

MEDIEVAL GREEK  
AND SLAVIC DOCUMENTS OF  
THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF  
*HAGIOU PAVLOU* (ST. PAUL)  
(1010–1580)



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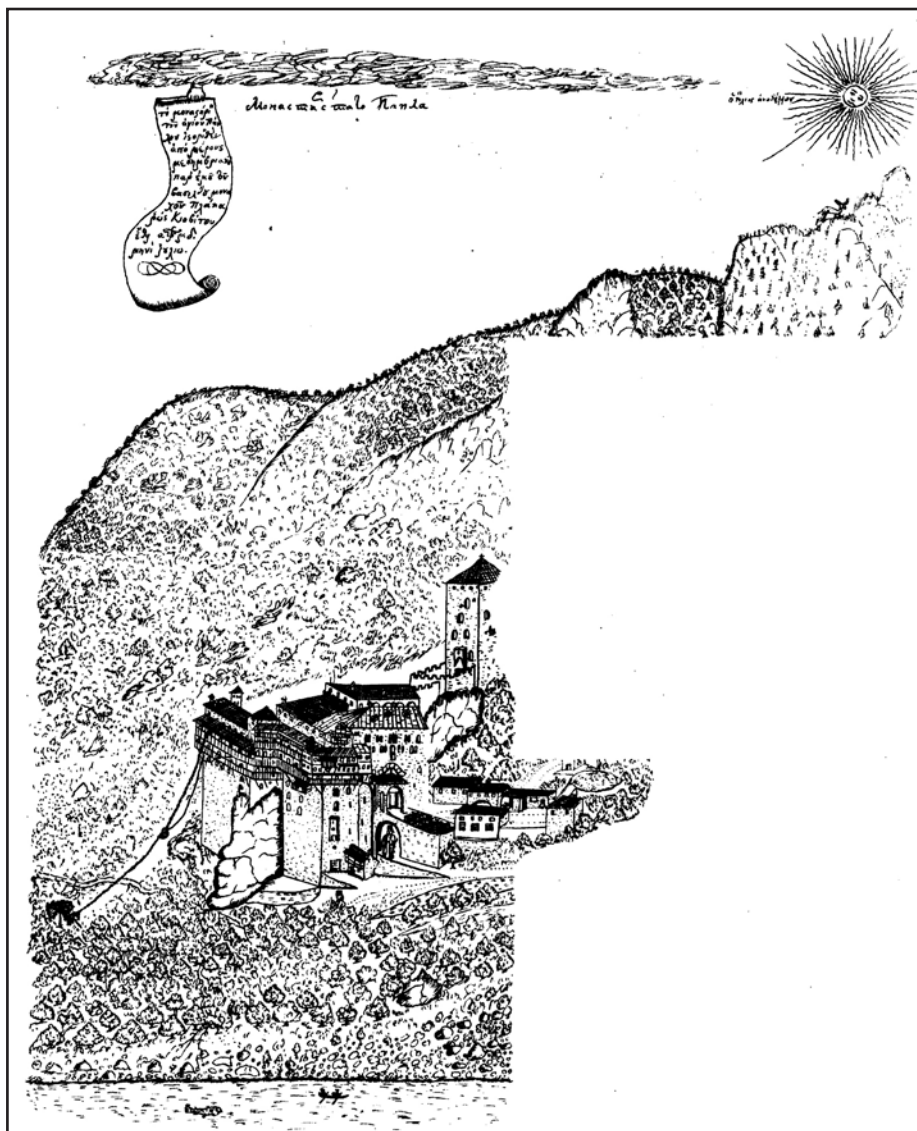
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Cyril Pavlikianov

MEDIEVAL GREEK  
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THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF  
*HAGIOU PAVLOU* (ST. PAUL)  
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CRITICAL EDITION AND  
COMMENTARY OF THE TEXTS

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The Monastery of St. Paul as depicted by V. G. Barskij in 1744.

(В. Григоровичъ-Барскій, *Второе посещение Святой Афонской горы Василья Григоровича-Барскаго имъ самимъ описанное съ 32-мя рисунками и картою Афонской горы (Странствования Василья Григоровича-Барскаго по святымъ мѣстамъ Востока съ 1723 по 1747 г., vol. III)*, ed. N. Barsukov, St. Petersburg 1887, 388-389).

**On the front cover:** The Monastery of St. Paul as photographed in the 1870s.  
(Pl. Theocharides, *Photograph on Mount Athos 4. Monasteries and Sketes of the Holy Mountain. A Photographic Record from 1870*, Thessalonica 1996, 49-49, no. 16).



The Monastery of St. Paul as in August 2016.  
Photograph of the author.

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## INTRODUCTION

Our book offers the reader a diplomatic edition with historical and topographical comment of the medieval Greek and Slavic (prevaillingly Serbian) documents kept in or referring to the Athonite monastery of *Hagiou Pavlou* (St. Paul). These acts were composed during the period 1010-1644 and are 51 in toto. The Greek documents are 31 and the Slavic are 20. Moreover, there are three counterfeits - two Slavic and one Greek.

The earliest medieval archives of the monastery comprise 4 copies of 11th century charters, whose originals were issued during the period 1010-1071 and are kept in other Athonite monasteries. There is also a single original chrysobull of 1259 which has nothing to do with St. Paul but concerns the monastery of Esphigmenou. In reality, the earliest act in the medieval archives of St. Paul pertaining to the monastery itself is a chrysobull of 1378 which corroborated the properties of the Serbian nobleman Radoslav Sabia near Thessalonica. After that date, there are about 40 charters which were issued during the period 1378-1495, but only 3 documents dating from the period 1500-1690. In other words, the real medieval archives of the monastery contain Greek and Slavic acts composed in the period 1378-1495.

The Greek and Serbian documents of St. Paul which we are publishing here could be classified in 14 separate categories:

1. *Late 14th century copies of 11th century documents whose originals are kept in other Athonite monasteries.* We have 4 charters of this type. Three of them pertain to the 11th century Monastery of Bouleuteria which was located to the southeast of St. Paul's present location. These are **acts no. 1** (1010), **no. 2** (1016) and **no. 3** (1030). Moreover, one document concerns the borders of the land of Hieropator which was situated on the northern slope of the Athonite peninsula, in the vicinity of the modern monasteries of Philotheou and Karakallou – this is **act no. 4** (1071). These four acts were certainly copied in 1385-1400, shortly after the Monastery of St. Paul was founded in 1383-1384 by the Serbian noblemen Gerasim Radonja and Anthony Bagaš, and were obviously necessary for determining the borders of the new foundation.

2. *Documents concerning the properties of the Serbian nobleman Radoslav Sabia in the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in Kalamaria, to the southeast of Thessalonica.* Sabia bequeathed these estates to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul in 1405 and the charters pertaining to them are **acts no. 6** (1378), **no. 16** and **no. 17** (1405), **no. 18** (1406) and **no. 27** (1419).

3. *Greek decrees (horismoi) of the Ottoman sultans Bayezid I and Mehmed II.* These are **acts no. 9** (1389-1402) and **no. 39** (1451).

4. *Greek and Serbian charters concerning the Monastery of Our Lady Mesonisiotissa near the town of Edessa (Voden).* These are **acts no. 7** (Serbian) and **no. 8** (Greek), which were issued by the Serbian nobleman Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin in 1385, and **act no. 13** which was signed by a certain Demetrios Komnenos in 1401-1402.

5. *Athonite Greek acts which were translated into Serbian for the needs of the congregation of St. Paul.* In this case the numbers of the documents are followed by the letter A, which denotes the Greek prototype, and by the letter B, which refers to its Serbian translation. Such are **acts nos. 10 A** and **10 B** (1399), **23 A** and **23 B** (1409), **act no. 48. Serbian act no. 16** (1580), which is a partial translation of Greek **act no. 11** (1400) and the **false act nos. 51 A** and **51 B** (presumably issued in 1469).

6. *Serbian charters describing donations of estates and income made to the Monastery of St. Paul in Serbia.* Such are **acts nos. 24. Serbian act no. 4** (1410), **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5** (1419), **act no. 30. Serbian act no. 6** (before 1429), **act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7** (after July 1429), **act no. 34. Serbian act no. 10** (1434), **act no. 36. Serbian act no. 11** (1438), **act no. 42. Serbian act no. 13** (1456) and **act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14** (1466).

7. *Serbian translations of imperial Byzantine documents whose Greek prototypes are lost.* These are **acts no. 32. Serbian act no. 8** (1429-1430) and **no. 33. Serbian act no. 9** (1431).

8. *Documents sanctioning the independence of the Monastery of St. Paul from the Monastery of Xeropotamou.* These are Greek **act no. 10 A** and its Serbian translation **10 B** (1399).

9. *Acts referring to the boundary between St. Paul and the neighboring Monastery of Dionysiou.* These are **acts no. 11** and **no. 12** (1400), **no. 14** and **no. 15** (1403), and **act no. 48. Serbian act no. 16** (1580).

10. *Byzantine imperial document concerning the properties of St. Paul in the peninsula of Kassandra.* These are **acts no. 19** (1407), **no. 20** (1407), **no. 21** (1408), **no. 22** (1409), **no. 25** (1415), **no. 26** (1417) and **no. 38** (1445).

11. *Athonite documents referring to monastic cells (kellia) inside Mount Athos.* These are **acts no. 23 A** and its Slavic translation **23 B**, **no. 29** (1423), **no. 41** (1456) and **no. 49. Serbian act no. 17** (1644).

12. *Byzantine imperial documents concerning a dependency which St. Paul possessed in the island of Lemnos.* These are **acts no. 32. Serbian act no. 8** (1429-1430), **no. 33. Serbian act no. 9** (1431), **no. 35** (1436-1437) and **no. 37** (1443).

13. *Acts of donation signed by the widow of Sultan Murad II, Mara Branković.* These are **acts no. 44. Serbian act no. 14** (1466) and **no. 45** (1469).

14. *Acts connected with the Monastery of Esphigmenou.* These are **act no. 5** (1259), which is an authentic chrysobull of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos granted to Esphigmenou and containing no references to the Monastery of St. Paul, and the **falsified act no. 51 A** with its Serbian translation **51 B** (deed of sale presumably issued in 1469).

The rules which we followed when transliterating the abbreviations of the medieval Greek texts were those which were proposed by F. Dölger in 1952<sup>1</sup>. We transliterated in English the classical Greek names and terms using the commonly accepted rules for transcription of Ancient Greek. However, in all the cases in which our transliteration does not comply with these rules, the transcribed names and terms are of Slavic, Wallachian or Turkish origin. We transliterated those names using the modern Serbian, Romanian and Turkish national variants of the Latin alphabet. However, our transcription of the medieval Cyrillic Serbian documents was based on the principle that in diplomatic editions the Slavic abbreviations must be reproduced as they appear in the prototype, without being interpreted and restored according to the grammatical rules of the medieval or the modern language.

We take sole blame for all our errors and misjudgement.

*Quod potui, feci, faciant meliora potentes.*

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1. F. Dölger, *Regles à suivre pour l'édition des actes byzantins*, *REB* 10 (1952), 124–128; F. Dölger, *Richtlinien für die Herausgabe byzantinischer Urkunden*, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 7 (1953), 55–60.

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### PERIODICALS

- BBp* = Византійскій временникъ (vol. 1-25) or Византийский временник (vol. 26-)  
*BSl* = Byzantinoslavica  
*Byz* = Byzantion  
*BZ* = Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
*ΓΠ* = Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς  
*CSHB* = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae  
*DOP* = Dumbarton Oaks Papers  
*EB* = Études balkaniques  
*ΕΕΒΣ* = Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν  
*EH* = Études historiques  
*ЗРВИ* = Зборник радова Византолошког института  
*ИЧ* = Историјски часопис (Belgrade)  
*REB* = Revue des études byzantines  
*СнБАН* = Списание на Българската Академия на науките  
*СОЗ* = Светогорска обител Зограф (ed. V. Gjuzelev, I-III, Sofia 1995-1999)  
*ССА* = Стари српски архив (Belgrade 2002-)  
*ССКА* = Споменик Српске Краљевске академије  
*Βυζαντινά/Ἀθωνικά Σύμμεικτα* = Βυζαντινά/Ἀθωνικά Σύμμεικτα τοῦ Κέντρου (Ἰνστιτούτου) Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Athens (1966-)  
*TM* = Travaux et mémoires (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Paris)  
*ХЗ* = Хиландарски зборник

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#### Based on the Cyrillic alphabet:

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## THE ARCHIVES OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF HAGIOU PAVLOU (ST. PAUL)

An Athonite monastery dedicated to St. Paul was first mentioned in the late 10th century. Analysis of the data pertaining to its history can be found in the book of St. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos*, published posthumously by F. Halkin in 1942<sup>1</sup>, in the edition of Xeropotamou Byzantine archives made by J. Bompaire in 1965<sup>2</sup>, and in the edition of the Byzantine archives of the Protaton published by D. Papachrysanthou in 1975 and in 1992<sup>3</sup>. The early years of the two monasteries were also examined in an article of P. Gounaridis published in 1989<sup>4</sup>. The history of the monastery during the 14th and 15th century was extensively commented by G. Subotić in 1983, 1987 and 1995<sup>5</sup>, and by Ph. Kutzageorgis in 2002<sup>6</sup>.

However, the Greek and Slavic archives of the Monastery of St. Paul have never been published as a whole. Lists of several Greek and Slavic acts kept in the monastery were made in 1847 by the Archimandrite P. Uspenskij<sup>7</sup>, in 1861 by V. Langlois<sup>8</sup>, in 1865 by K. Dmitriev-Petkovič<sup>9</sup> and in 1903 by K. Vlachos<sup>10</sup>. Separate documents were published in 1863 by S. Kalligas<sup>11</sup>, in 1870 by D. Pistis<sup>12</sup>, in 1903 by G. Smyrnakis<sup>13</sup>, in 1912 by S. Lampros<sup>14</sup>, in 1925 by Eulogios Agiopavlitis<sup>15</sup>, in 1926

1. Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 50-143.

2. Xéropotamou, 3-15.

3. Prôtaton, 66-68 and 89; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 186-193.

4. Π. Γουναρίδης, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Παῦλος καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ξεροποτάμου*, (*Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), 135-142.

5. Cf. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, passim; Суботић, *Манастир Богородице Месонисиоутице*, passim; Суботић, *Манастир Светог Павла*, passim.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Ἀἴμνο*, 125-163; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, passim.

7. Успенскій, *Указатель актовъ*, 38 and 50.

8. Langlois, *Le Mont Athos*, 69-70.

9. Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 38-40.

10. Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρόνησος τοῦ Ἄθω*, 235 and 269.

11. Καλλιγᾶς, *Ἄθωνιάς*, 57-59.

12. Πίστης, *Περιγραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 47-49.

13. Σμυρνάκης, *Ἄγιον Ὅρος*, 414-415; Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρόνησος τοῦ Ἄθω*, 235 and 269.

14. Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια*, 231-234 and 238-241.

15. Εὐλόγιος, *Ἀντοκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα*, 679-680, 704-707, 726-727, and

by Eudokimos Xeropotaminos<sup>1</sup>, in 1948 by F. Dölger<sup>2</sup>, in 1949 by A. Každan<sup>3</sup>, in 1954 by Eulogios Kourilas<sup>4</sup>, in 1958-1959 in the periodical *Hagios Pavlos ho Xeropotamites*<sup>5</sup>, in 1964 by J. Bompaire<sup>6</sup>, and in 2002 by N. Papademetriou-Doukas<sup>7</sup>. In the beginning of the 20th century Lj. Stojanović published several Serbian acts of St. Paul using photographs of the Russian P. Sevastjanov which were taken in the 1860s<sup>8</sup>. A full catalogue of all St. Paul Greek documents was produced by K. Chrysochoidis in 1981<sup>9</sup> and an extensive description of their texts in the form of *epitomai* (summaries) was published by Ph. Kotzageorgis in 2008<sup>10</sup>. In 2001 the latter also produced a comprehensive monograph on St. Paul Ottoman archives<sup>11</sup>. Several Turkish charters kept in the monastery were commented by V. Boškov in 1979<sup>12</sup> and by J. C. Alexander in 1997<sup>13</sup>. A partial edition of St. Paul Serbian documents was made by D. Sindik in 1978<sup>14</sup>, while in 2018 we offered the scholarly public a full edition of the monastery's Slavic archives (1385-1580)<sup>15</sup>. Comprehensive descriptions and translations of the Romanian acts kept in St. Paul (in toto 968 Wallachian and Moldavian documents dating from the period 1468-1793) were published in Greek by F. Marinescu in 2002<sup>16</sup>.

As far as the classifications of the archives of St. Paul are concerned, the modern archives (18th-20th century) were rearranged in

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786-787.

1. Εὐδόκιμος Ξηροποταμηνός, *Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει Ἄθῳ ἱερά, βασιλική, πατριαρχική καὶ σταυροπηγιακὴ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου (424-1925)*, Thessalonica – Serrhai 1926, 26-27.

2. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 119-120, 127-128 and 254-255.

3. Каждан, *Два поздневизантийских акта*, 317-315.

4. Κουρίλας, *Τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἡσυχαστῶν*, 153-156, 227-228.

5. *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, no. 9 (1958), 44-45, 82-85, 103-108; no. 10 (1959), 8-13.

6. Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Ἀγιορειτικοὶ θεσμοί*, 476-477.

