father, was its major patron. Several new parishes also opened outside Athens. In 1840, Navplion received a Catholic house of worship, which served the 300 Catholics who lived in the town and monuments to the Philhellenes who fought for Greece were erected on its walls. Other parishes appeared at Pylos and Patras.<sup>43</sup>

One of Otto's plans was to construct a Catholic cathedral in Athens. His goal was to place it in a very conspicuous site on one of the city's major streets, between the Academy and the Royal Palace. Prokesch-Osten purchased the property and took charge of obtaining the finances. The king's architect, Leo von Klenze, received the commission to design the church, but many years were to pass before the Cathedral dedicated to St Dionysios the

Areopagite was completed. Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French, was responsible for much of the money, which finally, in 1865, allowed the church to be dedicated.<sup>44</sup>

On 2 September 1843 an army colonel led his troops before the Royal Palace, demanding a constitution for Greece. Reluctantly King Otto agreed to the demands and work commenced on the constitution. The final document carried the statement, 'the crown of Greece pertains to the dynasty of King Othon. His successor will profess the Greek Orthodox religion'. In addition the draft outlined, 'the dominant faith in the Kingdom of Greece is the Greek Orthodox religion.' Neither statement was likely to inspire confidence within the Catholic community. The Latin bishops wrote to Pope Gregory XVI and to King Louis Philippe in Paris asking that pressure be put on the Athens government to add a clause on Catholic guarantees. Bishop Blanci asked Rome if a Catholic should take an oath of allegiance to the new constitution as it then stood. Both the French and Austrian ambassador in Athens intervened on the Catholic side so that in their oath to support the constitution, Latins might add the clause, 'provided the rights of the Catholic Church are preserved'.<sup>45</sup> In 1862 a new breed of Greek politicians decided King Otto must go and in a bloodless coup the king was dethroned and went into exile. Officials settled on a candidate from the Danish house of Glücksberg, George I, who appeared in Athens a year later. Unlike Otto, George agreed that his children should be brought up in the Orthodox faith. As a result of the British transfer of the Ionian Islands to Greece at this time, the Catholic bishopric of Corfu became part of the nation. In the late nineteenth century Pope Pius IX decided to promote Athens to an archbishopric. On 23 July 1875 Ioannis Marangos was named to that post. There was no official governmental recognition of his appointment at that time, nor until the present, despite the fact that the Latin Archbishop of Athens since that date has been the major Catholic hierarch in Greece.<sup>46</sup>

In 1938, during the Ioannis Metaxas regime which had only recently come to power as the result of a military coup, a wave of nationalism swept the country. There would have been little opposition to the premise that to be Greek is to be Orthodox. The result was legislation that any person or group that wanted to have a place of worship constructed must have two permits: one from the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs and a second from the local Greek Orthodox bishop. This legislation remains in force to this day. After the Second World War the Catholic Church suffered a small decline on Corfu and a major disaster on Rhodes. On both islands many Western Catholics had made their home, taking advantage of Mussolini's plan for a revived Italian presence in the East Mediterranean. When the war ended, most Italians returned to their homeland. Corfu's Catholics declined by 500, but on Rhodes, where in 1946 there had been 13,000 faithful and eleven parishes, in



1992 the archbishopric was vacant, only three parishes remained, and for the whole year the Catholic community counted but six baptisms. After the war the small Armenian Catholic community in Athens and Piraeus, about 600 people, increased thanks to a new wave of refugees. They worship in two parishes, St Gregory the Illuminator and St Teresa.<sup>47</sup>

### Byzantine-rite Catholics

In 1861 a Latin priest of Syros, Ioannis Hyacinth Marangos, organized a small congregation of Catholics of the Byzantine rite in Constantinople. He also set up a religious order for men, the Congregation of the Most Holy Trinity and another for women, the Congregation of the Holy Family, later secularized on orders from Rome. Four disaffected Orthodox clerics came over to his group, but hostility from the Greek community in Constantinople meant that it remained very small. In 1878 Marangos moved to Athens, and the community's house in Constantinople then had but three occupants. By 1900 the Ottoman capital's Assumptionist parish, served by French missionaries and transformed into a Byzantine-rite church, held between 200 and 300 Greek Catholics.

