

Cyril Pavlikianov

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)

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*



Cyril Pavlikianov

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)

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
Sofia, 2020

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)

© 2020 Cyril Pavlikianov

© 2020 St. Kliment Ohridski University Press

First edition. All rights reserved.

This publication is protected by copyright.

Any utilization outside the strict limits of the copyright law,
without the prior permission in writing of the author, or as expressly
permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reproduction rights organization, is forbidden and liable to prosecution.

This applies in particular to reproductions, translations, microfilming,
storage and processing in electronic retrieval systems.

Printed in Bulgaria

ISBN 978-954-07-4943-3

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

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	9
Abbreviations	10
Series <i>Actes de l'Athos</i>	10
Series <i>Archives de l'Athos</i>	11
Greek catalogues and summaries (<i>epitomai</i>) of post-Byzantine Athonite documents	12
Other editions of Athonite documents	13
General works and specialized studies	15
Biblical abbreviations	18
Introduction	20
Chronology of Kastamonitou from 1424 to 1867	23
Greek, Serbian, Moldavian and Wallachian documents kept in Kastamonitou (1429-1819)	41
Acts of Kastamonitou kept in the archives of the Protaton (1784-1856)	171
Documents related to Kastamonitou kept in the archives of Docheiariou (1578-1763)	193
Codex Kastamonitou 114 and <i>The Legend of Kastamonitou</i>	211
Content of Codex Kastamonitou 114	213
Identification of the texts compiled in Codex Kastamonitou 114	216
The manuscript of 1844 and its prototype of 1698	223
The history of Kastamonitou according to <i>The Legend of Kastamonitou</i>	226
Topics from the documents of Kastamonitou inserted in <i>The Legend of Kastamonitou</i>	229
Mentions of the story about Constantine the Great and Kastamonitou in printed books of the period 1650-1860	232
Text of Codex Kastamonitou 114 and commentary on <i>The Legend of Kastamonitou</i>	237
Content of the manuscript according to our and to its own pagination (in brackets):	
<i>Μαρτύριον ἀξιόλογον, καὶ πολλὰ ὠραιότατον, διαλαμβάνον περὶ τῆς ἀθλήσεως καὶ γενεαλογίας τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχidiaκόνου Στεφάνου, μεταφρασθὲν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, παρὰ τινος εὐτελοῦς ἱερομονάχου, ἐκ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀπλοῦν</i> (Martyrdom of the apostle and archdeacon Stephen describing his feats and descent, translated into Modern Greek by an unnamed priest-monk)	244 (1)
<i>Λόγος ἱστορικός, ὁμοῦ καὶ θαυμάσιος τοῦ φιλοσόφου Νικῆτα, ὅστις διαλαμβάνει περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως καὶ ἀνακομιδῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχidiaκόνου Στεφάνου, μεταφρασθεὶς παρὰ τινος εὐτελοῦς ἱερομονάχου τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς</i> (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)	255 (19)
<i>Λόγος ἱστορικός ἅμα καὶ ἐγκωμιαστικός περὶ τῆς ἐν</i>	

- Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐλεύσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιάκονου Στεφάνου*
(Historical and laudatory narrative about the arrival of the relics of St. Stephen in Constantinople) 264 (34)
- Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον πρωτομάρτυρα Στέφανον* (Laudation of St. Stephen by the Constantinopolitan patriarch Proclus) 280 (62)
- Χρυσάνθου Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀρχιδιάκονον Στέφανον «Στέφανος δὲ ὑπάρχων πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶδεν δόξαν Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ»* (Laudation of St. Stephen by the patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos Notaras) 285 (71)
- Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ μεγάλου φωστῆρος. Ὁμιλία ἐγκωμιαστικὴ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Στέφανον, συντεθεισα εἰς ἀπλήν φράσιν παρὰ τινος ἐντελοῦς ἱερομονάχου* (Laudatory speech about St. Stephen by St. John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, rendered into Modern Greek by an unknown priest-monk) 293 (84)
- The Legend or Logos Historikos of Kastamonitou* 303
- Λόγος ἱστορικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ θαυμάσιος, ὅστις διηγεῖται περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, καὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἤρξατο φαίνεσθαι αὕτη ἡ τάξις, καὶ ὅτι πρὶν τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου κατώκουν ἐνταῦθα ἐρημίται καὶ ἀσκηταί* (Historical narrative about the antiquities of Mount Athos and the monastic life which first appeared there shortly after the time of the apostles, i.e. long before the reign of Constantine the Great) 303 (101)
- Διήγησις ἱστορικὴ καὶ θαυμάσιος κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν ἡμέραν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, καὶ ὑπόμνημα σύντομον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μακαρίου* (Historical narrative and brief reminder about the bishop of Hierissos St. Makarios) 314 (115)
- Λόγος ἱστορικὸς τῆς παρουσίας μονῆς μετὰ παραλλαγὴν τινὰ συνοπτικωτέραν τῆς προτέρας παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας καὶ διηγήσεως* (Historical narrative about the monastery of Kastamonitou - a concise version of the older history) 339 (140)
- Νέον ὑπόμνημα τῶν νεοφανῶν ἱερομαρτύρων καὶ ὀσιομαρτύρων, τῶν νῦν λαμψάντων ἀγιορειτῶν ὁσίων πατέρων, κατὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν θανατωθέντων* (New reminder about the new holy martyrs and the Athonite fathers murdered by the Ottomans during the Greek Revolution) 366 (169)
- Δευτέρα ἀνάπτυξις, σύντομος καὶ καθαρά, ἥτις διαλαμβάνει περὶ τῶν ὄσοι συνήρρησαν νὰ ἐπαναστατήσωσι τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας συνέβη νὰ τιμωρηθῶσι διαφόρως, καὶ τέλος νὰ μαρτυρήσουν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄσεβων οἱ ἄθωοι καὶ ἀνεύθνηοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀδελφοὶ χριστιανοί* (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)	380 (193)
<i>Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν ἀείμνηστον οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Γρηγόριον</i> (Funeral oration in memoriam of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V)	393 (216)
<i>Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον καὶ πρωτομάρτυρα Στέφανον</i> (Laudation of St. Stephen by St. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa)	408 (243)
<i>Σημειώματα χρονολογίας, περὶ ἀρχαίων εἰκόνων, εὐρισκόμενα ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ βίβλῳ. Περὶ τῆς ἀγίας εἰκόνης τοῦ ἀγίου πρωτομάρτυρος Στεφάνου, πότε ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν κοινόβιον</i> (Chronological notes about the ancient icons mentioned in the book)	419 (263)
Plates, maps and illustrations	421
Index of names and toponyms	533

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our gratitude to the *hegoumenos* of Kastamonitou, father Charalampos, who gave us access to the archives of his monastery, provided us with the best possible conditions for work, and permitted us to photograph the monastery's Slavic charters, post-Byzantine documents and Codex Kastamonitou 114. Without his benevolent support our research would have never been completed.

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 = *Византийский временникъ*
 BSl = *Byzantinoslavica*
 Byz = *Byzantion*
 BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
 CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
 CFHB = *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
 DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
 EB = *Études balkaniques*
 EEBΣ = *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
 EH = *Études historiques*
 ЗРВИ = *Зборник радова Византолошког института*
 ИРАИК = *Известия Русскаго археологическаго института въ Константинополѣ*
 JÖB = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
 NE = *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
 PG = *Patrologia Graeca*
 REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines*
 ССА = *Стари српски архив*
 ССКА = *Споменик Српске краљевске академије*
 ТМ = *Travaux et Mémoires*
 ХЗ = *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'Espigmenou = Actes de l'Athos III, Actes d'Espigmenou, 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
- Pantéléèmôn* = *Archives de l'Athos XII, Actes de St.-Pantéléèmôn*, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagrón 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. Bompaigne, 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