7. Χερόποταμου, 40-50, acts nos. 2 and 3.

8. Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 32 and 49-51.

9. Χρυσοχόδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 251-300.

10. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 9-171.

11. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Ἀἴμνο*, 125-163; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, passim.

12. Boškov, *Ein Nišan des Prinzen Orhan*, 127-152.

13. Alexander, *The Lord Giveth and the Lord Taketh Away*, 149-200.

14. Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 183-205.

15. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 137-251.

16. Φ. Μαρινέσκου, *Ρουμανικὰ ἐγγράφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους. Ἀρχεῖο Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, Athens 2002, 11-600.

accordance with their topic in the 1920s by the librarian Bessarion.

In the 1950s the librarian Theodosios classified the Byzantine, Serbian and Wallachian documents of the monastery by putting them in large paper folders and giving them numbers which remained unchanged in the later classifications.

The third classification took place in 1980 and was carried out by Kr. Chrysochoisis, on behalf of the Center for Byzantine Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

The Turkish archives were systematized in the 1980s by B. Dimitriadis, while the Romanian archives were rearranged in the 1990s by F. Marinescu<sup>1</sup>.

As far as the medieval library of St. Paul is concerned, in 1875 the Russian archimandrite Leonid Kavelin published in Moscow a catalogue of the Slavic manuscripts of St. Paul<sup>2</sup>. According to this catalogue, by the mid-19th century the Slavic library of St. Paul was comparable in content and size with the Slavic libraries of the Athonite Slavic monastic houses of Zographou, Chilandar and St. Panteleimon. In 1902, however, about 120 Slavic books of St. Paul were destroyed by fire<sup>3</sup>. In 2014 St Paul's library was briefly commented by Lj. Puzović<sup>4</sup>. Fortunately, one of the most representative medieval Bulgarian manuscripts, which is presently kept in the British Museum, the lavishly illuminated *Gospel of the Bulgarian Czar John Alexander*, was taken from the Monastery of St. Paul by Robert Curson in 1837<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 18-21.

2. Леонидъ, *Славяносербскія книгохранилища*, 34-52.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 13.

4. Љ. Пузовић, Библиотека Манастира Светог Павла на Светој Гори, *Читалиште* 14 (Belgrade, November 2014), 45-53.

5. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1916-1920*, London 1933, 99-101. See also Б. Филовъ, *Миниатюритъ на Лондонското евангелие на царъ Иван Александра*, Sofia 1934; А. Джурова -И. Дуйчев, *Славянски ръкописи от Британския музей и библиотека (Slavonic Manuscripts from the British Museum and Library)*, Sofia 1977, no. 4 and pl. X-XV; Л. Живкова, *Четвороевангелието на цар Иван-Александър*, Sofia 1980, 45-46; Е. Дограмаджиева, История на богослужбения апарат в Четириевангелието на цар Иван Александър, *Старобългаристика (Palaeobulgarica)* 31/3, Sofia 2007, 3-40.

LIST OF THE GREEK AND SLAVIC DOCUMENTS OF ST.  
PAUL FROM THE PERIOD 1010-1644

**Act no. 1.** GUARANTEE OF THE SUPERIOR OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF MEGISTE LAVRA, THEODORETOS, CONCERNING THE AUTONOMY OF THE MONASTERY OF BOULEUTERIA, April, *indiction* 8th [1010].

**Act no. 2.** ACT OF THE PROTOS NIKEPHOROS CONCERNING THE BORDER BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF XEROPOTAMOU AND BOULEUTERIA, Second half of August 6524 (1016), *indiction* 14.

**Act no. 3.** DOCUMENT OF THE SUPERIOR OF MEGISTE LAVRA, ATHANASIOS, CONCERNING A VINEYARD ADJACENT TO THE MONASTERY OF BOULEUTERIA, March, *indiction* 13, 6538 (1030).

**Act no. 4.** DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* PAUL CONCERNING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND OF HIEROPATOR, May 6579 (1071), *indiction* 9.

**Act no. 5.** CHRYSOBULL OF MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF THE MONASTERY OF ESPHIGMENOU, June 6767 (1259), *indiction* 2.

**Act no. 6.** CHRYSOBULL OF ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THAT RADOSLAV SABIA WAS THE LEGAL OWNER OF THE ABANDONED VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION NEAR THESALONICA, November 6887 (1378), *indiction* 2.

**Act no. 7. Serbian act no. 1.** FRAGMENT FROM AN ACT OF DONATION ISSUED BY NICHOLAS BAGAŠ BALDOVIN IN FAVOUR OF THE MONASTERY OF OUR LADY NISIOTISA NEAR EDESSA (VODEN), before March 1385.

**Act no. 8.** ACT OF DONATION CONCERNING PROPERTIES IN AND AROUND THE TOWN OF EDESSA (VODEN) BEQUEATHED BY NICHOLAS PAGASIS TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, March 6893 (1385), *indiction* 9th.

**Act no. 9.** DECREE OF SULTAN BAYEZIT I CONFIRMING THAT THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL WAS THE LEGAL POSSESSOR OF THE MONASTERY OF MESONISIOTISSA NEAR EDESSA, between 1389 and 1402.

**Act no. 10 A. Greek prototype.** ACT OF THE *PROTOS* NEOPHYTOS SANCTIONING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL FROM THE MONASTERY OF XEROPOTAMOU, November 6908 (1399), *indiction* 8th.

**Act no. 10 B. Serbian act no. 2. Translation of Greek act no. 10 A.** SERBIAN TRANSLATION OF THE ACT OF THE *PROTOS* NEOPHYTOS SANCTIONING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL FROM THE MONASTERY OF XEROPOTAMOU, November 6908 (1399), *indiction* 8th.

**Act no. 11.** DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* GENNADIOS CONCERN-

ING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 6909 (**1400**), *indiction* 9th.

**Act no. 12.** DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* GENNADIOS SETTling A TERRITORIAL DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 6909 (**1400**), *indiction* 9th.

**Act no. 13.** DEED CONCERNING THE SALE OF LAND TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL BY DEMETRIOS KOMNENOS, 6910 (**1401-1402**), *indiction* 10.

**Act no. 14.** *SIGILLIODES GRAMMA* OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCH MATTHEW I SETTling A BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, September 12, 6912 (**1403**), *indiction* 12.

**Act no. 15.** LETTER OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCH MATTHEW I CONCERNING A BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 6912 (**1403**), *indiction* 12.

**Act no. 16.** ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN RADOSLAV SABIA DONATING PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, June 1, 6913 (**1405**), *indiction* 13.

**Act no. 17.** CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S DONATION OF PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, June 6913 (**1405**), *indiction* 13th.

**Act no. 18.** *PROSTAGMA* OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS RECONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S DONATION OF PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, October of the 15th *indiction* [**1406**].

**Act no. 19.** *PROSTAGMA* OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING THE VILLAGE OF HAGIOS PAVLOS (ST. PAUL) IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, January 24, (**1407**) *indiction* 15th.

**Act no. 20.** CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS REFERRING TO DONATIONS WHICH SEVERAL ATHONITE MONASTERIES HAD RECEIVED BY HIM IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, February 6915 (**1407**), *indiction* 15th.

**Act no. 21.** CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING A DONATION IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA WHICH HE HAD MADE TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, June 6915 (**1408**), *indiction* 1st.

**Act no. 22.** *PROSTAGMA* OF THE EMPEROR MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS VALIDATING A DONATION MADE TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, January 6917 (**1409**), *indiction* 2nd.

**Act no. 23 A. Greek prototype.** ACT OF THE *PROTOS* SIMON GRANTING THE KELLION OF SOTIRIOTIS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST.

PAUL, November 6918 (**1409**), *indiction* 3rd.

**Act no. 23 B. Serbian act no. 3. Translation of Greek act no. 23**

A. SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A GREEK ACT ISSUED BY THE *PROTOS* SIMON FOR THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, November 3, 6918 (**1409**).

**Act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.** ACT OF THE SERBIAN ARISTOCRATS, GEORGE AND LAZAR BRANKOVIĆ AND THEIR MOTHER MARA, DONATING TO ST. PAUL THE VILLAGE OF KUZMINO ON THE SITNICA RIVER, October 14, 6919 (**1410**).

**Act no. 25.** *HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL LAND IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, February 2, 6923 (**1415**)

**Act no. 26.** *HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL LAND OF 30 *ZEUGARIA* IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, March 6925 (**1417**), *indiction* 10th.

**Act no. 27.** *HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION IN KALAMARIA, September 6928 (**1419**), *indiction* 13th.

**Act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5.** ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL THE VILLAGES OF DOBRAŠEVCE, VRANIN DOL AND PATEI, November 15, 6928 (**1419**), *indiction* 13th.

**Act no. 29.** ACT OF THE *PROTOS* MALACHIAS GRANTING LIMITED AUTONOMY TO THE MONASTIC CELL (*KELLION*) OF PHILOGONOU IN KARYAI, May 6931 (**1423**), *indiction* 1.

**Act no. 30. Serbian act no. 6.** ACT OF DONATION ISSUED FOR THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL BY THE SERBIAN NUN MAKRINA, before **1429**.

**Act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7.** ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ CONFIRMING THE DONATION OF THE VILLAGE OF GORNJA PEŠČANICA NEAR BRANIČEVO WHICH THE *ČELNIK* RADIČ HAD MADE TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, after July **1429**.

**Act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8.** SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A *HORISMOS* PROMULGATED BY THE EMPEROR JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS FOR THE LAND OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS, 6938 (September 1, **1429** - August 31, **1430**).

**Act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9.** SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF AN ACT WHICH THE DESPOT DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS HAD ISSUED IN ORDER TO CONFIRM THE CESSION OF TWO SHEEPFOLDS IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, February 6939 (**1431**), *indiction* 9th.

**Act no. 34. Serbian act no. 10.** ACT OF THE MONK SAVATIE WHO ADOPTED A PRIEST NAMED BOGDAN AND DECLARED HIM HIS HEIR,

September 4, 6943 (**1434**).

**Act no. 35.** CHRYSOBULL GRANTED TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL BY THE EMPEROR JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS FOR ITS PROPERTY IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS, 6945 (**1436-1437**), *indiction* 15th.

**Act no. 36. Serbian act no. 11.** DEED SIGNED BY RADOSAVA, WIFE OF RADONJA MIRKOVIĆ, WHO IS SELLING TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL HER HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF TREPČA, January 9, 6946 (**1438**).

**Act no. 37.** DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE LEASE OF THE DEPENDENCY WHICH THE MONASTERY OF XENOPHONTOS POSSESSED IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, October 13, 6952 (**1443**), *indiction* 7.

**Act no. 38.** DELIMITATION OF THE DEPENDENCY WHICH THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL POSSESSED IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, April 23, 6953 (**1445**)

**Act no. 39.** *HORISMOS* OF THE OTTOMAN SULTAN MEHMED II FATIH FOR THE LAND OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, September 25, *indiction* 15th [**1451**].

**Act no. 40. Serbian act no. 12.** ACT OF NOVAK AND HIS WIFE JELA WHO ARE DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL ONE HALF OF A HOUSE WHICH THEY POSSESSED IN AN UNSPECIFIED SETTLEMENT, April 7, 6961 (**1453**)

**Act no. 41.** DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* SERAPION PERTAINING TO THE *KELLION* OF PHILOGONIOU IN KARYAI, July 6964 (**1456**).

**Act no. 42. Serbian act no. 13.** ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ AND HIS SON LAZAR DONATING TO THE METROPOLITAN OF GRAČANICA BENEDICT THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE AT THE VILLAGE OF VRAČEVŠTICA IN CENTRAL SERBIA, September 6, 6965 (**1456**).

**Act no. 43.** DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTIES OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS COMPOSED BY A TAX OFFICIAL NAMED KANTAKOUZENOS, January 11, 6971 (**1463**).

**Act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14.** ACT OF MARA BRANKOVIĆ GRANTING THE INCOME WHICH SHE WAS ENTITLED TO RECEIVE FROM THE VILLAGES OF EŽEVO AND MRVINCE TO THE MONASTERIES OF CHILANDAR AND ST. PAUL, May 21, 6974 (**1466**).

**Act no. 45.** ACT OF DONATION SIGNED BY MARO BRANKOVIĆ WHO BOUGHT AND BESTOWED ON THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL A TOWER IN THE ISTHMUS OF PROVLAKAS, March 1, 6977 (**1469**).

**Act no. 46. Serbian act no. 15.** ACT OF THE SERBIAN *DESPOTICA* ANGELINA AND HER SONS, THE DESPOTS GEORGE AND JOHN, GRANTING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL A YEARLY SUBSIDY OF 500 GOLDEN COINS, November 3, **1495**.

**Act no. 47.** SIGILLIODES GRAMMA OF THE METROPOLITAN OF THESSALONICA THEONAS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN

THE DEPENDENCIES OF THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND XENOPHONTOS IN KALAMARIA, November 7046 (**1538**), *indiction* 12th.

**Act no. 48. Serbian act no. 16.** SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF AN EARLIER GREEK DEMARCATION OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 7089 (**1580**), *indiction* 9th.

**Act no. 49. Serbian act no. 17.** SERBIAN ACT OF SALE (*HOMOLOGIA*) CONCERNING THE MONASTIC CELL (*KELLION*) OF ST. THEODORE IN KARYAI, March 30, 7152 (**1644**)

**Act no. 50. Counterfeited Serbian act.** FALSIFIED ACT ATTRIBUTED TO THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN STEPHEN GREGORY (STEFAN GRGUR) AND HIS BROTHERS, STEPHEN GEORGE (STEFAN GJURG) AND LAZAR, date mentioned in the text: October 3, 6922 (**1413**).

**Act no. 51 A. Counterfeited act of sale - Greek prototype.** FALSE GREEK OF SALE PRESUMABLY SIGNED BY THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND ESPHIGMENOU, date mentioned in the text: March 1, 6977 (**1469**).

**Act no. 51 B. Serbian translation of the counterfeited Greek act no. 51 A.** SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A FALSE GREEK ACT OF SALE PRESUMABLY SIGNED BY THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND ESPHIGMENOU, date mentioned in the text: March 1, 6977 (**1469**).

## CHRONOLOGY AND PROSOPOGRAPHY OF ST. PAUL FROM 1010 TO 1580

In the late 10th and the early 11th century in Mount Athos there were two monasteries which were both known as *St. Paul* or *Xeropotamou*. The earlier one was also called *St. Nikephoros* and was the direct predecessor of what is today the Monastery of Xeropotamou. It was founded before 956 by a monk named Paul who in 970-971 played an important role in the protests of the Athonite monks against the cenobitic order of monastic life introduced in Mount Athos by St. Athanasios of Megiste Lavra<sup>1</sup>.

Shortly before 980 at the place of the modern Monastery of St. Paul appeared a minor monastic house, which was also called the Monastery of Xeropotamou or of St. Paul. It was founded by the same Paul who had earlier organized the protest against St. Athanasios. This person kept on being a superior of the new foundation at least until 996.

After 996 abbot of St. Paul became another Paul who was certainly a disciple of the former<sup>2</sup>. In 1007 he signed a charter which is presently kept in the Monastery of Iviron: Παῦλος μοναχὸς τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου<sup>3</sup>. However, another document of Iviron, which was issued in 1013 for a monk named Niketas Skordeas, makes it clear that the second superior of St. Paul was illiterate: Παῦλος μοναχὸς ὁ Ξηροποταμίτης μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα, τὸν μὲν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἰδιοχείρως, τὸ δὲ ὕφος διὰ χειρὸς Θεοδούλου τοῦ καὶ γραφέως<sup>4</sup>. This Paul was last mentioned in two acts of Vatopedi composed in 1018: Παῦλος μοναχὸς ὁ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου<sup>5</sup>.

In 1019 abbot of St. Paul was a monk named Neilos<sup>6</sup>.

In 1030 abbot of St. Paul was the monk Anthony<sup>7</sup>.

Along general lines, this is all that we know about the Monastery of St. Paul during the 11th century.

The three earliest documents preserved in the archives of St. Paul were composed in 1010, 1016 and 1030. They pertained to the property of the early 11th century Monastery of Bouleuteria, which was located to the south of what is today the Monastery of St. Paul, and to

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1. Cf. Xéropotamou, 3-15; Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 187-191.

2. Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 190, note 58.

3. Iviron I, no. 14, l. 43.

4. Iviron I, no. 19, l. 8-10.

5. Vatopédi I, 80, act no. 4, l. 52 and act no. 5, l. 20, 44.

6. Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 190.

7. Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 191.

its relations with the neighbouring monasteries of Xeropotamou and Megiste Lavra<sup>1</sup>. These acts are preserved as copies authenticated by Isidoros Glavas, a clergyman who was the metropolitan of Thessalonica from May 1380 to September 1384 and from October 1385 to January 1396<sup>2</sup>. Given the fact that the abandoned Monastery of St. Paul was restored by the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja in 1383-1384<sup>3</sup>, the two aristocrats must have produced the three copies to Isidoros Glavas, in order to be confirmed as authentic, during the period between 1385 and 1396. Evidently, Bagaš and Radonja needed these certified copies in order to clarify the boundaries of St. Paul.

The prototype of the fourth charter kept in the archives of St. Paul was composed in **1071** and referred to the land of a certain Hieropator, which was situated on the north slope of the central ridge of Mount Athos, in the vicinity of the modern monasteries of Karakallou and Philotheou, and was claimed by Vatopedi. This prototype is kept in Vatopedi, while St. Paul possesses only a copy authenticated by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, Gregory V, shortly before 1821<sup>4</sup>.

