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THE HOSPITAL OF ST LAZARUS (PANAGIA ABBEY) AND OTHER
LATIN ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS IN FRANKISH CORINTH

«La vita di un ricercatore, da queste parti, è spesso legata al filo di un'informazione». quasi Benito Rojo – but our Hubert Houben also knows the value of a «mere scrap of information».

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens has done much to reveal the Frankish period of the life of Corinth, yet we have almost no written evidence for the Latin ecclesiastical institutions of the city, beyond the non-localized activities of the archbishop and cathedral chapter. This makes the careful analysis of the few scraps of surviving documentation even more important for identifying and explaining what the archaeologists have excavated and what they may uncover in the future. Aside from the short-lived Cistercian abbey of Zaraka about 40 kilometers west-southwest of Corinth, the only Latin monastery associated with the city is the Venetian priory of St Nicholas established there well before the Frankish conquest and mentioned only in documents of 1146 (when the prior was Leonard) and 1149¹. For the mendicants, we just have evidence for a Franciscan convent in Corinth around 1247, when it was important enough to house the Chapter Provincial of Romania and bury the provincial minister, Henry of Pisa, and again around 1266, when two friars from the convent walked out of town and witnessed an odd miracle². For the hospitaller-military orders, we know of the pres-

¹ For Zaraka, see *The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka, Greece*, (ed.) S. CAMPBELL, Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute, 2018, and M. OLYMPIOS, C. SCHABEL, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Zaraka and Isova in the Principality of Achaia*, in «Frankokratia», I (2020), pp. 165-179. For St Nicholas, one of four dependencies of San Nicolò del Lido in the Byzantine Empire, see documents in *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, (eds.) A. LOMBARDO, R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, 2 vols., Torino, Libreria italiana, 1940, vol. I, pp. 90 no. 88, 95 no. 94, and S. BORSARI, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo. I rapporti economici*, Venezia, Deputazione editrice, 1988, p. 41.

² The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene of Parma (1221-ca. 1290) reports the 1247 events. Unfortunately, Salimbene discusses Friar Henry, an old friend, as a digression, because he had just treated Patriarch Albert of Antioch, who died in 1246, of whom Henry was a long-time companion: Salimbene, *Cronica*, (ed.) F. BERNINI, 2 vols., Bari,

ence of a hospital of the Order of St Sampson in Corinth based on a single source, a papal letter dated 1309 approving the hospital's union with the Order of St John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers³. This paper adds another such institution based on just one source, a hospital of the Order of St Lazarus, although the documentation turns out to be richer than what we have for any other Latin religious order in Corinth. A fresh look at the archaeological evidence for Latin churches in Frankish Corinth is thus called for.

The Foundation and Financial Status of the Latin Archbishopric of Corinth

The single source for the Order of St Lazarus is a papal letter dated 1354 concerning the archbishop of Corinth's complaints about his dire financial straits. To put this letter in perspective, a brief history of the economics of the Latin archbishopric is in order, since it largely follows the fortunes of the Frankish city⁴. On 4 March 1210 Pope Innocent III wrote to the archbishop of Athens and the bishops of Thermopylae and Zeitounion concerning arrangements for the church of Corinth, since he understood that the city was about to fall to the Latins, if it had not already fallen, considering the slow travel of news. In case the seneschal of

Laterza, 1942, vol. I, p. 266. N. I. TSUGARAKIS, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece, 1204-1500*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, p. 140, therefore follows Girolamo Golubovich in dating the Chapter Provincial and Henry's death to around 1247, although they could have happened later: G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols., Florence, Quarrachi, 1906-1927, vol. I, p. 218. The text does not mention the Corinth convent explicitly, but the chapter meeting and burial imply its existence. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, II, pp. 402-403, also published the miracle account internally dated around 1266, in which on 22 July two friars from the Corinth convent went out into the countryside (*patria*) after their afternoon nap and, in a long meadow above the river about two miles out, along or close to a royal road, encountered a large crowd of people, the setting for the miracle. TSUGARAKIS, *The Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 236-237, also notes an unsubstantiated modern claim that the Augustinian Hermits had a convent in Corinth, which claim Tsougarakis assumes either to apply to a later period or, more likely, to be completely erroneous.

³ D. C. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order of the Crusades: The Hospital of St. Sampson of Constantinople*, in «Viator», XXXVII (2006), pp. 255-274.

⁴ The topic of the Latin church of Corinth is strangely neglected. For example, G. FEDALTO devotes only three pages to it in *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. 1, Verona, Mazziana, 1981 (1st ed. Verona, 1973), pp. 374-376.

Romania, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, probably already prince of Achaia, took or had taken Corinth under his control, the pope gave the following instructions. If an archbishop remained in the city, the addressees were to compel him to obey and revere the Apostolic See and the pope by taking the standard oath. If, as the pope had heard, the archbishop was dead, or if he refused to take the oath, since circumstances made a normal election impossible, the addressees were to remove him from office and appoint Dean Hugh of Châlons-sur-Marne as archbishop. If any clerics remained in the church, the addressees were to have them show reverence and obedience to the new archbishop or, failing that, to remove them and give Dean Hugh the power to replace them with zealous and obedient men⁵.

By 1210 Innocent had learned the hard way, however, that controlling such things from a distance was difficult, and in most cases the Frankish conquerors made their own arrangements and the pope was left with a *fait accompli*. Corinth seems to have been no different. The next time we hear about the church of Corinth is in a series of letters written in May 1212. One of them, dated 22 May, is the foundation privilege of the Latin church of Corinth, written not to Hugh, but to Archbishop Walter, in which the pope related that he had consecrated Walter with his own hand and placed the pallium on the new archbishop. We have no way of knowing how or when Walter became archbishop, but it is probable that Prince Geoffrey I had installed the cathedral chapter as early as 1210 and, perhaps with the prince's firm guidance, the archbishop was quickly elected and installed. It was only when Walter had other reasons to make the journey that he travelled to Rome for his consecration. In the privilege the pope confirmed the possessions of the church of Corinth, including the urban plot with the cathedral and its appurtenances, along with thirteen villages: *Enoria, Petricia, Palagia, Calesmata, Cyrilla, Suchyna, Sorados, Lavenicia, Clenna, Sarman., Crata, Quarrata, and Saudyca*. In addition, the pope listed Archbishop Walter's seven suffragan dioceses: Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Damalas, Monemvasia, Argos, Helos and

⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 13. Band. 13. Pontifikatsjahr, 1210/1211*, (eds.) A. SOMMERLECHNER, H. WEIGL, with O. HAGENEDER, R. MURAUER, R. SELINGER, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015, pp. 15-17 no. 6. N. I. Tsougarakis and I are rendering into English the letters of Pope Innocent III regarding Frankish Greece, and I have benefited from Tsougarakis' preliminary translations.

