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1. *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos*, Sofia 2001
2. *Σλάβοι μοναχοί στὸ Ἀγιον Ὄρος ἀπὸ τὸν Ι' ὥς τὸν ΙΖ' αἰῶνα*, Thessalonica 2002
3. *История на българския светогорски манастир Зограф от 980 до 1804 г.*, Sofia 2005
4. *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707. The Archival Evidence*, Sofia 2008
5. Ή ἀθωνική μονὴ Σμανόπετρα ἀπὸ τὸ 1800 ἕως καὶ τὸ 1830, *Ηπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά* 43 (2009), 357–492
6. *The Early Years of the Bulgarian Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980–1279) and its Byzantine Archives*, Sofia 2011.
7. *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980–1600)*, Sofia 2014
8. *The Byzantine Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou and Selected Acts from the Ottoman Period (1294–1835)*, Sofia 2015
9. *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230–1734. Bulgarian and Serbian Acts from the Monasteries of Karakallou, Kastamonitou St. Paul, Vatopedi and Xenophontos. Moldavian and Wallachian Slavic Acts from the Monasteries of Docheiariou, Kastamonitou and Zographou*, Sofia 2018



On the front cover:

1. Kastamonitou main gate.
2. Pages 100-101 of Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 with the initial chapter of *The Legend or Logos Historikos of Kastamonitou*.

On the rear cover:

1. Kastamonitou main church (katholikon).
2. The ruined coastal tower of Xerokastrou at Kastamonitou old wharf (15–17 century).



THE POST-BYZANTINE GREEK AND SLAVIC ARCHIVES OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF KASTAMONITOU AND ITS HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE SO-CALLED LEGEND (LOGOS HISTORIKOS) OF KASTAMONITOU (CODEX KASTAMONITOU NO. 114)

Cyril Pavlikianov

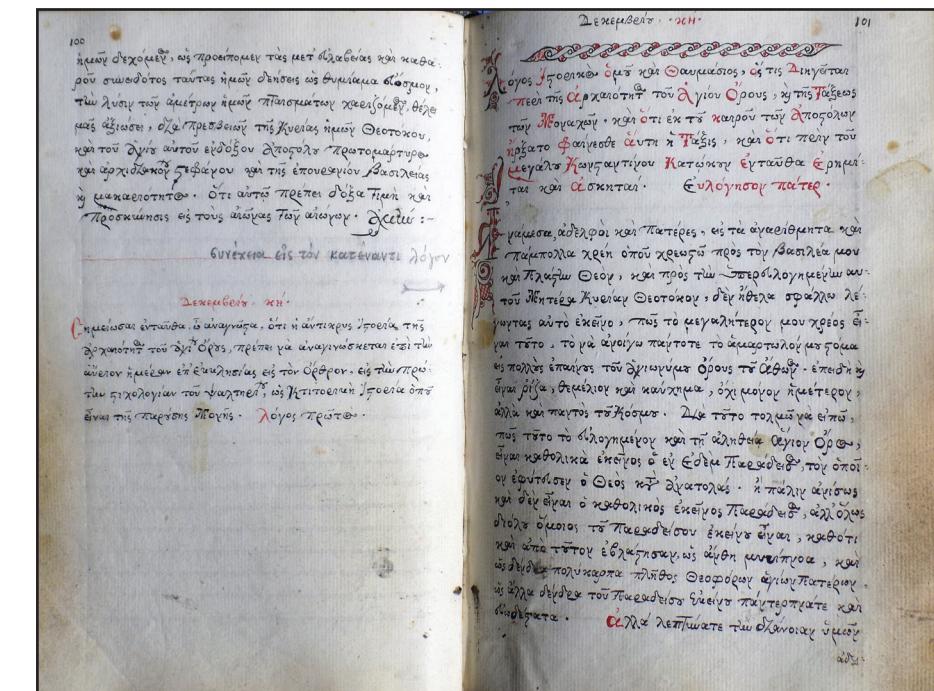
Cyril Pavlikianov

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DIPLOMATIC EDITION OF
46 GREEK, SERBIAN,
MOLDAVIAN AND WALLACHIAN
DOCUMENTS KEPT IN
KASTAMONITOU (1429–1819), PROTATON
(1784–1856)
AND DOCHEIARIOU (1578–1763)

CRITICAL EDITION OF CODEX
KASTAMONITOU NO. 114
AND OF THE LEGEND OF
KASTAMONITOU



“St. Kliment Ohridski” University Press

Cyril Pavlikianov

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Sofia, 2020

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MONASTERY OF KASTAMONITOU AND ITS HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE SO-CALLED
LEGEND (LOGOS HISTORIKOS) OF KASTAMONITOU (CODEX KASTAMONITOU NO. 114)

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*Nessun maggior dolore
che ricordarsi del tempo felice
nella miseria ...*

Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, Canto V, 121-123.