The fifth act kept in St. Paul is an authentic chrysobull promulgated by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in **1259**. It confirmed all the possessions of the monastery of Esphigmenou and had nothing to do with St. Paul<sup>5</sup>. Most probably St. Paul acquired this charter in 1469 when the Serbian aristocrat, Mara Branković, bought and donated to St. Paul a dependency of Esphigmenou located in the isthmus of Prov-lakas, to the northwest of the Holy Mountain<sup>6</sup>.

In **1329** an document kept in the Monastery of Kutlumus makes it clear that by that time the Monastery of St. Paul had no superior of its own: *πολλὰς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σεβασμίων μονῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐλαχίστων καὶ μὴ πολλῆς τινὸς φιλοτιμίας ἀξιωμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ περιφανῶν καταπεσοῦσας ὁ μακρὸς ἡμῖν ἔδειξε χρόνος, ἥτοι γὰρ τῷ μῆκει τῶν ἐτῶν ἀποκαμοῦσαι, ἢ ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνωμαλίαις, ἢ ταῖς συνεχέσιν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ βαρβαρικαῖς ἐφόδοις ... πτωμα γεγονάσι δακρῶν φιλοθέοις ψυχαῖς ἄξιον, ὥστε μὴ δὲ λείψανόν τι γοῦν πρὸς μνήμην τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐτρεπείας ὑπολελειῖφθαι. Τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου λεγομένη τοῦ Ξηροποταμηνοῦ, τοιαύτη ἢ τῶν*

1. See our acts nos. **1**, **2** and **3**.

2. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 69-71 and 295.

3. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 132-133.

4. See our act no. **4**.

5. See our act no. **5**.

6. See our act no. **45**.

Βουλευτηρίων, ἡ τοῦ Ζυγοῦ, ἡ τοῦ Κολωβοῦ, ἡ τοῦ Ποιμένους<sup>1</sup>.

In **1347** a Slavic signature of a representative of St. Paul named **Pahomie** appeared in a document of Chilandar: **СВЕТАГО ПАВЛА ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΠΑΧΟΜΙΕ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧῆ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝῆ**<sup>2</sup>. However, the document is a counterfeit and this fact is easily proved by its reference to the Monastery of Grigoriou, which was founded several decades later, in the 1420s. Consequently, the mention of Pahomie of St. Paul in 1347 must be ignored as a product of a forgery.

The sixth document preserved in St. Paul is an authentic chryso-bull of the Emperor Andronikos IV Palaiologos promulgated in **1378** in order to confirm that the Serbian nobleman **Radoslav Sabia**<sup>3</sup> was the legal owner of the abandoned villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria near Thessalonica<sup>4</sup>. In 1405 Sabia donated one half of these villages to the Monastery of St. Paul<sup>5</sup>.

The last quarter of the 14th century was the period when the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja embarked on renovating and repopulating the abandoned Monastery of St. Paul<sup>6</sup>. They were the first monks of St. Paul who were of undisputed Slavic origin and their generous donations to the monastery must have motivated numerous Serbian monks to join them<sup>7</sup>. The abandoned Monastery of St. Paul was restored by Bagaš and Radonja in **1383-1384**<sup>8</sup>,

Before March **1385** the Serbian nobleman Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin made a donation to the Monastery of Our Lady Nisiotisa which was situated near the town of Edessa (Voden) in southern Macedonia<sup>9</sup>.

In March **1385** the abbot of the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul, **Anthony Pagasis** (in religion **Arsenius**) received as a donation from his brother, **Nicholas Baldovin Pagasis**, the Monastery of Messonisiotissa

1. Kutlumus, no. 15, l. 34-41; Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 212.

2. *Actes de Chilandar (actes grecs)*, no. 136, l. 91; Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 125-126.

3. PLP, no. 24781; Бубало, *Радослав Сабља*, 459-463.

4. See our **act no. 6**.

5. See our **acts nos. 16**.

6. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 132-133.

7. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 214-232; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 133.

8. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 132-133.

9. See our **act no. 7. Serbian act no. 1**.

and its properties near the town of Edessa<sup>1</sup>.

In **1399** the new founders (*ktitores*) of St. Paul, **Gerasimos Radonia** and **Anthony Pagasis** were mentioned in a Greek document of the *protos* Neophytos which certified that they had legally bought the monastic cell (*kellion*) of St. Paul from the Monastery of Xeropotamou. Shortly after November **1399**, the monks of St. Paul translated this document into Serbian, because it sanctioned the independence of their foundation from the Monastery of Xeropotamou<sup>2</sup>.

In **1400** the abbot of St. Paul, **Anthony**, asked for assistance the *protos* of Mount Athos, Gennadios, and the latter successfully settled a territorial difference which St. Paul had with the neighbouring Monastery of Dionysiou<sup>3</sup>.

In **1401-1402** the abbot of St. Paul, **Anthony**, bought from the layman Demetrios Komnenos the terrain surrounding the church of Our Lady Eleousa in Edessa, which his monastery had acquired in 1385<sup>4</sup>.

In **1403** a monk named **Gerasimos** (the founder or *ktitor* Gerasim Radonja was already dead) represented the Monastery of St. Paul in a dispute which it had with the Monastery of Dionysiou before the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, Matthew I, who successfully reconciled the two opponents<sup>5</sup>.

In **1405** the aforementioned Serbian nobleman and servant (*oikeios*) of the Byzantine emperor, **Radoslav Sabia**<sup>6</sup>, granted to St. Paul one half of the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion, which he possessed in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria, to the southeast of Thessalonica<sup>7</sup>.

In June **1405** and in October **1406** **Anthony Pagasis** was mentioned as abbot of St. Paul in two documents (*chrysobull* and *prostagma*) of the Emperor John VII Palaiologos confirming the donation of property in Kalamaria which the Serbian nobleman Radoslav Sabia had made to his monastery<sup>8</sup>.

In **1406** the abbot of St. Paul, **Theodoulos**, signed a Slavic act kept in Vatopedi: **εΓΣΜΕΝ' С(ВЕ)ΤΟΠΑВЕЛ'СКІИ КΥΡ ΦΕΩΔΟΥΛ'Ψ**. Anthony Pagasis had

1. See our **act no. 8**.

2. See our **act no. 10 A**. Greek prototype and its Serbian translation - **act 10 B**. Serbian act no. 2.

3. See our **acts nos. 11** and **12**.

4. See our **act no. 13**.

5. See our **acts nos. 14** and **15**.

6. PLP, no. 24781; Бубало, *Радослав Сабља*, 459-463.

7. See our **acts nos. 6** and **16**.

8. See our **acts nos. 17** and **18**.

9. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἴγιον Ὄρος*, 126.

evidently died before 1406 and his successor, Theodoulos, seems to have been of Serbian origin.

In **1407** Theodoulos was mentioned as an abbot of St. Paul in a *prostagma* of the Emperor John VII Palaiologos which granted to his monastery the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in the peninsula of Kassandra<sup>1</sup>.

In **1407** the Emperor John VII Palaiologos promulgated a chryso-bull referring to donations which several Athonite monasteries had received by him in the peninsula of Kassandra. The monasteries of Pantocrator in Constantinople and the Athonite monasteries of Megiste Lavra, Vatopedi and Xeropotamou were entitled to receive 4/24 of the tithe on the products cultivated in the peninsula of Kassandra. The monastery of St. John the Baptist in Thessalonica was entitled to receive 5/24 of the tithe, and the Athonite monastery of St. Paul 3/24<sup>2</sup>.

In **1408** the Emperor John VII Palaiologos confirmed with a chryso-bull the donation of the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in the peninsula of Kassandra, which he had made to the Athonite monastery of St. Paul in 1407. Abbot of the monastery was again the monk Theodoulos<sup>3</sup>.

In January **1409** the monks of St. Paul requested the new Emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos, to reconfirm their possession of the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in the peninsula of Kassandra and their request was satisfied with a new imperial decree (*prostagma*)<sup>4</sup>.

In November **1409** the superior of St. Paul, Theodoulos, requested the *protos* of Mount Athos, Simon, to cede to his foundation the abandoned monastic cell (*kellion*) of Sotiriotis. Simon agreed and issued a confirmative document which the monks of St. Paul translated into Serbian<sup>5</sup>.

In October **1410** the Serbian aristocrats George and Lazar Branković and their mother Mara donated to St. Paul the village of Kuzmino near the River Sitnica in Serbia<sup>6</sup>.

In February **1415** the Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, issued a *horismos* granting to St. Paul the terrain of Sourou

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1. See our act no. 19.

2. See our act no. 20.

3. See our act no. 21.

4. See our act no. 22.

5. See our act no. 23 A. Greek prototype and its Serbian translation - act 23 B. Serbian act no. 3.

6. See our act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.

in the peninsula of Kassandra<sup>1</sup>.

In March **1417** the Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, ceded to St. Paul 30 *zeugaria* of land near the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in the peninsula of Kassandra<sup>2</sup>.

In September **1419** the Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, issued a decree (*horismos*) which confirmed that St. Paul possessed the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria<sup>3</sup>.

In November **1419**, the Serbian nobleman George Branković donated to the abbot of St. Paul **Pamvo** and his monastery the villages of Dobraševce, Vranin Dol and Patei in the district around Priština and Podujevo in Serbia<sup>4</sup>. Later the monks of St. Paul fabricated a false act which they attributed to the Serbian noblemen Stephen Gregory (Stefan Grgur) and his brothers, Stephen George (Stefan Gjurg) and Lazar. This counterfeit claimed that these Serbian aristocrats had donated to St. Paul the villages of Dobraševce, Vranin Dol and Patei in Serbia<sup>5</sup>. This fake was allegedly issued on October 3, **1413**, and was based on the authentic act of George Branković of November 1419.

In **1419** the monks of St. Paul composed in Serbian a list of the villages and the dependencies which their monastery possessed<sup>6</sup>.

In **1425-1426** two monks of St. Paul, **Jacob** and **Benedict**, were mentioned in a note preserved in a manuscript which is presently kept in Moscow. The codex contained works of St. John Chrysostom which were translated into Slavic by the monk Jacob in 1426. The translation was made in Mount Athos and was commissioned by a priest-monk named Benedict. Based on a posterior note, in 1655 the archimandrite of St. Paul Ananias gave this manuscript to the well known emissary of the Russian Patriarch Nikon, Arsenij Suhanov. As until 1625 the manuscript was kept in St. Paul, it would be logical to assume that in 1425-1426 Jacob and Benedict probably resided in the same Athonite foundation<sup>7</sup>. Based on the Slavic orthography of the manuscript, Jacob was of Serbian origin<sup>8</sup>. The situation with Benedict is quite similar, because a note preserved in another Slavic manuscript of St. John

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1. See our **act no. 25**.

2. See our **act no. 26**.

3. See our **act no. 27**.

4. See our **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5**.

5. See our **act no. 50. Counterfeited Serbian act**.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

7. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 149-151.

8. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 126-127 and 247, no. 63.

Chrysostom kept in Moscow states that the book was translated “from Greek into Serbian” on Mount Athos by the priest Benedict in 1425. In his note Benedict explicitly stated that his permanent residence was the Monastery of Leštjani in Serbia<sup>1</sup>. The mention of a Slav named Benedict in two coeval Athonite Slavic codices could hardly be a coincidence, so our opinion is that both manuscripts refer to the same Benedict who in 1425-1426 temporarily resided in St. Paul. Based on the second note, Benedict was of Serbian ancestry.

In **1423** the *protos* Malachias approved the autonomous status of the monastic cell (*kellion*) of Philogonou in Karyai<sup>2</sup> which later became the property of St. Paul.

Before **1429** a nun named Makrina donated to St. Paul the church of St. Nicholas which was situated in the village of Strelci near Mount Čičavica in Kosovo<sup>3</sup>.

After July **1429** the Serbian Despot George Branković confirmed the donation to St. Paul of the village of Gornja Peščanica near Braničevo and the Danube made by the Serbian military commander the *čelnik* Radič<sup>4</sup>.

In **1429-1430** the brother of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Demetrios Palaiologos, took from the Athonite monastery of St. Paul a loan of 300 Venetian florins and, in return, ceded to it royal land of 4 *zeugaria* in the abandoned village of Vounadi and the sheepfold of St. Theodore at the locality Phakos. Both properties were located in the island of Lemnos. John VIII confirmed the validity of this transaction with an imperial decree (*horismos*) whose Greek prototype is lost. The only surviving variant of this charter is its Serbian translation<sup>5</sup>.

In February **1431** the monks of St. Paul received from the Despot of Lemnos, Demetrios Palaiologos, a document ceding to them two sheepfolds in the island of Lemnos, that of Apelmele and an abandoned one which belonged to a dependency of the Athonite monastery of Pantocrator. For these dependencies the monks of St. Paul paid to the despot 70 Venetian florins. The Greek prototype of this document is lost and its only surviving variant is its Serbian translation<sup>6</sup>.

In September **1434**, the Serbian monk Savatie adopted the priest

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1. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 127 and 247-248, no. 64.

2. See our act no. 29.

3. See our act no. 30. Serbian act no. 6.

4. See our act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7.

5. See our act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8.

6. See our act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9.

Bogdan and declared him his heir. Savatie bequeathed to Bogdan one half of a house which was situated in a suburb of the medieval Serbian mining centre of Novo Brdo<sup>1</sup>. It is not clear why this document was delivered to the archives of St. Paul.

In **1436-1437** the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos confirmed with a chrysobull all the property which the Monastery of St. Paul possessed in the island of Lemnos. It comprised royal land of 4 *zeugaria* near the village of Vouneades, the sheepfolds of St. Theodore and Rhodakinaia, a third sheepfold which was situated at the locality Phakos, and the land of the serf (*paroikos*) Rodampelos. These estates were exempted from all taxes<sup>2</sup>.

In January **1438** a certain Radosava, wife of Radonja Mirković, sold to the Monastery of St. Paul her house in the village of Trepča near Kosovska Mitrovica, in what is today Kosovo<sup>3</sup>.

In October **1443** the monks of of Xenophontos rented for 20 years to the monastery of St. Paul their dependency in the island of Lemnos. The rent was 200 *aspra* (*akçe*) per year<sup>4</sup>.

In April **1445** the monks of St. Paul composed a delimitation (*periorismos*) of their property in the peninsula of Kassandra<sup>5</sup>.

In **1449** the *dikaiou*<sup>6</sup> of St. Paul, **Zacharias**, signed in Slavic a document kept in Vatopedi: **свещенніе ѡбитѣли свѣтопавлъскыє санѣренїи дикїє и іеромонах захарїа**<sup>7</sup>. The transcription of the Greek word *dikaiou* with an explicitly marked palatal pronunciation (*dikje*) indicates that Zaharia's mother tongue was most probably Serbian.

In September **1451** the monks of St. Paul appeared in front of Sultan Mehmed II stating that the other Athonite monks had taken over the land on which they were pasturing their buffaloes and which they possessed since the time of Mehmed's father, Murad II. Mehmed II ordered the *protos* of Mount Athos to restore the usurped property of St. Paul to its initial owner<sup>8</sup>.

In April **1453**, a certain Novak and his wife Ela donated to the Monastery of St. Paul one half of a house which they possessed in an

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1. See our **act no. 34. Serbian act no. 10.**

2. See our **act no. 35.**

3. See our **act no. 36. Serbian act no. 11.**

4. See our **act no. 37.**

5. See our **act no. 38.**

6. This term is used to denote the superior of a non cenobitic monastery.

7. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 127-128.

8. See our **act no. 39.**

unspecified settlement<sup>1</sup>.

In July **1456** the monks of St. Paul restored to the authority of the Athonite *protos* the *kellion* of Philogoniou which they had acquired at an unknown date after 1423<sup>2</sup>.

In September **1456** the Serbian Despot George Branković and his son Lazar donated to the metropolitan of Gračanica, Benedict Crepović, a church dedicated to St. George which was situated in the village of Vračevštica in central Serbia. Crepović must have taken refuge in St. Paul after the final collapse of the Serbian state in 1459<sup>3</sup>.

In **1461-1462** abbot of St. Paul was the Serbian priest-monk Theophanes who commissioned a monk named Athanasios to copy a Slavic manuscript containing works of St. John Chrysostom. It had been translated from the Greek original by the abbot of St. Paul, Anthony Pagasis, in the beginning of the 15th century<sup>4</sup>.

In January **1463** a tax official named Kantakouzenos registered and delimited all the possessions of St. Paul in the island of Lemnos. They comprised the church of St. George in the village of Vounaiades, the land of Michael Phokas, the agricultural terrain of Vouzmas, the estate of John Rodampelos, 400 *modioi* of land at various localities, the ruined house of one Langadiotis, the sheepfolds of St. Theodore and Rhodakinea in the peninsula of Phakos, and land of 2 *zeugaria* at the locality Kontovrakion. As the last estate was not yet listed in the tax catalogues, Kantakouzenos replaced it with the estate of Kotavos. Moreover, St. Paul had the right to pasture in Lemnos 500 sheep which were exempted from the *ennomion* tax<sup>5</sup>.