Zemenon⁶. Especially when one considers that, like the archbishop of Patras, the archbishop of Corinth probably received eight fiefs⁷, from the perspective of Frankish Cyprus, where the archbishop of Nicosia's papal privilege confirmed his possession of only two villages and three suffragans, the archbishop of Corinth would have appeared to be quite rich and powerful⁸.

Yet the delay in the conquest of the city allowed Archbishop Antelm of Patras to manoeuvre his church ahead of Corinth in the ecclesiastical rankings, reversing their relative order as it was in the twelfth century⁹. Moreover, the privilege was granted in the midst of a great struggle over clerical property between Prince Geoffrey I and the prelates in the Principality of Achaia, and other papal letters of May 1212 reveal that the prince had seized «possessions, men, abbeys, churches, and other goods of the church of Corinth»¹⁰. Before the fall of Corinth, the lord of the city, «Theodoros the Greek», probably Theodoros Doukas Komnenos, took the treasury of the church of Corinth to Argos Castle, and when the castle was surrendered to «Prince Geoffrey of Achaia, Lord Otto de la Roche of Athens, and certain other Latins of the dioceses of Thebes and Corinth», they kept it for themselves rather than return it to the archbishop and chapter¹¹. As we shall see, Walter also felt himself cheated out of tithes by his own chapter and was unable to achieve the obedience of the Greek regular clergy.

Even Walter's jurisdiction was something of an illusion. Monemvasia had not yet been conquered, the dioceses of Zemenon and Damalas were so poor that the first could not support a bishop and the second never had a Latin, so they were annexed to others in 1222: Zemenon

⁶ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band. 15. Pontifikatsjahr, 1212/1213*, (eds.) A. SOMMERLECHNER, with C. EGGER, O. HAGENEDER, R. MURAUER, M. SCHALLER, H. WEIGL, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022, pp. 86-88 no. 58.

⁷ A. ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262). Socio-cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population*, Athina, St. D. Basilopoulos, 1991, p. 144.

⁸ *Bullarium Cyprum*, vol. I: *Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus 1196-1261*, (ed.) C. SCHABEL, Lefkosia, Cyprus Research Centre, 2010, pp. 97-102 no. a-2.

⁹ ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 80-81, 147.

¹⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 93-94 no. 65.

¹¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 107-108 no. 77. There is some disagreement as to the identity of «Theodoros the Greek», with many following Buchon in arguing for Theodore Doukas Komnenos: see J. H. FINLEY, Jr., *Corinth in the Middle Ages*, in «Speculum», VII (1932), pp. 477-499, at p. 486; ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 133-134.

and half of Damalas were absorbed into that of Corinth, the other half of Damalas going to Argos. At the same time, Zakynthos, which also had never had a Latin incumbent, was annexed to the diocese of Cephalonia, but ever since Walter's consecration Bishop Benedetto of Cephalonia had resisted his subordination, insisting that he was subject directly to the pope¹². As for Helos, the bishop of Sparta, a suffragan of the archbishop of Patras, claimed in 1223 that it was so poor that it never had a Latin bishop, so Honorius III merged it with Sparta, although later a bishop of Helos does appear in the record¹³. Thus, instead of seven suffragan dioceses, Walter really only had a subordinate in Argos, who accompanied Walter to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council in late 1215, which resulted in Walter's removal from office¹⁴.

Certainly the situation must have improved following Walter's deposition and the transfer of Prince Geoffrey I's relative Bishop Eudes of Coron to Corinth in late 1216 or 1217, especially with the final settlement of the property dispute in the early 1220s, the conquest of Monemvasia a decade or so later, and the eventual restoration of Cephalonia as a suffragan¹⁵. Yet things were never ideal. In 1234 Pope Gregory IX

¹² *Acta Innocentii pp. III (1198-1216)*, (ed.) T. HALUŠČYNSKYJ, Città del Vaticano, Typis Polyglotii Vaticanis, 1944, p. 447 no. 208; *Bullarium Hellenicum. Pope Honorius III's Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216-1227)*, (eds.) W. O. DUBA, C. D. SCHABEL, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 308-312 no. 125; A. KOUROUPAKIS, C. D. SCHABEL, *Bishop Benedetto of Cephalonia, 1207-post 1239*, in «Mediterranean Historical Review», XXXII (2017), pp. 139-152, at p. 141.

¹³ *Bullarium Hellenicum*, pp. 456-457, no 230; G. SAINT-GUILLAIN, C. SCHABEL, *Discovering a Hospitaller Order in Frankish Greece: The Order of St James in the Principality of Achaia*, in «Frankokratia», II (2021), pp. 63-108, at p. 76 n. 47. Pope Innocent IV still considered Sparta a suffragan of Patras in 1245: *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, (ed.) É. BERGER, 4 vols., Paris, E. Thorin, 1884-1920, no. 1385.

¹⁴ C. SCHABEL, N. TSOUGARAKIS, *Pope Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council, and Frankish Greece and Cyprus*, in «Journal of Ecclesiastical History», LXVII (2016), pp. 741-759, at pp. 745, 750.

¹⁵ *Bullarium Hellenicum*, pp. 221-223 no. 61 and n. 1, and L. SANTIFALLER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204-1261) und der venezianischen Urkunde*, Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1938, pp. 100-101 no. 5; C. SCHABEL, *Antelm the Nasty, First Latin Archbishop of Patras*, in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, (eds.) A. D. BEIHAMMER, M. G. PARANI, C. D. SCHABEL, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 93-137, at pp. 108-121; G. SAINT-GUILLAIN, *The Conquest of Monemvasia by the Franks: Date and Context*, in «Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici», n.s., LII (2015), pp. 241-294; KOUROUPAKIS, SCHABEL, *Bishop Benedetto of Cephalonia*, p. 141.

wrote to the chapter of Corinth relating that, since their archbishop was negligent, they could use ecclesiastical censure against «invasores vestros et rerum vestrarum Corinthiensis diocesis»¹⁶. After the fall of Frankish Constantinople in 1261, things took a negative turn. On 21 October 1263, following the restoration to the Byzantines of Monemvasia and the southeast Peloponnese under the terms of the release of Prince William II from captivity after the Battle of Pelagonia, Pope Urban IV wrote that the archbishop of Corinth (the interestingly named Transmundus), two cardinals, and other trustworthy people had informed him that, «because of the general war in its surroundings (*patrie*), the rents and incomes of the church of Corinth are so reduced that the archbishop cannot be sustained property from them»¹⁷.