Two other small Ottoman Orthodox communities joined the Catholic Church, while keeping their former rite. One was located at Kayseri in Anatolia, another in Malgara in Thrace. Their priest, Isaias Papadopoulos, began a school in Malgara and in 1907 was named vicar general for Catholics of the Byzantine rite. Five years later Papadopoulos was consecrated a bishop. In May 1917 the Roman Congregation for the Oriental Churches assumed the direction of the Byzantine-rite Catholics in Greece and Turkey.

When, at the conclusion of the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-22, an exchange of populations was made, most of the members of these Byzantine-rite communities moved, one to Athens, the other to Gianitsa, a small town located north and west of Thessaloniki. The Athens group under Bishop George Kalavassi settled on Acharnon Street, obtained funds for building a church, and opened a seminary and student residence. Rome has continued to appoint bishops to follow Kalavassi despite the deep hostility to the Byzantine-rite Catholics found in the country. Since the Second World War a new cathedral has been built in Byzantine style and the offices of the Eastern church diligently kept. A woman's congregation, the Sisters of Pammakaristos, run an orphanage, several student residences and a hospital. The Little Sisters of Jesus, although Western in origin, have identified with these Byzantine-rite Greek Catholics. Priests of this community edit and publish the Catholic newspaper of Greece, *Katholiki*. The presence of a Byzantine-rite Catholic bishop in Athens, united to Rome, is the major obstacle preventing better relations between Rome and the Orthodox church.<sup>48</sup>

### The present

Today the Catholics of Greece number approximately 53,000 people. As in the past, the two Cycladic islands of Tinos and Syros remain centres of Catholicism. Syros now holds 7,800 Latins and Tinos approximately 2,600. In addition, several thousand foreign Catholics, many of them refugees from Middle Eastern wars, now make Greece their home. The largest groups of foreign Catholics come from two very different parts of the world: Poles have found work in Greece as construction workers and Filipinos in domestic occupations. Many, particularly the Poles, are in Greece illegally and are not counted as parishioners in the parishes.

There has been a major emigration of Catholics, along with the population as a whole, into Athens and its suburbs. Now a majority of Catholics, approximately 36,000, live in the capital region located in the fourteen parishes in the area of Greater Athens. Eleven of them are in the care of secular priests and three are served by religious orders: Capuchins, Jesuits, and Assumptionists. In addition two orders of male religious conduct schools: the Marist Brothers and the Christian Brothers, assisted by personnel drawn from Western Europe. A number of religious orders of sisters teach, care for the aged, or for orphans. They number about eighty individuals. These include the Sisters of St Joseph, the Sisters of Charity, the Ursulines, the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and the Benedictines. There is also a convent of cloistered Carmelites.

The ecclesiastical division of the Latin Church falls into six dioceses. Two archbishoprics are located in Athens and Rhodes. Metropolitan sees are found on Corfu and Naxos-Tinos, a bishopric on Syros, and a vicar apostolic in Thessaloniki. Rhodes and Thessaloniki, with 1,500 in the former city and 2,900 Catholics in the latter, do not have resident hierarchs but are served by apostolic administrators under the direction of Athens and Corfu. The Catholics of Corfu number about 3,000 individuals. The bishops work together closely. Documents and policy statements are issued in the name of the Holy Synod of the Catholic Hierarchy of Greece made up of the four resident Latin bishops of the country. The secretariat has its office on Tinos.<sup>49</sup>

Catholic parishes are located in Piraeus, Patras, Volos and Larissa. Crete has four churches: Iraklion, Khania, Agios Nikolaos and Rethymnon (the latter two only open in summer). The Cycladic islands of Syros and Tinos have many churches and chapels. Some villages are entirely Catholic, others are shared with the Orthodox. Tinos is exceptional since many of the Catholics here are farmers and make up a rural society, a way of life that has almost disappeared on the other islands. On Naxos and Santorini, while several church properties that date from the Middle Ages are still in the possession of the Catholic church, the severe decline in the population makes the communities barely able to survive. The cathedrals have become parish churches, serving the remnant of Catholics who still make these islands their



homes. The church on Santorini still holds a Dominican convent of cloistered nuns, but recruits must now be sought from Spain. There are simply not enough vocations from Greek Catholic women. Santorini's church also sponsors a cultural centre in the Ghisi mansion of Thira. Here exhibitions of art and memorabilia of the island's past attract hundreds of visitors, especially in the summer tourist season. Churches are also open during the summer on Paros, Milos, Andros, and Mykonos for vacationers, but no permanent congregations exist. In the Ionian islands, the cathedrals of Corfu and the parish church of Zakynthos share the Catholic population. A visitor to Greece will find both positive and negative features in the current situation. A look at the congregation at Sunday Mass in the churches on Syros and Tinos will reveal a considerable number of empty pews. Like their Orthodox countrymen and women, weekly attendance at the Eucharist does not seem to have a high priority for the current Catholic generation. On the other hand, the major holidays attract large crowds.

