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The Metropolis of Athens from the Latin to the Ottoman Conquest

The metropolis of Athens is first mentioned in the second *notitia episcopatum*, which dates from the 8th or the first years of the 9th century¹. Hereafter it appears regularly in the ecclesiastical *taktika* as the head of an ecclesiastical province comprising ten to twelve bishoprics. The Frankish conquest of Greece following the fourth crusade had certainly an impact on the Athenian metropolis. In November 1204 Boniface of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica, occupied Athens and distributed his possessions to his vassals. Athens was given to the Burgundian noble Guy de la Roche who founded the Duchy of Athens². The Duchy succumbed to the Catalan Company in 1311³. In 1385 Athens, was occupied by Nerio I Acciaiuoli (†1394), of the famous Florentine family of bankers. The Catalans resisted in the Acropolis, which was taken on May 2, 1388 after a lengthy siege⁴. Shortly before his death Nerio placed the city under the protection of the Venetians⁵. The Venetians kept Athens from the end of 1394 to January 1403. After this brief interruption, Athens remained under the Acciaiuolis' rule until the Ottoman occupation of the city in 1456⁶.

The succession of the Orthodox prelates was interrupted when the Franks took over Athens and a Latin archbishop replaced the Orthodox one. In 1204 the metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates sought refuge to the island of Kea, and in 1217 moved to Evripos⁷. Choniates seems to have tried to keep in touch with the Patriarchate living in exile, as it is suggested by the fact that he recommended his *chartophylax* to Patriarch Manuel I (1217–1222)⁸. The Latin archbishop who replaced the Orthodox was expected to promote the papal policy of controlling the Greek Church. The Roman Church demanded from the representatives of the Orthodox Church that they swear obedience to the Pope, while in 1209 pope Innocent III (1198–1216) confirmed all the possessions

1 DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum* 19, no. 2.38.

2 LONGNON, *The Frankish States* 236, 238.

3 K. SETTON, *The Catalans in Greece, 1311–1380*, in: *ibid.* III. *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. 1975 (ed. H.W. HAZARD). Madison, WI–London, 1975, 167–224.

4 K. SETTON, *The Catalans and Florentines in Greece, 1380–1462*, in: *ibid.* 238–245.

5 *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca. Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries* (ed. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES). Camberley–Surrey 1995, no. 160.122–130.

6 SETTON, *The Catalans and Florentines* 259–270.

7 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* 7*–8*. Choniates' attitude towards the Latins does not permit the assumption of some scholars that he tried to establish relations with the Latin Church (SHAWCROSS, *Golden Athens* 85–86).

8 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* no. 171.19–27.

and the bishoprics of the metropolis of Athens⁹. However, Orthodox prelates in Athens as well as in other places under Latin dominion did not come to terms with the Roman Church and consequently their sees were left vacant for a very long time. According to a document of the Patriarch Antonios IV (1389–1390, 1391–1397) dating to 1393, it was only some years earlier that a metropolitan bishop had managed to assume duties in Athens. The patriarchal document explains that ordained metropolitans were actually titular and did not reside in the city because of the oppression and authoritarian rule of the late lords of Athens (τυραννίδι καὶ δεσποτείᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκείνων)¹⁰. The Patriarch obviously alludes to the period of the Catalan dominion.

We have a few data concerning the prelates of Athens after 1204, while the list of metropolitan bishops drafted by the Archbishop of Athens Chrysostomos Papadopoulos in the early 20th century is far from being reliable¹¹. The first known metropolitan after the foundation of the Frankish Duchy of Athens is Meletios¹², an active participant in the sessions of the patriarchal synod in Constantinople in 1280. He was apparently a titular obliged to remain in Constantinople, like so many other prelates whose sees were under Latin dominion. According to George Pachymeres, Meletios was hostile to the theological opinions expressed by the unionist Patriarch John XI Bekkos (1275–1282) in matters concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit¹³. The Patriarch tried to interpret certain passages of the Greek Fathers in favour of the Filioque. Around Meletios and the metropolitan of Ephesos a group of prelates who rejected Bekkos' opinions was formed. Although these high clerics had initially accepted the Union of the Churches, they later changed their mind (μείζονος κακοῦ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρακινεῖν δόγματα ἔλαττον κακὸν τὸ ἡμαρτηῆσθαι σφίσι, ποιησαμένοις εἰρήνην μετὰ σφαλλόντων ἐν θείοις δόγμασι). Meletios was so ardent in his dogmatic beliefs that he stated that he was ready to go to exile for defending them¹⁴. He obviously had a strong personality¹⁵. He is probably identified with Meletios, *proedros* Madytou, at whose incitement

9 Acta Innocentii Pp. III (ed. T. HALUSCYNKYI). Città del Vaticano 1944, 357–362; J. RICHARD, The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–27), in: Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204 (eds B. ARBEL *et al.*). London 1989, 45–49; see also J. KODER, Der Schutzbrief des Papstes Innozenz III für die Kirche Athens. *JÖB* 26 (1977) 129–141.