With the Catalan conquest of the Duchy of Athens a half century later, the situation went from bad to worse. On 23 June 1312 Pope Clement V wrote to Archbishop Bartholomew as follows:

«The petition of yours that was presented to us contained that Archbishop James of Corinth of good memory, your predecessor, contracted certain debts with several creditors in the Roman curia when he was still living, with which debts the same church is burdened in many ways. Since these creditors are harassing you continually over the payment of these debts, and because of the invasion and destruction of the city and surroundings (*patrie*) of Corinth, which is known to have been subject to the desolation of the company of the Catalans, you do not have the means to be able to provide yourself with the necessities»¹⁸.

¹⁶ Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 17, f. 229v, no. 311; summary *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, (ed.) L. AUVRAY, 4 vols., Paris, E. Thorin, A. Fontemoing, 1890-1955, no. 2196.

¹⁷ *Les registres d'Urban IV*, (eds.) J. GUIRAUD, S. CLÉMENCET, 4 vols., Paris, A. Fontemoing, E. de Boccard, 1901-1958, no. 417: «Cum itaque, sicut dilecti filii nostri A<nnibaldus>, basilice duodecim apostolorum presbiter, et R<iccardus>, S. Angeli diaconus cardinales, ac idem archiepiscopus nobis exposuerunt et aliorum quamplurium fidedignorum relatione didicimus, redditus et proventus Corinthiensis ecclesie, propter generalem guerram illius patrie, sint adeo diminuti, quod non potest ex eis prefatus archiepiscopus congrue sustentari...».

¹⁸ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, 8 vols., Roma, Typographia Vaticana, 1885-1892, no. 8597: «Venerabili fratri Bartholomeo archiepiscopo Corinthiensi. Oblata nobis tua petitio continebat, quod cum nonnulli creditores cum quibus bone memorie Iacobus archiepiscopus Corinthien. predecessor tuus dum adhuc viveret certa debita in Romana curia contraxerat, quibus eadem ecclesia multipliciter est gravata, super solutione debitorum huiusmodi continue te molestant, et propter invasionem et destructionem civitatis

By the middle of the fourteenth century, already squeezed between the Greeks to the south and the Catalans to the north, poor Corinth was increasingly subjected to Turkish raids, the context of the next archiepiscopal plea to the pope. The incursions of the Greeks, Catalans, and Turks are reflected in the declining tax burden of the incoming archbishops, approximated at one third of their annual income. On 30 October 1307 Archbishop James pledged to pay 800 florins and his successor Bartholomew did the same on 23 November 1311, a respectable sum, although less than the 1000 florins due from the archbishop of Patras and a far cry from the 5000 owed by the rich archbishop of Nicosia, who had seemed so poor compared to the archbishop of Corinth a century earlier. On 16 May 1349, however, Archbishop Francesco de Massa was obliged to pay just 170 florins, much less even than the suffragans of Patras in Coron (650 florins), Modon (600 florins), and even Olena (250 florins)¹⁹. The situation was critical. In the previous instances, the archbishops had sought debt relief, but now the archbishop asked for formerly Greek ecclesiastical property.

The Letter of Pope Innocent VI, 1354

On 27 July 1354, Pope Innocent VI responded to a petition of the archbishop of Corinth, Francesco de Massa (1349-1362/63), with a letter preserved in the papal registers and published in 1961, but completely neglected and thus re-edited below²⁰. Archbishop Francesco had informed the pope that «because of the continuous war that the Turks, enemies of the catholic faith, are waging against the Corinthians and other faithful of those parts», his incomes were so reduced that he could not live suitably within his means. He thus asked the pope to unite and annex perpetually to the archiepiscopal manse of Corinth «the church of the Panagia (*Panaya* or *Paneya*) of the diocese of Corinth»,

ac patrie Corinthien. que per societatem Cathalanorum desolationi subiecta dinoscitur, non habeas unde necessaria tibi valeas ministrare, nobis humiliter supplicasti...».

¹⁹ H. HOBERG, *Taxae pro communibus serviitiis ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectus*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949, pp. 42-43, 82, 86, 89, 94.

²⁰ *Acta Innocentii pp. VI (1352-1362)*, (ed.) A. L. TAUTU, Roma, Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1961, pp. 64-66 no. 35, from one of the two manuscripts.

along with its dependent churches of St Anne near Basilicata (Sicyon) and Saint «Nagiri» – surely Hagioi Anargyroi – near old Corinth («antiquum Corinthum») and other members, rights, and appurtenances of the church of the Panagia, the income from all of which did not exceed 25 florins according to its tithe assessment.

In his petition, Archbishop Francesco provided some background information about the church of the Panagia, «which is said to have been formerly (olim) a monastery of Greek [monks] of the Order of St Basil». At some point («dudum») «the prince of Achaia at the time²¹ de facto donated or handed it to the brothers of the Hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem for the sustenance of the poor and sick», although the use of two dots (. .) before the word «fratribus» either is an erroneous addition by the papal chancery or indicates the mistaken omission of something like «magistro et» for the normal formulaic «. . magistro et fratribus». Nevertheless, Francesco's petition continued, this merciful care of paupers and the infirm was not quite carried out according to the donor's intent, «nor were they sustained for a great length of time». Instead, «because of the continuous absence of the brothers of the aforesaid hospital», the church had declined to the point that neither the divine worship nor the work of piety occurred there. Now, the fact that the church was obliged to pay sixteen hyperpers annually to the archbishop and chapter, Francesco reasoned, meant that it was subject to the archbishop by ordinary and «censuario» right, further justifying his request.