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| Content of the manuscript according to our and to its own pagination (in brackets): | |
| <i>Μαρτύριον ἀξιόλογον, καὶ πολλὰ ὡραιότατον, διαλαμβάνον περὶ τῆς ἀθλήσεως καὶ γενεαλογίας τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου, μεταφρασθὲν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, παρὰ τινος εὐτελοῦς ἱερομονάχου, ἐκ τοῦ ἔλληνικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀπλοῦν (Martyrdom of the apostle and archdeacon Stephen describing his feats and descent, translated into Modern Greek by an unnamed priest-monk)</i> | 244 (1) |
| <i>Ἄριτος ἴστορικός, ὁμοῦ καὶ θαυμάσιος τοῦ φιλοσόφου Νικῆτα, ὅστις διαλαμβάνει περὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως καὶ ἀνακοινώδης τοῦ ιεροῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου, μεταφρασθεὶς παρὰ τινος εὐτελοῦς ἱερομονάχου τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς (Marvellous historical narrative of Niketas the Philosopher about the discovery and the transfer of the relics of St. Stephen, rendered into Modern Greek by an unnamed priest-monk of Kastamonitou)</i> | 255 (19) |
| <i>Ἄριτος ἴστορικὸς ἄμα καὶ ἐγκωμιαστικὸς περὶ τῆς ἐν</i> | |

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| <i>Κωνσταντινούπολει ἐλεύθερες τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου</i> (Historical and laudatory narrative about the arrival of the reliques of St. Stephen in Constantinople) | 264 (34) |
| <i>Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινούπολεως ἑγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἄγιον πρωτομάρτυρα Στέφανον</i> (Laudation of St. Stephen by the Constantinopolitan patriarch Proclus) | 280 (62) |
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| <i>Διήγησις ἴστορικὴ καὶ θαυμάσιος κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν ἡμέραν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, καὶ ὑπόμνημα σύντομον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μακαρίου</i> (Historical narrative and brief reminder about the bishop of Hierissos St. Makarios) | 314 (115) |
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We photographed the five Slavic charters of Kastamonitou in 2013, while in 2017 we completed our research by photographing its post-Byzantine Greek documents of the period 1568-1864. During the same field trip we also photographed the full text of Codex Kastamonitou no. 114. The 18th and 19th century Greek acts of Kastamonitou kept in the archives of the Protaton were photographed by us in 2000 thanks to the support of father Ioustinos Simonopetrites, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude. We photographed the six post-Byzantine acts of Docheiariou in 1998, while we were preparing a catalogue of the medieval Slavic manuscripts kept in Docheiariou. At this point our thanks are due to Prof. D. Gonis.

In 1997 we discussed with the chief advisor of our doctoral dissertation, Prof. Nikos Oikonomides, the possibilities for studying and publishing the Serbian acts of Kastamonitou and the so-called *Legend* or *Logos Historikos of Kastamonitou*, which is preserved solely in Codex Kastamonitou no. 114. Our teacher fully approved our intentions and gave us his blessing to start working on this topic. The present book owes a lot to his advice and inspiration.

Sofia, Easter 2020

ABBREVIATIONS

- AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*
BBp = Византійскій временникъ
BSl = *Byzantinoslavica*
Byz = *Byzantium*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
CFHB = *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EB = *Études balkaniques*
ΕΕΒΣ = Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EH = *Études historiques*
ЗРВИ = Зборник радова Византолошког института
ИРАИК = Известія Русского археологического института въ Константинополѣ
JÖB = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
NE = *Nέος Ἐλληνομυγήμων*
PG = *Patrologia Graeca*
REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines*
CCA = Стари српски архив
CCKA = Споменик Српске краљевске академије
TM = *Travaux et Mémoires*
Х3 = Хиландарски зборник