10 F. MIKLOSICH – I. MÜLLER, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi, 6 vols. Vienna 1860–1890, vol. II, no. 435, p. 165.

11 ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 41–46; G. FEDALTO, Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis, I. Patriarchatus constantinopolitanus. Padova 1988, 491, who is largely based on Archbishop Chrysostomos' list and must be used with caution.

12 PLP 17736.

13 On the theological discussions which followed the Union of Lyon, see CH. ARABATZES, Ἐκκλησιαστικο-πολιτικὲς καὶ θεολογικὲς διεργασίες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὸν ἀπὸ πόνου τῆς συνόδου τῆς Λυῶν (1274–1280). *Byzantina* 20 (1999) 199–251.

14 On this, see Georges Pachymerès Relations Historiques II (ed. A. FAILLER) (CFHB 24/2), VI, 23; cf. Regestes IV, no. 1446.

15 Regestes IV, no. 1447.

the future Patriarch Gregorios II (1283–1289) wrote the Life of St Euthymios, bishop of Madyta (10th century)¹⁶. This testifies to the ties of Meletios with the patriarchal entourage.

The names of Meletios' successors at the end of the 13th and the first years of the 14th century are not known¹⁷. The most famous metropolitan bishop of Athens during the period of the Latin occupation was Anthimos. He was later transferred to the Church of Crete, imprisoned for his activities and died in prison¹⁸. The author of his Life, Patriarch Neilos Kerameus (1379–1388), does not provide any information about Anthimos' family, education and career. He refers simply to his ability to deal with difficult situations, which would have led the Patriarch to transfer him to Crete: τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ἀφελόμενος, ἧ κεκλίρωτο, τῇ τῶν Κρητῶν ἐπίστυσι νίσω¹⁹. The participle ἀφελόμενος and the verb ἐπίστυσι mean that Anthimos was transferred to the Church of Crete and was not simply given the metropolis ἐπίδοσεως λόγῳ²⁰. Crete was slightly inferior to Athens in the ecclesiastical *taktika* (30th versus 28th rank). This disadvantage was probably counterbalanced by the fact that Anthimos was entrusted with a special mission. There is much confusion about the chronology of Anthimos' life²¹. The editor of the Life dates Anthimos' election at the see

16 V. ANTONIADES, Γεωργίου τοῦ Κυπρίου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν Εὐθύμιον ἐπίσκοπον Μαδύτων. *DIEEE* 4 (1887) 387–422. On the inscription of the *enkomion* ἐξ αἰτίσεως γραφὴν τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν ἱεροῦ Μελετίου προεδρεύοντος τότε τῆς Μαδύτων ἐκκλησίας, see *ibid.* 392.

17 Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 43) names Lazaros, archbishop (sic) of Sinai, who would have been elected and ordained metropolitan of Athens by the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1308. Unfortunately Papadopoulos does not cite his sources. A bishop of Sinai named Lazaros was elected metropolitan of Athens in 1510 (and not in 1308) (DEMETRIOS SINAITES, metropolitan of Argyrokastron, Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι τοῦ Σινᾶ, in: Σιναϊτικά Δίπτυχα. Athens–Cairo 2016, 196, 198. Demetrios Sinaites refers to an unpublished notice in Sin. gr. 1605, f. 306; A. MARINESCU, The hierarchs' catalogue of Monastery St. Catherine in Mount Sinai. *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* IV (2001) 284 n. 107). I wish to thank Dr. G. Foukaneli for providing these references.

18 C. ΔΥΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρόεδρος Κρήτης ὁ Ὁμολογητής. *EEBS* 9 (1932) 47–79. On Anthimos, see E. ΚΟΥΝΤΟΥΡΑ-ΓΑΛΑΚΕ – Ν. ΚΟΥΤΡΑΚΟΥ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν, πρόεδρος Κρήτης, καὶ οἱ ἀντιθετικὲς τάσεις ὀρθόδοξης συσπείρωσης καὶ διάσπασης στὴν ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ ἐποχὴ. Μία προσέγγιση μὲσω τῶν λογίων ἀγιολογικῶν κειμένων. *Thesaurismata* 41–42 (2011–2012) 341–358.

19 ΔΥΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 68.18–21.

20 On the transfers of bishops, see J. DARROUZÈS, Le traité des transferts. Édition critique et commentaire. *REB* 42 (1984) 147–214. On the advantages of the ἐπίδοσις in comparison with the μετάρθεσις, see E. CHATZIANTONIOU, Ἡ παραχώρηση κατ' ἐπίδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐδρῶν. *Byzantiaka* 29 (2008) 151–152.