Pope Innocent did not respond to the archbishop of Corinth, but to Archbishops Sirillus of Thebes and John of Athens and Bishop John of Argos, in a letter from which the above information derives. The pope committed the affair to the three prelates, ordering them to interview people as necessary and, if what Francesco claimed was true and the annexation of the church and its dependencies and property would not harm the poor and sick, to have the union carried out, the terms of the original donation notwithstanding. In his petition Francesco offered to maintain and have maintained the poor and sick if his requests were granted, however, so the pope added the proviso that hospitality should be continued at the church of the Panagia and this service should not be defrauded of funds.

²¹ In *Acta Innocentii VI*, p. 66 n. 6, Tăutu writes that this was Prince Robert II of Taranto (†1364), but this is impossible, as is clear from the phrase «qui tunc erat» and the context.

In addition to the identity of the three churches of the Panagia, Hagioi Anagyroi, and Hagia Anna, the affair provokes questions about the previously unknown presence of the hospitaller Order of St Lazarus in the Peloponnese and the name of the princely donor, the date of the transfer to St Lazarus, and the circumstances of the end of the Greek monastery.

The Date of the Transfer of Panagia Abbey to the Order of St Lazarus

The Order of St Lazarus was founded in Jerusalem between 1130 and 1142 as a hospitaller order specializing in lepers, and by the 1150s they had supporting houses in England and France. After the first fall of Jerusalem in 1187 they relocated to Acre, where, by the end of the second period of Latin rule in Jerusalem in 1244, the order had taken on an important military role, possessing a tower near Caesaria in 1265. In 1291 their headquarters were moved to the West, where they had some 27 houses mainly in England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire, with a couple in the Kingdom of Sicily and one in Hungary, according to Ra-faël Hyacinthe²². In fact, in 1301 a bequest was made to the lepers of St Lazarus in Famagusta on Cyprus²³, whither many religious houses had transferred from Acre after 1291, and the 1354 letter of present concern demonstrates that the order also had at least one house in Romania in the diocese of Corinth. Nevertheless, the fact that the Famagusta hospital is never mentioned again and by 1354 the hospital in the diocese of Corinth had long been abandoned, if we are to believe Archbishop Francesco of Corinth, suggests that the order's focus was indeed exclusively in the West.

This background lends itself to various possible scenarios for the transfer of the Greek church or monastery of Panagia to the Order of St Lazarus. The Frankish conquest of Corinth was not swift, involving

²² R. HYACINTHE, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Age*, Millau, Conservatoire Larzac Templier et Hospitalier, 2003; ID., *Crisis? What Crisis?: The Waning of the Order of St Lazarus after the Crusades*, in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, (ed.) H. J. NICHOLSON, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 177-194.

²³ *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto Sambuceto (6 luglio-27 ottobre 1301)*, (ed.) R. PAVONI, Genoa, Istituto di paleografia e storia medievale, 1982, p. 67 no. 51.

a lengthy siege of Acrocorinth after 1205, which must have disrupted Greek religious life in the city itself and in the diocese in which the monastery was situated. Acrocorinth was only taken in 1210²⁴, a Latin cathedral chapter was installed, and Pope Innocent III consecrated the first Latin archbishop in the spring of 1212, as we have seen. By then Prince Geoffrey I of Villehardouin had founded Cistercian Isova Abbey in the safer archdiocese of Patras and perhaps also the Hospital of St James in his capital of Andravida. Although in the archdiocese of Corinth Prince Geoffrey did not move to found Cistercian Zaraka Abbey until 1225, its isolated position may have required more time to quiet the area.²⁵ In contrast, if the monastery of Panagia was not far from Corinth, a hospital could have been established there quite early, employing the church and conventual buildings abandoned by the Greeks, with the prince endowing it with the abandoned churches of Hagia Anna and Hagioi Anagyrioi, perhaps already dependent on Panagia Abbey. Thus the first scenario is that Prince Geoffrey I founded the Hospital of St Lazarus in Corinth in the 1210s.

Against this scenario is the fact that on 26 May 1222 Pope Honorius III confirmed the grant of the «tithes of the abbey of Panagia» that Cardinal Giovanni Colonna had made to Archdeacon James of Corinth for his lifetime to supplement his meagre income²⁶. This was done while the cardinal was legate in Romania in 1218-1221, effectively eliminating the possibility that Panagia Abbey had already been transferred to the Hospital of St Lazarus by 1218, something that would have been mentioned otherwise. Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether Greek monks still occupied the abbey. A series of letters of Pope Innocent III from May 1212, after the consecration of the first Latin archbishop, Walter, describe the general atmosphere of chaos following the conquest of Corinth, including the situation of the Greek monasteries. As mentioned, on 18 May Innocent wrote to Prince Geoffrey I Villehardouin

²⁴ For the dating of the siege of Corinth, see K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). Volume I: The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1976, pp. 36b-37b and n. 48.

²⁵ For the dating of these, see OLYMPIOS, SCHABEL, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Zaraka and Isova*, and G. SAINT-GUILLAIN, C. SCHABEL, *Discovering a Hospitaller Order in Frankish Greece: The Order of St James in the Principality of Achaia, «Frankokratia»*, II (2021), pp. 63-108

²⁶ *Bullarium Hellenicum*, pp. 347-348 no. 139.

complaining about his seizure of ecclesiastical property²⁷. Three days later the pope wrote to the archbishop of Thebes and the bishop and dean of Davleia, relating that the new archbishop of Corinth had informed him that «the Greek abbots of the diocese of Corinth, inflamed by the spirit of pride, do not show due devotion and respect to him»²⁸. The same day, 21 May, Innocent addressed a letter to the archbishop of Thebes and the bishop of Davleia again, this time along with the bishop of Zaratoria, who were told to investigate Archbishop Walter's assertion that the dean and canons of the church of Corinth who had presumably elected him had tricked him into granting them half of the tithes of the monasteries and priories («papatuum») with three or fewer monks, obviously Greek houses at this point, the low numbers perhaps being the result of the years of warfare²⁹. It is thus plausible that in 1212 Panagia Abbey was depleted of monks and had what the Latins considered a rebellious abbot, and the monastery may have been abandoned by the time Cardinal Giovanni made his grant.