The changes made by the Second Vatican Council have affected the church. The priest's vestments are modernized and the altars have been turned around so that the celebrant faces the congregation. There is much more of a dialogue between priest and people, with singing and public recitation of prayers, than was found thirty years ago. A major change is the use of the spoken Greek language in all church services creating better understanding of the meaning of the Liturgy. Most adult congregants, both men and women, now communicate weekly. Women also now serve as lectors at Mass, a practice that would have been looked upon as altogether unheard of before the Council. The liturgical changes offer opportunities for lay Greek Catholics to have much more participation in the Liturgy than the Orthodox Greeks, where attendance at the Eucharist is passive and receiving communion, except for young children, considered extraordinary. Catholic organizations are to be found providing social events from childhood to old age. There are youth groups that take students on excursions and to summer camps. Adults and senior citizens have their own activities, religious, cultural and educational. Women especially enjoy bus pilgrimages to the shrines associated with Catholicism in Greece. In 1993, a delegation of young Catholics from Syros traveled to Denver to greet Pope John Paul II.

The Orthodox atmosphere of Greece makes it somewhat difficult for Catholics. Especially at election times politicians tend to drape themselves in the robes of Orthodoxy, despite the secular nature of the Greek government. Catholics have long given up proselytization. While in 1938 Metaxas introduced legislation forbidding Catholics to make converts from among the Orthodox, the present constitution has broadened this prohibition to make it contrary to the law to seek converts from any 'recognized religion'.<sup>50</sup> Despite their long shared history, Orthodox Greeks still regard Catholics with suspicion believing that even if they do not actively seek converts, their

very presence in Greece must have the unstated purpose of paving the way for conversions.

A good example of subtle discrimination occurred in the summer of 1993 when a government decree required candidates for the police force to state their religion. This law brought forth a futile protest from the synod of Catholic bishops. For political reasons, members of the Mitsotakis government in 1993, as well as officials in the New Democracy Party appear to have encouraged attacks on the papacy and the Catholic Church. One New Democracy official claimed that Catholics were, 'Greek according to law, but not according to consciousness'.<sup>51</sup> Many Greeks believe the Vatican stood behind the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in the struggle against the Orthodox Serbs. No less a figure than the Minister of National Defence claimed that the Vatican Bank was the major source of funds for the Muslim armies of Bosnia. Vandals sprayed graffiti on the Catholic church in Patras. Responding to this challenge, in November 1994 Nicholas Phoskolos, Latin Archbishop of Athens, felt it necessary to list eleven issues of discrimination against the Catholic Church in a memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Education.

Phoskolos detailed the following charges. Greek Catholics are regularly discriminated against in the work place, in the army, and often when they seek employment. (A person's religion was at the time listed on Greek identity cards.) Secondly, Catholic students are often humiliated in public schools. The canon law of the Catholic Church is not recognized by the state, and no Catholic church building may be constructed without the permission of the local Orthodox bishop. Catholics want their canon law to provide the guidelines over the monasteries and convents under their jurisdiction and to establish clerical schools and seminaries when they see fit. Teachers should be employed in public schools to teach Catholic children with books approved by the bishops. Phoskolos also called for the abrogation of laws 1784 and 1939, which forbid the establishment of a private school that is affiliated with a non-Orthodox institution. He also asked for the right of Catholics to establish welfare agencies and for the state to deny the practice of the Orthodox clergy officiating at mixed marriages to demand that the children be baptized and raised Orthodox.

Another demand was for the repeal of laws 590 and 977 that reserve the clerical habit to Orthodox clergy, and he also called for abolition of Article 2 in the penal code that speaks of 'tolerated religions' rather than 'recognized religions'. In addition he requested the correction of Article 12 of law 1363 passed in 1938 that states, 'the entry into the kingdom of Greece of all heads of religions, confessions, and heretical sects who do not have Greek nationality is permitted only by the ministers of Religion and Foreign Affairs. Those who violate this law will be expelled without any further formality.'

