

A short overview of the history of the Church on Euboea (Negroponte)

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Abstract

Άγνωστη παραμένει η ακριβής χρονολογία του εκχριστιανισμού της Εύβοιας, ενώ ήδη από τον 4^ο αι. μαρτυρείται επίσκοπος Βοίας υποκείμενος στη Μητρόπολη Κορίνθου. Οι διαφορετικές ονομασίες των επισκόπων, αρχιεπισκόπων ή μητροπολιτών του νησιού (Βοίας, Ευρίπου, Ευβοίας, Χαλκίδος) και των υποκειμένων επισκοπών (Ωρεών, Πορθμού, Καρύστου, Αυλώνας, Αιδηψού), καθώς και η θέση τους στα Εκκλησιαστικά Τακτικά, οδηγούν συχνά σε σύγχυση τους ερευνητές της τοπικής ιστορίας. Η ύπαρξη Λατινικής Εκκλησίας παράλληλα, μετά το 1204, οι υποκείμενες στη λατινική Μητρόπολη Αθηνών, λατινικές επισκοπές του νησιού (Ευρίπου, Ωρεών, Αυλώνας, Καρύστου) ή ο διττός ρόλος του λατίνου πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως - επισκόπου Negroponte και η συνύπαρξη Ελλήνων, Φράγκων, Βενετών, δημιουργεί νέους προβληματισμούς. Η θρησκευτική κατάσταση της Εύβοιας, τουλάχιστον έως την κατάληψή της από τους Οθωμανούς, το 1470, παραμένει στο ημίφως και χρειάζεται να αναδειχθούν περισσότερο, όπως και να συστηματοποιηθούν, οι πολύπλοκες εκκλησιαστικές σχέσεις, που δημιουργήθηκαν στο νησί.

Introduction

Although the precise date of the Christianization of the island of Euboea is not known,¹ it is possible that the message of Christianity was preached on the island at the time of Apostle Paul and his successors. This is a plausible assumption, based on the location of Euboea in the vicinity of Thebes² and Athens, where there is evidence of early apostolic preaching, and also based on the existence of a Jewish community and probably of a synagogue in the city of Chalcis.³

The structure of the Church establishment

Demand for an authentic apostolic succession was the reason behind the composition of episcopal lists. Another matter of importance was the order of precedence of the ecclesiastical sees, which was laid down in the so-called 'Notitiae Episcopatum' or *Taktika*. The whole structure of the Church establishment was based depends on these documents, which for historical purposes constitute a unique source, as they contain geographical and historical data from many centuries. They are also important

1. Themelis 1956, 9-11, 16-26.

2. Konstantinides 1983, 19-24.

3. Fornis 1954, 59-60; Gritsopoulos 1964a, 998; Lambropoulou and Tsiknakis 2008, 13; Themelis 1956, 8-9. For the Jewish presence in Euboea, see also Koder 1973, 86-88, 94-95, 179-181; Moschonas 2006, 160-161.

for the history and evolution of the sees of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, regarding their order of precedence and jurisdiction, as they reflect every change that took place from the 5th century to the time of the Ottoman Empire. Their contribution to the evolution of the administrative structure of the Church, as well as to the canons of the councils and the provisions of imperial legislation, is also undeniable.⁴

Christianity in the Greek Peninsula developed around the big urban centres, Thessalonica, Nicopolis of Epirus, Corinth⁵ and Gortys on Crete, where Paul's preaching had quite an impact.⁶ The bishop of Corinth rose above the other bishops for three reasons: his city was the capital of the Roman province; he possessed a powerful apostolic tradition; and he was entitled—under the authority of the Pauline epistles—to deal with matters of heresy and to keep the peace in the Christian Church in the whole Greek area.⁷

The administrative structure of the Church in the Greek Peninsula followed closely that of the civil division. Under the Roman Empire, from the time of Augustus, the province of Achaia had been separated from that of Macedonia. Achaia as a province included the Peloponnese and part of central Greece. After Diocletian's reformation, the number of the provinces was raised, and they were grouped together in larger entities called *dioeceses*. The fifth such *dioecesis* of Moesia, or eastern Illyricum, comprised the provinces of Achaia, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus (together with the Ionian islands) and Crete (with the rest of the islands). Southern Greece continued to be governed as before by a proconsul, and by the time of the Tetrarchy the whole *dioecesis* fell to the portion of Galerius Caesar. When Constantine became monarch he rearranged the division of the Roman Empire into prefectures, establishing three for the Western Empire and two for the Eastern Empire.⁸ Eastern Illyricum belonged to the Western Roman Empire and, upon the civil division, the ecclesiastical division was modelled sometime between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries. All the churches of the Greek Peninsula were grouped together and placed under the West.

Initially, the area of eastern Illyricum comprised the ecclesiastical dioceses of: a) Macedonia, with Thessalonica as its metropolis; b) Thessaly, with Larissa; c) Achaia, with Corinth, including the diocese of Athens and the sees of the island of Euboea: Chalcis (Χαλκίδος), Karystos⁹ (Καρύστου) and Porthmos¹⁰ (Πορθμού); d) Epirus, with Nicopolis as metropolis; and e) Crete, with Gortys.¹¹ Until the Second Ecumenical Council (in 381) all metropolitan sees were independent. Every metropolitan see was autocephalous and presided over the local synod. From 395 onwards, the prefecture of Illyricum (*Praefectura Praetorio per Illyricum*) had its capital in Thessalonica, and accordingly its bishop, as archbishop of Illyricum, held the office of a head of the Church, similar to that of the Patriarch of Alexandria.¹² According to the Synecdemus of Hierocles (527-535), 'the province of Greece, namely Achaia, included 79 cities under a proconsul' (η επαρχία Ελλάδος ἡγουν Αχαΐας, υπό ανθύπατον πόλεις οθ'). Among these are listed the island of Euboea as a whole (νήσος Εύβοια), and particularly Aedipsos (Άδεψος), Chalcis on the island of Euboea (Χαλκίς, νήσος Ευβοίας), Porthmos (Πορθμός), Karystos (Κάρυστος) and Athens, the metropolis of Attica.¹³ After the 4th century, the moral authority¹⁴ of the Pope of Rome in eastern Illyricum began to be transformed into supervisory power, and this change became permanent until

4. Konidaris 1934, 1.

5. The city of Athens delayed accepting the new religion; for this reason a long time later, probably in the first half of the 9th century, and also because of the increase of the number of bishops in Greece, it was elevated to a metropolis.