SERIES *ACTES DE L'ATHOS*

- Actes de Chilandar (actes grecs)* = *Actes de l'Athos V, Actes de Chilandar. I. Actes grecs*, ed. L. Petit, BBp 17 (1911), Приложение 1 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1975)
- Actes de Chilandar (actes slaves)* = *Actes de l'Athos V, Actes de Chilandar. II. Actes slaves*, ed. L. Petit and B. Korablev, BBp 19 (1915), Приложение 1 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1975)
- Actes d'Espigménou* = *Actes de l'Athos III, Actes d'Espigménou*, ed. L. Petit and W. Regel, BBp 12 (1906), Приложение 1 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1967)
- Actes du Pantocrator* = *Actes de l'Athos II, Actes du Pantocrator*, ed. L. Petit, BBp 10 (1903), Приложение 2 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1964)
- Actes de Philothée* = *Actes de l'Athos VI, Actes de Philothée*, ed. W.

Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korablev, *BBp* 20 (1913), Приложение 1
(reprinted in Amsterdam 1975)

Actes de Zographou = Actes de l'Athos IV, Actes de Zographou, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, *BBp* 13 (1907), Приложение 1
(reprinted in Amsterdam 1969)

SERIES ARCHIVES DE L'ATHOS

Chilandar I = Archives de l'Athos XX. Actes de Chilandar I. Des origines à 1319, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, and Ch. Giros, Paris 1998

Dionysiou = Archives de l'Athos IV, Actes de Dionysiou, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1968

Docheiariou = Archives de l'Athos XIII, Actes de Docheiariou, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1984

Esphigménou = Archives de l'Athos VI, Actes d'Esphigménou, ed. J. Lefort, Paris 1973

Iviron I–IV = Archives de l'Athos XIV, XVI, XVIII et XIX. Actes d'Iviron I–IV, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou and V. Kravari, with the collaboration of H. Métrévéli, Paris 1985–1995

Kastamonitou = Archives de l'Athos IX, Actes de Kastamonitou, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1978

Kutlumus = Archives de l'Athos II², Actes de Kutlumus, ed. P. Lemerle, Paris 1988²

Lavra I–IV = Archives de l'Athos V, VIII, X et IX. Actes de Lavra I–IV, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, and D. Papachryssanthou, with the collaboration of S. Ćirković, Paris 1970–1982

Pantéleémôn = Archives de l'Athos XII, Actes de St.-Pantéleémôn, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron and S. Ćirković, Paris 1982

Pantocrator = Archives de l'Athos XVII, Actes du Pantocrator, ed. V. Kravari, Paris 1991

Prôtaton = Archives de l'Athos VII, Actes du Prôtaton, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975

Vatopédi I = Archives de l'Athos XXI, Actes de Vatopédi I (des origines à 1329), ed. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari and Ch. Giros, Paris 2001

Vatopédi II = Archives de l'Athos XXII, Actes de Vatopédi II (de 1330 à 1376), ed. J. Lefort, V. Kravari, Ch. Giros, and K. Smyrlis, Paris 2006

Vatopédi III = Archives de l'Athos XXIII, Actes de Vatopédi III (de

1377 à 1350), ed. J. Lefort, V. Kravari, C. Giros, K. Smyrlis and R. Estangüi Gómez, Paris 2019

Xénophon = Archives de l'Athos XV, Actes de Xénophon, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, Paris 1986

Xéropotamou = Archives de l'Athos III, actes de Xéropotamou, ed. J. Bompaire, Paris 1964

GREEK CATALOGUES AND SUMMARIES (*EPITOMAI*)
OF POST-BYZANTINE ATHONITE DOCUMENTS

Αναστασιάδης, Άρχειο Χιλανδαρίου = B. Αναστασιάδης, Άρχειο τῆς Τερᾶς Μονῆς Χιλανδαρίου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 9), Athens 2002

Βαμβακᾶς, Κατάλογος Σιμωνόπετρας = Δ. Βαμβακᾶς, Ιερὰ Μονὴ Σίμωνος Πέτρας. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 1), Αθήνα 1985

Γάσπαρης, Άρχειο Πρωτάτου = X. Γάσπαρης, Άρχειο Πρωτάτου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 2), Athens 1991