On the first Sunday of Lent in 1995 Phoskolos ordered the reading in all Catholic churches of a pastoral letter entitled 'The Way of the Cross' in

which he repeated the demand that Catholics enjoy all the rights of Greek citizens. He urged his people to work toward that end after detailing many of the grievances he set forth in his memorandum to the Minister of Religion. Despite all the Archbishop's efforts, the Catholic Church remains without public legal status in Greece, which the law gives only to Orthodox Christians and to Jews.

Literature in some publications of the Orthodox press continues to promote polemical articles against Catholics. Many accusations are without foundation. In the present contest between Orthodox and Catholics in Ukraine, the popular press is completely on the side of the Orthodox, applauding the fraudulent synod of 1946 which led to the absorption of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Orthodox. The journal *Athena* claimed that 1,500 churches have been taken by the Catholics in Ukraine, ousting priests and faithful and contending that mobs have killed some of the priests.<sup>52</sup>

The Orthodox hierarchy in mainland Greece within the Athens archbishopric is adamantly opposed to any ecumenical discussions with local Catholics. Archbishop Christodoulos let it be known that Pope John Paul II would not be welcome in his jubilee journey to the sacred places of early Christianity. On Crete relations between Catholics and Orthodox are friendly and the Church of Greece has sent delegates to several Catholic-Orthodox colloquia that have met outside the country. Most bishops and practically all Orthodox monks and nuns resent the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaios's willingness to deal with the Vatican. Archbishop Serapheim of Athens, occasionally lumped Catholics and all other Western religions in the category of heresies. His successor since 1998, Archbishop Christodoulos, has shown himself equally hostile to the Catholic presence in Greece.

The Greek government for decades has provided a theologian to teach in the public schools, but until very recently only Orthodox theologians were hired. Even on Syros where 400 Catholic students attended high school, religion classes were monopolized by Orthodox teachers. Catholics were instructors of other subjects in the schools but never taught religion. Only recently has there been change, thanks to continued protests from Bishop Frangiskos Papamanolis. Another difficulty put into the way of Catholics is the control that the Ministry of Education and Worship and the local Orthodox bishops have over church construction. For Catholics to put up a school or church building requires the consent both of the Ministry, the local hierarch, and in fact, if not in law, the tacit permission of the Archbishop of Athens. As expected, the process may take years. It is frustrating for Catholics to note that in Western Europe Catholics offer their churches for Orthodox services, Western governments give recognition to the Orthodox and their clergy, and Catholics welcome Orthodox visitors. Yet in Greece constant obstacles are put in the way of Catholic activity. When the Catholics compromise, such as agreeing to the Orthodox church calendar so that the Orthodox and Catholic Easter coincide and refusing to allow communion in the hand

because of Orthodox sensibilities, there is no reciprocity on the part of their fellow Christians.<sup>53</sup> Problems are especially acute in the realm of education. Recent legislation has prohibited schools to be located on church property. Whatever the government's motivation for such a law, the result has been to force Catholic schools either to move or to change their constitutions so as to be recognized as private, not Catholic, schools.<sup>54</sup>

### The future

A problem currently exists for the Catholic church to recruit candidates for priesthood. For the first time in history there are no students in Rome's Greek College and but a handful are students in other West European seminaries. For the present the church has enough priests, but the future does not look promising, although, except for Poland, the same state of affairs exists throughout Europe. Probably the most serious of all future problems will result from the frequency of mixed marriages. Statistics now show four out of five Catholics choosing Orthodox spouses. This is especially critical in the metropolitan climate of the Athens region. Because it is so much easier for the whole family to belong to the Orthodox church, a husband or wife may very well give up his or her religion, especially in towns where there is no Catholic church.

For the past eight centuries Catholics have shared in the history of the Greek people in the East Mediterranean. This experience has often been positive and at other times, admittedly, events have turned sour. As a minority, the Catholics have often felt threatened and without doubt in the past depended too much on political protection and financial support from the West. This dependence has made their countrymen and women consider them to be foreigners, despite their long residence in the country and the excellent ethnic credentials of the majority of Cycladic Catholics.

The Catholic church of Greece can take pride in its years of service to its communicants. It has brought them superior educational opportunities, contacts with the western world denied the Orthodox, and a spirit of universal community which has kept them from a narrow nationalism, which identifies Christianity with a particular people or place. In the future, it may be that Greece's participation in the European Union will provide a model for Orthodox and Catholics to imitate living in harmony within the Christian ecumene. It would be a tragedy for the Christian world, if Catholicism, for almost eight hundred years a part of Greek life, should disappear in the twenty-first century.