6. Konidaris 2011, A', 440.

7. Konidaris 2011, A', 441.

8. Koder and Hild 1976, 50-51.

9. Koder and Hild 1976, 183-184.

10. Now Aliveri; see Koder and Hild 1976, 120-121, 246.

11. Koder and Hild 1976, 79; Konidaris 2011, A', 441-443.

12. Koder and Hild 1976, 80; Konidaris 2011, A', 503-504, 506-509.

13. Koder 1973, 65-66; Koder and Hild 1976, 52-54, 80-81; Konidaris 1967-1968, 260; 2011, A', 515-516.

14. Konidaris 2011, A', 523.

the provinces passed under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Roman authority over eastern Illyricum is the reason for the lack of written records concerning Greek metropolises in the lists of the East, and particularly in the *Notitiae* of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁵ With the civil administration of the region being dependent on the Western Roman Empire, the Church of eastern Illyricum was governed similarly by Rome, through a *vicarius* residing in Thessalonica (*Vicariatum Thessalonicensis*).¹⁶ Gradual alienation between East and West, and the acknowledged precept that the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdictions had to coincide with those of the civil divisions, led to the adoption of *ad hoc* measures, which meant that the archbishop of Thessalonica was entrusted with even wider authority and weightier tasks. These provisional arrangements led to the final solution, provided in 733 by Emperor Leon III the Isaurian. Reacting to the disorder caused by the issue of the icons, the emperor detached the churches of eastern Illyricum and the churches of southern Italy from Rome, placing them under the patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁷ In this way, and from that time, the Greek area was unified; shortly after that even the most inaccessible fringes of the Greek peninsula were Christianized.¹⁸

Concerning the island of Euboea, there is an early mention of a similarly titled bishopric there ('of Euboea', Εὐβοίας¹⁹); it is probably the same as that attested later, during the 9th century, which was named after its capital city 'of Chalcis' (Χαλκίδος²⁰). The two names denote often the same thing, as Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus confirms in his *De Thematibus*,²¹ and Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnica*.²² The name of a diocese of Euripus²³ (Εὐρίπου²⁴) is attested for the first time in 869,²⁵ and appears later, denoting different entities: a diocese, an archdiocese or a metropolis.

Equally important is the fact that when the 'church of Euboea' is mentioned in the sources, it does not denote the area of the island as a whole, since there were other lesser bishoprics on the island.

The diocese of Euboea was initially a suffragant of the metropolis of Corinth, and through this it came under the archbishop of Thessalonica until the transfer of the churches of eastern Illyricum from Rome to Constantinople.²⁶

From the 9th century onwards,²⁷ the bishopric titled 'of Euripus' (Εὐρίπου)²⁸ was a suffragant of the metropolis of Athens, as were the other bishoprics of the island, Oreioi,²⁹ Karystos,³⁰ Porthmos³¹ and Avlon,³² which shared the same history in the ecclesiastical establishment. Later, with the appoint-

15. Koder and Hild 1976, 54-57; Konidaris 1934, 64; 2011, A', 517; Konstantinides 1968, 114, n. 223.

16. Konidaris 2011, A', 525-529.

17. Koder and Hild 1976, 57-58; Konidaris 2011, A', 535-536.

18. Konidaris 1934, 45; Konstantinides 1983, 115.

19. Atesis 1975, 291-296; Gritsopoulos 1964a, 998-999. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 133.

20. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 386.

21. Και νήσον την Εύβοιαν, ην τινες Χάλκιν ή Χαλκίδα επονομάζουσιν.

22. Η δε Εύβοια νήσός εστι περιφανεστάτη της Ελλάδος, η λεγομένη Εύριπος.

23. Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158.

24. Gritsopoulos 1964b, 1071-1072; Themelis 1952a, 9-59. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 135-136. See also the bishop's list in Mystakides 1936, 171-173.

25. In the face of Euripus Theodore I. See Themelis 1951, 436.

26. Atesis 1975, 292; Konidaris 2011, A', 443, 515-516, 519-520, 522.

27. According to others, it happened during the end of the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century. See Atesis 1975, 292.

28. For the name see Koder 1973, 63.

29. For the bishopric of Oreoi, αρχαίας πόλεως της Ευβοίας παρά την σημερινήν Ιστιαίαν, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 398; Gioles 1998-2000, 7-8, 25-27, 29-37, 46-48; Koder and Hild 1976, 228; Themelis 1952b, 604-617; 1953a, 64-69. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 300; Mystakides 1936, 234.

30. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 181; Themelis 1955, 436-438, 548-583. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 106-107; Fedalto 1988, 494-495.

31. For the bishopric of Porthmos, πόλη της Δ. ακτής της Ευβοίας απέναντι του Ωρωπού, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 305; Themelis 1953b, 618-625. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 301.

32. For the bishopric of Avlon, σημερινόν Αυλωνάρι νοτίως της Κύμης, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 68; Koder and Hild 1976, 130-131; Themelis 1953b, 625-626; 1954, 88-90. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 494.

ment of a primate (*protos*) among the island's bishoprics, the see of Euripus was given precedence over the others, and its bishop³³ took the title *protepiscopeos* ('head bishop'). The bishopric of Aedipsos (Εδέψου)³⁴ seems at first (early in the 9th century) to hold eighth place among the 39 suffragants of the metropolitan of Athens, although later it disappears from the sources. A puzzling piece of evidence comes from the documents of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), where the see of Oreoi (Ωρωού, Ωρειού, Ωρεού) appears as a suffragant of the bishop of Cephalonia, together with the see of Porthmos;³⁵ the fact is explained by assuming confusion in the acts of the council. The fact is that the bishopric of Oreoi was established before the 5th century, and was initially under the metropolis of Corinth, later under Athens and finally, from the 13th century onwards, under the metropolis of Euripus.³⁶

The see of Euripus was detached from the metropolis of Athens and upgraded to metropolis in the second half of the 13th century, and all of the other sees of the island were suffragants.³⁷

Notitiae Episcopatum

It is now possible to reconstruct the history of the Euboean bishoprics by following the course of the lists that set the order of precedence of the bishops.³⁸ In the 'list of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis Cyprus' (Επιφανίου αρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου έκθεσις) (*Notitia* 1), dated to the early 7th century, there is no reference to a see of the island, no doubt because it did not belong to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.³⁹

In a later list, recording 'the precedence of bishops' sees' (προκαθέδρας μητροπολιτών) (*Notitia* 2), composed between the middle of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 9th, the following archbishops appear: of Crete, in the diocese of the islands; Corinth (Κορίνθου), in the diocese of Peloponnese (επαρχία Πελοποννήσου); Sicily, in the diocese of the islands; and Thessalonica (Θεσσαλονίκης), in the diocese of Illyricum Primum of Macedonia (επαρχία Ιλλυρικού α' Μακεδονίας). There follows a brief notice of 'the others' (και οι λοιποί), where the 'diocese of Greece' (επαρχία Ελλάδος) comes 44th in rank, under the metropolitan of Athens.⁴⁰