In May **1466**, the daughter of the Serbian Despot George Branković, Mara, ceded the income which she was receiving from the villages of Eževo and Mravince near Serrhai to the Athonite monasteries of Chilandar and St. Paul. The document describing her cession was composed in the presence of the ex-abbot of St. Paul Theophanes and the monks Symeon and Theodosios<sup>6</sup>.

In March **1469** the aforementioned Mara Branković, widow of Murad II, bought from Esphigmenou and bestowed on St. Paul a depen-

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1. See our act no. 40. Serbian act no. 12.

2. See our acts nos. 41 and 29.

3. See our act no. 42. Serbian act no. 13.

4. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 226; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωμική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

5. See our act no. 43.

6. See our act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14.

dency and a tower in the isthmus of Provlakas<sup>1</sup>. Later the monks of St. Paul fabricated a false deed of sale which stated that it was their abbot Theophanes and the ex-abbot Barsanouphios who had bought the tower directly from Esphigmenou. This counterfeit reproduced the full text of Mara Branković's genuine act of 1469 omitting her name and inserting in the text a delimitation of the land in question. This Greek fake was also provided with a Serbian translation<sup>2</sup>.

In **1471** the elder of St. Paul Parthenios signed in Greek a document of the *protos* Daniel which is kept in Kastamonitou: Ὁ γέροντας τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου Παρθένιος μοναχ(ός)<sup>3</sup>.

In **1472** the abbot of St. Paul Barsanouphios signed in Greek an act kept in Dionysiou: τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ὁ ἡγούμ(εν)ος Βαρσανούφιος ἱερο(μόν)αχ(ος)<sup>4</sup>.

In **1481** the monk of St. Paul Vitalios signed in Greek a document issued by the Synaxis of Karyai: Ἀπὸ τὸν Ἁγίον Παῦλ(ον) Βητάλιος μοναχός<sup>5</sup>.

In **1489** two monks of St. Paul, David and Christopher, paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax due for the monastery's properties at Sarti, in the peninsula of Sithonia<sup>6</sup>.

In **1493-1494** a monk of St. Paul named Petronios signed in Greek act of the *protos* Ignatios: Ὁ γέροντας τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου Πετρώνιος<sup>7</sup>. In **1494-1496** the same person signed in Slavic a document preserved in Dionysiou: ѿ свѣтаго павла петρωνіе цтрацѣ<sup>8</sup>.

In November **1495**, the Serbian *Despotica* Angelina Arianiti-Branković and her sons, the despots George and John, promised to provide the Monastery of St. Paul with a yearly subsidy of 500 golden coins. Their charter mentioned as an abbot of St. Paul the monk Nikon<sup>9</sup> who in **1501-1505** signed in Slavic a document of the *protos* Leontios kept in the Monastery of Pantocrator: ꙗꙋмєнѣ свѣто павлос никѡн<sup>10</sup>, and

1. See our **act no. 45**.

2. See our **act no. 51 A. Counterfeited Greek act** and its Serbian translation – **act 51 B**.

3. Kastamonitou, act no. 7, l. 27.

4. Dionysiou, act no. 31, l. 24.

5. Dionysiou, act no. 34, l. 21.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

7. Dionysiou, act no. 36, l. 30-31.

8. Dionysiou, no. 38, l. 15.

9. See our **act no. 46. Serbian act no. 15**, and especially l. 15 with the reference to the abbot Nikon.

10. Pantocrator, no. 29, l. 32.

in **1504-1505** an act of the *protos* Moses preserved in Docheiariou: **Ѡ СВЕТАГО ПАВЛА НІКОНЪ ИГЪМННЪ**<sup>1</sup>.

In **1495** a monk of St. Paul named Ioasaph acquired property in the island of Lemnos<sup>2</sup>.

In **1494-1496** the elder of St. Paul Gerasim signed in Slavic an act of the *protos* Ignatios kept in Dionysiou: **СТАРОЦЪ ИЗ СВЕТАГО ПАВЛА ГИРАСИИ МОНАХЪ**<sup>3</sup>.

In **1503** the elder of St. Paul Arsenie signed in Slavic a document settling a difference between the monasteries of St. Panteleimon and Dionysiou: **АРЪСЕНІЕ СТАРОЦЪ СВЕТОПАВЪЛЬСКИ**<sup>4</sup>.

In **1504** the monks of St. Paul, Nektarios and Prokopios, represented their monastery because of a quarrel which it had with Xeropotamou and Megiste Lavra over properties situated at Sarti and Kriaritsi in the peninsula of Sithonia<sup>5</sup>.

In **1504** the monk of St. Paul Methodios made an arrangement for the tax of the dependency which his monastery owned in the village of Marovitsa near the mouth of the Strymon River<sup>6</sup>. He was also mentioned in Turkish acts of the monastery in **1507**, **1509** and **1516**<sup>7</sup>.

In **1503-1505** the monk of St. Paul Joseph was in charge of the dependency which his monastery possessed in Kalamaria<sup>8</sup>.

In **1506** the monk of St. Paul Raphael signed in Greek a document of the Athonite Synaxis: **Ῥαφαὴλ μοναχὸς καὶ γέροντας τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου**<sup>9</sup>.

In **1513** the monk of St. Paul John signed in Slavic three acts of the monasteries of Zographou and Kastamonitou, two of them as an abbot: **Ѡ СВЕТАГО ПАВЛА ИВАННЪ ИГОУМЕНЪ**<sup>10</sup>, and one as an abbot and priest-monk: **Ѡ СВЕТАГО ПАВЛА ИГЪМННЪ ИВАНЪ ЙЕРМОНАХЪ**<sup>11</sup>. His three signatures of 1513 do not reveal his mother tongue, but there is also a signature of

1. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 128.

2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

3. Dionysiou, no. 37, l. 13.

4. Dionysiou, no. 42, l. 20-21.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

6. See our **act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14.**

7. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264-265.

8. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264.

9. Kutlumus, 166, no. 50, l. 25-26; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 264-265.

10. Pavlikianov, *Greek and Bulgarian Documents of Zographou*, 445-451, no. 59, l. 25; Kastamonitou, 64-68, no. 8, l. 32. Cf. Οἰκονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Κωνσταντινου*, 428-429 and pl. 43.

11. Kastamonitou, Appendix III, l. 26.

his in a charter of **1519** preserved in Vatopedi. This signature makes it clear that it was normal for John to combine the preposition *ot* (from) with the nominative case:  $\overline{\omega}$   $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\tau\iota$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta$   $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\gamma\delta\mu\epsilon\eta$   $\iota\omega\alpha\eta\eta$   $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. This grammatical feature is typical of the modern Bulgarian language and consequently John's ancestry might have been Bulgarian. However, in **1508** he signed a document of the *protos* Gabriel in Greek:  $\acute{o}$   $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$   $\text{\AA}$  $\rho$  $\iota\omicron\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\text{\textbackslash}$  $\iota\omega\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$   $\text{\textbackslash}$  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup>.

In **1516** a monk named Mardarios was mentioned as a tenant of a property which the monastery of St. Paul possessed at the locality Komitissa, to the northwest of the Holy Mountain<sup>3</sup>.

In **1519** the monks of St. Paul John and Orestes paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax due for the dependency which their monastery possessed in Kalamaria<sup>4</sup>.

In **1519** the monks of St. Paul Germanos, Paisios and Cyril were mentioned as residents of the dependency which their monastery possessed in the island of Lemnos<sup>5</sup>.

In **1520** the monk of St. Paul Raphael visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the so-called "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*), a sum which Ragusa started paying to the Serbian Czar Stephen Dušan circa 1350<sup>6</sup>, after it received from him the control over the district of Ston which was situated in the peninsula of Pelješac, in what is today Croatia. Initially the sum was directly transferred to the Serbian monks who resided in the Monastery of the Holy Archangel Michael in Jerusalem, but was later redirected to the Athonite foundations of St. Paul and Chilandar<sup>7</sup>.

1. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 129; Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707*, 157-158, no. 17 (olim XI), l. 23.

2. Kutlumus, 169, no. 51, l. 43.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

4. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

6. В. Мошин, Повеље цара Стефана Душана о Арханђеловом манастиру у Јерусалиму и о манастиру Св. Николе на скадарском острву Брањини, *Folia Slavica. Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt* (Columbus, Ohio 1979), III, 175-200, nos. 1-2.

7. К. Jireček, Dohodak stonski, koji su Dubrovčani davali srpskome manastiru sv. Arhangjela Mihajla u Jerusalimu i povelje o njemu cara Uroša (1358) i carice Mare (1479), *Zbornik u slavu Vatroslava Jagića*, Berlin 1908, 536-538; Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 165-206; А. Фотић, *Света Гора и Хиландар у Османском царству (XV-XVII век)*, Belgrade 2000, 189-191; С. Бојанин, Писмо Вука Бранковића Дубровчанима о исплати Стонског дохотка

In **1526** an elder of St. Paul named Genadie signed in Slavic a document of the *protos* Gabriel preserved in the Monastery of Kutlumus: **СТАРОУЦЬ ГЕНАДІЕ Ѡ СВЕТОГО ПАВЛА**<sup>1</sup>. During the same year he visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>2</sup>. In **1527** he was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to the dependency of St. Paul in Kalamaria<sup>3</sup>.

In **1527** an elder of St. Paul named Dionysios signed in Greek a document preserved in Esphigmenou: Ὁ Ἁγίου Παύλου Διονύσιος ὁ γέροντας<sup>4</sup>.

In **1528** the monk of St. Paul Basil was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to the dependency of his monastery in Kalamaria<sup>5</sup>.

In **1529** the monks of St. Paul Avramios, Kosmas, Damianos and Sabbatios were mentioned in two Turkish documents referring to the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>6</sup>.

In **1529** the monk of St. Paul Jacob was mentioned in a Turkish document as a resident of the dependency which his monastery possessed in the island of Lemnos<sup>7</sup>.

In **1529** the monks of St. Paul Kassianos and Lazaros paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax due for the dependency which their monastery possessed in Kalamaria<sup>8</sup>.

In **1538** the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Theonas, issued a charter determining the exact boundary between the dependencies of the monasteries of St. Paul and Xenophontos in Kalamaria. The persons who were present from the part of St. Paul were the abbot Matthew, the ex-abbot Gennadios and the monks Kassianos, Gennadios, Sabbatios, Theodosios, Gregory, Damaskinos and Anthony<sup>9</sup>.

In **1538** the monk of St. Paul Ignatios paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax due for the dependency which his monastery possessed in

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јерусалимским калуђерима (август 1388. године), *ССА* 11 (Belgrade 2012), 107-113. See also our **act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14.**

1. Kutlumus, no. 52, l. 24.

2. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

4. *Actes de Esphigménou*, 47, no. 25, l. 32; Μελισσάκης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἐσφιγμένου*, 26-27, no. 1 and pl. 1.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

7. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

8. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

9. See our **act no. 47.**

the isthmus of Provlakas, to the northwest of Mount Athos<sup>1</sup>.

In **1539** the ex-abbot of St. Paul Matthew signed in Slavic an act of the Synaxis of Karyai kept in Xeropotamou: **Ѡ сѣтѣо павла матѣеи проишдѣиен**<sup>2</sup>.

In **1540** a priest-monk of St. Paul named Gennadios visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>3</sup>.

In **1541** the monk of St. Paul Savatie signed in Slavic two acts kept in the monasteries of Stavronikita and Pantocrator: **саватиѣ монах Ѡ свѣтого павла**<sup>4</sup>.

In **1542** the abbot of St. Paul Gennadios visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>5</sup>.

In **1542** the monk of St. Paul Kassianos paid to the Ottoman authorities the taxes due for the dependencies which his monastery possessed in the isthmus of Provlakas and in Kalamaria<sup>6</sup>.

In **1542** the monks of St. Paul, Philip and Michael, were mentioned in a Turkish document referring to the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>7</sup>.

In **1543** the monk of St. Paul Manasses signed in Slavic an act of the Synaxis of Karyai pertaining to the Monastery of Stavronikita: **Ὁ Μανασσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου (σλαβική ὑπογραφή)**<sup>8</sup>. In **1550** he was in charge of the dependency which St. Paul possessed in the island of Lemnos<sup>9</sup>, and in **1553** he signed in Slavic a document kept in the Monastery of Pantocrator: **Ѡ свѣтого павла старца манасѣа**<sup>10</sup>.

In **1544** the monk of St. Paul Paisios signed in Slavic an act of the Synaxis of Karyai referring to the Monastery of Stavronikita: **Παΐσιος ἐκ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου (σλαβιστί)**<sup>11</sup>.

In **1544** and **1546** a monk of St. Paul named Sabbas and the abbot Gennadios visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

2. Γουναρίδης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ξηροποτάμου*, 16-17, no. 2 and pl. 1.

3. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.

4. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 129-130.

5. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

7. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 265.

8. Γιαννακόπουλος, *Ἐπιτομὲς Σταυρονικήτα*, 53, no. 6.

9. Νικολόπουλος-Οἰκονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Διονυσίου*, 276, no. 49.

10. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 130.

11. Σμυρνάκης, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 124.

their monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>1</sup>.

In **1547**, **1548** and **1549** the monk of St. Paul Philip was mentioned in several Turkish documents referring to the dependency of his monastery in the isthmus of Provlakas<sup>2</sup>.

In **1547** the monk of St. Paul Methodios signed in Greek a document kept in the Monastery of Pantocrator: Ὁ μοναχὸς Μεθόδιος ἀπὸ Ἁγίου Παύλου<sup>3</sup>.

In **1548** a monk of St. Paul named John visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>4</sup>. In **1553** he signed in Slavic an act kept in the Monastery of Docheiariou: СВЕТОГО ПАВЛА ИВАНЪ ИЕРМОΝΑΧ<sup>5</sup>.

In **1549** the monk of St. Paul Chariton was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to the dependency of his monastery in the isthmus of Provlakas<sup>6</sup>.

In **1550** the abbot of St. Paul Epiphanius visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>7</sup>.

In **1550** the monk of St. Paul Constantine was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to a purchase which took place in the village of Vrasta, in the peninsula of Chalkidike. In **1551** he was also mentioned in an Ottoman act pertaining to the dependency of St. Paul in Kalamaria<sup>8</sup>.

In **1551** the monk of St. Paul Euthymios was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to the murder of the monks Kassianos Dimou and Sylvester Matthaïou, which took place on the road leading from Hierissos to Mount Athos<sup>9</sup>.

In **1551** the monk of St. Paul Kallinikos was mentioned in an Ottoman act pertaining to the dependency which his monastery possessed in Kalamaria<sup>10</sup>.

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1. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.
  2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.
  3. Πάρδος, *Ἐπιτομὲς Παντοκράτορος*, 111, no. 41.
  4. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.
  5. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 130.
  6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.
  7. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.
  8. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.
  9. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.
  10. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

In **1551** the monk of St. Paul Menas paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax which was due for the dependency of St. Paul in Marovitsa<sup>1</sup>.

In **1552** the abbot of St. Paul Eustratios visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*)<sup>2</sup>.

In **1553** the monk of St. Paul Theodosios was mentioned in a Turkish document as the person who was in charge of the dependency which his monastery possessed in the aforementioned village of Marovitsa, near the Strymon River<sup>3</sup>.

In **1554** the priest-monk of St. Paul Epiphanius visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston"<sup>4</sup>.

In **1556, 1558** and **1560** the abbot of St. Paul Daniel visited the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to receive his monastery's share of the aforementioned "Revenue from Ston"<sup>5</sup>.

In **1557-1558** the monk of St. Paul Matthew signed in Greek a document of the Synaxis of Karyai kept in the Monastery of Stavronikita: Ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Παῦλον ἱερομόναχος Ματθαῖος<sup>6</sup>.

In **1558** abbot of St. Paul was the priest-monk Mardarios<sup>7</sup>.

In **1558** the monk of St. Paul Philip paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax which was due for the dependency of the monastery in Kalamaria<sup>8</sup>.

In **1558-1560** a certain Constantine, son of Manolis, bought and donated to St. Paul a water mill situated at the locality Kalyvia near the village of Ormylia, in the central part of the peninsula of Chalkidike<sup>9</sup>.

In **1561** the monk of St. Paul Paisios was in charge of the dependency of his monastery in Kalamaria<sup>10</sup>.

In **1561** the monks of St. Paul Alexandros, Manasses and Damaskinos paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax which was due for the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>11</sup>.

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

2. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 200.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

4. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 201.

5. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 201.

6. Γιαννακόπουλος, *Ἐπιτομὲς Σταυρονικήτα*, 60, no. 10.

7. Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 201.

8. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

9. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

10. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

11. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

In **1561** the abbot of St. Paul Stephen signed in Slavic a document preserved in Chilandar: *СТЕΦΑΝЪ ИГОУМЕНЪ Ѡ ПАВЛА*<sup>1</sup>.

In **1562** the monks of St. Paul Philip, Makarios, Zacharias and John represented their monastery in a hearing connected with its dependency in Kalamaria<sup>2</sup>.

In **1562** the monk of St. Paul Serapheim was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to a debt of his monastery<sup>3</sup>.

In **1563** the monk of St. Paul Cyprian represented his monastery in a hearing connected with its dependency in Lemnos<sup>4</sup>.

In **1564** the monks of St. Paul Methodios, Theophanes and Auxentios were mentioned in an Ottoman act pertaining to the dependency which their monastery possessed in Kalamaria<sup>5</sup>.