21 R. Janin, following Papadopoulos' list, places Anthimos right after Meletios (*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 5, col. 41, s.v. Athènes). G. Fedalto includes in the metropolitan list of Athens two prelates named Anthimos. The first one would date from the years 1300 and would be the immediate successor of Meletios and the second one *ante* 1364. This one would be Anthimos the Confessor (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* 491). G. Fedalto merges probably the chronologies provided by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos with those proposed by J. Darrouzès (*Regestes* VI, no. 2463) and invents a second Anthimos.

of Crete towards the end of the first half of the 14th century²². Anthimos was probably elected metropolitan bishop of Crete during the so-called “Democracy of St Titus”, when local Venetian landlords together with the Greeks rebelled against the Venetian authorities²³. The author of the Life insists on the fact that Cretans, who lived under foreign rule for a very long time, rebelled against the Venetian authorities (τοῖς τυραννοῦσι ἐπέθεντο καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐξήλασαν τῆς νήσου) and dispatched an embassy to Constantinople to ask the Patriarch to ordain a metropolitan bishop (πρεσβεύονται πρὸς τὸν ... τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἀρχιερέα ... μὴ σφᾶς παριδεῖν ὥσπερ ποίμνιον ἀνεπίσκοπον)²⁴.

The rebellion of St Titus broke out in 1363. Although Venice managed to recapture the towns and fortresses by the end of 1365, the rebellion was not completely suppressed before 1368. In the context of this critical situation, the Emperor and the Patriarch took the opportunity to dispatch an orthodox prelate with the task to revive the faith of the indigenous Greeks to the Eastern Church. The Patriarch chose Anthimos for this undertaking. A metropolitan bishop of Athens participated in a series of sessions of the patriarchal synod from October 1364 until September 1365²⁵. He was probably elected and ordained by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–1354, 1364–1376) at the beginning of the second mandate of the latter. Apparently, after his ordination, Anthimos stayed in Constantinople for some time and then he was transferred to Crete in late 1365/early 1366²⁶. As since 1204 there was no orthodox metropolitan bishop in Crete, Anthimos’ role was decisive in pursuing the policies of Constantinople. Consequently, he was imprisoned by the Venetians, who had in the meantime regained partially the control, for inciting the Cretans to resist and for carrying on the revolt longer. According to his biographer Anthimos died in prison²⁷.

After Anthimos’ transfer to Crete, Philotheos Kokkinos decided to entrust the hieromonk Neophytos²⁸ with the administration of the metropole of Athens and the neighbouring bishopric of Evripos, which was under Venetian dominion²⁹. Neophytos would have the right to ordain lectors (ἀναγνώστες) and to found new churches. At the same time, the Patriarch bestowed on him

22 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 50.

23 S. McKEE, The Revolt of Saint Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: a Reassessment. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994) 173–204.

24 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 68.22–69.11.

25 Regestes VI, nos 2463, 2475, 2478, 2480–2482, 2488–2489, 2491, 2502.

26 Ibid. no. 2507.

27 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 72.5–17: πάσχουσι τὰ δεινότερα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς ὄπλοις κεκρατημένοις, οἱ μὲν οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ διαφθαρέντες, οἱ δ’ ἐξανδραποδισθέντες πανοικεσία ... ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ ... ποιμὴν συλλαμβάνεται, πρόθεσιν μὲν ὡς ἐρεθίζειν τοὺς Κρητὰς αὐτοῖς ἀντίστασθαι καὶ χρονιώτερον τὸν πόλεμον εἰργασμένους.

28 Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 43) erroneously names the hieromonk Nikodemos. He is also mistaken in identifying him with the metropolitan elected in 1371.

29 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta I, no. 224, p. 483–484. Evripos was the first in the list of suffragan bishoprics of Athens.

the authority to guide spiritually the Orthodox population with emphasis on the need to prevent them from contracting improper marriages (ὥστε ἀπέχειν ἀθεμιτογαμίας, τριγαμίας, ἀνηβότητος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κεκωλυμένων γάμων). The term ἀθεμιτογαμία refers probably to the contraction of mixed marriages between Orthodox Greeks and Latins. Trigamy is condemned by the Orthodox Church, but tolerated only under certain circumstances³⁰. The term ἀνηβότης refers to minors (under the age of fourteen for boys and twelve for girls) for whom marriage was forbidden by law³¹. The appointment of Neophytos had as first objective to put an order in marital practices. Apparently the long absence of an Orthodox bishop had led to some permissiveness which the Patriarch wished to check. However, the responsibilities of hieromonk Neophytos should be suspended, when a proper metropolitan would be ordained.