It is also possible that the Greek monks of Panagia Abbey and its dependencies left or were ejected at some point after Pope Honorius' confirmation of the grant of its tithes to Archdeacon James, in which case the Hospital of St Lazarus could have been founded at any time, perhaps after the succession of Prince Geoffrey I's son Geoffrey II between the fall of 1226 and the spring of 1227. If Geoffrey II's brother William II was the founder, it would have been after the Order of St Lazarus had become a military order, since William succeeded his older brother between the spring of 1246 and the spring of 1248.³⁰ If so, the most plausible time to do so would have been after the fall of Constantinople in 1261, when the also militarized Order of St Sampson allegedly moved to Corinth, or after 1262 when Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos released William following the latter's capture in 1259 at the Battle

²⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 93-94 no. 65.

²⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 79-80 no. 53.

²⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 89-90 no. 60. Assuming an error in syntax, M. S. KORDOSES, *Southern Greece under the Franks (1204-1262). A Study of the Greek Population and the Orthodox Church under Frankish Dominion*, Ioannina, University of Ioannina, 1987, p. 75, puts *papatuum* before *monasteriorum* and understands more sensibly «half of the tithes of the Greek priests (*papatuum*) and those monasteries with three or fewer monks».

³⁰ For these dates, see Saint-Guillain's appendix to SAINT-GUILLAIN, SCHABEL, *Discovering a Hospitaller Order in Frankish Greece*, pp. 105-108.

of Pelagonia. According to the terms of William's release, the Byzantines were reestablished in the southeast Peloponnese in Monemvasia, Mistra, and Mani, and there was a greater need for military support against the Greek advance. According to the Aragonese *Libro de los fechos*, Corinth was originally part of the negotiations for William's liberation, but the local Frankish authorities would not accept³¹. In this newly hostile atmosphere, the life of the Greek monks could have been made at least temporarily uncomfortable. Like his father, Prince William II was a great patron of religious institutions, so he could very well have been involved in founding a Hospital of St Lazarus around the time that he is thought to have encouraged the Order of St Sampson to settle in Corinth.

One final possibility is that Prince Florent of Hainaut (1289-1297), second husband of Princess Isabel of Villehardouin (†1312), founded the Hospital of St Lazarus in Corinth either just before or just after 1291, when the order had again become a charitable institution. Florent was involved in efforts to reform the Benedictine monasteries of Strophades and Camina in the northwest of the Principality of Achaia, the latter of which eventually became a Cistercian abbey after Florent's death. These monasteries had also been Greek houses in which Latin monks may not have replaced Greeks until decades after the conquest. Given Florent's concern for the defense of the principality, the more secure early part of his reign may make better sense³². The chaos in the Order of St Lazarus after 1291 and the increasing insecurity of the eastern Morea from the 1290s might also justify Archbishop Francesco's contention that the brothers of St Lazarus hardly ever occupied themselves diligently with the care of the poor and sick.

Identifying the Hospital of St Lazarus and the Latin Institutions of Corinth

Perhaps the archaeological record will contribute to dating the demise of Panagia Abbey and the transfer to the Hospital of St Lazarus, if we can locate the monastery turned hospital. In his survey article «Corinth

³¹ FINLEY, *Corinth in the Middle Ages*, p. 487.

³² N. I. TSOUGARAKIS, C. SCHABEL, *Of Burning Monks, Unidentified Churches, and the Last Cistercian Foundation in the East: Our Lady of Camina in the Principality of Achaia*, in «Journal of Medieval History», XLI (2015), pp. 60-87.

in the Middle Ages», published in *Speculum* in 1932, Finley did not mention any Latin church in the city besides the cathedral, which he did not endeavor to identify³³. 81 years later, Demetrios Athanasoulis was able to take advantage of decades of archaeological investigation for his entry on «Corinth» in the book *Heaven & Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, describing a number of Byzantine and Frankish churches uncovered in the city and its vicinity, but without tying anything to a Latin church in the written record³⁴. In what follows, first the churches that we should be looking for will be listed and then an effort will be made to identify them with excavated remains.

A priori, we should look for a church that functioned as the Latin cathedral for two centuries, probably the same building used by the Greek archbishops previously, although the hostilities of 1205-1210 may have taken their toll on the edifice. Probably dedicated to St Paul, it is likely to have been in the center of town, perhaps near some sort of housing for the dean and a chapter consisting of twelve canons and three dignitaries: archdeacon, cantor, and treasurer³⁵. In addition, the Venetians already had the working monastery of St Nicholas in Corinth in 1146, probably purpose built, given that it was founded under Byzantine rule. The Franciscan convent already functioning in the mid-thirteenth century would most probably have been a new construction as well. Both of these buildings may have been closer to the edge of the city. Finally, there were the Hospitals of St Sampson (St John after 1309) and of St Lazarus, the latter definitely occupying an earlier Greek church and monastery, and maybe the former as well, given that in Constantinople itself St

³³ FINLEY, *Corinth in the Middle Ages*.

³⁴ D. ATHANASOULIS, *Corinth*, in *Heaven & Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, (ed.) J. ALBANI, E. CHALKIA, Athina, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Benaki Museum, 2013, pp. 192-209.

³⁵ On the probable dedication, based on contemporary literary texts, see A. ROBERTSON BROWN, *Medieval Pilgrimage to Corinth and Southern Greece*, in «HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture», I (2012), pp. 197-224, at p. 222. For the twelve canons, see *Bullarium Hellenicum*, p. 348 no. 140, dated May 1222. In May 1212 the dean and Archdeacon James are mentioned: *Die Register Innocenz' III. 15. Band*, pp. 88-90 nos. 59-60. The 1222 letter is addressed to Archdeacon James and Cantor G., who asked the pope to eliminate the post of treasurer, allegedly made vacant by a ruling of Cardinal Giovanni. Perhaps this turned out to be a false allegation, since in May 1226 Honorius addressed a letter to the treasurer of Corinth (*Bullarium Hellenicum*, pp. 565-568 no. 270) and in January 1238 Gregory IX did the same (*Les registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 4022).

Sampson took over a Greek hospital. It is unlikely that the Hospital of St Lazarus was in a rural area, since it belonged to a Latin religious order devoted to caring for the sick and poor. Rather it would have been in or rather close to Corinth itself. Parenthetically, based solely on the names, one would associate the church of Hagioi Anargyroi, said to be near «old Corinth», with the current church and village of that name just north of Acrocorinth and about a half kilometer west of ancient Corinth³⁶.