Soon after, in a 'precedence list' (τάξιν προκαθεδρίας, *Notitia* 3) of the early 9th century, a metropolitan of 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' appears in 48th place among the metropolitans of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, although further on the same diocese is placed 44th, with the metropolis of Athens at its head. The bishop of Aedipsos (Εδέψου, Αδηψος-Εκεψος) is 8th in rank, of Porthmos (Πορτίνου, Πορθμός) 9th, of Karystos (Καποίας, Καρυστίας-Κάρυστος) 10th, of Avlon (Ολας, Εύβοια - Αυλώνας) 24th, and of Euripus (Επίας, Ε<υρι>πίας) 25th.⁴¹

In other *taktika* of the middle of the 9th century (*Notitia* 4, *Notitia* 5) the metropolitan of 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' is mentioned among those metropolitans and suffragant bishops who 'were detached from the Roman administration, and were at that time under the See of Constantinople' (αποσπασθέντες εκ της ρωμαϊκής διοικήσεως, νυν δε τελούντες υπό τον θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μητροπολίται και οι υφ' εαυτούς όντες επίσκοποι⁴²).

33. Themelis 1952a, 16.

34. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 34; Atesis 1975, 301; Themelis 1954, 90-94.

35. Darrouzès 1981, 245.

36. Atesis 1975, 300.

37. Atesis 1975, 292.

38. Also Themelis 1952a, 16-21. Koder 1973, 133-134 is superseded by Darrouzès 1981, see below.

39. Darrouzès 1981, 204-213.

40. Darrouzès 1981, 216-217; Koder 1973, 66.

41. Darrouzès 1981, 231, 243-244.

42. Darrouzès 1981, 261, 265.

To the 9th century belongs the 'list of names of the holy metropolitans' (τάξεις ονομάτων των οσίων μητροπολιτών) (*Notitia* 6), on which the metropolitan of Athens is among those placed under Rome.⁴³

In another *taktikon* ascribed to Patriarch Nikolaos (Νικολάου πατριάρχου του παλαιού) (*Notitia* 7), dated to the 10th century, Athens is placed among the metropolises of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 28th in rank. To this metropolis belong ten bishoprics, with that of Euripus (Ευρίπου) coming 1st, while Oreoi (Ωρεού) is 5th, Karystos (Καρύστου) 7th, Porthmos (Πορθμού) 8th, and Avlon (Αυλώνας) 9th.⁴⁴

In the 'list of suffragant metropolises' (τάξιν των υποκειμένων μητροπόλεων) (*Notitia* 8), also of the end of the 10th century, 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' appears, holding the same place (28th).⁴⁵

Similarly, in the next list, the so-called 'New *Taktika*' (*Notitia* 9) from the time of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, 'Athens in Greece' keeps the same rank; under its metropolitan is the bishop of Euripus (ο Ευρίπου) 1st in rank, the bishop of Oreoi (ο Ωρεού, Ωραίου) 5th, that of Karystos (ο Καρύστου) 7th, that of Porthmos (ο Πορθμού) 8th, and that of Avlon (ο Αυλώνας) 9th.⁴⁶

The same order is kept in the *taktikon* of the time of Emperor John Tsimiskes (*Notitia* 10), and in another *taktikon* of the 10th-11th century (*Notitia* 11).

Similarly, in lists composed shortly before the Fourth Crusade (*Notitia* 12⁴⁷), even during Frankish-Venetian domination,⁴⁸ 'Athens of Greece' keeps its rank (28th or 29th), with 12 suffragants (*Notitia* 13).⁴⁹

A list (*Notitia* 14) was composed in the middle of the 12th century by Neilos Doxapatris (σύγγραμμα Νείλου του Δοξαπατρή), and there 'Athens of Greece' has 10 suffragants and is 28th in rank.⁵⁰

Much later, during the reign of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, on the 'list of metropolises' (τάξιν των μητροπόλεων, *Notitia* 15), Athens remains 28th in the order of precedence.⁵¹ It is believed that this was the time when the emperor, aiming to reinforce Orthodox presence on the island of Euboea, detached the diocese of Euripus from the metropolis of Athens and upgraded it to archdiocese or metropolis with the rest of the sees of the island coming under it.

In a later text mistakenly attributed to Emperor Leo VI the Wise (υποτύπωσιν ... του ... Λέοντος του Σοφού) (*Notitia* 16), but really of the 14th century, there is no mention of the island of Euboea.⁵²

In a subsequent list, however, called 'of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos' (έκθεσιν ... του ... Ανδρονίκου Παλαιολόγου του γέροντος) (*Notitia* 17 and 18), of the 14th century, the metropolitan of Athens is downgraded to 35th in rank. An accompanying explanatory note states that, 'he was formerly 28th in order, though now relegated to the 35th'. Exactly the same thing happened to the bishop of Euripus (Ευρίπου), who is now placed 109th, according to a similar notice (ωσαύτως και αυτή, νβ' ούσα, ρθ' γέγονεν).⁵³

Surprisingly, in the next list, under the name of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (έκθεσιν του ... Ανδρονίκου τρίτου του Παλαιολόγου) (*Notitia* 19), the metropolitan of Athens appears again in his proper place (28th), but the bishop of Euripus is absent.⁵⁴

The same is repeated in the so-called '*Taktikon* on [ecclesiastical] order' (περί της τάξεως) (*Noti-*

43. Εισίν οι υπό την Δύσιν και ο Αθηνών. Darrouzès 1981, 268.

44. Darrouzès 1981, 272, 283.

45. Αι Αθήναι, επαρχία Ελλάδος ο Αθηνών. Darrouzès 1981, 291.

46. Darrouzès 1981, 302.

47. Darrouzès 1981, 324, 343, 349.

48. Fedalto 1974, 77.

49. Darrouzès 1981, 361. As recorded in different manuscripts.

50. Darrouzès 1981, 375.

51. Darrouzès 1981, 381. In the same period, η Ευρίπος is also shown in 52nd place or even in the 102nd as an archbishopric or a metropolis, although the record is considered falsified. Darrouzès 1981, 383.