A metropolitan bishop of Athens was appointed sometime in 1370/1371, since in May 1371 an unknown prelate of Athens is mentioned as receiving the administration of Thebes and Neai Patrai and of the archbishopric of Aigina³². He assumed the ordinary responsibilities of a bishop, with the exception of seating in the σύνθρονον³³. The Patriarch assigned him the task of ordaining priests for all the neighbouring churches which did not have a bishop and had not been assigned κατ' ἐπίδοσιν. Obviously, the Patriarch's aim was to find a solution to the acute problem of ordination of Orthodox priests. We know from other sources that persons who wished to be ordained priests had to travel to a place where there was an Orthodox bishop. Methone in the southwestern Peloponnese was such a place³⁴. It can be supposed that at the end of the seventh decade of the 14th century the Patriarch tried to ensure a second episcopal seat for the ordination of priests. As in the second half of the 14th century the power of the Catalans was weakened, an agreement with the Catalans might have been reached for this purpose.

This agreement, if there had been one, was for a brief time. As

30 K. RALLES – M. POTLES, Σύνταγμα θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων IV. Athens 1854, 243–245.

31 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ Ἀρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον Νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος (ed. K. PITSAKES). Athens 1971, 389; E. PATLAGEAN, L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IVème–XIIème siècles). *Annales de démographie historique* 1973, 85–93 (= EADEM, Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IVe–XIe siècle. London 1981, no. X); G. PRINZING, Observations on the legal status of children and the stages of childhood in Byzantium, in: *Becoming Byzantine. Children and childhood in Byzantium* (ed. A. PAPACONSTANTINOU – A.-M. TALBOT). Washington, D.C., 2009, 15–34.

32 The act is copied in Vind. Hist. gr. 47 f. 291v and is not edited by Miklosich – Müller, who give only a brief summary: Acta I, no. 307. It is known to me thanks to a photograph kindly provided by the Team of the Austrian Academy of Sciences which is editing the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

33 The privilege of seating in the *synthronon* was reserved to an ordained metropolitan of a Church (γνήσιος ἀρχιερεὺς) and not simply to a *proedros*: CHATZIANTONIOU, Ἡ παραχώρηση 121–122.

34 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 459, p. 205; cf. V. LAURENT, Les «Mémoires» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439). Rome 1971, 534.22–32.

mentioned above, in a *ὑπόμνημα* dated to 1393, Patriarch Antonios IV claimed that it was not long ago that an Orthodox prelate entered the city of Athens³⁵. According to this document, after the Latin conquest nobody of those ordained metropolitan bishops of Athens and dispatched there (*οὐδείς τῶν χειροτονουμένων καὶ πεμπομένων*) had managed to enter the city. The first one to do it and dwell there after 1204 (*ἔδυνήθη καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελθεῖν καὶ κατοικῆσαι πρῶγμα πρὶν γενέσθαι μὴ πιστευόμενον*) was Dorotheos³⁶ who was ordained by the Patriarch Neilos Kerameus³⁷. Dorotheos assumed also the administration of the provinces of Thebes and Neai Patrai, as had his predecessor in 1371³⁸. We do not know the exact date of his election and ordination. The *terminus ante quem* is January 1388, when Neilus Kerameus passed away. Therefore Dorotheos' election and ordination took place sometime in 1386/1387. By that time it had become clear that the Catalans could not resist Nerio Accaiuoli, lord of Corinth, Megara and Thebes³⁹, and father-in-law of the despote Theodoros I Palaiologos (1383–1407). In 1385 Nerio became lord of Athens and in May 1388 occupied the Acropolis. The *ὑπόμνημα* of 1393 is explicit about the authoritarian rule of the Catalans who did not allow an orthodox bishop to enter the city (*τυραννίδι καὶ δεσποτείᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκείνων*). Apparently Nerio was less strict about ecclesiastical affairs than his predecessors and more favourable to the Greek Orthodox population⁴⁰. Thus the Patriarch took the opportunity to develop relations with Athens' new lord.

At the time of his election Dorotheos was in Thessalonica, where he was abbot of three monasteries⁴¹. He was ordained in Constantinople and received the documents of his ordination as metropolitan bishop of Athens. He proved himself quite capable in dealing with difficult situations. According to Patriarch Antonios IV, Dorotheos succeeded in reorganizing the metropolis of Athens which had been seriously disrupted because of the long Frankish and Catalan dominion⁴². Dorotheos established his metropolis to its earlier status and showed particular interest in teaching his congregation which had lived for a very long time without the spiritual guidance of a bishop (*ὡς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαταστῆναι σχῆμα καὶ τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ εὐκληρίαν, πρὶν ἀλωθῆναι χειρὶ βαρβαρικῇ*)⁴³. However, his activity provoked the reaction of Nerio Accaiuoli (*παρὰ τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως φθονηθεῖς*) who probably ejected him from his see. According to the

35 See supra n. 10.

36 PLP 5926.

37 ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ – ΜÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 165.

38 Regestes VI, no. 2835.

39 J. LOGNON, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée. Paris 1949, 331.

40 For Nerio's policy towards the Greeks, see MILLER, The Latins 334–338.

41 ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ – ΜÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 165.