### Notes

- 1 Johannes Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, (Florence and Venice, 1759-98) II 670-1.



- 2 Pope Damasus to Anysius of Thessaloniki, Rome, 386 in Philip Jaffé, ed., *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, (Leipzig, 1885) I 41. Subsequently other Popes renewed Thessaloniki's privileges. See also Louis Petit, 'Les évêques de Thessalonique', *Echos d'Orient*, IV (1901) 140-5.
- 3 V. Grumel, 'L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au patriarcat de Constantinople. Le témoignage de Théophane le Chronographe', *Recherches de science religieuse*, XL (1952) 191-200. The problem is how to interpret Theophanes. Should patrimonies include bishoprics? See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, H. Turtledove, trans., (Philadelphia, 1982) 100-1.
- 4 Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1521*, (Philadelphia, 1976-84) I 36-42; Charles Frazee, 'The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204-1453', *Balkan Studies*, XIX (1978) 33-49.
- 5 Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, (Rome, 1973-78) II 163; Charles and Kathleen Frazee, *The Island Princes of Greece*, (Amsterdam, 1988) 21-3.
- 6 The churches of Ayios Mamas on Naxos and the Panagia tis Gonias on Santorini were two cathedral properties transferred to the Latins. Western bishops preferred to build their own cathedrals in Greece. See also A. Stella, 'Chiesa e stato nelle relazioni dei Nunzi Pontifici a Venezia', *Studi e Testi*, CCXXXIX (1964) 307-8.
- 7 On the Venetian occupation of Corfu and Ionian Islands, see John J. Norwich, *A History of Venice*, (New York, 1982) 260-1; Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, (Baltimore, 1973) 198, and A. Foss, *The Ionian Islands*, (London, 1969). Corfu had Western clergy since the time of the Norman invasion of Robert Guiscard in 1147.
- 8 The Santorini castros were at Skaros, Ioa, Pyrgos, Akrotiri and Emborio. See Ioannis Delendas, *Oi Katholikoi tis Santorinis*, (Athens, 1949) 36-8; Michael Danezis, *Santorini*, (Athens, 1971) 149.
- 9 Different views on the origins the Catholics of Syros exist. Emile Kolodny in 'Oi Katholikoi ton Kykladon', *Tiniaka Analekta*, I (1979) 5-11, believes them to be of foreign origin. This is disputed by Antonios Sigalas in 'Oi Ellinikoi katalogoi ton Katholikon tis Syrou', *Kykladika*, I (1956) 241-290 and in 'I nomi e cognomi veneto-italiani nell'isola di Sira', *Studi Byzantini e Neo Ellenici*, VIII (1921) 194-200. The latest publication on Syros is the volume by Markos Roussos Milidonis, *Syra Sacra*, (Athens, 1993).
- 10 On the history of Tinos see G.I. Dorizas, *I mesaioniki Tinos*, (Athens, 1976) 41-55 and Charles Frazee 'Tinos: Venetian Outpost of the Aegean', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, VII (1991) 133-43. The best account of Cycladic history during the early part of the Tourkokratia is to be found in B. J. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane, 1500-1718*, (Istanbul, 1982) I 59-63.
- 11 The history of Chios is told by Philip Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island; 1346-1566*, (Cambridge, 1958).
- 12 The history of Rhodes under the Knights may be followed in Ernle Bradford, *The Shield and the Sword: The Knights of St. John, Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta*, (New York, 1973) 140-75 and for Crete, see Lane, *Venice*, 43, 75-6.
- 13 For the last days of the Naxian dukes, see B. J. Slot, 'I tourkiki kataktisis ton Kykladon, 1537-38', *Kymoliaka*, VII (1978) 62-4; Robert Sauger (Saulger) *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l'Archipel*, (Paris, 1699), 292-301. For Nasi's career consult P. Grunebaum-Ballin, 'Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos', *Etudes Juives*, XIII (1968) 82ff.
- 14 Argenti, *Occupation*, I 364-8.
- 15 J. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, (Paris, 1864-94) I 91-6.