52. Darrouzès 1981, 388.

53. Darrouzès 1981, 396, 401, 406-407.

54. Darrouzès 1981, 412.

tia 20), from the beginning of the 15th century, where only 'the metropolitan of Athens and of all of Greece' appears, as expected, ranked 28th.⁵⁵

According to the *taktika*, the metropolis of Euripus reappears after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). An 'order of precedence' (τάξιν προκαθηδρίας) (*Notitia* 21) from the end of 15th century situates Athens (αι Αθήναι) 21st and Euripus (η Εύριπος) 48th, with the added note that the metropolitan of Euripus in Euboea governed these suffragants; Oreoi, Karystos, Porthmos, Avlon and Kanalia (ότι ο Ευρίπου της Ευβοίας έχει ταύτας: των Ωρεών, του Καρύστου, του Πορθμού, του Αυλώνος και του Καναλίων).⁵⁶ The see of Κανάλια⁵⁷ appears some time after the reconquest of Constantinople by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, although these suffragants previously appeared as a suffragant of the metropolitan of Thebes in Boeotia. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453), the metropolitan of Euripus was accorded the title *hypertimos* ('egregious') and *exarchos* ('legate') of the whole island (του υπερτίμου και εξάρχου πάσης Ευβοίας)⁵⁸ and by the end of the 17th century had been relegated to 45th in rank.⁵⁹ There are occasional references concerning the see of Euripus during Frankish and Venetian domination, implying that it was upgraded to archdiocese, which if true would mean that it became an independent see without suffragants, subject immediately to the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This conjecture, however, is false, and probably originates from a misunderstanding of the Latin sources, which use lightly the term *arcivescovo* to refer to a metropolitan

Orthodox hierarchy⁶⁰

Initially, as mentioned above, the church of Achaea included southern Greece, with the metropolis of Corinth first in seniority. Subject under Corinth was a bishop of Voëa (<Ευ>Βοίας) named Marcus, who accompanied Bishops Pistus of Athens and Cleonicus of Thebes to take part in the First Ecumenical Council (325) of Nicaea.

A bishop of Euboea Anatolius (Ευβοίας Ανατόλιος) took part, along with Zoilus of Andros, in a council in Alexandria (362) which was convened by Athanasius the Great against Arianism.

To the above are added often a bishop of Chalcis named Apriggus (Απρίγγιος Χαλκίδος), who took part in the Third Ecumenical Council (431) of Ephesus, and likewise the bishops of Chalcis Iamblichus (Ιάμβλιχος Χαλκίδος) and Romulus (Ρωμόλος Χαλκίδος), who both participated in the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) of Chalcedon. All of them are mistakenly placed as coming from Chalcis in Euboea, but they were in fact bishops of Chalkis in Syria (Qinnasrin), belonging to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

A Bishop Constantine of Chalcis (Κωνσταντίνος επίσκοπος Χαλκίδος) participated, together with the bishop of Athens, Athanasius and of Karystos, Cyriacus, at a local council in Corinth (458) which was convened by Peter of Corinth, to confirm the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

There is a questionable reference to a Bishop Dometius in the acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553).

A John of Euboea is placed to Chalcis around the year 744. He was a scholar of notable works⁶¹ and defender of the icons, and for this reason he is often confused with John of Damascus.

55. Darrouzès 1981, 417.

56. Darrouzès 1981, 419-421; Koder 1973, 66.

57. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 177; Themelis 1954, 95-99. Older reference, as *Κανάλων*, see in Darrouzès 1981, 366.

58. Themelis 1952a, 19.

59. Ο Ευρίπου πάσης Ευβοίας Καλλινικός. See in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1889, 471.

60. See Atesis 1975, 292-293; Fedalto 1988, 497-498.

61. *Joannis Monachus et Presbyterus Euboeae*. See his works, ed. PG 96, cols. 1451 – 1460, 1459 – 1500, 1501 – 1508.

In the council convened in Constantinople to condemn Photius in 869-870, numbered the Eighth Ecumenical Council by the Latin Church, a bishop of Euripus, Theodore I,⁶² participated and signed its documents; a seal inscribed 'of Theodore, bishop of Chalcis' (Θεοδόρο επισκόπο Χαλκίδος) possibly belongs to him.

Ten years later (in 879), a new council in Constantinople restored Photius. In its acts, Theophylaktos the bishop of Euripus is recorded as 'consenting' (Θεοφύλακτος Ευρίπου ως συγκατατεθείς επίσκοπος).

In a seal dated to the 10th century the name of a Lucas, bishop of Euripus, can be noted. He may be identified as one of those bishops who are mentioned in the *Synodicon* of the Church of Greece, alongside the abovementioned bishops, John of Euboea, Michael of Oreoi and Leon of Porthmos.⁶³

George, primate (*protepiskopos*) of Euripus, ordered a codex (εξ επιμελείας Γεωργίου του Θεοφιλεστάτου αρχιερέως και πρωτεπισκόπου Ευρίπου) with the works of John Chrysostom in 943.

In a letter by Michael Psellos, an anonymous reference is made to a former bishop of Euripus who had retired to the monastery of Artigenes.

A letter by an anonymous bishop of Euripus discussing illicit marriage (αθεμιτογαμίας) was read among other treatises, including those written by the metropolitans of Athens and Thebes, at a council convened by the ecumenical patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081-1084) in Constantinople. It is possible to identify him with a certain Constantine whose name can be read on a seal of that era (11th-12th century).

A sentence by the ecumenical patriarch Michael III (1169-1177), dated to 1170, refers anonymously to a bishop of Chalcis, but this has nothing to do with Chalcis in Euboea: it is a suffragant bishopric of Heraclea in Propontis (Sea of Marmara).

Valsam or Varlaam of Euripus is well known for his dispute with the erudite metropolitan of New Patrai, Euthymios Malakes. Euthymios, using strong language, accused Valsam of being greedy, gathering and hiding wheat in his own barns, and treating his clerks harshly. By order of the ecumenical patriarch Basil II (1183-1187), the scholar metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates, in whose jurisdiction Euripus lay, assumed the task of resolving the situation in 1184-1185. First, he invited both disputants to Athens and later went himself to Chalcis. Valsam was forced to confess his guilt, but Euthymios was not satisfied with Michael's reconciliation efforts.

Later, in a letter of Michael Choniates (1195) to the monk Loukianos, abbot of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople, we read of the candidacy of Loukianos for the see of Euripus.