42 Ibid. no. 435, p. 165–166.

43 Ibid. no. 435, p. 166.

Patriarch, Dorotheos left Athens secretly fearing for his life. In the meantime he kept in touch with his congregation, while he tried unsuccessfully to appease the authorities and to dissolve the intrigues against him. Nerio dispatched letters to the patriarchal synod denouncing Dorotheos for turning to the Turks for military support and promising to give them the sacred objects of the churches if they helped him to regain his province (τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης ἱερὰ κειμήλια συνεφώνησε δοῦναι τοῖς Τούρκοις ἵνα μόνον ἐπιλάβηται τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ)⁴⁴.

The Turks were involved in the affairs of central Greece as allies of the Catalans since the first decades of the 14th century. Euboea, a Venetian colony, was tributary to them⁴⁵. The activity of Dorotheos coincides with the presence of Ottoman forces in central Greece in the early 1390s. Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402), after he conquered the emirates of the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, turned his attention to the Balkans. While he campaigned in Wallachia, his generals were active in the southern Balkans. The troops of general Evrenos occupied Kitros and Vodena in Macedonia, Thessaly, plundered the coasts of Megaris and Boetia, and invaded the Peloponnese⁴⁶. It was in this context that Dorotheos asked for the Ottoman support, after having been ejected from Athens. It seems that Nerio Acciaiuoli asked the Patriarch to ordain a new metropolitan in Athens and another one in Thebes and Neai Patrai, wishing obviously to reduce the potential influence of a prelate who would have the administration of three provinces⁴⁷. The reaction of the Patriarch was rather lukewarm. On the pretext that the testimony of heretics –as Latins were considered by Orthodox Greeks⁴⁸– against a bishop was not reliable⁴⁹, the Patriarch rejected the accusations against Dorotheos and affirmed that they could be considered only in case they came from Orthodox Greeks. At the same time, he confirmed Dorotheos as metropolitan bishop of Athens and as administrator of the sees of Thebes and Neai Patrai⁵⁰. We are not sufficiently informed about Dorotheos' actions after the *hypomnema* of Antonios IV in 1393.

Nerio Acciaiuoli died in September 1394. In his testament, dated at Corinth eight days earlier, on September 17, 1394, he bequeathed Athens with its whole region to the Church of the Virgin Atheniotissa. He restituted the precious stones and metals removed from it in order to serve as ransom for his

44 Ibid. no 435, p. 166.

45 E. ZACHARIADOU, The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area. *Studi Medievali* 3a Serie 21 (1980) 821–839.

46 Ducas, *Historia turco-bizantina, 1341–1462* (ed. V. GRECU) 13.6.

47 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 166.

48 RALLES – POTLES, Σύνταγμα IV, 160.

49 Sixth canon of the second Ecumenical Council: πρῶτον μὲν αἰρετικοῖς μὴ ἐξῆν κατηγορίας κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπίσκοπων ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ποιεῖσθαι (RALLES – POTLES, Σύνταγμα II [1852], 180–182).

50 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 167–169.

liberation from captivity, made several gifts and disposed that the income of Athens should be used for the sustenance of twenty Latin priests⁵¹. To secure this transfer, he placed Athens under the protection of Venice.

The patriarchal synod worried about the political attitude of the prelates of Athens and their close relations with the Turks. In August 1395 a *pittakion* was addressed to a metropolitan of Athens, whose name is not mentioned, summoning him to the synod in Constantinople. According to this document, rumors had been circulating for a long time which worried the Patriarch and harmed the Church. The metropolitan had ignored previous patriarchal recommendations to refrain from every sort of activity that compromised himself and the Church. The Patriarch tried gently to persuade the metropolitan to travel to Constantinople reassuring him that the synod would arrange matters in a way that would perfectly satisfy him (πιοῖσει προμήθειαν καὶ κυβέρονσιν τοσαύτην ὅσιν μέλλεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδέξασθαι)⁵². It is obvious that the Patriarch did not wish to force the bishop to comply with his mandate.

Unfortunately, we do not know what the controversial activity of the metropolitan was. We may, however, relate this document with another *pittakion* dating to September of the same year which the Patriarch addressed to the *protopapas* and the clergy of Euboea. This *pittakion* refers to the relations between the metropolitan of Athens and the clergy of Euboea. As the ordination of a bishop was problematic in areas under Latin dominion, the local clergy was under the spiritual guide of the metropolitan. According to the ecclesiastical *taktika*, Eviros, Oreos and Karystos were suffragan bishoprics of Athens⁵³. According to this *pittakion* the clerics of Euboea ceased to commemorate the metropolitan –and the latter had ex-communicated them. The commemoration of the bishop (ἀναφορὰ) was a major duty of the clergy of an ecclesiastical province. The Patriarch blames the clergy of Euboea for this omission explaining that the charges against the metropolitan had not been proved. He explains that they were wrong in stopping commemorating the metropolitan, since the latter had not appeared before the synodal court and therefore he was not condemned. However, his conciliating mood becomes obvious by his levying the excommunication of the clergy⁵⁴.