Athanasoulis notes that the church of Hagia Paraskeve less than a kilometer to the west of the Byzantine city and the Kraneion Basilica about a half kilometer to the east were both occupied in the Frankish period. Inside Corinth, in the so-called Forum Quarter, Athanasoulis lists five churches: the Church on the Hill, the Church in Peirene, Hagios Ioannes Monastery, the Bema Church, and the Church in the Frankish Core. Much of medieval Corinth has not been or cannot be excavated, including the central area of the Byzantine city, where one would expect the cathedral to have been located³⁷. None of the remaining structures seems to correspond to what one would expect for a Franciscan convent either, so that must also have lain elsewhere. We thus remain in the dark about what lies beneath most modern structures.

Adjacent to the Church in the Frankish Core, in the 1990s the American School at Athens uncovered traces of what appears to have been a hospital. Following a suggestion of the archaeologists³⁸, Dionysios Stathakopoulos, the main authority on St Sampson, has associated these remains with the Hospital of St Sampson, but it is possible that the excavations actually brought to light the remains of the Hospital of St Lazarus. As with the Order of St Lazarus, only one known document associates the Order of St Sampson with Corinth, the document annexing the Corinthian house to the Hospitallers in 1309. The order does not seem to have been present in Corinth before 6 June 1244, when Pope Innocent IV confirmed what looks like an exhaustive list of the

³⁶ Although Panagia is a much more common name for a church, there is a current church of the Panagia in the eastern section of the ancient city, less than 100 meters east-northeast of the Roman Forum. Parenthetically, of the three other churches in the immediate vicinity, one is called Hagia Anna, just to the northeast of the present Panagia church, although there does not seem to be any reason not to accept the identification of Basilicata with Sicyon to the west.

³⁷ ATHANASOULIS, *Corinth*, pp. 194-195, 202, 204-207.

³⁸ C. K. WILLIAMS II, O. H. ZERVOS, *Frankish Corinth: 1995*, in «Hesperia», LXV (1997), pp. 1-55, at p. 38.

order's possessions in which Corinth does not figure³⁹. The most likely date for the relocation of the Order of St Sampson to Corinth would be following the fall of Constantinople in 1261 and the return of areas of the Peloponnese to Byzantine rule in 1262, when Corinth would have been an ideal place for the Villehardouin to strengthen. Yet the only documentary evidence we have is a letter of Pope Urban IV dated 27 April 1263 and addressed to all clerics in Romania, including the preceptors or commanders of the Templars, Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, and St Sampson. Stathakopolous interpreted the letter as asserting that the leader of St Sampson «resided in the possessions of William of Villehardouin», and Nikolaos Chryssis specified «Achaia»⁴⁰, but this is not necessarily the case, as the full *inscriptio* shows:

«To Archbishops . . . of Patras, . . . of Corinth, . . . of Athens, et . . . of Thebes, as well as Bishops . . . of Coron, . . . of Olena, . . . of Sparta, and . . . of Negroponte, and the abbots, priors, archdeacons, preceptors or commanders and brothers of the houses of the Militia of the Temple, of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, of St Mary of the Teutonic, and of St Sampson, and other prelates and rectors of churches, chapters, colleges, and convents and other ecclesiastical persons both secular and regular, both of St Benedict and of any other orders, both exempt and not exempt, existing throughout Romania, in the lands of the nobleman William of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, and of other Latins who are his faithful»⁴¹.

³⁹ *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 730; *Acta Innocentii pp. IV (1243-1254) e Regestis Vaticanis*, (ed.) T. HALUŠCYNŠKYJ, M. M. WOJNAR, Roma: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1962, pp. 26-28 no. 15. On this document, see also F. VAN TRICHT, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204-1228)*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, pp. 343-347.

⁴⁰ STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order*, p. 262; N. G. CHRYSISS, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204-1282*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, p. 193.

⁴¹ *Les registres d'Urban IV*, no. 231: «. . . Patracensi, . . . Corinthiensi, . . . Atheniensi, et . . . Thebano archiepiscopis, necnon . . . Coronensi, . . . Olenensi, . . . Lacedemonensi, et . . . Nigripontensi episcopis, ac abbatibus, prioribus, archidiaconis, preceptoribus seu commendatoribus ac fratribus domorum Militie Templi, Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani, Sancte Marie Theutonicorum, et Sancti Sansonis aliisque prelatibus et ecclesiarum rectoribus, capitulis, collegiis, et conventibus ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et regularibus, tam Sancti Benedicti quam aliorum quorumcumque ordinum, exemptis et non exemptis, per Romaniam in terris nobilis viri Willelmi de Villarduino, principis Achaye, ac aliorum Latinorum suorum fidelium existentibus».

In the context of April 1263, when Prince William II of Achaia was overlord in the Duchy of Athens, on Euboea, and most of Greece still in Frankish control, Urban was simply writing to all clerics left in areas of Frankish rule, not only in the Morea, especially since the bishops of Argos and Modon are mentioned in the body of the letter and Urban wrote them separately that same day⁴². It is thus possible that the Order of St Sampson had not yet established its hospital in Corinth in 1263, let alone made it the order's headquarters.

On 8 August 1309, however, when Pope Clement V authorized the union with the Hospitallers, he referred to «the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Sampson of Constantinople existing in the city of Corinth»⁴³. Unlike in the case of the Hospital of St Lazarus, which is described as in the diocese of Corinth, that of St Sampson was said to be in the city itself. Unfortunately, this will not settle the issue, because the phrase «of the diocese of» was often used simply to identify the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which a person or institution belonged.

⁴² *Les registres d'Urban IV*, no. 232.