Another known figure is Theodore II,⁶⁴ who was bishop of Euripus during the Frankish occupation. Wishing to remain in his see, he accepted the Latin doctrine in 1206.⁶⁵ In 1208, Berardus, the Latin archbishop of Athens, considered his profession unsatisfactory, put him under suspension and tried to nominate another to the see. Pope Innocent III asked that Theodore not be disturbed again. From the correspondence of Michael Choniates we learn both of Theodore's and of Demetrius of Karystos' superficial confessions of faith to the Latin Church.⁶⁶

After the abolition of the Orthodox establishment on Euboea, the pastoral care of the Orthodox population devolved to the immediately senior metropolitan of Athens; repeatedly, bishops neglected to present themselves in their diocese, preferring to reside in Constantinople, especially after its reconquest.⁶⁷

The scholar Anthimus, metropolitan of Athens and Euripus and president of Crete (Άνθιμος Μητροπολίτης Αθηνών και Ευρίπου και Πρόεδρος Κρήτης), possibly dated in the period between 1339

62. Themelis 1951, 434-437.

63. Themelis 1952b, 614.

64. Koder 1973, 134-135; Themelis 1951, 437-445.

65. Foscolos 2010, 345.

66. Koder 1973, 137; Koder and Hild 1976, 83; Papadakis and Meyendorff 2003, 310-311; Savvides 1981-1982, 321.

67. Koder and Hild 1976, 84.

and 1366. As immediately senior prelate, he assumed also the pastoral care of the Orthodox people of the island under Latin occupation. After the suppression of the revolt of Saint Titus in Crete by the Venetian authorities, Emperor John V Palaiologos asked for Anthimus to be transferred to Crete, to reinforce the Orthodox bishoprics which were headless there. For his anti-Latin and anti-Venetian activity, Anthimus was imprisoned and died in Crete in 1371.⁶⁸

In 1365, by decision of the synod of the ecumenical patriarch Philotheos (2nd patriarchate 1364-1376), Neophytos was sent to Athens as patriarchal procurator, to take care of the affairs of the metropolises of Athens and Euripus (ἔτι τε και της Ευρίπου), until a new metropolitan be duly appointed.

By *pittakion* ('letter') of 1395, the ecumenical patriarch Antonius IV (2nd patriarchate 1391-1397), informed the inhabitants of Euboea, especially the *protopapas* and the other clerics, that 'there was no other senior archpriest for them but the metropolitan of Athens'. This happened because Makarios of Athens, who had been accused of collusion with the Ottomans, did not live in Athens. For that reason the people of Euboea stopped memorizing his name and Makarios replied by anathematizing them. The people appealed to the patriarch, only to receive the patriarchal answer.

The last bishop before the Ottoman occupation was the metropolitan of Euripus Lazarus (ο ταπεινός μητροπολίτης Ευρίπου Λάζαρος), who apparently resided in Constantinople, probably as a regular member of the synod, for in October 1474 he signed a synodical act of acquittal of Symeon I and of his recognition as ecumenical patriarch (1st patriarchate 1472-1475).⁶⁹

Latin hierarchy—Latin bishoprics

That which followed the fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Fourth Crusade (1204) is well known. The island of Euboea, belonging at that time to the *theme* of Hellas, passed first to the rule of the Franks and then to Venetian rule (definitively from 1258 and with hereditary rights from 1391).⁷⁰ The ecclesiastical policy followed on the island by the Venetians was the standard one imposed on Venetian colonies in the East, which was closely connected to the commercial and financial interests of Venice.⁷¹ Ruling over a heterodox population, Venice tried to control the Orthodox in their performance of religious duties, and for that reason incidents of oppression of the Orthodox clergy were not infrequent.⁷² Measures consisted mainly of the abolition of the Orthodox hierarchy and the assignment of the pastoral care of the inhabitants to *protopapades*⁷³ and protocantors trusted by the Venetians.⁷⁴ The Latin Church in Euboea claimed for itself the right to rule the area both spiritually and economically, as the sole lawful administrator of church property, which had passed to it by right of conquest.

The renegade Theodore II of Euripus continued to govern the diocese of the island, after he pledged faith to the Latin Church. The Latin bishopric of Euboea, called bishopric of Negroponte (Nigripontensis⁷⁵),⁷⁶ became suffragant of the Latin metropolis of Athens,⁷⁷ when Bernard was archbishop there.⁷⁸

68. Themelis 1982, 38-41; Tomadakis 1952, 70-74; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

69. Koder 1973, 134.

70. Koder and Hild 1976, 68-78; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 421-422 for relative bibliography; Moschonas 2006, 159; Savvides 1981-1982, 313-320 for relative bibliography.

71. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 432; 2006, 120-121.

72. Karydes 2010, 312; Savvides 1981-1982, 321-323.

73. Foscolos 2010, 338; Karydes 2010, 297, 298, 300; Themelis 1952a, 17, n. 4.

74. Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 297-302.

75. Also called *Nigripontis*. Eubel 1913/1968², 367; Fedalto 1976, 176-177; Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 302-303. As *Episcopatus Aegripontis*, see Koder 1973, 64.

76. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 268; Fedalto 1976, 176-177.

77. Fedalto 1974, 74.

78. Eubel 1913/1968², 114; Fedalto 1976, 52.

The established view is that Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) subjected the sees of Euripus, Karystos, Avlon and Oreoi to the jurisdiction of Athens.⁷⁹

A new, but validly disputed, bishopric is mentioned in 1209 on the island, called *Zarconensis* (Ζάρκων, Ζορκώνης),⁸⁰ which was also suffragant of Bernard of Athens.

In 1222, when Conrad was archbishop of Athens,⁸¹ Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) united all the sees of Karystos (*Calistensis*, *Caristensis*),⁸² Avlon (*Abilonensis*, *Abelonensis*),⁸³ and Oreoi (*Loretensis*)⁸⁴ under the see of Negroponte.⁸⁵ Soon after, in 1224, the union of Oreoi was recalled.⁸⁶

After the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines of Nicaea (1261), the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, by then only a titular holder, sought refuge in Negroponte,⁸⁷ a sign of the political importance of the island.⁸⁸ In 1314, Pope Clement V (1305-1314) joined the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople to the diocese of Negroponte 'in perpetuity'.⁸⁹ From then on, until the Ottoman conquest of the island (1470), the titular Latin patriarch had his seat in Chalcis, with all the rights and duties pertaining to his double office (as bishop-patriarch).⁹⁰ The Latin titular patriarchs of Constantinople (*Constantinopolitanus*)⁹¹ did not reside for the most part in their see, not even caring to set foot on the island. Their representatives were governing church affairs and looking after their property, endowed simultaneously with spiritual and secular authority.

An important issue during this period (1261-1470) was the property of the Latin Patriarchate.⁹² Of its estates two manors are known, *villa Prino* (possibly in the area of Pournos village) and *quoddam castellum Castro Valla* (lands in the area of Kalimeriani), a portion no doubt of an extensive landed property on the island. The revenues of the Latin patriarchate in Euboea, mainly from rented property, were important for covering its basic needs, although complaints for mismanagement arose at times.⁹³

During the Frankish-Venetian occupation of Euboea (1205-1470), spiritual duties were performed by the Latin bishops,⁹⁴ but unfortunately the list of Latin prelates presents significant gaps.