We can make conjectures about the reasons which led the clergy of Euboea to the above mentioned action from an extract of a letter of the Despote of Morea Theodoros I (1383–1407) to his brother, Emperor Manuel II (1391–1425). This extract, cited in the patriarchal proceedings of the 23rd of August 1395, refers to the metropolitan of Palaiiai Patrai who had expelled out of the fortress Grevenon its governor Frankopoulos, brother of the protostator Manuel, and helped a certain Sarakenopoulos, enemy of the despot, to take

51 Monumenta Peloponnesiaca no. 160.10–17.

52 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 494, p. 256 (=Regestes VI, no. 3010).

53 DARROUZÈS, Notitiae episcopatum no. 13.446–448, 452, 454.

54 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 498, p. 258–259 (=Regestes VI, no. 3013).

control of the fortress. In the extract of the despot's letter there is allusion to the controversial activity of the metropolitan of Athens. The despote complains about the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai who had shown himself rebellious to his authority and had behaved like his confrater of Athens (ἐφάνη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δεύτερος μητροπολίτης Ἀθηνῶν). He adds that the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai, not satisfied to be a monk, wanted to follow the example of his confrater of Athens (οὐδὲν τὸν ἤρρεσεν ἵνα ἔνι μοναχὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκολουθήσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ πράξει ἐκεῖνου καὶ τοῖς τρόποις του καὶ ἵνα τὸν ἔχη σύντροφον)⁵⁵. The activities of the metropolitan of Athens are not revealed, because they were probably well known both to the Emperor and the Patriarch. We can assume that they went beyond his episcopal jurisdiction, and involved political initiatives. The letter of the Despot of Morea Theodoros dates from the early summer of 1395, since the Patriarch summons for the first time the metropolitan to his presence in August of the same year⁵⁶, at the same time that he summons the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai⁵⁷.

It is known that by the last decade of the 14th century the Turks were pushing southwards and had become a crucial factor of politics in Greece. At this time Despote Theodoros I tried desperately to keep them out of his realm. A papal bull dating from the 27th of May 1396 sheds light on this question. Pope Boniface IV assigns Gilberto, bishop of Cittanuova, the task of investigating the case of a “schismatic Greek” (*natione grecus et fide schismaticus*) called “Macaronus” (sic), ordained metropolitan of Athens by the equally “schismatic” patriarch of Constantinople. “Macaronus” encouraged his correlative to submit to the Turks. Because of his activity, the Turks had occupied many places. “Macaronus” was arrested and imprisoned by order of doge Antonio Venier. However, he did not stop plotting in favour of the infidels, as it was made clear in letters he addressed to the Turks and intercepted by the Venetians⁵⁸, who after Nerio's death in 1394 had undertaken the protection of Athens. For this reason the Venetians decided to put an end to “Macaronus” subversive activity. It is certainly no coincidence that in August 1395 –at the same time that the Patriarch summoned the metropolitan of Athens to his presence– Venice warned her representatives in Euboea and Athens about *the pessima intencione et dispositione quam Turchi habent* ⁵⁹.

The form of the name of the metropolitan, “Macaronus”, is certainly

55 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 493, p. 250. See D. ZAKYTHENOS, Le Despotat grec de Morée, éd. revue et augmentée par CHR. MALTEZOU. London 1971, I, 129.

56 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 493, p. 253–254 (=Regestes VI, no. 3010).

57 Ibid. no. 493, p. 254 (=Regestes VI, no. 3007).

58 I libri Commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia. Regesti, vol. 3, Del libro nono dei Commemoriali regesti. Venice 1883, p. 238, no. 25 (= S. LAMPROS, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν III. Athens 1903, 390–391); GREGOROVIVUS, Geschichte II, 256–257.

59 Monumenta Peloponnesiaca no. 171.4–5; S. STANTCHEV, Venice and the Ottoman Threat, 1381–1453, in: Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade (ed. N. HOUSLEY). London 2017, 161–205.

not correct. F. Gregorovius suggested that he was named Macarios and that he was the successor of Dorotheos⁶⁰. It is important to stress that the metropolitan mentioned in the papal bull was accused of being in contact with the Turks, and, when imprisoned, he communicated with the Turks probably through his clergy who certainly continued to recognize him as their bishop. It might, however, be that “Macaronus” is just a corrupt form of the ecclesiastical title μακαριώτατος.