In **1566** the monks of St. Paul Auxentios, Michael, Longinos, Serapheim and Philip were mentioned in an Ottoman act pertaining to the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>6</sup>.

In **1567** the monks of St. Paul Gervasios and Theophilos were mentioned in an Ottoman acts pertaining to the dependency which their monastery possessed in the village of Marovitsa, near the mouth of the Strymon River<sup>7</sup>.

In **1567** the monk of St. Paul Auxentios was mentioned in a charter issued by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Ioasaph, which is presently kept in the Monastery of Pantocrator<sup>8</sup>.

In **1568** the monk of St. Paul Eustratios was authorized by his monastery to repurchase its dependency in Lemnos, which was confiscated together with all the immovable property of the other Athonite monasteries in 1568, at the order of Sultan Selim II<sup>9</sup>.

In **1569** St. Paul appointed as its plenipotentiaries for the so-called "confiscation crisis", which inflicted heavy damages on all the monasteries of Mount Athos, the monks Auxentios (son of Nicholas), Basil (son of Peyo), Longinos (son of Stamatis), Michael (son of Panqo), Isa-

1. *Actes de Chilandar (actes grecs)*, no. 162, l. 53; Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοί στο Άγιον Όρος*, 130.

2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

4. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

7. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

8. Πάρδος, *Ἐπιτομὲς Παντοκράτορος*, 116, no. 44.

9. On the confiscation cf. Alexander, *The Lord Giveth and the Lord Taketh Away*, 149-200.

ias (son of Peyo) and Gabriel (son of Giannis)<sup>1</sup>.

In **1569** the elder of St. Paul Serapion signed in Slavic an act kept in the Monastery of Xenophontos: **свѣти павѡв страцъ серапионъ**<sup>2</sup>. His signature contains one typically Serbian phonetic feature, the spelling of the final syllable of the name Pav-*al* as Pav-*ao* (**павѡв**). The same phonetic phenomenon is available in the name of modern Serbian capital, Belgrade, whose spelling in Serbian is *Beograd*. Consequently, Serapion must have been of Serbian ancestry.

In **1569-1570**, based on a document kept in Vatopedi, *protos* of Mount Athos was the monk of St. Paul Gabriel: **протъ свѣтыѣ гори гавріѡла ермонахъ ѿ свѣты павѡлѣ**<sup>3</sup>. Gabriel combined the preposition *ot* (from) with the nominative case and this grammatical usage is typically Bulgarian.

In **1569-1570** the monk of St. Paul Theophilos signed in Slavic a charter of the Athonite *protos* Gabriel: **азъ ѳеωφιλѣ ѿ свѣты павѡлѣ**<sup>4</sup>. Theophilos combined the preposition *ot* (from) with the nominative case and this is a Bulgarian grammatical peculiarity.

In **1570** the monks of St. Paul Michael and Leonidas (son of Peyo) paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax which was due for the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>5</sup>.

In **1571** the monk of St. Paul Auxentios, son of Nicholas, was mentioned in a Turkish document referring to a debt of his monastery<sup>6</sup>.

In **1574** the abbot of St. Paul Symeon and the monks Isaias and Leonidas paid to the Ottoman authorities the tax which was due for the dependency of their monastery in Kalamaria<sup>7</sup>.

In **1575** the monks of St. Paul Eustratios, Symeon (son of Veligo) and Gervasios (son of Synadenos) represented their monastery in a hearing connected with its dependency in Lemnos<sup>8</sup>.

In **1576** the monk of St. Paul Theophanes, son of Malakes, bought a house in Thessalonica on behalf of his monastery<sup>9</sup>.

In **1580** the monks of St. Paul Sabbas and Theophilos were mentioned in a Turkish document pertaining to the dependency which

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

2. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 130-131.

3. 1. Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Συμπληρώσεις*, 462-465 and 471, pl. 6. Cf. also Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 397, no. 133a.

4. Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Συμπληρώσεις*, 462-465 and 471, pl. 6.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

7. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

8. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

9. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

their monastery possessed in the village of Marovitsa, near the mouth of the Strymon River<sup>1</sup>.

In October **1580** the monks of St. Paul translated into Serbian a Greek demarcation of the boundary between their monastery and the neighbouring Monastery of Dionysiou. The Greek prototype of this translation was a demarcation available in a document of the *protos* Gennadios issued in October 1400<sup>2</sup>.

In **1580-1581** the monk of St. Paul Leontios signed in Greek a charter issued by the Synaxis of Karyai: Ἅγιος Παῦλος Λεόντιος μοναχός<sup>3</sup>.

In **1581** the monks of St. Paul Makarios (son of Radu), George (son of Avramos), Dionysios Lekkas and Isaias (son of Dios) were mentioned in a Turkish document referring to a loan agreement which they had signed for their monastery in Thessalonica<sup>4</sup>.

In **1581** the monks of St. Paul Theodosios, Leonidas, Pachomios and Avramios were mentioned in an Ottoman act referring to another loan of their monastery<sup>5</sup>.

In **1581** the monk of St. Paul Avramie signed in Slavic a document preserved in Chilandar: **ѠТѢ СЕВЕТЫ ПАВЕЛА АВРАМИѢ**<sup>6</sup>. His signature combined the preposition *ot* (from) with an adjective in the nominative case (СЕВЕТЫ) followed by a noun in the genitive case (ПАВЕЛА). This situation indicates that Avramie was speaking a Slavic vernacular in which the declension of nouns and adjectives was already rather confused. Most probably this might have been a sort of Bulgarian dialect.

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1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

2. See our act no. 48. Serbian act no. 16 and act no. 11, l. 32-40.

3. Pavlikianov, *Acta Graeca Simonopetrae*, 87, act no 2, l. 42.

4. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 267.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266.

6. *Actes de Chilandar (actes grecs)*, no. 164, l. 30; Παυλιγιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ σπὸ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, 131.



# GREEK AND SERBIAN ACTS OF ST. PAUL

## STRUCTURE OF THE ENTRY

**Act no.**

**TITLE OF THE DOCUMENT**

**Date:**

**Type of the document:**

**Description:** peculiarities and variants of the document.

**Dating:** Argumentation of the dating in a case that the charter contains no date.

**Analysis:** Summary of the basic points of the document's content.

**Notes in the margins or on the rear:**

**Mentioned documents:**

**Prosopography:**

**Topography:**

**Editions:**

**Bibliography:**

**Text:**

## CRITICAL SIGNS

( $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ) = reading of an abbreviation

« $\alpha\beta\gamma$ » = deleted letters

< $\alpha\beta\gamma$ > = letters or phrases which must be ignored

\ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ / = letters added above the line

{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ } = letters omitted by the scribe

| $\alpha\beta\gamma$ | = brackets used by the scribe

[... $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ...] = letters or text missing or not readable with proposals for reconstruction (the dots correspond to the approximate number of the lost letters)

[... 35-40 ...] = missing text with approximate number of the lost letters

**Act no. 1**

GUARANTEE OF THE SUPERIOR OF THE ATHONITE  
MONASTERY OF MEGISTE LAVRA, THEODORETOS,  
CONCERNING THE AUTONOMY OF THE MONASTERY OF  
BOULEUTERIA

**Date:** April, *indiction* 8th [1010]

**Type of the document:** ἀσφάλεια (l. 33)

**Description:** No original is available in the archives of St. Paul. The document is preserved in several copies.

**Variant no. 1.** Certified copy kept in archival folder no. 33. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 325 x 290 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper. The preservation is poor as there are abundant traces of moisture and the beginning of the document is missing. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Isidoros Glavas (see **plate no. 1**).

**Variant no. 2.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 47. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 180 x 305 mm. Its preservation is good as there are only several ruptures along the folds.

**Variant no. 3.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 25 of the Turkish archives as no. 119. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 210 x 350 mm.

**Variant no. 4.** Typewritten 20th century copy kept in archival folder no. 25 of the Turkish archives as no. 139-140<sup>1</sup>.

**Dating:** All the variants of the act kept in the Monastery of St. Paul contain a date consisting only of a month and *indiction* (April, *indiction* 8th), but no reference to a year. Taking into consideration the content of our **act no 2**, which was issued in August 1016 (*indiction* 14th) and demarcated the border between the monasteries of Bouleuteria and Xeropotamou, the present guarantee of the abbot of Megiste Lavra, Theodoretos, must have been composed before 1016. The 8th *indiction* corresponds to the years 995 and 1010. However, in reality Theodoretos's guarantee kept in St. Paul is a copy of a document preserved in the Monastery of Xeropotamou. Its date is April 6518 (1010), so we restored the missing beginning of our act (l. 1-6) and the passage containing the date ἐν ἔτει ,σφρη' (6518, l. 33), which is not available in St.

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 27.

Paul's copy, using the text of Xeropotamou's act<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The present guarantee of the superior of the Athonite Monastery of Megiste Lavra, Theodoretos, and of the elders of his monastery was composed for the *protos* Nikephoros and pertained to the following case: at an earlier date the abbot Poimen, who had ruled the Monastery of Bouleuteria for fifty years, decided to do a favour to his old friend, the monk of Megiste Lavra Eustratios. Poimen adopted Eustratios in the church of the Holy Mother of God at the Monastery of Bouleuteria. In order to validate the adoption, Poimen sold to Eustratios the Monastery of Bouleuteria and confirmed the sale with a special deed. However, the monks of Megiste Lavra disagreed with this act of Poimen because, according to the monastic rules, the legal heir of Eustratios was his monastery, i.e. Megiste Lavra, and this detail could generate suspicions that Megiste Lavra might attempt to annex the Monastery of Bouleuteria. For this reason the Lavriote monks decided to dispel all the suspicions by making an agreement with the *protos* Nikephoros. According to this agreement, Eustratios was obliged to keep on residing at Megiste Lavra, while his nephew Athanasios had to be appointed superior of the Monastery of Bouleuteria because he had not been tonsured as a monk in Megiste Lavra. Eustratios thereby remained a resident of Megiste Lavra, where he had taken his monastic vows, while Athanasios, who was not a monk of Megiste Lavra, became an abbot of Bouleuteria. In his new capacity and like all the other Athonite *hegoumenoi*, Athanasios was subordinated only to the council (Synaxis) of the Athonite community. He was not allowed to sell or donate his monastery to Megiste Lavra, to the Monastery of *kyr* Euthymios, to Vatopedi or to another Athonite foundation, but was obliged to take care of it and to keep its integrity undamaged for his successors and disciples. As the *protos* of Athos and the other Athonite abbots asked the monks of Megiste Lavra to provide an official confirmation of the aforementioned arrangements, the superior of Megiste Lavra, Theodoretos, and his monks issued the present document in order to declare that their monastery had no authority over the Monastery of Bouleuteria. However, if the monks of Megiste Lavra abused the autonomy of Bouleuteria, then the Monastery of Xeropotamou was authorized to take control of Bouleuteria without any financial obligation. The other Athonite monks should not prevent the monks of Bouleuteria from cutting firewood and fishing. The document was composed by the monk Xenophon, abbot of the Monastery of St. George. An additional

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1. Cf. Xéropotamou, 40-44, no. 2.

note copied from the original states that if the Monastery of Bouleuteria would be unable to elect an abbot from its own monks, then, according to a document granted to Xeropotamou by the monk Eustratios, the Monastery of Xeropotamou must assume control of Bouleuteria. Authentication of the copy signed by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Isidoros.

**Prosopography:**

1. The person who had authenticated our Variant no. 1 was **Isidoros Glavas**, Metropolitan of Thessalonica from May 1380 to September 1384 and from October 1385 to January 1396<sup>1</sup>. As the abandoned Monastery of St. Paul was renovated and repopulated by the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja in 1363-1384<sup>2</sup>, our act could have been presented to Isidoros Glavas for confirmation only between 1385 and 1396.

2. **Theodoretos** was frequently mentioned as the *hegoumenos* of Megiste Lavra in the Athonite documents of the period 1010-1016 but by 1018 he had already lost this position<sup>3</sup>.

3. The monk of Megiste Lavra **Eustratios** was active from 1010 to 1030 and in 1016 he replaced the aforementioned Theodoretos as the abbot of the monastery. He was first mentioned in the present document, whose original, as we already pointed out above, is kept in Xeropotamou<sup>4</sup>. Based on our document, in 1010 Eustratios was adopted by the abbot and legal proprietor of the Monastery of Bouleuteria, Poymen, who in this way sold Bouleuteria to Eustratios, authorizing him to exploit this foundation as his personal private property. It is therefore clear that in 1010 Eustratios, regardless that he was just an ordinary monk of Megiste Lavra, obtained a monastery of his own which he immediately entrusted and transferred to his nephew, the monk Athanasios. In 1012 Eustratios also donated to Athanasios and the Monastery of Bouleuteria the *monydriion* of the Saviour in the island of Skyros which he had received from the nun Glykeria, widow of the *kouboukleisios* John<sup>5</sup>. After the death of her husband, the nun Glykeria was compelled to repel the attacks of the Bishop of Skyros, who attempted to subordinate her foundation to his own authority. It was for

1. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 69-71 and 295.

2. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 132-133.

3. Lavra I, 139-142 and acts nos. 16, 18 and 19. See also Xeropotamou, act no. 2.

4. Xeropotamou, act no. 2.

5. Lavra I, 141-144, no. 16, l. 2-13 and 19-22.

this reason that Glykeria donated her *monydrion* in Skyros to Eustratios and authorized him to act as the legal possessor of her monastery. Eustratios's basic obligation, however, was to protect and keep intact the autonomy of Glykeria's foundation. In 1016 she also bequeathed to Eustratios, who was already the superior of Megiste Lavra, all her hereditary estates in the island of Skyros<sup>1</sup>. In 1030 the testament of the abbot of Bouleuteria, Athanasios, explicitly stated that Eustratios had invested 520 *nomismata* (more than 7 *litrai* of gold) in restoring and reconstructing the Monastery of Bouleuteria<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore clear that Eustratios was a noble and wealthy person. His death could be dated shortly before 1030<sup>3</sup>.

4. The abbot of Bouleuteria, **Athanasios**, was a nephew of the aforementioned Eustratios and it was Eustratios who appointed him to be the superior of Bouleuteria, because this monastery was Eustratios's private property. Athanasios was the abbot of Bouleuteria from 1012 to 1030. In 1030 he composed his last will and received a guarantee in writing from the monks of Megiste Lavra<sup>4</sup>. With his testament he bestowed Bouleuteria on Megiste Lavra and after that he received a written guarantee which listed all the privileges which he was entitled have as a monk in Megiste Lavra. More specifically, Athanasios was authorized to live in the appartments which his late uncle Eustratios possessed in Megiste Lavra, to be assisted by three personal servants and to have a boat (*santalion*) at his personal disposal. These privileges leave no doubt that both he and his uncle were wealthy aristocrats. Unfortunately, this is everything we know about Eustratios and Athanasios<sup>5</sup>.

**Topography:** The Monastery of **Bouleuteria**, whose property and borders are described in our **acts nos. 1-3**, was one of the earliest Athonite monastic houses. According to our document, by 1010 the abbot of Bouleuteria Poimen had already ruled this monastery for fifty years: Ἐπειδήπερ πρὸ χρόνων τινῶν ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς Ποιμὴν καὶ καθηγούμενος μονῆς τῶν Βουλευτηρίων, ὁ μέχρι τῶν ν' χρόνων δεσπόζων αὐτῆς (l. 4-5). Consequently, his foundation must have been founded before 960. It was located in the vicinity of what is today the

1. Lavra I, 155-161, act no. 20.

2. Lavra I, 177-179, act no. 26.

3. Cf. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 84-86.

4. Lavra I, 177-181, acts nos. 26 and mainly 27, l. 14-18. The same affair is described in a counterfeited act of Megiste Lavra bearing a date 1030 (Lavra I, p. 368-369, Appendice IV, l. 1-4).

5. Cf. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 86-87.

*skiti* of St. Anna, i.e. to the southeast of St. Paul. Today its place is occupied by the minor monastic settlement (*kathisma*) of St. Eleutherios, which was built in 1729. The name *Bouleuteria* is rather unusual. G. Smyrnakis assumed that the meaning of this name was the same as in ancient Greek - *council chamber*<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, this interpretation is unsubstantiated and we must acknowledge that, in reality, we know nothing about how the place name *Bouleuteria* came into being. The monastery was dedicated to the Mother of God and its neighbours to the north and the east were the monasteries of the Amalfitans and Megiste Lavra. Only three monks connected with the Monastery of *Bouleuteria* are mentioned in our **acts nos. 1-3: Poimen**, abbot before 1010, **Athanasios**, abbot in 1012-1030, and the monk **Pantoleon**<sup>2</sup>. Poimen must have been the founder of *Bouleuteria*, because he had the legal right to sell this foundation and he really sold it to the monk Eustratios of Megiste Lavra. It was this sale that made necessary the delimitation of the Athonite domain of *Bouleuteria*, which is described in our **act no. 2**<sup>3</sup> (see **map no. 5**).

**Editions:** Καλλιγᾶς, *Ἀθωνιάς*, 56-57; Πίστης, *Περιγραφική ἱστορία*, 45-46 (based on the edition of Kalligas); Σμυρνάκης, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, 414 (partial edition based on a copy kept in the Monastery of Megiste Lavra); Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 250-253, no. 1 (edition based on a copy kept in the Monastery of St. Panteleimon); Xéropotamou, 40-44, no. 2.

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 23 καὶ 23α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 27-29, no. 1.