The names of bishops, successors of Theodore the renegade, appear only after 1222. There is mention of a John in 1223-1224, and of an anonymous procurator, an archbishop of Thessalonica, in 1233. John, from a mendicant order, when elected, was already destined for the Holy See.⁹⁵ There is a subsequent mention of a certain someone P,⁹⁶ who was transferred from the diocese of Negroponte to the archdiocese of Athens.

By 1313 Galterus, who had made himself independent from the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishop of Athens in 1296-1297, had stayed away from his see for three years. He is to be

79. Eubel 1913/1968², 543; Eubel 1914/1968², 284; Foscolos 2010, 345; Gioles 1998-2000, 34; Koder 1973, 66, 124-125, 135-136; Themelis 1952a, 17, 28; 1952b, 610; 1955, 550.

80. For the bishopric of Zarkon, εις το σημερινον χωριον Ζάρκα, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 141; Koder 1973, 66, 135; Themelis 1954, 94-95.

81. Eubel 1913/1968², 114; Fedalto 1976, 52.

82. Fedalto 1976, 69.

83. The bishopric of Avlon (*Abilonensis*, *Abelonensis*, *Abinonensis*, *Avalonensis*, *Avelensis*, *Ebelonensis*) is often confused with the bishopric of *Avalonensis*, a suffragant of the archbishopric of Durres. See Eubel 1913/1968², 65; 1914, 77; Fedalto 1976, 25-26. See also Koder 1973, 106, 136-137.

84. Also called *Reonensis*. Eubel 1913/1968², 419; Fedalto 1976, 141-142; Koder 1973, 135-136.

85. Fedalto 1974, 77; 1976, 25, 69, 141, 176; Gioles 1998-2000, 34; Themelis 1952a, 17, 29; 1952b, 610; 1955, 550.

86. Fedalto 1976, 176.

87. Foscolos 2010, 339; MacKay 2006, 126; Maltezou 2006, 18; Mastrodimitris 2006, 119; Papadia-Lala 2006, 28.

88. Moschonas 2006, 170-171.

89. Fedalto 1976, 176; Foscolos 2010, 345; Koder 1973, 138.

90. Koder 1973, 138; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 433; 2006, 121; Themelis 1952a, 29-30.

91. Eubel 1913/1968², 206-207; 1914, 135; Fedalto 1976, 91-92.

92. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 431; 2006, 119-124.

93. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 434-435 for relative bibliography; 2006, 122-124.

94. Eubel 1913/1968², 367; Fedalto 1976, 176-177.

95. In its influence, the sculpted decoration of the church of Saint Paraskevi of Chalcis may also be attributed to him. Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 250-251.

96. Fedalto 1974, 78.

identified probably with Walter, a prelate who signed a procuratorial document together with Archbishop Thomas of Davlia and other Franks (1305). In 1307 he put the life of Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria at risk, when the patriarch allowed himself to become involved in dogmatic controversy; Patriarch Athanasius was then saved just in time by taking refuge in Thebes.⁹⁷

Nicolas, archbishop of Thebes, was elected Latin patriarch of Constantinople, and thus bishop of Negroponte, in 1308. His successor in 1332 was a cardinal (or maybe his name was Cardinal) who was a descendant of the noble Venetian family of Morosini. These two were signatories of three documents (dated 26 July, 1326; 24 April, 1324; and 11 June, 1334) drafted in the patriarchal palace of Negroponte;⁹⁸ this is proof of their actual presence on the island.⁹⁹

The last two significant names connected with Negroponte are the two apostates, the former Orthodox metropolitans Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion of Nicaea, who both signed the acts of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439); they were honoured with the title of cardinal and later were named titular patriarchs of Constantinople, without ever setting foot in Chalcis.¹⁰⁰

Orthodox bishoprics

I now present a concise assemblage of what is known about the other Orthodox bishoprics of Euboea.

First in order of precedence came Oreoi;¹⁰¹ its bishop Theophilus, who has already been mentioned, participated in the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (451).

Philetus or Philip of Oreoi (*Ωρεού*) signed the acts of the Seventh Council of Nicaea (787).

In the acts of the council of 879 in Constantinople, which restored Photius, appears a certain Basil, bishop of 'Oreianites' (*Ωρειαντών*), but his association with Oreoi is doubtful.

A lead seal from the second half of the 10th century belonged to 'Constantine, bishop of Oreoi' (*Κωνσταντίνω επισκόπω Ωρεού*).

Another seal, dated to the 12th century, bears the inscription 'Seal of Michael bishop of Oreoi' (*+Σφραγίς Μιχαήλ Ωρεών επισκόπου*).

Another seal, bearing the same inscription, is dated from 1204 to the 14th century, or more precisely between 1268 and 1380, and possibly concerns another bishop with the same name.

From the see of Karystos,¹⁰² Bishop Cyriacus is known. He took part in a local council in Corinth (458), to confirm the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

Next to Cyriacus was Joel of Karystos, about whom we have no further information, sat.

The presence of Demetrius Vardanes in the bishop's seat of Karystos at the time of the Frankish conquest is implied by a letter from Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens. Together with Theodore of Euripus, Demetrius of Karystos was forced to confess faith to the Latin Church. Demetrius' son George Vardanes later became metropolitan of Corfu (1219-c.1238).

At the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) Theodore of Porthmos¹⁰³ and Soter of Avlon¹⁰⁴ participated. Leon of Porthmos took part in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787).¹⁰⁵

A reference about one Theodore in the see of Avlon (1208) is doubtful, as is also the reference about a bishop of Aedipsos¹⁰⁶ from the mid-8th century.

97. Konidaris 2011, B', 159.

98. Triantaphyllopoulos 1970, 200-201.

99. Foscolos 2010, 339; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 433; 2006, 122.

100. Foscolos 2010, 345; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 429, 431, 433; 2006, 122, 123-124.

101. Atesis 1975, 300; Fedalto 1988, 516; Gioles 1998-2000, 8, 25-27, 35-36; Themelis 1952b, 605, 607, 608, 611-614.

102. Atesis 1975, 107; Fedalto 1988, 494-495; Themelis 1955, 437, 439, 548, 554-556.

103. Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 521; Themelis 1953b, 623-624.

104. Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 494; Themelis 1954, 90.