A metropolitan of Athens named Dorotheos participated in the synod of 1409 that condemned patriarch Matthaios I (1397–1410)⁶¹. V. Laurent suggested –not without a hint of reserve– that Dorotheos was replaced by Macarios, but that he was finally successful in regaining his metropolis⁶². J. Darrouzès suggested that Dorotheos was active until 1409⁶³. A document of the monastery of Vatopedi in Mount Athos dated to 1406 is signed by a metropolitan bishop of Athens named Dorotheos. The document refers to a dispute of Dorotheos and Vatopedi concerning the inheritance of Dorotheos’ spiritual father Kallistos who had recently died in the monastery⁶⁴. The dispute was resolved in Constantinople in the presence of Dorotheos and representatives of Vatopedi. Dorotheos of this document is obviously identical with the metropolitan bishop who took part in the synod of 1409, and, possibly, with Dorotheos who was ordained metropolitan of Athens in 1386/1387. The Vatopedi document suggests that Dorotheos did not live Athens in 1406. After having been ejected from his province, he was probably established in Constantinople, where he had good connections in the patriarchal synod.

Dorotheos was not the only bishop who turned to the Turks on account of the hatred for the Latins on religious and other grounds. In 1393 the Ottomans invaded Thessaly. Pharsala and Domokos surrendered to them, while Zetounion and Neai Patrai were destroyed⁶⁵. According to the historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles, the pretext for the Ottoman invasion had been the summon by the prelate of Phokis (τοῦ Φωκέων ἀρχιερέως) who stressed the attractions offered by the land (ἐπὶ χώραν κυνηγῆσαι κρατίστην καὶ λειμῶνας γεράνους παρεχομένους πλῆθος ἄπλετον καὶ πεδία ἐνιππεῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα). The bishop, who is later mentioned by Chalkokondyles as the prelate of

60 GREGOROVIVS, *Geschichte* II, 243; SETTON, *Papacy* 471–472.

61 V. LAURENT, *Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XVe siècle*. *REB* 30 (1972) 133.217–219, 134.237.

62 *Ibid.* 51 n. 74.

63 *Regestes* VI, no. 3011.

64 *Actes de Vatopédi, III. De 1377 à 1500* (eds J. LEFORT (†) – V. KRAVARI *et al.*). Paris 2019, no. 196.

65 KODER – HILD, *Hellas* 76–77.

Salona⁶⁶, was outraged against the widow countess of Salona, Helena Asanina Kantakouzene. The reason of his rage towards her was her alleged adultery with a priest to whom she, supposedly, had transferred the authority of the area⁶⁷. Driven by enmity and hard feelings, as it seems, for having lost influence, the bishop of Salona chose to ask help from the Ottomans, just as Dorotheos did at the same time in Athens. His conviction that the Greek population would rather be enslaved by the Turks than the Franks (καλλίτερα νὰ δουλεύωμε Τούρκους παρὰ Φράγκους)⁶⁸ –as echoed by the later Chronicle of Galaxeidion– reveals the attitude of a contemporary of Dorotheos⁶⁹.

We know little about the metropolis of Athens in the 15th century. It is possible that after the troubles caused by the local bishops, no Orthodox bishop was ordained in Athens. As a result of the Union of the Churches signed in 1439 in Florence, a series of bishops accepting the Union was ordained in the Eastern Church. Among them was a metropolitan of Athens, who was denounced by Markos Eugenikos, chief of the anti-unionists in the council of Ferrara–Florence (1437–1439)⁷⁰.

The anonymous metropolitan of Athens provoked not only the rage of Markos Eugenikos, but also his bitter sarcasm, as he was scornfully called by him κοπελύδριον τοῦ Μονεμβασίας. Sp. Lampros wrongly suggested that the metropolitan was named Fantinos⁷¹. The spiritual guidance of the Orthodox population of Athens was assumed by the hieromonk Theophanes who resided in Evripos and belonged to the anti-union party. Markos Eugenikos asked Theophanes to assure that the Orthodox clergy abstains from communion with

66 In the ecclesiastical *taktika* of the Byzantine period there is no mention of a bishop of Salona. In Byzantine time the area of Phokis seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Larissa (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum* no. 13.560–579; cf. ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ – ΜÜLLER, *Acta* I, no. 325, p. 588). Chalkokondyles contains probably the first mention to a bishop of Salona.

67 Laonici Chalcocondylae *Historiarum* demonstrations, vol. 1 (ed. E. DARKÓ), 61–62.

68 Χρονικὸν ἀνέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου (ed. C. ΣΑΤΗΑΣ). Athens 1865, 206.

69 On the motivations of this attitude, see H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *La tiare ou le turban. Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953) 245–257; E. ZACHARIADOU, *Τα λόγια και ο θάνατος του Λουκά Νοταρά*, in: *Ροδωνιά. Τιμὴ στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα*, vol. I. Rethymno 1994, 135–146; M. BALIVET, *Personnage du ‘turcophile’ dans les sources byzantines antérieures au Concile de Florence (1370–1430)*, in: *IDEM, Byzantins et Ottomans: Relations, interaction, succession*. Istanbul 1999, 31–47; R. SHUKUROV, *The Byzantine Turks 1204–1461*. Leiden–Boston 2016, 381–384.