### Text:

† Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Θεοδώρητο(ς) ταπεινὸς (μον)αχ(ὸ)ς καὶ προεστὸς τῆς ||<sup>2</sup> Λαύρας τοῦ κῆ(ρ) Ἀθανασίου ἅμα τοῖς σὺν ἐμοὶ προκρείτοις τ(ῶν) ἀδελφ(ῶν), ἀσφαλιζόμεθ(α) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ||<sup>3</sup> παρόντο(ς) ἡμ(ῶν) ἰδιοχ(είρου) πρὸς σὲ τὸν εὐλαβέστατ(ον) (μον)αχ(όν) Νικηφόρο(ρον) (καὶ) πρῶτ(ον) καὶ πρὸς παντας τοὺς γέ-||<sup>4</sup>ροντας) καὶ καθηγουμ(ένους) ἐπὶ ὑποθ(έσει) τοιαύτ(η). Ἐπειδήπερ πρὸ χρόν(ων) τινῶν ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχ(ὸ)ς Ποιμῆν ||<sup>5</sup> (καὶ) καθηγουμ(ένος) μο(νη)ς τ(ῶν) Βουλευτηρίων, ὁ μέχρι τ(ῶν) ν' χρ(ό)νων δεσπόζ(ων) αὐτῆς, ἀρχαίας με-||<sup>6</sup>μνημ(ένος)

1. Σμυρνάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, 413.

2. See our **act no. 2**, l. 5-6.

3. Xéropotamou, 42; Lavra I, 139-140, act no. 15; Prôtaton, 68-69; Παπα-χρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 191-193.

τοῦ ἀδ(ελφοῦ) ἡμ(ῶν) τοῦ (μον)αχ(οῦ) Εὐστρατίου φιλίας, πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὑ(ιὸν) θετὸν αὐτ(όν) ||<sup>7</sup> ἀνελάβετο ἐν αὐτ(ῶ) τῷ ναῶ τῆς ὑπ(ερ)  
 αγί(ας) Θε(οτό)κου τῷ ἐν τῇ ῥηθείση μο(νῆ) καθιδρυμένῳ, ||<sup>8</sup> εἶτα θέλων  
 τ(ῆν) υἰοθεσίαν ἐπικυρῶσαι (καί) εἰς παντελῆ ἐξόνησιν (καί) δεσποτεῖαν  
 ἀναφέρετον δέδωκεν ||<sup>9</sup> αὐτὴν αὐτῷ, καθὼς ἡ παροῦσα γενομένη  
 πρώτη διαγορεύει πράσις. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτο μαθόντες ||<sup>10</sup> τότε μὲν οὐκ  
 ἀπεδεξάμεθα ὑφορῶμενοι ὡς μή ποτε ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς Λαύρας μοναχοὶ  
 ἰδιοποιησώμεθα ||<sup>11</sup> τ(ῆν) μονὴν τῶν Βουλευτηρίων, διὰ τὸν κανόνα  
 τὸν εἵργοντα τ(οὺς) ὑποτακτικούς ἰδίας κτήσεις ἐπιλαμ-||<sup>13</sup>βάνεσθαι,  
 καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐπικτώμ(εν)α παρ' αὐτ(ῶν) καὶ καλλιεργούμενα τοῖς  
 μοναστηρίοις ἐν οἷς τὰς ||<sup>14</sup> συνθήκας δεδώκασιν ἀφιερῶν(ται), καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφιβολίας τινὰς ἐκινήσατε περὶ τούτου. Τούτου χάριν ||<sup>15</sup>  
 τὴν τοιαύτ(ην) διαλύοντες ἀμφιβολίαν, ἐβουλεύσαμεθα μετὰ τῆς ὑμῶν  
 τιμιώτητος ἀρίστην περὶ τούτου ||<sup>16</sup> βουλ(ήν), τὸν μὲν κῦρ Εὐστράτιον  
 ἐν τῇ Λαύρᾳ διαμένειν κ(αί) ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πρὸς Θε(εὸν) αὐτοῦ συνθήκας  
 τελειῶσ(αι), ||<sup>17</sup> προβληθῆναι δὲ τὸν μοναχ(όν) Ἀθανάσιον καὶ ἀνεψιὸν  
 αὐτοῦ ἡγούμ(ενον) τῆς εἰρημένης τῶν Βουλευτηρί(ων) ||<sup>18</sup> μονῆς ὡς  
 μὴ ἐν τῇ Λαύρᾳ ὄλ(ως) ἀποκαρέντα, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. Ὅθεν ὁ μὲν κύρις  
 Εὐστράτιος, ἐστὶ ||<sup>19</sup> παρ' ἡμῶν φυλάττων τὴν ὑποταγὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ  
 γεγωνὼς ἡγούμ(ενος) τῶν Βουλευτηρί(ων) ὁ μοναχὸς ||<sup>20</sup> Ἀθανάσιος  
 ἵνα ὑπόκειται τῷ κοινῷ καθὼς καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὅρ(ους) καθηγούμενοι, μὴ  
 ἔχειν δὲ ἐξουσίαν ||<sup>21</sup> προσκυρῶσαι ποτὲ καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ τὴν μον(ήν)  
 τῶν Βουλευτηρίων μήτε πράσε(ως) μήτε χαριστικῆς ||<sup>22</sup> λόγῳ, μήτε εἰς  
 τ(ῆν) καθ' ἡμ(ᾶς) Λαύραν, μήτε εἰς τοῦ κῦρ(ρ) Εὐθυμίου, μήτε εἰς τὸ  
 Βατοπέδι(ον), μήτε ἐν ἐτέρῳ ||<sup>23</sup> μοναστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἔχειν αὐτὴν κατὰ  
 διαδοχὴν παραπέμπ(ων) εἰς οἰκείους μαθητὰς καὶ διαδόχ(ους). ||<sup>24</sup> Ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ κ(αί) ἡμ(ᾶς) εἰτήσασθε ἕνεκεν πληροφορίας ἀσφαλίσασθ(αι) τοῦ  
 μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ||<sup>25</sup> ἢ δεσποτίαν εἰς τὰ Βουλευτήρια, ἤξαμεν τ(ῶ)  
 λόγ(ῳ) καὶ τῇ θελήσει ὑμ(ῶν), καὶ ἀσφαλίζομαι ἐγὼ τε ὁ ||<sup>26</sup> προῤῥηθεὶς  
 τ(ῆς) Λαύρας προεστὼς ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις τ(ῶν) ἀδελφῶν, ὡς  
 οὐδεμίαν ἐξομ(εν) ||<sup>27</sup> ἐξουσίαν κ(αί) κυριότητα ποτὲ καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ ἐν  
 τῇ διαφόρως ῥηθείση τῶν Βουλευ-||<sup>28</sup>τηρί(ων) μον(ῆ). Εἰ δὲ ποτε τοῦτο  
 ἡμεῖς βουλευθῶμ(εν) ποιῆσαι, ἢ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε καθηγουμένου παρέχοντος ||<sup>29</sup>  
 ἀναλαβόμε(θα), τότε μετ' εὐλόγου δικαιοσύνης ἵνα ἀναλαμβάνε(ται) ἡ  
 μονὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου ||<sup>30</sup> τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν ἀναργύρως, μὴ ἐχόντων  
 ἡμ(ῶν) ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ οἰονοῦν δικαίωμα εὐλόγου τινὸς προ-||<sup>31</sup>φάσεως. Καὶ  
 τοῦτο δὲ πληροφοροῦμ(εν) ὑμ(ᾶς) κ(αί) ἀσφαλίζόμε(ε)θα μήτε εἰς κοπ(ήν)  
 δαδίων, μήτε εἰς ἀλίαν τῆς ||<sup>32</sup> θαλάσσης κωλύειν ἢ παρεμποδίζειν τινὰ  
 τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ὅρ(ους) τὸ σύνολον. Ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα ||<sup>33</sup> ἀσφάλεια  
 διὰ χειρ(ὸς) Ξενοφῶντος μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου

Γεωργ(ίου), μηνὶ Ἀπριλλί(ω) (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ἡ' ἐν ἔτει ,σφρη'.

||<sup>34</sup> Ἐἶχε τὸ πρωτότυπον (καί) τινα περὶ τὸ τέλος λέγοντα οὕτως· Εἰ δέ ποτε καιρῶ ἢ χρόνῳ εὐρεθείη ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ ἀπο-||<sup>35</sup>ροῦσα διαδόχου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κουρ(ᾶς) κ(αὶ) μονῆς, ἵνα ἀποδίδεται εἰς τ(ὴν) μον(ὴν) τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴν) ἔγγραφ(ον) κ(αὶ) ἐνυπόγραφ(ον) ||<sup>36</sup> κατάθεσιν κ(αὶ) ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ κϋρ Εὐστρατίου ἦν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν μονὴν τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου πεποιήκεν.

||<sup>37</sup> Ἐξισάζον τὸ παρὸν καὶ ἀντιβληθὲν γράμμα κ(αὶ) κατὰ πάντα τῶ αὐτοῦ πρωτοτύπῳ, διὸ κ(αὶ) ὑπεγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ. †

||<sup>38</sup> † Ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰσίδωρος †

## Act no. 2

### ACT OF THE PROTOS NIKEPHOROS CONCERNING THE BORDER BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF XEROPOTAMOU AND BOULEUTERIA

**Date:** Second half of August 6524 (1016), *indiction* 14

**Type of the document:** ὑπόμνημα (l. 47)

**Description:** The document is preserved in several copies, while its original is kept in the Monastery of Xeropotamou.

**Variant no. 1.** Copy written with the so-called *Fettaugen* script, a detail which dates it to the late 13th or the early 14th century. It is kept in archival folder no. 33 and is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 325 x 290 mm. Its preservation is relevantly good as there are only few traces of moisture and small ruptures along the folds.

**Variant no. 2.** Certified 14th century copy kept in archival folder no. 23. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 420 x 280 mm. Its back is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is relevantly good, with only small ruptures along the folds. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Isidoros Glavas, who was metropolitan of Thessalonica from May 1380 to September 1384 and from October 1385 to January 1396<sup>1</sup>. Given the fact that the abandoned Monastery of St. Paul was renovated and repopulated by the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja in 1383-1384<sup>2</sup>, they

1. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 69-71 and 295.

2. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ,

must have produced our **VARIANT no. 2** to Isidoros Glavas for confirmation between 1384 and 1396.

**VARIANT no. 3.** Late 14th or early 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 29. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 420 x 300 mm. Its back is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as there are numerous traces of moisture and damages along the folds. The end of the act is missing.

**VARIANT no. 4.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 40. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 475 x 350 mm<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** On August 15th of the 14th *indiction*, a meeting (*synaxis*) of all the Athonite abbots took place and the *pneumatikos* Paul of Xeropotamou appealed to the *protos* Nikephoros and the other abbots, stating that the abbot of Bouleuteria, Athanasios, was encroaching on the property of his monastery at a locality known as “of Metrophanes”. Paul claimed that a monk named Poimen and his disciple Pantoleon had asked him to give them a place for their needs, and that he had granted them the usufruct of a terrain whose surface was two *modioi*. At a later date Poimen sold his monastery to the monk Eustratios and the *protos* Nikephoros arrived with some abbots in order to promote Eustratios’s nephew Athanasios to the rank of a *hegoumenos* of Bouleuteria. Poimen was then asked by Athanasios if he owned any land at the locality whose usufruct he had been given by Paul of Xeropotamou. Being ungrateful Poimen declared to Athanasios that he was the legal owner not only of the terrain that Paul had given him, but also of some other pieces of land which in reality belonged to Paul of Xeropotamou, who was not present. The *protos* Nikephoros decided to investigate the case in situ and sent a *pittakion* to the abbot Athanasios requesting him to take part in the investigation. However, Athanasios pretended to be ill and refused to attend the meeting. For this reason Nikephoros organized a group of monks consisting of Symeon of Vatopedi, Symeon Politis, Cyril of Charzana, Nikephoros of Stravonikita, Theoktistos of Esphigmenou, Michael of Rhabdas, Eustratios of Gomatou, Nikephoros of Zygou, Niphon, Elias of Sikelou, Kosmas of Kaspakos, Niketas from the Protaton, and Kosmas Tornaris. The *protos* Nikephoros also summoned some of the abbots who were present when Poimen was showing Athanasios the controversial place, namely George of Tolmatzis, the priests Nikon and Nicholas, and George of Philotheou. When these abbots were asked if they were cognizant of the borders of the land which

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*Света Гора*, 132-133.

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 30.

Poimen had ceded to Athanasios, they replied that they had never visited the localities in question and that everything they knew about them was what Poimen showed them and Athanasios while they were sailing with a boat along the coast. Then the *protos* Nikephoros sent the abbots Michael of Rhabdas, Elias of Sikelou and Kosmas of Kaspakos to persuade Athanasios to join the discussion and to bring with him all the correlated documentation. Athanasios refused to appear but agreed that it was him who was responsible for the errors in the transaction. However, he declared that he would accept the borders which the *protos* and the other abbots would demarcate and describe in a new document, because his final intention was to make peace with his neighbours. The delimitation of the land which Nikephoros and the other abbots composed was the following: the border started from the sea shore, ascended to a ridge, passed between some vineyards, reached a massive white rock situated near a terrain which had been illegally cultivated and planted by Athanasios, and ended close to four massive outcrops of rocks located near the crest of the mountain. The delimitation was confirmed with new border marks engraved on white stones which were deliberately placed there. In this way each contestant received the land which he was entitled to possess. In future no one should violate the new demarcation and no court should reconsider Athanasios's claims. Standard religious formulae directed against the abusers of the present arrangement. The document was composed by the monk George, abbot of Philotheou.

Signatures: 1. Nikephoros, *protos*; 2. Nicholas, elder of Vatopedi acting on behalf of *kyr* Symeon; 3. Symeon of Loutrakiou; 4. Cyril, monk and abbot; 5. Nikephoros of Stravonikita; 6. Michael, abbot of Rhabdas; 7. Eustratios, abbot of Gomatou; 8. Nikephoros of Zygon; 9. Niphon, abbot of Zygon; 10. Elias, abbot of Sikelou; 11. Kosmas, abbot of Kaspakos; 12. Niketas, monk of the Protaton; 13. Kosmas, abbot of Tornaris; 14. Nikephoros; 15. George, abbot of Siderokastrou; 16. Nicholas, abbot of the Monastery of St. Tryphon; 17. Nikon, abbot of the Monastery of Paphlagonos.

**Prosopography:** On the protagonists of our act, Eustratios of Megiste Lavra and his nephew Athanasios of Bouleuteria, see the prosopography of our act no. 1.

**Topography:** On the Monastery of Bouleuteria, cf. the topography of our act no. 1 (see also map no. 5).

**Editions:** Καλλιγᾶς, *Ἀθωνιάς*, 57-59; Πίστης, *Περιογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 47-49; Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια*, 231-233 (edition based on a copy pre-

served in manuscript no. 282 of the Monastery of St. Panteleimon); Σμυρνάκης, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, 414-415 (summary of the document); Χέρο-  
potamou, 45-50, no. 3.

**Bibliography:** Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρσόνησος τοῦ Ἄθω*, 235, 269; Κτενᾶς, *Ἄπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει*, 550; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 254-255, no. 2 (fragments of the act); Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 184; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 14 and 14α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 30-32, no. 2.