- 16 Pietro Pirri, ed., 'Lo Stato della Chiesa Ortodossa di Constantinopoli e le sue tendenze verso Roma in una Memoria del P. Giulio Mancinelli, S. I.' in *Miscellanea Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi*, (Rome, 1947) I 79-104; Rocco da Cesinale Cocchia, *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini*, (Paris, 1867) I 55-69. In 1744 the Jesuits built the church of St. Louis in Thessaloniki. See Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, T. F. Carney, trans., (Thessaloniki, 1972) 993-4. The baptismal register of the Catholic parish in Thessaloniki has been published by Yves-Jean Dymon, 'To mitroön vaptiseon tis Katholikis Ekklesias Thessalonikis, 1702-1727', *Makedonika*, XI (1971) 38-68.
- 17 P. De Meester, *Le Collège Pontifical grec de Rome*, (Rome, 1910); Raphael de Martinis, *Juris pontificii de Propaganda Fide, pars prima*, (Rome, 1888-97) I 1-3; Alphons Mulders, *Missionsgeschichte*, (Regensburg, 1960) 263-74.
- 18 The text of the *ahd-nameh* is to be found in Abbé Pegues, *Histoire et phénomènes du volcan et des îles volcaniques de Santorin*, (Paris, 1842) 609-13.
- 19 For the life on the islands, see Slot, *Archipelagus*, 25-30. There is a great amount of travel literature on the islands, beginning with Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum Archipelagi*. He journeyed about 1415. Other important works are Deshayes de Courmenin, *Voyage du Levant fait par commandement du Roy en 1621*, (Paris, 1645); Olfert Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel*, (Amsterdam, 1702) and Antoine Des Barres, *L'estat présent de l'Archipel*, (Paris, 1678). On the communities, see E. Koukkou, *Oi koinotikoi thesmoi stis Kyklades kata tin Tourkokratian*, (Athens, 1980).
- 20 Georg Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia: Naxos, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, (Rome, 1938) CXV 34ff; Tinos, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, (Rome, 1936), CVII 20ff; Thera, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, (Rome, 1941) CXXX 54-5. See also Agamemnon Tselikas, *Martyries apo ti Santorini, 1573-1819*, (Athens, 1985).
- 21 V. Laurent, ed., 'Relations de ce qui s'est passé en la résidence des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus établie à Naxie le 26 septembre de l'année 1627', *Echos d'Orient*, XXXIII (1934) 218-26, 354-75; XXXIV (1935) 97-105, 179-204, 350-67, 472-80.
- 22 P. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios, Jews and Roman Catholics*, (Cambridge, 1970) 225-7.
- 23 Sophronius Petrides, 'Le Vénérable Jean-André Carga, évêque latin de Syra', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, V (1900), 407-44; Georg Hofmann, *Syros, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, (Rome, 1937) CXII 9-23.
- 24 Visite I, 538-9, Archivo della S. Congregazione di Propaganda, quoted in Georg Hofmann, 'La Chiesa Cattolica in Grecia, 1600-1830', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, II (1936) 405.
- 25 Hofmann, *Thera*, 10-11.
- 26 The Capitulations of 1673, signed by Marquis de Nointel and Mehmed IV, provided in Article II, that 'Bishops who depend on France and other regions that profess the religion of the Franks, of whatever nation or place, so long as they act in that capacity, shall not be troubled in the exercise of their duties within the boundaries of our empire where they have lived for a long time'. Quoted in Basile Homsy, *Les Capitulations et la protection des chrétiens au Proche-Orient au XVI, XVII, XVIII siècles*, (Paris, 1956), 252; César Famin, *Histoire de la rivalité et du protectorat des églises chrétiennes en Orient*, (Paris, 1853) 24-40.
- 27 Ubaldo Mannucci, 'Contributi documentarii per le storia della distruzione degli episcopati latini in Oriente nel secoli XVI, XVII', *Bessarione*, XXX (1914) 97-101.
- 28 Auguste Carayon, *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVIII siècle*, (Paris, 1894) 123-38;