Γιαννακόπουλος, Άρχειο Σταυρονικήτα = Ά. Γιαννακόπουλος, Άρχειο τῆς Τερᾶς Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα. Ἐπιτομὲς ἐγγράφων, 1533–1800 (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 8), Athens 2001

Γουναρίδης, Άρχειο Ξηροποτάμου = Π. Γουναρίδης, Άρχειο τῆς Τερᾶς Μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 3), Athens 1993

Κοτζαγεώργης, Άρχειο Άγίου Παύλου = Φ. Κοτζαγεώργης, Άρχειο τῆς Ι. Μ. Άγίου Παύλου. Ἐπιτομὲς ἐγγράφων 1010–1800 (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 12), Athens 2008

Μελισσάκης, Άρχειο Έσφιγμένου = Z. Μελισσάκης, Άρχειο τῆς Τερᾶς Μονῆς Έσφιγμένου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 11), Athens 2008

Νικολόπουλος–Οίκονομίδης, Κατάλογος Διονυσίου = Π. Νικολόπουλος - N. Οίκονομίδης, Ιερὰ Μονὴ Διονυσίου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1056–1695), (Βυζαντινὰ) Σύμμεικτα 1 (1966)

Οίκονομίδης, Κατάλογος Κωνσταμονίτου = N. Οίκονομίδης, Ιερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταμονίτου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1047–1686), (Βυζαντινὰ) Σύμμεικτα 2 (1970)

Οίκονομίδης, Κατάλογος Σταυρονικήτα = N. Οίκονομίδης, Ιερὰ Μονὴ Σταυρονικήτα. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1533–1661), (Βυζαντινὰ) Σύμμεικτα 2 (1970)

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BIBLICAL ABBREVIATIONS

The English titles of the biblical books, including the deuterocanonical, are abbreviated according to following pattern:

OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis = The First Book of Moses Called Genesis (Γένεσις)

Exodus = The Second Book of Moses Called Exodus (Ἐξόδος)

Numbers = The Fourth Book of Moses Called Numbers (Ἀριθμοί)

Deuteronomy = The Fifth Book of Moses Called Deuteronomy

(Δευτερονόμιον)

1 Paralipomenon = First Book of Chronicles or Paralipomenon (Παραλειπομένων Α')

Job = The Book of Job (Ἰώβ)

Psalms = The Book of Psalms (Ψαλμοί)

Proverbs = The Book of Proverbs (Παροιμίαι)

Ecclesiastes = The Book of Ecclesiastes (Ἐκκλησιαστής)

Isaiah = The Book of Isaiah (Ησαΐας)

Jeremiah = The Book of Jeremiah (Ιερεμίας)

Ezekiel = The Book of Ezekiel (Ιεζεκιήλ)

Daniel = The Book of Daniel (Δανιήλ)

Wisdom of Solomon = The Wisdom of Solomon or Book of Wisdom (Σοφία Σολομώντος)

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew = The Gospel According to Matthew (Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον)

Mark = The Gospel According to Mark (Τὸ κατὰ Μᾶρκον Εὐαγγέλιον)

Luke = The Gospel According to Luke (Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον)

John = The Gospel According to John (Τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγέλιον)

Acts = The Acts of the Apostles (Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων)

Romans = The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴ)

1 Corinthians = The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (Πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη)

Galatians = The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (Πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴ)

Ephesians = The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολὴ)

Philippians = The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians (Πρὸς Φιλιππίους ἐπιστολὴ)

1 Thessalonians = The First Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικείς ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη)

1 Timothy = The First Epistle of Paul to Timothy (Πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη)

2 Timothy = The Second Epistle of Paul to Timothy (Πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα)

Hebrews = The Epistle to the Hebrews (Πρός Εβραίους ἐπιστολή)

James = The General Epistle of James ('Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰακώβου)

1 Peter = The First Epistle of Peter (Πέτρου ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη)

1 John = The First Epistle of John ('Ιωάννου ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη)

Revelation = The Book of Revelation or The Apocalypse of John ('Αποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου)