105. See also Koder 1973, 135.

106. Atesis 1975, 301.

Important ecclesiastical men

Important figures of the Church originated from Euboea, for example Theophylact of Ohrid (Θεοφύλακτος Αχρίδος), the scholar¹⁰⁷ archbishop of Bulgaria (Chalcis in 1030-1055; died Thessalonica c.1126), who became a saint honoured in the Slavic calendar (31 December).¹⁰⁸ Gerasimos of Sinai,¹⁰⁹ who was also from Euripus (Γεράσιμος Σιναΐτης ο ἐξ Ευρίπου) (Euboea, middle of 13th century, died Thessalonica before 1325-1326), may have been of French origin, as he was a relative¹¹⁰ of the family of Bonifacio dalle Carceri da Verona, lord of Karystos. Gerasimos was one of the students of Gregorius and his missionary activity took place in central and southern Greece, whence he must have originated. Benefiting from his local ties and mother tongue (Greek, particularly the local dialect), he preached to the Orthodox population of the Frankish-held areas who were suffering the oppression of foreign occupation, admonishing them to return to the Orthodox dogma, teaching also silence and devotional prayer to the monks. Gerasimos's student was his compatriot Joseph from Euboea¹¹¹ (Ιωσήφ ο Ευβοεύς) (14th century).

The island of Euboea served as a place of refuge to saints of the Orthodox Church, some of whom ended their lives there. Among them was Saint Christodoulos¹¹² (Χριστόδουλος ο εν Πάτμω) (died at Limni, 16.3.1093), the founder of the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Patmos, who had composed his will and its codicil in Euboea. Christodoulos' relic was taken from Limni (on 21 October) to the monastery of Patmos and translated. Numerous saints preached in Euboea, such as Saint Nikon¹¹³ (Νίκων ο 'Μετανοείτε') who performed miracles during his stay on the island. Nikolas from Sicily¹¹⁴ (Νικόλαος ο Σικελιώτης) retired to the island, where he also established a monastery named Netakos or Etakos (*Νέτακος-Ετακος*). Among those who led an ascetic life were Saint Euthymius,¹¹⁵ the monk and stylite (Ευθύμιος ο οσιώτατος μοναχός και ασκητής ο λάμπας εν πόλει Ευβοίας), Daniel¹¹⁶ of the monastery of Kalynvites (Δανιήλ ο οσιώτατος μοναχός και ασκητής ο στυλίτης ο εν τη Ευβοία πόλει μονής του Καλυβίτου ασκήσας) and Saint Savas the younger in Athos¹¹⁷ (Σάββας ο νέος ο εν τω Άθω), who remained there for two years. Around the 11th century Saint Gregory came from Mistra to Oreoi,¹¹⁸ Strongyle of the Likhades islands (όσιος Γρηγόριος ο εν τη Στρογγύλη των Λιχάδων), before he retired for good to the lonely islet of Strongyle.

Relationships

The geographical location of Euboea was a major reason for many outstanding personalities to visit it. Among these personalities were emperors such as Constantine the Great (324-337) and Theodosius

107. Works of Theophylact of Ohrid ed. PG 123-126.

108. Themelis 1982, 30-33.

109. Gonis 1982, 1119-1142; Themelis 1982, 41-44; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

110. Bonifacio dalle Carceri da Verona, sovereign of Gardiki and Aegina (1294), became lord of Karystos after his wedding (1296) to Agnese de Cicon (heir of Karystos), and bailo of the duchy of Athens (1308-1309). His children were Marulla, lady of Karystos and Aegina (1317-1326), and Tommaso, pretender of Karystos (1317) and sovereign of Armeni (1324-1326). Fousaras 1962, 132, 136, 139, 144; Koder 1973, 52; Koder and Hild 1976, 125.

111. Themelis 1982, 45-46; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

112. Themelis 1954, 97-98; 1982, 18-22; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

113. Themelis 1982, 15-18; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

114. Themelis 1982, 22-26; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

115. Koder 1973, 146; Themelis 1982, 33-35; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

116. Koder 1973, 146; Themelis 1952b, 614; 1982, 35-37; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

117. Themelis 1982, 46-49; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

118. Gioles 1998-2000, 26; Themelis 1982, 26-30; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

the Great (379-395);¹¹⁹ John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448) also visited during his travels to and from the Council of Ferrara-Florence.¹²⁰ The reception accorded by the Latins to the imperial delegation and the Orthodox clergy upon their arrival from Constantinople was a token of good intentions. Another reason for this reception was that the presence of an ecumenical patriarch and his retinue would have had to be dealt with diplomatically, keeping the possible union of the churches in mind. The emperor, however, chose to remain off Chalcis, to avoid his movement being misunderstood by the Orthodox of the island. When the imperial delegation returned from Italy at the beginning of 1440, after the Union Agreement, the Latin and Orthodox clergy undertook a joint procession and celebrated Mass together in a Latin church, with a prominent cleric, the metropolitan of Mytilene, officiating.¹²¹ The Orthodox clergy of Euboea was greatly vexed: problems arose mainly from the rapaciousness of the Latins, and they believed that these problems would be aggravated after the union. That was a sign that the Orthodox population was in favour of those who were against the union, and this fact explains the flourishing at that time of local church iconography which enhanced people's loyalty to Orthodox dogma.¹²²

Information on the relations between the two dogma faiths is provided in the letters of the scholar metropolitan of Athens, Michael Choniates (1182-1222). He had property in Euboea, had visited the island and had formed his own opinion of the political, social and ecclesiastical affairs going on there.¹²³

Under Venetian rule, there is evidence of the well-known 'religious tolerance' on the part of the Venetians. The sources reveal that the Orthodox Church, though deprived of bishops, enjoyed special privileges.¹²⁴ Economic prosperity is also evident for the whole island, which became a hub of commerce.¹²⁵ There is also abundant information on the Venetian church of Saint Mark in the centre of the city.¹²⁶ Close by was the convent of the Dominicans, who took shelter in Chalcis after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople.¹²⁷ Most probably their church was the present church of Saint Paraskevi.¹²⁸

Conclusions

The Ottoman occupation (1470) was a catalyst¹²⁹ for the Latin Church of Euboea, which fell into ruins. The Latin habitants of the island abandoned their possessions and took shelter in other areas under Latin rule.¹³⁰ Those who were Orthodox were placed again under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which had already extracted privileges from the sultan. A new Orthodox prelate was appointed for the island with the title of metropolitan of Euripus, who could reside in his see and assume pastoral care of the Christians.

119. Themelis 1954, 93.

120. Koder 1973, 58, 111; Mastrodimitris 1962, 168-176.

121. It is about Dorotheos of Mytilene (1422-1444). Atesis 1975, 192.

122. Triantaphyllopoulos 2012a, 152-153.

123. Chatzecostas 1959, 182-193; Themelis 1955, 556.

124. Apostolopoulos 2010, 327; Karydes 2010, 296; Maltezou 2006, 21; Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 297-298.