- Clemente da Terzorio, *Le missioni dei Minori Cappuccini, sunto storico*, (Rome, 1913–38) IV 366.
- 29 Hofmann, *La Chiesa Cattolica*, II 176–7.
- 30 Philip Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Venetians, 1694*, (London, 1935) gives a full description of this event. See also Abbé Orse, Giraud and Saint-Aroman, *Actes des apôtres modernes, ou missions catholiques: voyages des missionnaires dans toutes les parties du monde*, (Paris, 1852) II 144; Charles Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, (Cambridge, 1983) 174–6.
- 31 Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, (Paris, 1717) II 22–4, 165.
- 32 Hofmann, *Tinos*, 21–23; Carayon, *Mission des Jesuites*, 65–6.
- 33 Georg Hofmann, *Das Papsttum und der Griechische Freiheitskampf, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, (Rome, 1952) CXXXVI 72–8, 192–4; Spyridon Trikoupis, *Istoria tis ellinikis epanastaseos*, (London, 1853–57) I 184.
- 34 Robert Walsh, *A Residence in Constantinople*, (London, 1836) 42–3.
- 35 Philip Argenti, ed., *The Massacres of Chios described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, (London, 1932) 82–4; Hofmann, *Chios*, 29–30.
- 36 Quoted in *Courrière de Smyrne*, 22 March 1829.
- 37 Demetrios Salakhas, *I nomiki thesis tis Katholikis Ekklisias en ti Elliniki Epikrateia*, (Athens, 1978) 55–6; E. A. Bétant, ed., *Correspondence du Comte J. Capodistrias, président de la Grèce*, (Geneva, 1838) IV 421.
- 38 Bétant, *Correspondence*, IV 10, 79.
- 39 Stamatiou Laskaris, *Diplomatiki istoria tis Ellados, 1821–1914*, (Athens, 1947) 42ff; S. Laskaris, *I Katholiki Ekklisia en Elladi*, (Athens, 1924) 2ff.
- 40 Otto's marriage remained childless throughout his life.
- 41 Georg Hofmann, 'Papa Gregorio XVI e la Grecia', in *Gregorio XVI, Miscellanea commemorativa*, (Rome, 1949) II 137–40. See also I. Petrou, *Ekklisia kai politiki stin Ellada, 1750–1809*, (Thessaloniki, 1990).
- 42 Archivio della S. Congregazione di Propaganda, Congressi, 39, Archipelago.
- 43 'Apostoliki epitropeia Ellados', quoted in Evgenios Dalezios, *O en Athinais kathedrikos naos tou Agiou Dionysiou tou Areopagitou, 1865–1965*, (Athens, 1965) 17–19.
- 44 Dalezios, *Kathedrikos naos*, 43–108.
- 45 Hofmann, *Papa Gregorio*, II 145–54.
- 46 Successors to Marangos as Catholic Archbishops of Athens have been: Joseph Zaphinos (1892–95), Gaitanos Deangelis (1895–1900), Antonios Delenda (1900–11), Louis Petit (1912–26), Ioannis-Vapstistis Phillippousis (1927–47), Markos Sigalas (1947–50), Markos Makrionitis (1953–59), Venediktos Printezis (1959–1972), Nikolaos Phoskolos (1973–).
- 47 *Annuario pontificio*, 1946, (Rome, 1947) 151, 274; idem., 1992, 55, 463. On the Armenian Catholics of Greece, see Jean Mécérian, 'Un tableau de la diaspora arménienne', *Proche Orient Chrétien*, XI (1961) 63 and A. Angelopoulos, 'Population distribution of Greece today according to language, national consciousness and religion', *Balkan Studies*, XX (1979) 126.
- 48 The Decree on Ecumenism issued by the Second Vatican Council says, speaking of the Orthodox Churches, 'in each of these churches, the Church of God is built up and grows in stature'. Uniatism, the formation of Catholic Churches of former Orthodox, is no longer considered viable as a means of creating a united Christian Church, *Oriente Cattolico: cenni storice e statistiche*, (Rome, 1962) 124–5; Sotirios Varnaldis, 'L'ecclésiologie de l'uniatisme dans la création des exarchats de Constantinople et d'Athènes', *Irenikon*, LXV (1982) 400–22.
- 49 Tourist Office of the Catholic Archdiocese of Athens, *The Catholic Church in Greece*, Athens, n.d.

- 50 A commentary on the 1975 constitution is provided in Salakhas, *I nomiki thesis*, 82–4.
- 51 *Katholiki*, Athens, 14 September 1993.
- 52 *Athena*, (January, 1993) 24.
- 53 The Orthodox Synod of Greece strongly protested a request by the Papal Nuncio to Greece that the Catholic Archbishop receive the title 'Metropolitan of Continental Greece'. Archbishop Serapheim of Athens called it totally unacceptable, 'one more step in the general plan against Orthodoxy'. See Vasilios Makrides, 'Orthodoxy as a conditio sine qua non: religions and state politics in modern Greece from a socio-historical perspective', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, XL (1991) 281–305.
- 54 Salakhas, *I nomiki thesis*, 211–12.