INTRODUCTION

Our interest in *The Legend of Kastamonitou* was triggered by the influence which its published fragments had exercised on the scholarly opinions about the presence of Slavs and Wallachians around and inside the monastic peninsula. Pages 143-144 in our edition of the *Legend* contain a short passage which is widely known due to the fact that it was published by the Russian bishop Porfirij Uspenskij in 1877. Based on Uspenskij's text, F. Dvornik believed that the infiltration of Slavs and Wallachians in Mount Athos had started during the 8th century, and L. Niederle supported the same opinion. The question is could such a conclusion be correct? The basic problem which has to be solved is what do we know about the sources from which in 1844 the compiler of the *Legend*, the monk of Kastamonitou Dositheos from Lesbos, took his information about the Slavic tribes *Vlachorynchinoi* and *Sagoudatios*. We believe that in the present book we have provided a convincing answer to this question: the *Vlachorynchinoi* never existed. They were invented by Dositheos who combined the ethnic name *Vlachoi* (Wallachians), available in a group of Athonite texts some of which were published in 1894 and are generally known as *Diegesis Merike* or *Partial Relation About the Correspondence of the Emperor Alexios with the Patriarch Nicholas*, with the tribal names *Rynchinoi* and *Sagoudatios* which he found in the Miracles of St. Demetrios of Thessalonica as they were summarized for religious use in the book *Thyra tes Metanoias* (Gate of Penitence), a pious compilation published in Venice first in 1795 and then again in 1806. Unlike the studies of the modern scholars, who are interested in the *Vlachorynchinoi* and the Slavic or Romanian ethnic presence on Mount Athos from the point of view of the contemporary European national state and its ideology, all the Athonite texts referring to this topic, i.e. Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 and its prototypes, emphasize the religious element which was dominant for them. These texts do not discuss the *Vlachoi* or the *Vlachorynchinoi* because they were Slavs or Romanians in the modern sense of these terms, but because, from the Athonite point of view, they were acting as seducing servants of the devil who had invaded Mount Athos together with their wives and daughters. However, after the publication of the 23 volumes of the French series *Archives de l'Athos* it is already a commonplace that neither *Vlachoi* nor *Tzakones* have ever settled in Mount Athos. Thus, the episode with the *Vlachoi*

or *Vlachorynchinoi*, along with the pious accounts about the Athonite building programme of the bishop of Hierissos, St. Makarios, and Constantine the Great, and the destructions inflicted on the Athonite monasteries by Julian the Apostate, is a fine example of narrative license.

If we exclude *The Legend of Kastamonitou*, Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 contains prevailingly hagiographical texts (*vitae*, laudations, narratives about the translation of relics) dedicated to the celestial protector of Kastamonitou, St. Stephen. They are taken from various sources and are written in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek. Thus, the manuscript is a charming mixture of all the medieval variants of the Greek language - from the 4th century Ancient Greek of Gregory of Nyssa and Proclus of Constantinople, to the 19th century *katharevousa* of Constantine Oikonomos from the Thessalian village of Tsaritsane. Yet, regardless of the variations in the language, it is the mentality of the compiler that unifies all the texts, and this mentality is unmistakably Byzantine because of the author's passion for rhetorical expressions. However, it is also a mentality of an early modern religious scholar who is accustomed to using arguments like "as everybody knows" or "as the chrysobulls make it clear", but also describes his sources which are prevailingly *vitae* or laudations of saints. In the case of the aforementioned *Thyra tes Metanoias* he even refers to pages, and it was this detail that enabled us to conclude that he had used the second Venetian edition of this book (1806).

Pages 169-243 of Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 offer the reader three texts related to the Greek War of Independence. The title of the first text, which was published in 1963, is *New Reminder About the New Holy Martyrs and the Athonite Fathers Murdered by the Ottomans During the Greek Revolution*. It describes and glorifies the martyrdom of several new saints, namely the monks of Kastamonitou Benedict from the village of Ezova near Serrhai, Peter (in religion Paul) from Ioannina, Synesios from the village of Trigleia near Prousa in Asia Minor, Timothy from Berrhoia in southwestern Macedonia, and the layman Sabbas from Stageira in the peninsula of Chalkidike. They were martyred by the Turks in 1821 because of the insurrection in the Holy Mountain organized by Emmanuel Pappas. The second text was published in 1957 and is labelled *Second Brief Reminder Describing Those Who Contributed to the Participation of Mount Athos in the Greek Revolution of 1821 and Were Punished and Martyred by the Ottomans Along with Many Other Innocent Christians*. However, its edition was based not on Codex

Kastamonitou no. 114, but on a copy of the text kept in the monastery Zographou. The third text is unpublished. Its title is *Funeral Oration in Memoriam of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V*. It was composed and publicly read in the Russian city of Odessa on April 24, 1821, by Constantine Oikonomos whose origin was from the village of Tsaritsane in Northern Thessaly, not far from the town of Elassona. The last three texts offer a lot of pious eloquence and very few reliable historical details.