⁴³ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, no. 4807: «Dilectis filiis . . . magistro et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani.—Inter cetera que nostris desideriis ingeruntur, illud votive appetimus ut miserabili statui Terre Sancte possit in diebus nostris per cooperationis nostre ministerium salubre remedium provenire. Ideoque vos, qui dicte terre negotium tanquam athlete Christi viriliter assumpsistis, prerogativa prosequimur benivolentiae specialis, et que suppliciter postulatis a nobis, praesertim in eiusdem terre favorem, libenti animo exaudimus.—Cum itaque, sicut ex petitione tua, fili magister, nuper accepimus, dilecti filii magister et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Sansonis Constantinopolitani in civitate Corinthiensi existentis se ipsos cum hospitali predicto et omnibus eorum bonis ad vestrum ordinem se transferre eique incorporari desiderent et uniri, suosque propter hoc procuratores et nuntios ad Sedem Apostolicam duxerint destinandos et ex huiusmodi incorporatione et unione speretur succursui dicte terre pluribus ex causis, propter aptitudinem loci in quo dictum hospitale consistit, divina favente clementia, comodum provenire, nos, vestris et ipsorum votis in hac parte benignius annuentes, predictos magistrum et fratres eiusdem Hospitalis Sancti Sansonis cum hospitali et bonis eorum predictis, tam spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, auctoritate apostolica, vestro incorporamus ordini et unimus, eis transferendi se cum hospitali et bonis predictis ad vestrum ordinem supradictum vobisque recipiendi eosdem cum hospitali et bonis prefatis potestatem liberam concedentes, ac statuentes auctoritate predicta ut dicti magister et fratres eiusdem Hospitalis Sancti Sansonis sepedicti vestri ordinis gestare habitum ipsumque ordinem profiteri et servare perpetuis futuris temporibus, vosque de ipsis ac hospitali et bonis predictis curam et sollicitudinem sicut de aliis membris vestris gerere debeatis.—Nulli incorporationis, unionis, concessionis et statuti.—Datum Avinione, IV Idus Augusti, anno quarto».

At first glance, two elements appear to favor identifying the ruins as that of St Lazarus. First, in contrast to the 1354 letter concerning St Lazarus, in which Pope Innocent VI insists that hospital care be continued or revitalized if the annexation to the archiepiscopal manse were to happen, in 1309 Pope Clement made no mention at all of the care of the sick or poor, and indeed Stathakopoulos maintains that the hospital «does not seem to have been a medicalized institution», since the evidence for strictly medical tasks performed by the members of the Order of St Sampson is scarce, unlike with the Order of St Lazarus⁴⁴. In the Church in the Frankish Core, the remains of hundreds of people were dug up, including 195 in one small room, many of whom were gravely ill, which, as Stathakopoulos admits, suggests that «such people could have been brought to the hospice to receive a more specialized medical attention»⁴⁵, which applies better to St Lazarus than to St Sampson. Nevertheless, the full text of Pope Honorius III's letter granting the brothers of St Sampson the right to bear arms, unpublished when Stathakopoulos wrote, relates that the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Sampson had informed him that, at least in the early 1220s,

«It is always necessary for you to be on guard with horses and arms for the defense of the empire – which is troubled by Greeks in many ways – and nevertheless to administer the necessities to the poor and sick, of whom a great multitude flocks to your hospital»⁴⁶.

Second, the excavated ruins include «a twelfth-century Byzantine church built as part of a monastery»⁴⁷, which fits the written evidence for the church and Greek monastery of Panagia being transferred to the Order of St Lazarus, although we have no such documentation for the Order of St Sampson.

According to the excavation reports, the monastic complex was severely damaged during the long siege of Corinth, and although «some repairs» were soon made, the transformation of the built space into a Frankish hospital dates to «the late 1260s or 1270s». The occupation of

⁴⁴ STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order*, pp. 258 and 261. VAN TRICHT, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium*, p. 344, is of the opinion that the medical activities of the hospital continued.

⁴⁵ STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order*, p. 265.

⁴⁶ *Bullarium Hellenicum*, pp. 364-365 no. 151.

⁴⁷ STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order*, p. 265.

the site as a whole covers the period from the 1260s to 1312. Stathakopoulos attributes the decline and fall to an earthquake of 1300 and, more importantly, to the aforementioned destructive Catalan raid of 1312, about which Archbishop Bartholomew complained to Pope Clement V, who responded on 12 June⁴⁸. Yet it seems odd that the Hospitallers, who retained an important role in Peloponnesian affairs afterwards, would virtually abandon the hospital. The church, however, was eventually restored and used «from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century»⁴⁹.

If it was not the Hospital of St Sampson that was excavated in ancient Corinth, but rather that of the Hospital of St Lazarus, then it would seem that Greek monks left their monastery in the early thirteenth century during or just following the siege, and after his release from captivity in 1262 Prince William II encouraged the militarized hospitaller Order of St Lazarus to establish a hospital in Corinth. Following the fall of Acre, the Corinth hospital became more isolated from the rest of the order, located in the West except for Famagusta and now focusing on hospital care. The earthquake and Catalan raid resulted in the brothers of St Lazarus abandoning the place qua hospital, providing Archbishop Francesco justification for requesting its annexation four decades later.

Of course, the Church in the Frankish Core could still be the Hospital of St Sampson, but could the latter be identified instead with the monastery of Hagios Ioannes? Charles K. Williams II and Orestes H. Zervos described this structure after the 1991 season, providing a clear groundplan and remarking that it was 45 meters from the Church in the Frankish Core and placed within the conventual buildings. This is more characteristic of Greek monasteries, but urban monasteries of the Latins did not always follow the rural norm. The last church on the site, demolished in 1937, was dedicated to Hagios Ioannes o Theologos, but we have no evidence for the medieval church's dedication. Since the Hospital of St Sampson passed to the Knights of St John in 1309, one

⁴⁸ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, no. 8597: «Venerabili fratri Bartholomeo archiepiscopo Corinthiensi. Oblata nobis tua petitio continebat quod... propter invasionem et destructionem civitatis ac patrie Corinthiensis, que per societatem Cathalanorum desolationi subiecta dinoscitur...».

⁴⁹ STATHAKOPOULOS, *Discovering a Military Order*, pp. 263, 265, 267-268, interpreting L. M. SNYDER, C. K. WILLIAMS II, *Frankish Corinth: 1996*, in «Hesperia», LXVI (1997), pp. 7-47.

might hypothesize that the modern name derived from that of the Hospitallers. Earlier the original church was dated to the twelfth century, but Williams and Zervos view the church as designed for the western liturgy from the start. They clarify that a coin found from the reign of Emperor Manuel (1148-1180) provides only a *terminus ante quem non*. Instead, they assign the church to the post 1210 period. A coin of John II, despot of Epiros in 1323-1335, indicates an addition from that period or afterwards. The fact that a medal of St Benedict was found among the ruins may suggest a Benedictine monastery, of monks and not nuns, according to the burials⁵⁰, but the coin from the reign of Manuel seems to exclude the Venetian monastery of St Nicholas, already functioning in 1146. In any case, Williams and Zervos add that there is evidence for a previous Greek church on the same site, materials from which were reused in the Latin successor, and it seems unlikely that this would have occurred in the twelfth century.