125. Moschonas 2006, 157-171.

126. Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 258-263; Koder 1973, 90-91; Maltezou 2006, 18; Moschonas 2006, 158.

127. Foscolos 2010, 345; Koder 1973, 139-140; Koder and Hild 1976, 88; MacKay 2006, 126-131.

128. See MacKay 2006, 137-152. See also Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 229-266 where there are references to the palace of the Bailo of Venice. Also Koder 1973, 79, 92-93.

129. For the Ottoman occupation, see Antzolello 1989, 19-31; Koder 1973, 60-62; Mastrodimitris 1960, 157-161. Was also mourned in the Latin Christian world: Moschonas 2006, 171.

130. A characteristic case is that of two women, Beatrice Venier and Polissena Premarin, who, after the Ottoman conquest fled to Venice, where they joined the original core of the monastery of Saint Sepolcro in the city. Tassini 1879, 274. However, this did not happen with the Orthodox citizens, as is evidenced in the written sources: Koutmanis 2006, 204.

Abbreviations

PG = Migne, J.-P., ed. (1857-1886) Vols. 1-162 of *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris: J. P. Migne's Imprimerie Catholique.

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Tables**A**

Orthodox hierarchy of the diocese - archdiocese - metropolis of Euboea - Chalcis - Euripus

<i>Μάρκος</i> (Mark)	325
<i>Ανατόλιος</i> (Anatolius)	362
<i>Κωνσταντίνος</i> (Constantine)	458
<i>Δομέτιος</i> (Dometius)	553
<i>Ιωάννης</i> (John)	744
<i>Θεόδωρος Α'</i> (Theodore)	869
<i>Θεοφύλακτος</i> (Theophylactus)	879
<i>Λουκάς</i> (Lucas)	10th century
<i>Γεώργιος</i> (George)	943
<i>Κωνσταντίνος</i> (Constantine)	between 11th and 12th centuries
Anonymous	1018-1078
Anonymous	1081-1084
<i>Βαλσάμ</i> (Valsam) or <i>Βαρλαάμ</i> (Varlaam)	second half of 12th century
<i>Θεόδωρος Β'</i> (Theodore II)	1205
<i>Άνθιμος Α'</i> (Anthimus the Confessor)	1339-1366
<i>Νεόφυτος Α'</i> (Neophytos patriarchal procurator)	1365
<i>Μακάριος of Athens</i> (Makarios of Athens)	1394-1404
<i>Λάζαρος</i> (Lazarus)	1474/1475

B

Latin hierarchy

NIGRIPONTENSIS (*Nigripontis*)

<i>Θεόδωρος Β'</i> (Theodore II)	1208-1222
<i>Joannes</i>	1223-1224
Anonymous, archbishop of Thessalonica	1233
(reference)	1235
(reference)	1237
(reference)	1245
(reference)	1250
(reference)	1252
(reference)	1262-1264
(reference)	1266
<i>P.</i> later archbishop of Athens	1268
<i>Joannes</i>	1272-1274
<i>Galterus</i>	1291-1314

CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS

<i>Nicolaus</i> , archbishop of Thebes	1308
<i>Cardinalis Mauroceno</i>	1332
<i>Gotius</i>	1335
<i>Rolandus de Ast</i>	1339
<i>Henricus de Ast</i>	1339-1345

<i>Stephanus</i> (de Pinu)	1346
<i>Guilelmus</i> (Pusterla)	1346-1361, 1361-1364
s. <i>Petrus</i> (de Thomas), archbishop of Crete	1364-1366
<i>Paulus</i> , archbishop of Thebes, procurator of Patras	1366-1367
<i>Ugolinus</i> (Malabranca) <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	1371-1373
<i>Jacobus</i> de Itro, archbishop of Hydruntum (Otranto)	1376-1378
<i>Guilelmus</i>	1379
<i>Paulus Paleologus Tagaris</i>	1380
<i>Angelus Corarius</i>	1390-1405
<i>Ludovicus</i> , archbishop of Mytilene	1405
<i>Alfonsus</i>	1408
<i>Joannes de Contareno</i>	1409
<i>Franciscus Lando</i>	1409-1411
<i>Joannes de Ruppescicca</i>	1412-1423
<i>Joannes de Contareno</i>	1424
<i>Isidorus Kiowiensis</i>	1459-1463
<i>Bessarion Trapezuntinus</i>	1463-1472

ABELONENSIS (*Abilonensis, Abelonensis, Abinonensis, Avalonensis, Avelensis, Ebelonensis*)

Anonymous	1210-1211
(mention)	1215
<i>Nicolaus</i> , episcopus Vallonensis	1303-1304
<i>Albertus</i> , episcopus Avalonensis	1304
<i>Iacobus de Venetiis</i> , bishop of Vallona	1337-1345
<i>Petrus</i> , episcopus Valonen[ensis]	1354-1362
<i>Guilelmus</i>	
<i>Goswinus de Lubecke</i>	1359
<i>Franciscus</i>	
<i>Nicolaus de Boleslavia</i>	1390
<i>Ioannes Rafanelli</i>	1425-1434
<i>Guilelmus Aucupis</i>	1437
<i>Guilelmus le Bas</i>	1463

CARISTENSIS

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LORETENSIS (*Reonensis*)

Anonymous	1222-1224
Anonymous	1308
<i>Simon de Bonomia</i>	1332

ZARCONENSIS

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C

Orthodox bishops of Euboea

ΑΙΔΗΨΟΥ (AEDIPSOS)		
	Anonymous	mid-8th century
ΑΥΛΩΝΟΣ (AVLON)		
	Σωτήρ (Soter)	553
	Θεόδωρος (Theodore)	1208
ΚΑΝΑΛΙΩΝ (KANALIA)		

ΚΑΡΥΣΤΟΥ (KARYSTOS)		
	Κυριακός (Cyriacus)	458
	Ιωήλ (Joel)	(458?)
	Δημήτριος Βαρδάνης (Demetrius Vardanis)	c.1204
ΩΡΕΩΝ (OREOI)		
	Θεόφιλος (Theophilus)	451
	Φιλητός (Philetus) or Φίλιππος (Philip)	787
	Βασίλειος (Basil)	879
	Κωνσταντίνος (Constantine)	second half of 10th century
	Μιχαήλ (Michael)	12th century
	Μιχαήλ (Michael)	13th century
ΠΟΡΘΜΟΥ (PORTHMOS)		
	Θεόδωρος (Theodore)	553
	Λέων (Leo)	787