- Ἀναστασιάδης, *Ἀρχεῖο Χιλανδαρίου* = Β. Ἀναστασιάδης, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Χιλανδαρίου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 9), Athens 2002
- Βαμβακᾶς, *Κατάλογος Σιμωνόπετρας* = Δ. Βαμβακᾶς, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Σίμωνος Πέτρας. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 1), Ἀθήνα 1985
- Γάσπαρης, *Ἀρχεῖο Πρωτάτου* = Χ. Γάσπαρης, *Ἀρχεῖο Πρωτάτου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 2), Athens 1991
- Γιαννακόπουλος, *Ἀρχεῖο Σταυρονικήτα* = Ἀ. Γιαννακόπουλος, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα. Ἐπιτομὲς ἐγγράφων, 1533–1800* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 8), Athens 2001
- Γουναρίδης, *Ἀρχεῖο Ξηροποτάμου* = Π. Γουναρίδης, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 3), Athens 1993
- Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἀρχεῖο Ἁγίου Παύλου* = Φ. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱ. Μ. Ἁγίου Παύλου. Ἐπιτομὲς ἐγγράφων 1010-1800* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 12), Athens 2008
- Μελισσάκης, *Ἀρχεῖο Ἐσφιγμένου* = Ζ. Μελισσάκης, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἐσφιγμένου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων* (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 11), Athens 2008
- Νικολόπουλος–Οἰκονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Διονυσίου* = Π. Νικολόπουλος - Ν. Οἰκονομίδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Διονυσίου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1056–1695)*, (Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα 1 (1966)
- Οἰκονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Κωνσταμονίτου* = Ν. Οἰκονομίδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταμονίτου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1047–1686)*, (Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα 2 (1970)
- Οἰκονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Σταυρονικήτα* = Ν. Οἰκονομίδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Σταυρονικήτα. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1533–1661)*, (Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα 2 (1970)

- Οικονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Δοχειαρίου* = Ν. Οικονομίδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1037–1695), (Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα 3 (1979)*
- Πάρδος, *Ἀρχεῖο Παντοκράτορος* = Ἀ. Πάρδος, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος. Ἐπιτομὲς ἐγγράφων 1039–1801, I (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 5), Athens 1998*
- Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου* = Κ. Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου, Σύμμεικτα 4 (1981)*
- Χρυσοχοῦδης–Γουναρίδης, *Κατάλογος Καρακάλλου* = Κ. Χρυσοχοῦδης - Π. Γουναρίδης, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Καρακάλλου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 1), Athens 1985*

OTHER EDITIONS OF ATHONITE DOCUMENTS

- Акты русскаго на святомѣ Аѳонѣ монастыря* = [Φ. Терновскій], *Акты русскаго на святомѣ Аѳонѣ монастыря св. великомученика и чудотелѣя Пантелеимона (Acta, praesertim Graeca, Rossici in Monte Athos monasterii)*, Kiev 1873
- Chilandar Supplementa = V. Mošin - A. Sovre, *Dodatki h grškim listinam Hilandarja (Supplementa ad acta graeca Chilandarii)*, Ljubljana 1948
- Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern* = F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges*, Munich 1948
- Ἱερόθεος, *Τὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Καλλιγράφου* = Ἱερόθεος Δοχειαρίτης, *Τὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Καλλιγράφου*, Athens 1929
- Kravari, *Philothéou* = V. Kravari, *Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou, TM 10 (1987)*
- Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια* = Σ. Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 9, Athens 1912*
- Μαμαλάκης, *Διήγησις περὶ Ἁγίου Ὁρους* = Ἰ. Μαμαλάκης, *Διήγησις περὶ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐν καιρῷ τῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τοῦ 1821, Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς 7 (Μνημόσυνον Χαρίτωνος Χ. Χαριτωνίδου)*, Thessalonica 1957
- Μαμαλάκης, *Δοσιθέου Κωνσταμονίτου “Νέον ὑπόμνημα”* = Ἰ Μαμαλάκης, *Δοσιθέου Κωνσταμονίτου “Νέον ὑπόμνημα τῶν νεοφανῶν ἱερομαρτύρων καὶ ὁσιομαρτύρων”, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 46 (Thessalonica 1963)*
- Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden* = Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden zur Geschichte der Athosklöster*, Leipzig 1894

- Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Acta Vatopedii* = Ν. Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Acta Vatopedii* (μέσα 15ου - τέλη 17ου αι), I, Komotini 2010
- Παυλικιάνωφ, *Ἡ μονή Κασταμονίτου* = Κ. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Ἡ μονή Κασταμονίτου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο 1784-1857. Ἀνέκδοτες μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὸ ἀρχεῖο τοῦ Πρωτάτου, Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ Φιλιππούπολη σὲ παράλληλους δρόμους. Ἱστορία, τέχνη, κοινωνία (18ος - 20ὸς αἰώνας)*, Thessalonica 2000
- Pavlikianov, *Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707. The Archive Evidence*, Sofia 2008
- Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Documents of Zographou* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou 980-1600. Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2014
- Pavlikianov, *The Byzantine Documents of Karakallou* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Byzantine Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou and Selected Acts from the Ottoman Period 1294-1835. Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2015
- Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Slavic Archives of the Athonite Monastery of Kastamonitou, Cyrillomethodianum 20*, Thessalonica 2015
- Pavlikianov, *The Documentary Heritage of the Grand Čelnik Radič* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Slavic Acts of the Athonite Monastery of Kastamonitou and the Documentary Heritage of the Grand Čelnik Radič, Hilendarski Zbornik 14* (Belgrade 2017)
- Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos* = C. Pavlikianov, *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. Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2018
- Πετρακάκος, *Νέαι πηγαί* = Δ. Πετρακάκος, *Νέαι πηγαί τῶν θεσμῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, Alexandria 1915
- Соловјев–Мошин, *Грчке новеле* = А. Соловјев - В. Мошин, *Грчке новеле српских владара*, Belgrade 1936
- Συμεών, *Ἱστορική ἀλήθεια* = Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Συμεών, *Ἱστορική ἀλήθεια, ἥτοι ἔλεγχος τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος Ἱεροθέου Δοχειαρίτου δημοσιευθέντων ἐν βιβλιαρίῳ ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Μονύδριον τοῦ Καλλιγράφου» πραγματευομένου περὶ τῆς ὑφισταμένης ὀριακῆς*

διαφορᾶς μεταξὺ τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν Κωνστανιτίτου καὶ Δοχειαρίου, Athens 1932

GENERAL WORKS AND SPECIALIZED STUDIES

- BHG = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a), 2, Brussels 1957 (reprinted in 1986)
- BHG. *Novum Auctarium* = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca. Novum Auctarium* (Subsidia Hagiographica 65), Brussels 1984
- Γεδεών, *Ὁ Ἄθως* = Μ. Γεδεών, *Ὁ Ἄθως. Αναμνήσεις, ἔγγραφα, σημειώσεις*, Constantinople 1885
- Γεδεών, *Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες* = Μ. Γεδεών, *Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες. Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ βιογραφικαὶ περὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου μέχρι Ἰωακείμ Γ' τοῦ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης*, Athens 1996²
- Γόνης, *Ἱστορικό διάγραμμα* = Δ. Γόνης, *Ἱστορικό διάγραμμα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Δοχειαρίου, Παρουσία Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Δοχειαρίου*, Mount Athos 2001
- Григоровичъ-Барскій, *Второе посещение Святой Аѳонской горы* = В. Григоровичъ-Барскій, *Второе посещение Святой Аѳонской горы Василья Григоровича-Барскаго имъ самимъ описанное съ 32-мя рисунками и картою Аѳонской горы* (Странствованія Василя Григоровича-Барскаго по святымъ мѣстамъ Востока съ 1723 по 1747 г., vol. III), ed. N. Barsukov, St. Petersburg 1887
- Grumel, *La chronologie* = V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines. I. La chronologie*, Paris 1958
- Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας* = Π. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας τοῦ ἁγιορειτικοῦ παραγωγικοῦ χώρου*, *Κληρονομιά* 13B (Thessalonica 1981)
- Θύρα τῆς μετανοίας = Θύρα τῆς μετανοίας ἥτοι βίβλος κατασκευτικὴ καὶ ψυχοφειλεστάτη περιέχουσα τέ τέσσαρα ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, θάνατον, κρίσιν, αἴδην καὶ παράδεισον, δι' ὧν γίνεται ἡ θανμαστὴ μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τοῦ νέου ἢ γέννησις. Συντεθεισα μὲν πρὶν παρὰ τινος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός, καλλωπισθεισα δὲ νῦν, καὶ διορθωθεισα μετ' ἐπιμελείας διὰ συνδρομῆς τῆς Σκήτεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου, τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω, κατὰ τὸ Βατοπαίδιον κειμένης, ἣ τινι βίβλῳ προσετέθησαν καὶ θαύματα τινὰ ἀνέκδοτα, καὶ δόκτωχοι κανόνες τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου, Venice 1795, 1806²
- Κατσαρός, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης* = Β. Κατσαρός, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμο-*

- νίτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς του (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 22), Thessalonica 1988²
- Κομνηνός, *Προσκυνητάριον* = Ἰ. Κομνηνός, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους τοῦ Ἄθως*, Venice 1745²
- Κυλтурна ризница Србује* = *Κυλтурна ризница Србује*, ed. J. Janićijević, Belgrade 2005³
- Λαζαρίδης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* = Ἀλέξανδρος Λαυριώτης (Λαζαρίδης), *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος μετὰ τὴν ὀθωμανικὴν κατάκτησιν*, Athens 1963 (off-print of a study published in *ΕΕΒΣ* 32 (1963))
- Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts* = S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, Cambridge 1895
- Δεξικὸν τῶν δήμων, κοινοτήτων καὶ συνοικισμῶν* (1920) = *Δεξικὸν τῶν δήμων, κοινοτήτων καὶ συνοικισμῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ τῇ βίσει τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τοῦ ἔτους 1920*, Athens 1923
- Μαμαλάκης, *Ἡ Επανάσταση στὴ Χαλκιδική* = Ἰ. Μαμαλάκης, *Ἡ Επανάσταση στὴ Χαλκιδική τὸ 1821. Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῶν ἀγιορειτῶν καὶ ὁ ρόλος τοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ Παππᾶ*, Thessalonica 1962
- Μαμαλάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* = Ἰ. Μαμαλάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος (Ἄθως) διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων*, Thessalonica 1971
- Millet - Pargoire - Petit, *Inscriptions de l'Athos* = G. Millet - J. Pargoire - L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos*, vol. I, Paris 1904
- Nasturel, *A propos d'un document de Kastamonitou* = P. Nasturel, *A propos d'un document de Kastamonitou et d'une lettre patriarcale inconnue de 1411*, *REB* 40 (1982)
- ODB = The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, I–III, New York - Oxford 1991
- Πάκα, *Ὁ πρωτομάρτυρας Στέφανος* = Π. Πάκα, *Ὁ πρωτομάρτυρας Στέφανος στὴν ὀρθόδοξη παράδοση (διδακτορικὴ διατριβὴ ὑποστηρικθεῖσα στὴν Θεολογικὴ Σχολὴ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλειου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμῆμα Θεολογίας)*, Thessalonica 2001 (<http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/14574>, accessed on April 7, 2020)
- Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἀνάλεκτα* = Ἀ. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμίτικης σταχυολογίας*, V, St. Petersburg 1898
- Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς* = Δ. Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς. Ἀρχὲς καὶ ὀργάνωση*, Athens 1992
- Papazôtos, *Recherches au Mont Athos* = A. Papazôtos, *recherches topographiques au Mont Athos, Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen*, Paris 1988
- Παυλικιάνωφ, *Ἡ μονὴ Κασταμονίτου* = Κ. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Ἡ μονὴ Κα-*