70 LAURENT, *Les “Mémoires”... Sylvestre Syropoulos* 442.21–24, 452.9–12, 496.19–20, 548.27–31, 556.24–28.

71 He was based on the mistaken assumption that the copyist Michael Kalophrenas, who mentions in his correspondence with the unionist patriarch Metrophanes II an archbishop named Fantinos, originated from Athens: S. LAMPROS, *Μιχαὴλ ὁ Καλοφρενᾶς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Μητροφάνης Β΄*. *NE* 1 (1904) 43–56. Kalofrenas, however, originated from Crete and Fantinos was the Latin archbishop of Crete in the years of the Union of Florence and right afterwards: N. ΤΟΜΑΔΑΚΕΣ, *Μιχαὴλ Καλοφρενᾶς, Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β΄ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν Ἐνωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν*. *EEBS* 21 (1951) 110–144. Lampros' view was followed by Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos and by FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* 491.

the unionist metropolitan and to not commemorate him⁷².

The Ottomans took control of Athens in the summer 1456, after the last Accaiuoli had surrendered it to the general of Mehmet II, Omar. George Sfrantzes relates that the hieromonk Isidoros was ordained metropolitan after the city surrendered to the Ottomans. A few years earlier, in 1447, Isidoros had been entrusted by Sfrantzes with a special mission to Georgia, in order to negotiate a match between a Georgian princess and the widower Despote Constantine Palaiologos (1443–1449), future emperor Constantine XI⁷³. It is possible that Isidoros assumed the administration of the metropolis of Athens during the years preceding the establishment of the Ottoman rule.

After 1204 the metropolis of Athens shared similar problems with other Orthodox sees under Latin dominion. The Orthodox bishops did not reside in Athens. The ordination and installation of a bishop depended on the political circumstances of the moment and on the relations between Constantinople and the Latin states. Therefore, the situation of the high clergy was often precarious, as it was subjected to the aims of the Patriarchate and the tolerance of local Latin authorities. Our sources reveal the hostility between the Latins and the Orthodox Church of Athens, the problems created in the Athenian congregation during the years the bishops did not reside in the city, and the involvement of Athenian bishops in secular and political matters. As the Church, according to the Byzantine tradition, was in constant interaction with the state, its involvement in political affairs continued under the Latin rule, and it was dictated by personal ambitions, religious fervor to strengthen the Orthodox faith, and the hatred of many ecclesiastics against the Latins and the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, when the Ottomans expanded in Greece, some bishops preferred to submit to them. The case of Dorotheos confirms, once again, that the alleged words of Loukas Notaras (κρείττοτερον ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῆ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν λατινικὴν)⁷⁴ was an option of the Orthodox Church more than half a century before the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

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72 S. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*. Athens 1912–1923, I, 22.1–12.

73 Georgii Sphrantzae *Chronicon* (ed. R. MAISANO) (CFHB 29) 98.20–21.

74 Ducas, c. 37.10.

ABBREVIATIONS

JOURNALS

- AA:** *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA: *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*
AAIAB: *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin*
AASOR: *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*
ABSA: *Annual of the British School at Athens*
ADelt: *Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
AEMTh: *Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ στὴ Θράκη*
AEphem: *Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς*
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*
AK: *Antike Kunst*
ALinc: *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
AM: *Arte Medievale*
AnBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana*
AnTard: *Antiquité Tardive*
ArtB: *The Art Bulletin*
ASAtene: *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
ATech: *Αρχαιολογία καὶ Τέχνες*
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
ByzD: *Βυζαντινὸς Δόμος*
ByzF: *Byzantinische Forschungen*
ByzSym: *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεκτα*
BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CahCM: *Cahier de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIIe siècles*
CArch: *Cahiers archéologiques*
CPh: *Classical Philology*
CSCA: *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
DChAE: *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*
DIEEE: *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*
DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EEBS: *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EPhSPA: *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*
EETHSPA: *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι Πανεπιστημίου*
GBBNP: *Göttinger Beiträge zur byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie*
GRBS: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
IJCT: *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*
JHS: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JLA: *Journal of Late Antiquity*
JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRA: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS: *The Journal of Roman Studies*
JS: *Journal des savants*
JTS: *Journal of Theological Studies*
LibAnt: *Libya Antiqua*
MB: *Musée Belge*
MDAI AA: *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
NChr: *The Numismatic Chronicle*
NE: *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA: *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
Ocnus: *Ocnus. Quaderni della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia***OCP:** *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OrChr: *Orientalia Christiana*
Ostraka: *Ostraka: Rivista di antichità*
PraktArchEt: *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*
ProcBrAcad: *Proceedings of the British Academy*

RCRF Acta: Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
REB: Revue des études byzantines
REG: Revue des études grecques
RQ: Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte
RSBN: Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
SBN: Studi bizantini e neoellenici
SP: Studia Patristica
TM: Travaux et Mémoires
VV: Vizantijskij Vremmenik
WJL: Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur
ZLU: Zbornik za likovne Umetnosti
ZPE: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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