Our edition of Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 contains the full Greek text of the manuscript and extensive commentary on *The Legend of Kastamonitou* (pages 101-169). We also offer the reader a recapitulation of all the thematic entities which are discussed in the post-Byzantine documents of Kastamonitou and appear in the *Legend*.

Our edition of the post-Byzantine archives of Kastamonitou follows the basic principles which we have already applied in our recent publications of the Greek and Slavic archives of Zographou, Karakallou and Vatopedi¹.

1. See C. Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707. The Archive Evidence*, Sofia 2008; idem, *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou 980-1600*, Sofia 2014; idem, *The Byzantine Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou and Selected Acts from the Ottoman Period 1294–1835*, Sofia 2015; idem, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230–1734. Bulgarian and Serbian Acts from the Monasteries of Karakallou, Kastamonitou, St. Paul, Vatopedi and Xenophontos. Moldavian and Wallachian Slavic Acts from the Monasteries of Docheiariou, Kastamonitou and Zographou*, Sofia 2018.

CHRONOLOGY OF KASTAMONITOU FROM 1424 TO 1867

In 1970 N. Oikonomides published a brief catalogue of Kastamonitou Greek archives in which he described 18 separate acts and 4 compilations of copies dating from the period 1047-1686¹. His full edition of the monastery's mediaeval Greek archives, which comprised 8 authentic and 5 falsified charters of the period 1047-1513, was published in 1978 in the French series *Archives de l'Athos*².

The main events in the history of Kastamonitou were analysed by N. Oikonomides in 1978³. The monastery is first mentioned in 1051 in an act concerning the minor monastic foundation of Kalligraphou: οὐ δίκαιοι ἔσται ἡμᾶς διαπληκτισμοὺς ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν γειτόνων ἡμῶν, τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κασταμονίτου ἡγουμένου κυροῦ Νίφωνος, μεγάλως γὰρ ἀδικοῦσι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰ δίκαια τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἄγροῦ τοῦ Καλλιγράφου⁴. After 1051 Kastamonitou disappears from the Athonite documents for about two centuries, until 1262, when it is mentioned in an act of the *protos* Arsenios referring, once again, to the monastery of Kalligraphou: προσεκλήθη καὶ ὁ τῆς τοῦ Κασταμονίτου μονῆς καθηγούμενος ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Καλλιγράφου ὅπως ἐνώπιον τοῦ συλλόγου τῶν καθηγούμενων τὸ δίκαιον ἐκάστου φανήσεται⁵. After 1262 Kastamonitou is already regularly mentioned in the documents of the Athonite monasteries⁶.

In 1988 V. Katsaros made an attempt at elucidating the relations between the monastery of Kastamonitou and the Byzantine clan of the "Kastamonitai", and proposed some prosopographical identifications. He paid special attention to the abbot of Kastamonitou and alleged *protos* of Athos, Hilarion, whom we are discussing below in our commentary on Codex Kastamonitou no. 114. For Katsaros Hilarion was undoubtedly a real person⁷. However, our study and analysis of the so-called *Legend of Kastamonitou* (Λόγος ιστορικὸς τῆς μονῆς Κασταμονίτου) proved that Hilarion most probably was only the protagonist of a literary work⁸.

1. N. Οἰκονομίδης, Τερά Μονὴ Κωνσταμονίτου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1047-1686), (*Βυζαντινά*) Σύμμεικτα 2 (1970), 416-436 and pl. 41-43.

2. *Archives de l'Athos IX, Actes de Kastamonitou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1978.

3. *Kastamonitou*, 1-21.

4. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Documents of Zographou*, 114, no. 3, l. 3-4.

5. *Docheiariou*, no. 7, l. 16-18.

6. *Kastamonitou*, 2-4.

7. Κατσαρός, Ιωάννης Κασταμονίτης, 130-133, 156-159 and 340-341.

8. See the commentary on page 132 of Codex Kastamonitou no. 114 in our chapter