- σταμονίτου κατά την περίοδο 1784-1857. Άνέκδοτες μαρτυρίες από τὸ ἀρχεῖο τοῦ Πρωτάτου, Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ Φιλιππούπολη σὲ παράλληλους δρόμους. *Ἱστορία, τέχνη, κοινωνία (18ος - 20ὸς αἰώνας)*, Thessalonica 2000
- Pavlikianov, *Aristocracy* = С. Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos*, Sofia 2001
- Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* = К. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος ἀπὸ τὸν I ὡς τὸν IX αἰῶνα*, Thessalonica 2002
- Павликянов, *Монаси от славянско потекло в Кастамонит* = К. Павликянов, *Монаси от славянско потекло в светогорската обител „Кастамонит“ от XIV до XVI век, Сборник в чест на проф. д-р Милияна Каймакамова „Българско средновековие: общество, власт, история“*, Sofia 2013
- PLP = *Prosopographisches lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. I–XII, ed. E. Trapp, Vienna 1976–1995
- Пурковић, *Попис села* = М. Пурковић, *Попис села у средњевековној Србији, Годушњак Скопског филозофског факултета*, IV.2, Skopje 1940
- Σμυρνάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* = Γ. Σμυρνάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1903 (reprinted in Karyai 1988)
- Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић* = М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба*, Belgrade 1994
- Успенскій, *Исторія Аѳона. II. Аѳонъ христіанскій, мірскій* = Порфирій Успенскій, епископъ Чигиринскій, *Востокъ христіанскій - Аѳонъ. Исторія Аѳона. Часть II. Аѳонъ христіанскій, мірскій (1. Преданія о началѣ христіанства на Аѳонѣ; 2. Судьба сей горы съ 309 года по 676-й; 3. Оправданія исторіи Аѳона мірскаго)*, Kiev 1877
- Успенскій, *Исторія Аѳона. III. Аѳонъ монашескій I* = Порфирій Успенскій, епископъ Чигиринскій, *Востокъ христіанскій - Аѳонъ. Исторія Аѳона. Часть III. Аѳонъ монашескій. Отдѣленіе I. Судьба его съ 911 по 1861 годъ*, Kiev 1877
- Успенскій, *Исторія Аѳона. III. Аѳонъ монашескій II* = Порфирій Успенскій, епископъ Чигиринскій, *Востокъ христіанскій - Аѳонъ. Исторія Аѳона. Часть III. Аѳонъ монашескій. Отдѣленіе II. Оправданія исторіи Аѳона, т.е. приложенія къ этому отдѣленію* (изданіе Императорской Академіи Наукъ подъ редакціею П. Сырку), St. Petersburg 1892
- Van de Vorst - Delehayе, *Catalogus codicum* = С. Van de Vorst - Н. Delehayе, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Ger-*

- maniae, Belgii, Angliae* (Subsidia Hagiographica 13), Brussels 1913
- Фотић, *Хиландар у Османском царству* = А. Фотић, *Света гора и Хиландар у Османском царству XV–XVII век*, Belgrade 2000
- Χρήστου, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* = Π. Χρήστου, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Ἀθωνικὴ πολιτεία - ἱστορία, τέχνη, ζωή*, Athens 1987
- Χρυσοστόμου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν, *Ἱστορία Ἱεροσολύμων* = Χρυσοστόμου Ἀ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων*, Athens 2010³
- Шкриванић, *Властелинство* = Г. Шкриванић, *Властелинство великог челника Радича Поступовића, Историјски часопис* 20 (Belgrade 1973)
- Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik Radič* = М. Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik Radič, Κλητόριον in memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, Athens–Thessalonica 2005

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 (Ἐξοδος)
- 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 (Παροιμίες)
- Ecclesiastes = The Book of Ecclesiastes (Ἐκκλησιαστής)
- Isaiah = The Book of Isaiah (Ἠσαΐας)
- Jeremiah = The Book of Jeremiah (Ἱερεμίας)
- Ezekiel = The Book of Ezekiel (Ἱεζεκιήλ)
- 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 ἐπιστολή)

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

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

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

Philippians = The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians (Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή)

1 Thessalonians = The First Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἐπιστολή πρώτη)

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

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

Hebrews = The Epistle to the Hebrews (Πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή)

James = The General Epistle of James (Ἐπιστολή Ἰακώβου)

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

1 John = The First Epistle of John (Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολή πρώτη)

Revelation = The Book of Revelation or The Apocalypse of John (Ἀποκάλυψις 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 *Sagoudatioi*. 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 *Sagoudatioi* which he found in the Miracles of St. Demetrios of Thessalonica as they were summarized for religious use in the book *Thyrate 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 prevalingly 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 prevalingly *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 Ellassona. 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 δίκαιον ἔσται ἡμᾶς διαπληκτισμοὺς ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν γειτόνων ἡμῶν, τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κασταμονίτου ἡγουμένου κυροῦ Νίφωνος, μεγάλως γὰρ ἀδικοῦσι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰ δίκαια τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀγροῦ 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 καθηγουμένων 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 ἱστορικὸς τῆς μονῆς Κασταμονίτου) proved that Hilarion most probably was only the protagonist of a literary work⁸.

1. N. Οἰκονομίδης, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταμονίτου. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου (1047-1686), (Βυζαντινὰ) 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. Κατσάρος, Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης, 130-133, 156-159 and 340-341.

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