Conclusion

On the one hand, this paper demonstrates that there is good reason to believe that at least five Latin ecclesiastical institutions functioned in Frankish Corinth: certainly the cathedral, the Franciscan convent, the Hospital of St Lazarus, and the Hospital of St Sampson (later St John), and probably the older Venetian monastery of St Nicholas. On the other, of the remains of five churches in Corinth and two nearby we can only hypothesize that one of them, the Church in the Frankish Core, corresponds to one of the two Latin hospitals and another, that of Hagios Ioannes, may be associated with the other hospital. Perhaps a reinterpretation of previous digs will shed more light on this issue, but it is hoped that we will get lucky with future excavations in Corinth. Still, this paper shows that we have yet to exhaust, and should not neglect, the mere scraps of information in the written sources for reconstructing Frankish Greece.

⁵⁰ C. K. WILLIAMS II, O. H. ZERVOS, *Frankish Corinth: 1991*, in «Hesperia», LXI (1992), pp. 133-191, esp. pp. 134-135, 166.

Appendix

27 July 1354, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon

Pope Innocent VI to Archbishops [Sirellus] of Thebes and [John] of Athens and Bishop [John] of Argos

Manuscripts: Reg. Aven. 126, ff. 486v-487v, no. 228 (A); Reg. Vat. 226, ff. 214v-215r, no. 228 (V)

Edition: *Acta Innocentii pp. VI (1352-1362)*, ed. A. L. TĀUTU, Roma, Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianaee, 1961, pp. 64-66 no. 35 (T, from V)

Venerabilibus fratribus . . Thebano et . . Atheniensi archiepiscopis ac . . episcopo Argolicensi, salutem etc.

Petitio venerabilis fratris nostri Francisci archiepiscopi Corinthiensis nobis exhibita continebat quod, propter continuam guerram quam Turchi, fidei catholice inimici, contra Corinthios et alios fideles illarum partium faciunt, redditus et proventus ad mensam suam [A 487r] archiepiscopalem Corinthiensem spectantes sunt adeo diminuti quod idem archiepiscopus ex illis non potest secundum suarum expensarum onera commode sustentari.

Quare nobis fuit pro ipsius parte humiliter supplicatum ut, cum ecclesia de Panaya Corinthiensis diocesis, que olim monasterium Grecorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii fuisse et per principem Achaye qui tunc erat dilectis filiis . . fratribus hospitalis Sancti Lazari Jerosolimitani ad sustentationem pauperum et infirmorum dudum donata seu tradita de facto extitisse dicitur, nedum quod in ea iuxta intentionem donantis pauperes et infirmi Sancti Lazari misericorditer sustententur, nec ex longo tempore fuerint sustentati, sed, propter diuturnam absentiam fratrum hospitalis predicti, in spiritualibus et temporalibus adeo enormiter sit collapsa quod nullus divinus cultus aut pietatis opus exercetur ibidem, ipsaque ecclesia eidem archiepiscopo ordinario ac censuario iure, cum archiepiscopo qui est pro tempore et dilectis filiis capitulo ecclesie Corinthiensis sexdecim yperpera annuatim solvere teneatur, subiecta existat, ecclesiam ipsam, in qua idem archiepiscopus se offert huiusmodi pauperes et infirmos sustentare et facere ab aliis sustentari, cum Sancte Anne prope Basilicatam et Sancti Nargiri prope antiquum Corinthum dicte diocesis ecclesiis

et aliis eiusdem⁵¹ ecclesie membris, iuribus, et pertinentiis suis, quarum⁵² quidem ecclesie de Paneya ac membrorum et iurium et pertinentiarum⁵³ predictorum fructus, redditus, et proventus viginti quinque florenorum auri secundum taxationem decime valorem annuum – ut asseritur – non excedunt, prefate mense archiepiscopali Corinthiensi unire perpetuo et annectere dignemur.

Nos itaque, huiusmodi eiusdem⁵⁴ archiepiscopi supplicationibus inclinati, fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta committimus et⁵⁵ mandamus quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum, si vocatis qui fuerint evocandi premissa vera fore et unionem predictam sine infirmorum et pauperum dampno posse fieri inveneritis – super quo vestras conscientias oneramus – ecclesiam ipsam de Panaya cum predictis Sancte Anne et Sancti Nargiri ecclesiis et aliis iuribus et pertinentiis suis prefate mense Corinthiensi auctoritate nostra perpetuo uniatis et etiam annectatis. Ita quod extunc archiepiscopo Corinthiensi qui erit pro tempore liceat auctoritate propria, per se vel alium seu alios, corporalem possessionem ipsius ecclesie de Panaya et membrorum suorum predictorum libere apprehendere et licite retinere, cuiuscumque licentia minime re[V 215r] quisita. Proviso tamen prius quod ecclesia de Panaya et membra eius predicta debitis obsequiis et pauperes et infirmi in eodem loco ipsius ecclesie de Paneya⁵⁶ hospitalitate et aliis caritative pietate subsidiis non fraudentur.

Non obstante donatione huiusmodi, seu si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de huiusmodi ecclesiis vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus speciales vel generales Apostolice Sedis vel legatorum eius litteras impetrarint⁵⁷, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et⁵⁸ decretum vel alias quomodolibet sit processum, quas litteras et processus habitos per easdem ad prefatam ecclesiam de Paneya et membra eius predicta volumus non extendi, sed nullum per hoc eis quo ad assecutionem ecclesiarum et beneficiorum aliorum preiudicium generari, seu quibuscumque privilegiis, indulgentiis, et litteris aposto-

⁵¹ eiusdem] dictae *T*

⁵² quarum] quorum *T*

⁵³ pertinentiarum] pertinentium *T*

⁵⁴ eiusdem] *s.l. A*

⁵⁵ committimus et] *om. T*

⁵⁶ paneya] panaya *T*

⁵⁷ impetrarint] impetraverint *T*

⁵⁸ et] vel *T*

licis generalibus vel specialibus quorumcumque tenorum existant, per que [A 487v] presentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta effectus earum impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differi, et de quibus quorumque⁵⁹ totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis. Nos enim irritum decernimus et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam⁶⁰ quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attemptari.

Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionensis diocesis, VI Kalendas Augusti, anno secundo.

⁵⁹ quorumque] quorumcunque *T*

⁶⁰ quoquam] quocunque *T*