### Text:

† Κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον μῆνα τ[ῆς ι]δ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) καθολικῆς συνάξεως  
γενομένης ||<sup>2</sup> [ἐν] τῆ ἑορτῇ τῆς κοιμήσεως] τῆς ὑπ[ε]ραγί(ας) Θε(εοτό)  
κου ἔγκλησιν ἐποιήσατο ὁ πν(ευματ)ικ[ός] ||<sup>3</sup> [ἡμῶν] π(ατ)ῆρ ὁ κὺ(ρ)  
Παῦλ[ος] τοῦ Ἐηροποτ(άμου) πρὸς τε τὸν πρῶτ(ον) (καὶ) τοὺς λοιπ(ούς)  
ἡγουμέ(νους) ὡς ὅτι ἀδι-||<sup>4</sup>[κείσ]θαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ κὺ(ρ) Ἀθανασίου  
(καὶ) ἡγουμέ(νου) τ(ῆς) μονῆς (τῶν) Βουλευτηρί(ων) εἰς τὸν τό-||<sup>5</sup>[πον]  
τὸν λεγόμενον τοῦ Μητροφά(νους), λέγων ὅτι· «ἤτήσατό με ὁ κὺ(ρ) Ποιμὴν  
μετὰ ||<sup>6</sup> [τοῦ μα]θητοῦ Παντολέοντ(ος) τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τόπι(ον) εἰς  
χρῆσιν, (καὶ) εἴξας τῆ παρα-||<sup>7</sup>[κλήσει] αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀγάπ(ην) δέδωκα  
αὐτοῖς τόπιον ὡσεὶ μοδ(ίω)ν δύο πλεῖον ἢ ἔλα-||<sup>8</sup>[τ]τον εἰς χρῆσιν (καὶ)  
μόνον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πωλῆσαι τὸν Ποιμέ(ν)αν ἐκεῖνον τὴν μον(ῆ)ν αὐτοῦ  
||<sup>9</sup> πρὸς τὸν κὺ(ρ) Εὐστράτιον, παραλαβὼν ὁ πν(ευματ)ικὸς ἡμ(ῶν) ὁ  
κὺ(ρ) Νικηφό(ρος) (πρῶτος) τινὰς ἡγουμέ(νους) ||<sup>10</sup> τοῦ σχηματῆσαι  
τὸν κὺ(ρ) Ἀθανάσι(ον) (καὶ) ἀνεψι(ὸν) τοῦ κὺ(ρ) Εὐστρατ(ίου) (καὶ)  
καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἡγούμ(ε)νον) ||<sup>11</sup> εἰς τὰ Βουλευτήρια, παρόντος δὲ  
ἐκεῖ τοῦ κὺ(ρ) Ποιμέ(ν)ος ἠρωτήθ(η) παρὰ τοῦ μ(ονα)χ(οῦ) Ἀθανασίου  
εἰ ἔχειν ||<sup>12</sup> αὐτόν τι μέρος εἰς τὸ δοθὲν Ποιμ[ένι] τόπι(ον) παρ' ἐμοῦ  
εἰς χρῆσιν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀχάριστος ||<sup>13</sup> ὦν οὐ μόνον] ὅπερ δέδωκα αὐτῶ  
τόπιον εἰς χρῆσιν ὑπέδειξεν, ἀλλὰ (καὶ) ἐκ τ(ῶν) μ[η] δοθέντων ||<sup>14</sup>  
[αὐτῶ] παρ' ἐμοῦ ὅσ[ον] ἤθελεν εἰδειξεν, μὴ παρόντος μῆτ' ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ  
μῆτε τ(ῶν) μαθητ(ῶν) μου ||<sup>15</sup> τινα. (Καὶ) διὰ τοῦτο παραλαβὼν ὁ  
πν(ευματ)ικὸς ἡμ(ῶν) π(ατ)ῆρ ὁ κὺ(ρ) Νικηφό(ρος) ὁ πρῶτ(ος) τὸν τε  
κὺ(ρ) Συ-||<sup>16</sup> με(ῶν) τοῦ Βατοπ(εδίου) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Συμε(ῶν) τ(ὸν)  
Πολίτ(ην) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Κύριλλον τ(ὸν) Χαρζανάν (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ)  
Νικηφό(ρον) τοῦ Στρ[α]-||<sup>17</sup>βονικήτ(α) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Θεόκτιστον τοῦ  
Ἐσφιγμέ(νου) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Μιχαῆλ τ(ὸν) Ῥαβδ(ᾶ) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ)  
Εὐστράτ(ιον) τοῦ Γομάτ(ου) ||<sup>18</sup> (καὶ) τὸν κὺ(ρ) Νικηφό(ρον) τοῦ [Ζυ]γοῦ  
(καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Νήφ[ων]αν (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Ἡλίαν τοῦ Σικελλοῦ (καὶ)  
τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Κοσμάν ||<sup>19</sup> τοῦ Κά[σπακος] (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Νικήτ(αν) τοῦ  
πρώτ(ου) (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Κοσμάν τ(ὸν) Τορνάριν, (καὶ) τινὰς τ(ῶν)

ἡγουμέ(νων) τ(ῶν) λα-||<sup>20</sup>χόντ(ων) [ῥ]ταν ὑπέδειξεν ὁ Ποιμ(ῆν) τὸν  
 τοιοῦτ(ον) τόπ(ον) τὸν ἐπιφιλονικούμε(ενον), τὸν τε κὺ(ρ) Γεώργι(ον) τοῦ  
 Τολμάτζη ||<sup>21</sup> (καί) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Νίκωνα τ(ὸν) πρεσβ(ύ)τ(ερον) (καί) τὸν  
 παπ(ᾶν) Νικόλ(αον) (καί) τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) Γεώργι(ον) τοῦ Φιλοθ(έου), (καί)  
 ἐπιτοπίως πα-||<sup>22</sup>ραγενόμενοι, δεδηλοκότες δὲ τῷ μο(να)χ(ῶ) Ἀθανασίῳ  
 μετὰ (καί) πιττακίου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν (καί) ἐπερω-||<sup>23</sup>τηθ[ῆν]αι παρ'  
 ἡμῶν, προφασίσατο δὲ ἀσθένειαν (καί) οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐλθεῖν. Ἐρωτηθέν-  
 ||<sup>24</sup>[τες] δὲ οἱ τότε λαχόντες ἡγούμ(εν)οι εἰ ἐμμένειν τ(ὸν) μ(ονα)χ(ὸν)  
 Ἀθανάσι(ον) ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τοῦ κατὰ τ(ὸν) κὺ(ρ) ||<sup>25</sup> Ποιμένα, ἐξεῖπον ὡς  
 ὅτι μετὰ φόβου Θε(ο)ῦ (καί) ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τῆς ξηραῖς οὐκ ἔπεριεπολεύ-  
 ||<sup>26</sup>σαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καθεζόμενοι ὅσα ἐδειξεν  
 ὁ Ποιμῆν μετὰ ||<sup>27</sup> τοῦ κὺ(ρ) Ἀθανασίου ἐκεῖνα οἶδαμεν· (καί) ὁσούτως  
 οὐδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅρους ἐφύλαξεν ὁ κὺ(ρ) ||<sup>28</sup> Ἀθανάσι(ο)ς ἀλλὰ παρέβη  
 ἐκ τῶν τοιοῦτ(ων) ὅρων. (Καί) πάλιν ἀπεστείλαμεν τρεῖς ἡγουμένους,  
 τὸν ||<sup>29</sup> τε κὺ(ρ) Μιχαῆλ τοῦ Ῥαβδᾶ (καί) τὸν κὺ(ρ) Ἡλίαν τοῦ Σικελλοῦ  
 (καί) τὸν κὺ(ρ) Κοσμᾶν τοῦ Κάσ||<sup>30</sup>πακος, ὅπως ἀγάγωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ  
 (καί) τοῦ δικαίωματος αὐτοῦ εἰ καὶ ἔχοιεν (καί) περίεστι· ||<sup>31</sup> (καί)  
 οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἴσχυσαν ἀγάγει αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐξεῖπον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 κὺ(ρ) Ἀθανασίου ||<sup>32</sup> ὅτι· ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν δὲ οἶδα ὅτι  
 ἐπταίσαμεν, (καί) διὰ τὸν Θε(ο)ν διαχωρή-||<sup>33</sup>[σα]τε (καί) ποιήσατε  
 χαρτίον τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν με μετὰ τ(ῶν) γειτῶνων μου, (καί) ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν  
 διορθώνομαι. ||<sup>34</sup> (Καί) διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐμμένειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐνί, προσέταξεν ὁ  
 πρῶτ(ος) κοινῆ πάντων γνώμη (καί) βουλῆ τοῦ ||<sup>35</sup> γενέσθαι χωρισμόν,  
 (καί) ἐστὶ ὁ περιορισμὸς οὕτως· καθὼς ἀπάρχετ(αι) ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 ||<sup>36</sup> (καί) ἀνέρχετ(αι) διὰ τοῦ τροχάλου τοῦ ἀνάμεσον τ(ῶν) ἀμπελί(ων)  
 ἀμφοτέρων ἕως εἰς τὸ πλάγη (καί) ἀνατρέ-||<sup>37</sup>χει εἰς τ[ὸν] πρίνον τὸν  
 ἰστάμ(ενον) εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πλάγη (καί) διέρχετ(αι) τῆ ἰσότητ(ι) [εἰς] τ(ῆν)  
 ἄσπριν πέτραν ||<sup>38</sup> [τῆν] ῥίζ[η]μαί[αν] τὴν ἰσταμένην εἰς τὸν ἀπότραφον  
 τῆς φυτείας τῆς καμωθείσης παραλόγως ||<sup>39</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ κὺ(ρ) Ἀθανασίου,  
 ἐξῆς (καί) κλήματ(α) ἀνεσπάσαμεν (καί) πέτρας ἄσπρας ἐστήσαμεν εἰς  
 τύπο(ν) ||<sup>40</sup> συνόρων· (καί) ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόρων ἀνέρχετ(αι) εἰς τὴν  
 ἀγριελαίαν (καί) ἀποδίδη εἰς τὰς ||<sup>41</sup> τέσσαρας πέτρας τὰς ῥίζημαίας  
 τὰς ἰσταμένας πλησί(ον) ἀλλήλας πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. (Καί) ἐπεδώθη) ||<sup>42</sup>  
 τῷ ἐκάστῳ ἀρμόζων αὐτῶν μέρος. Ὅστις οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν φοραθῆ πρὸς  
 μάχην (καί) ἀνα-||<sup>43</sup>τροπ(ῆν) χωρῆσαι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν κριθέντ(α) (καί)  
 ὀρισθέντ(α), ἐν πρώτοις μὲν ἐχέτω τὴν ἀράν τῶν ἀγί(ων) ||<sup>44</sup> π(ατέ)ρων,  
 (καί) εἴθ' οὕτως μὴ ἀκούεσθ(αι) αὐτὸν παρὰ μηδενὸς κριτηρίου, ἀλλὰ  
 (καί) ἐκπιπέτω ἐκ τοῦ ||<sup>45</sup> δικαίωματος αὐτοῦ (καί) προσκυρούσθ(ω)  
 πρὸς τῷ ἐμμένοντ(ι) μέρει· ἀλλὰ (καί) τὸ δικαίωμα ὅπερ λέγει ||<sup>46</sup> ἔχειν  
 ὁ μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) Ἀθανασιο(ς) μὴ ἀκούεσθω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τὸ σύνολον, ἀλλ'

εἶναι αὐτὸ ἄκυρον (καὶ) ἀβέ-||<sup>47</sup>βαιον, Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ (καὶ) τὸ παρὸν ὑπόμνημα ἐξετέθη, γραφὲν διὰ χειρὸς Γεωργίου μ(ονα)χ(οῦ) ||<sup>48</sup> (καὶ) ἡγουμ(ένου) μο(νῆς) τοῦ κῦ(ρ) Φιλ(ο)θ(έου), μηνὶ (καὶ) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) τῆ προγεγραμμέ(νῃ) ἐν ἔτει ,σφκδ’.

||<sup>49</sup> † Νικηφο(ρος) ὁ (πρῶτος).

† Νηκόλα(ος) πρεσβύτ(ερος) του Βατοπεδ(ίου) προτραπ(εῖς) ||<sup>50</sup> παρὰ [τοῦ] κυρου Συμε(ὼν) υπ(έγραφα) ἰδιοχιρος. †

||<sup>51</sup> † Συμεὼν μο(να)χ(ὸς) ὁ Λουτρακηνός.

† Κυρηλλο(ς) μοναχ(ὸς) εἰγουμενο(ς).

||<sup>52</sup> † Νικηφό(ρος) μο(να)χ(ὸς) ὁ του Στραβωνικήτ(α). †

||<sup>53</sup> † Θεοκτηστος μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) ο του Εσφαυμενου.

||<sup>54</sup> † Μηχ(αήλ) μο(να)χ(ὸς) κε ηγουμενος του ΄Ραυδα.

† Ευστρατ(ιος) ηγουμενο(ς) ο Γοματ(ου).

||<sup>55</sup> † Νικηφο(ρος) (μον)αχ(ὸς) του Ζυγου.

† Νιφων μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) του Ζυγου ηγουμενος.

||<sup>56</sup> † Ἡλίας μο(να)χ(ὸς) ἡγούμενος του Σικελοῦ

† Κοσμᾶς μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) (καὶ) ηγου(μενος) του Κα[σπακος].

||<sup>57</sup> † Νηκητας μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) κε πρε(σβύτερος) του (πρώτου).

||<sup>58</sup> † Κοσμ(ᾶς) μο(να)χ(ὸς) κε ηγουμ(ε)νος ο Τορναρις. †

† Νηκηφορος μοναχος.

||<sup>59</sup> † Γεώργιος μο(να)χ(ὸς) (καὶ) ηγουμενο(ς) του Σιδεροκαστρου.

||<sup>60</sup> † Νικ[όλ]αος μο(να)χ(ὸς) (καὶ) ἡγούμενο(ς) μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Τρύφωνο(ς). †

||<sup>61</sup> † Νίκων μ(ονα)χ(ὸς) (καὶ) πρε(σβύτερος) (καὶ) ἡγούμ(ενος) μονῆς τοῦ Παφλάγονος.

### Act no. 3

#### DOCUMENT OF THE SUPERIOR OF MEGISTE LAVRA, ATHANASIOS, CONCERNING A VINEYARD ADJACENT TO THE MONASTERY OF BOULEUTERIA

March, *indiction* 13, 6538 (1030)

**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 13)

**Description:** No original is available in the archives of St. Paul. However, the document is preserved in several copies:

**Variant no. 1.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 45. It is

written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 150 x 300 mm. Its preservation is poor as there are numerous stains caused by moisture, and ruptures along the folds. Part of the right side of the document is missing. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Isidoros Glavas.

**Variante no. 3.** 19th century copy kept in folder no. 25 of the Turkish archives as act no. 118. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 475 x 350 mm.

**Variante no. 4.** Typewritten 20th century copy kept in folder no. 25 of the Turkish archives as act no. 137<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** Introduction stating that what has been agreed upon by the earlier Athonite fathers must be respected and kept unchanged. For this reason, the superior of Megiste Lavra Athanasios and his monks acknowledged that the abbot of the monastery of Xeropotamou, Anthony, was the legal possessor of a vineyard which had been planted by the late Paul of Xeropotamou at a locality known as “of Metrophanes”. This vineyard was located between the properties of the monasteries of Bouleuteria and Xeropotamou, on the ridge that separated the possessions of Megiste Lavra from that of Bouleuteria. The fact that this vineyard belonged to Xeropotamou had already been acknowledged by Athanasios’s predecessor Eustratios. If anyone ever attempted to violate the present arrangement by ceding the vineyard to Megiste Lavra, i.e. to the nearby monastery of Bouleuteria, his claims should not be taken into consideration at all. The document was composed by the *hegoumenos* of Megiste Lavra, Athanasios, and was signed by the elders of his monastery in March 6538, *indiction* 13th.

Signatures: 1. Peter, *oikonomos*; 2. Lawrence, priest; 3. Matthew, priest; 4. Peter, priest; 5. Nicholas, priest; 6. Elias, priest; 7. Ephraim, priest; 8. Agapios, deacon; 9. Theodosios, *parekklesiarches*.

Authentication of the copy signed by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Isidoros.

**Remarks:** Isidoros Glavas was the metropolitan of Thessalonica from May 1380 to September 1384 and from October 1385 to January 1396<sup>2</sup>. Given the fact that the abandoned Monastery of St. Paul was renovated and repopulated by the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja in 1383-1384<sup>3</sup>, the two founders could have pro-

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 32.

2. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 69-71 and 295.

3. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 207-254 and 215-216; Кораћ, *Света Гора*, 132-133.

duced our Variant no. 2 to Isidoros Glavas for confirmation only between 1384 and 1396.

**Prosopography:** On the protagonist of our act, the abbot of Bouleuteria Athanasios and his late uncle Eustratios, see the prosopography of our **act no. 1**. Cf. also Lavra I, 177-181, acts nos. 26 and 27.

**Topography:** On the Monastery of Bouleuteria cf. the topography of our **act no. 1** (see also **map no. 5**).

**Editions:** Καλλιγᾶς, *Ἀθωνιάς*, 60-61; Πίστης, *Περιγραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 49; Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια*, 233-234; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 256-257, no. 3; *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 44-45.

**Bibliography:** Σμυρνάκης, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 415, 602; Guillou-Bom-paire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 184. Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 24; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 32-33, no. 3.

### Text:

† Ἐπεὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν συμφωνηθέντα καὶ στοιχειωθέντα δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀμετάτρεπτα διατηρεῖσθαι [καὶ] ἀναλλοίωτα, ||<sup>2</sup> θέλω καὶ βούλομαι κἀγὼ ὁ ταπεινὸς Ἀθανάσιος καὶ τῆς Λάβρας προεστῶς ἅμα τῇ ἀδελφότητι, τὸν καταφυτευθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μητροφάνους τοποθεσίᾳ ||<sup>3</sup> ἀμπελῶνα παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου κῦρ Παύλου τοῦ Ἐηροποταμίτου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀδελφῶν, ἀρεσκείᾳ καὶ κρίσει τῶν τε τοῦ Ὄρους γερόντων καὶ τοῦ ἀποι-||<sup>4</sup>χομένου ἡμετέρου κῦρ Εὐστρατίου, δεσπόμενοι παρὰ τε σοῦ τοῦ κῦρ Αντωνίου (καὶ) καθηγουμένου τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς καὶ τῶν σῶν διαδόχων ||<sup>5</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντας χρόνους, καθὼς διαχωρίζει ὁ τρόχαλος τὰ τε τῶν Βουλευτηρίων καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα. Εἰ δέ τις ποτε καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ ||<sup>6</sup> φωραθείη ἀνατρέπων, τὰ τε παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κεκριμένα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Εὐστρατίου συμφωνηθέντα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν οἰκο-||<sup>7</sup>[νο]μηθέντα μερικῶς ἢ καθόλου ἀνατρέπων, καὶ ἐπιζητῶν εἰς τὴν δεσποτείαν τῆς Λάβρας ἦτοι τῶν πλησιαζόντων Βουλευτηρίων ||<sup>8</sup> τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀμπελῶνα, μὴ ἀκούεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ὡς κρίσεων π(ατ)ρικῶν παραβάτην ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐκδιώκεσθαι προσώπου ||<sup>9</sup> καὶ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπισπᾶσθαι. Ἐγράφη χειρὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀθανασίου καὶ προεστῶτος τῆς Λάβρας καὶ ὑπεγράφη ||<sup>10</sup> παρὰ τῶν προκρίτων ἀδελφῶν, μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ' ἔτους ,σφλη'. † Εἶχε καὶ ὑπογραφὰς τὸ πρωτότυπον ταῦ[τας].

||<sup>11</sup> † Πέτρος μοναχὸς καὶ οἰκονόμος.

† Λαυρέντιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.

† Ματθαῖος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.

† Πέτρο[ς] ||<sup>12</sup> μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.

- † Νικόλαος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.  
 † Ἡλίας μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.  
 † Ἐφραίμ μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.  
 ||<sup>13</sup> † Ἀγάπιος μοναχὸς καὶ διάκονος.  
 † Θεοδόσιος μοναχὸς καὶ παρεκκλησιάρχ(ης).  
 † Τὸ παρὸν ἀντιβληθὲν γράμμα καὶ κατὰ πάντα εὔρεθὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐ[ξι]-  
 ||<sup>14</sup>σάζον πρωτοτύπῳ, ὑπ(ε)γ(ράφη) παρ' ἐμοῦ.  
 ||<sup>15</sup> † Ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰσίδωρος.

#### Act no. 4

#### 4. DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* PAUL CONCERNING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND OF HIEROPATOR

May 6579 (1071), *indiction* 9

**Type of the document:** δικαίωμα (l. 31)

**Description:** Early 19th century copy which was authenticated by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Gregory V before 1821. It is kept in archival folder A, section Ἀντίγραφα μοναστηριακῶν ἐγγράφων, 1071-1839 (Copies of monastic documents) as act no. 2, and is written with black ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 540 x 400 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>. Its prototype is kept in Vatopedi.

**Analysis:** During the regular meeting of the abbots of Mount Athos which was taking place every Easter, the abbot of Vatopedi Theodosios asked the *protos* Paul to demarcate the mountain of Hieropator which belonged to his monastery. This area had been donated to Vatopedi by a person named Hieropator for his spiritual salvation. Hieropator had issued a special act of donation concerning the case. Satisfying the request of Vatopedi Paul and several Athonite abbots visited the locality in question. They studied the correlated documents and discussed the situation. The Vatopedan monks claimed that the border of their property started from the left stream, while the representatives of the Monastery of Kallinikou supported that it started from the right rivulet. The *protos* wanted to settle the difference peacefully, so he authorized the abbot of Kallinikou, Paul, to demarcate the terrain in person. Theodosios of Vatopedi did not want to create problems and obeyed. Paul of

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου, 33.

Kallinikou, however, procrastinated, pretending that he was not cognizant of the area. In fact, he authorized his assistant Leontios to define the borders, because he knew them better. With the agreement of both parties, Leontios took the Holy Cross from the hands of the *protos* and declared that from whatever point he passed, the land to the left of it would belong to the Monastery of Kallinikou, and the land to the right of it to Vatopedi, because such a clause was included in the dedicatory document of the Hieropator. 1. The first border line started from a crossroad near the so-called Bathys Rhyax (Deep Stream), followed the said stream for a while, crossed a trail descending from a locality named Kastanites, climbed up along a small rivulet, and reached a massive outcrop of rocks. On these rocks the abbots engraved a new border mark. The border then crossed a small plain and reached a single fir tree, to the south of which there was another large outcrop of rocks. On these rocks the abbots engraved a second border mark. 2. The second border line started from the same crossroad near the so-called Bathys Rhyax or Deep Stream. It followed a small stream to the north reaching a place where the abbots engraved a border mark on a chestnut tree. The border then turned to the west and crossed a trail running from Kastanites to Tzernoglavos. At this place the abbots engraved a border mark on another chestnut tree. Next, the border met a dry stream from its right side and ascended to a point at which the land to the right belonged to Tzernoglavos, while the land to the left was the property of Hieropator. The border continued along a stream with very steep banks which was full with stone slabs, and crossed the trail descending to the land of Tzernoglavos. At this place the abbots engraved another border mark. The border then left the rivulet to its right and ascended a hill scattered with large rocks. It passed near a trail descending to the Monastery of Philotheou, then turned to the east and ended at an oak tree with an old border mark. In this way the land of Hieropator was fully delimited and both contestants were satisfied. The demarcated land belonged exclusively to Vatopedi and nobody was allowed to trespass on it. Standard religious formulae directed against the potential violators of the present agreement. The document was finally delivered to Vatopedi. It was composed by the abbot of Hierakares Gregory.

Signatures: 1. Paul, *protos*; 2. Hilarion from the Monastery of St. Nikephoros; 3. Nikephoros, abbot of the Monastery of Verroiotou; 4. Nikephoros of Kaletzis; 5. Sisoës; 6. Nikodemos, abbot of the Monastery of Loutrakiou (illiterate); 7. Theodore from the Monastery of St. George of Xenophontos; 8. Anthony, abbot of the Monastery of Opti-

aras; 9. Peter from the Monastery of Kato Monai; 10. Michael, abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles of Dometiou; 11. Ioannikios of Aristoboulou (illiterate); 12. Ioannikios, abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles of Glossia; 13. Niketas, abbot of Saravaros; 14. Paul, abbot of the Monastery of Kalon Geronton; 15. Demetrios of Dermatas; 16. Dometios, abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity.

**Prosopography:** Two very specific personal names are mentioned in the act – **Hieropator** and **Tzernoglavos**. Hieropator (l. 2-3, 10) was the person who had donated to Vatopedi the heavily forested terrain described and delimited in our document. However, the only remark made about him by the French editors of the Byzantine archives of Vatopedi is: “*un personnage au surnom singulier*”<sup>1</sup>. In reality, we know nothing about Hieropator except that in Greek his name means “the one whose father is holy”. As far as the name Tzernoglavos is concerned, in the text this unmistakably Slavic word appears only as a neighbouring toponym (l. 17 and 19). However, it must have initially been a nickname because in Slavic it means “black headed”<sup>2</sup>. In other words, based on our document, two or three decades before 1071 a person decorated with the purely Slavic sobriquet *Černoglav* possessed a piece of land in the district to the southeast of what is today the Monastery of Philotheou.

**Topography:** The Monastery of **Kallinikou**, which is frequently referred to in our document and had contested the donation of Hieropator to Vatopedi, was situated near what is today the Monastery of Philotheou and in the close vicinity of the medieval monasteries of Kaspakos and Chaldou<sup>3</sup>, which do not exist today.

**Editions:** Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια*, 218-219 (partial edition); Vatopédi I, 102-108, no. 9.

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Ἀγίου Παύλου*, no. 15; Vatopédi I, 102-106; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 33-35, no. 4.

**Text:**

Κατὰ τὸν Μάϊον μῆνα τοῦ ζψοθ' ἔτους τῆς ἐνισταμένης θ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, καθολικῆς Συνάξεως γενομένης ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τοῦ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίου Ὁρους, ἠτήσατο ἡμᾶς ὁ μοναχὸς κύρ Θεοδόσιος ὁ καθηγούμενος ||<sup>2</sup> τῆς λαύρας τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, τὸν τε

1. Cf. Vatopédi I, 28 and 104.

2. See Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 194-195.

3. Cf. *Actes de Philothée*, 5, no. 1, l. 115-123; Vatopédi I, 104.

εὐλαβέστατον καὶ πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν πατέρα κύρ Παῦλον καὶ πρῶτον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι καθηγουμένοις τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαχωρίσαι τὸ ὄρος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαύρας τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦ Ἱερωπάτορος, ὅπερ δέδωκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ||<sup>3</sup> Ἱερωπάτωρ δι' ἐγγράφου δωρεᾶς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ῥηθείσαν λαῦραν τοῦ Βατοπεδίου εἰς τελείαν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον δωρεάν ψυχικῆς ἔνεκα σωτηρίας καὶ σωματικῆς ἀναπαύσεως. Εἴξαντες τοίνυν τῇ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσει ὁ τε μοναχὸς ||<sup>4</sup> καὶ πνευματικὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ κύρ Παῦλος καὶ πρῶτος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γέροντες, οἱ καὶ κατωτέρω διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπογραφῶν δηλωθήσονται, γεγόναμεν σὺν αὐτῶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. Καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἡμῶν ἐπανοίξας τὰ αὐτοῦ δικαιώματα, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Βατοπεδίου διενίσταντο ||<sup>5</sup> τὸ ἀριστερὸν ὑπάρχει ῥυάκιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Καλλινίκου ἀντέλεγον μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνερχόμενον δεξιὰ. Ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ καὶ πρῶτος, διαχωρισμὸν εἰρηνικὸν ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβραβεῦσαι σπεύδων, ||<sup>6</sup> ᾧ δέδοκεν τῷ μοναχῷ Παύλῳ καὶ καθηγουμένῳ μονῆς τοῦ Καλλινίκου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἅπασαν τοῦ διαχωρίσαι διὰ τοῦ τίμιου σταυροῦ. Ὁ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονῆς κύρ Θεοδόσιος, πνευματικὸς ὢν καὶ τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ ἀφιλόνηκον διώκων, ||<sup>7</sup> ἠρέσθη τε καὶ ὑπήκουσεν. Ἀνεβάλετο δὲ ὁ ῥηθεὶς μοναχὸς Παῦλος τὸν διαχωρισμὸν τοῦ τόπου, ἀγνοεῖν προβαλλόμενος καὶ μὴ γινώσκειν ὁμολογῶν κατὰ ἀκριβείαν αὐτόν, παρεβάλλετο δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν μοναχὸν ||<sup>8</sup> Λεόντιον καὶ ὑπουργὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ ἐπιγινώσκειν τὸν τοιοῦτον περιορισμὸν. Καὶ ἀμφωτέρων τῶν μερῶν ἀρεσθέντων, ἐπεδόθη ὁ τίμιος σταυρὸς τῷ ῥηθέντι μοναχῷ Λεοντίῳ, ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ χείρας τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ||<sup>9</sup> πρώτου ταῖς ἰδίαις λαβῶν χερσίν, ἐνώπιον πάντων μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἐξεῖπεν οὗτος ὡς· μὰ τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ὃν εἰς σφῶν κατέχον χείρας, ὅθεν καὶ διέρχομεν τὰ μὲν ἀριστερὰ μέρη εἰς ||<sup>10</sup> τῆς τοῦ Καλλινίκου μονῆς, τὰ δὲ δεξιὰ εἰσὶν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἱερωπάτορος δωρεᾶς. Δι' οὗ καὶ ἐχωρίσθη οὕτως· καθὼς ἀπάρχεται ἀπὸ τὴν δικρία τοῦ Βαθέος Ῥύακος, καὶ ἀνατρέχει περικόπτων ||<sup>11</sup> τὴν στράταν τὴν κατερχομένην ἐκ τὸν Καστανίτην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὄστρέα μεγάλῃ ἴσταται καὶ ὕδωρ κατέρχεται, καὶ ἀνέρχεται τὸ αὐτὸ ῥυάκιν μικρόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πέτρα ἐστὶ καὶ ῥάσει τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ κατερχόμενον ἀπὸ ||<sup>12</sup> ὕψους, καὶ ἀνέρχεται τὸ αὐτὸ ῥυάκιν τῇ ἰσότητι μικρόν εἰς τόπον κάμψην ἔχον μικρὰν ὡς πρὸς νότον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πέτρα ἐσφραγήσθη ῥιζημαία καὶ ὄστρέα μεγάλῃ ἴσταται, καὶ ἀνατρέχει τὸ αὐτὸ ῥυάκιν ||<sup>13</sup> τόπον πεδινὸν καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς ἔλατον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πέτρα πρὸς νότον ῥιζημαία ἐσφραγίσθη, καὶ ἀναβαίνει τῇ ἰσότητι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πετρα ἴσταται μέσον μέχρι τῆς δικρίας καὶ ἄκανος ἴσταται χαραγμένος· ||<sup>14</sup> ἐκεῖθεν διαλαμβάνον ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀνέρχεται τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρι πετρίας ῥιζημαίας πλατείας, ἣ καὶ

ἐσφραγήσθη, εἶτα ἀνέρχεται ἕως δικρίας τινός, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὕδωρ κατέρχεται ἐκ ξηρορυακίου, κάκειθεν ἀνέρχεται ||<sup>15</sup> ξηρορυάκιν ἐξ αριστερῶν, καὶ κρατεῖ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς καστανέα, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρα κεῖται πλησίον ῥηζημαία, ἣ καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη καὶ ὁ τοῦ ρυακίου πεπλήρωται τύπος· εἶτα ἀνέρχεται ||<sup>16</sup> ὡσεὶ λιθίου βολῆ τῇ ἰσότητι καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν στράταν τοῦ ῥάχωνος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δρὺς ἐσφραγίσθη. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ρυάκι, τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον καθὼς ἀπάρχεται ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν δικρία ἀπὸ ||<sup>17</sup> τοῦ Βαθέου Ῥύακος, ἔνθα καὶ καστανέα ἐσφραγίσθη, καὶ ἀνατρέχει πρὸς δύοσιν μικρὸν περικόπτων τὴν αὐτὴν στράταν τὴν κατερχομένην ἐκ τὸν Καστανίτην πρὸς τοῦ Τζερνογλάβου, ἔνθα καὶ ||<sup>18</sup> καστανέα ἐσφραγίσθη· εἶτα εὐρίσκει ὡς τύπον ξηρορυακίου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀφεῖ αὐτὸ ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ ἀνέρχεται τὸν αὐτὸν ρυακὸν τὸν καὶ κρεμνώδη ὄντα, ἔνθα καὶ ὀστρέα ἴσταται καὶ ||<sup>19</sup> ἐσφραγίσθη, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἰς τὴν ῥίζαν αὐτῆς πέτρα μεγάλη κεῖται, ἧ καὶ τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐσφραγίσθησαν, καὶ κρατῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκι ἀνατρέχον, καταλιμπάνων δεξιὰ μὲν τοῦ Τζερνογλάβου, ||<sup>20</sup> ἀριστερὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἰερωπάτορος· εἶτα ἀνατρέχει τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιν, δύοσβατον ὄν καὶ κρεμνώδες, ἔχοντα καὶ πλάκας, ἴσταται δὲ μέσων αὐτῶν σκληθρος, καὶ ἀνατρέχει τῇ ἰσότητι, ||<sup>21</sup> ἔνθα εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ἐσφραγίσθη καστανέα καὶ ἀντικρυς αὐτοῦ πέτραι μεγάλαι κρέμονται· εἶτα περνᾷ τὴν στράταν τὴν κατερχομένην ἀπὸ τὰς Ὀξεάς εἰς τοῦ Τζερνογλάβου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὀξεά ||<sup>22</sup> ἐσφραγίσθη, καὶ κρατεῖ τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκι τῇ ἰσότητι ἀφίον ἐκ δεξιῶν ρυακίτζιν μικρὸν ἔχοντα σπάσματα, καὶ κρατεῖ ἀριστερὰ καὶ ἀνέρχεται ὀλίγον ἔνθα καὶ σπάσματα εἰσὶν καὶ δρὺς ||<sup>23</sup> ἐσφραγίσθη, καὶ πληρώνεται ὁ τοῦ ρυακίου τύπος, καὶ ἀνέρχεται βουνίτζιν μικρὸν ἔχον καὶ πέτρας μεγάλας, ἔνθα καὶ καστανέα ἐσφραγίσθη, καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν στράταν τὴν κατερχομένην ||<sup>24</sup> ἀπὸ τὰς Ὀξεάς εἰς τοῦ Φιλοθέου, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ καὶ καστανέα ἐσφραγίσθη, ὡς δηλαδὴ τὰ καταρέοντα πάντα πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς, καὶ διέρχεται τὴν αὐτὴν στράταν ὡς πρὸς νώτον τὸν ||<sup>25</sup> ῥάχωνα ἕως τόπου πετρώδους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καστανέα ἴσταται καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς δένδρα δύο εἰσὶν ἧ καὶ ἐσφραγίσθησαν, καὶ κάμπει πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς, κρατεῖ τῇ ἰσότητι καὶ ἀπέρχεται ἕως ||<sup>26</sup> τὸν δρὺν τὸν ἐσφραγισμένον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δίστρατον ὑπάρχει. Οὕτω τοῖνον εὐσεβῶς καὶ μετα φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ διαχωρισθέντα, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ||<sup>27</sup> τὰ μέρη ἀρεσθέντα, τὸ παρὸν ἐξετέθη δικαίωμα ὡσάν ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντας καὶ διηνεκεῖς χρόνους ἔχειν αὐτὸ εἰς ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν, κυριότητά τε καὶ ||<sup>28</sup> τελείαν δεσποτείαν ἢ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονῆ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ ὅσα καὶ βούλεται, μὴ παρά τῆνος τὸ οἰονοῦν ἐμποδιζομένη ἢ κωλυομένη. Εἰ δὲ γε ποτὲ καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ φωραθεῖ ||<sup>29</sup> τις ἐκ τῶν γειτνιαζόντων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ εἰς λογομαχίας

καὶ ἀνατροπὴν καὶ ἐγκλήσεις περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου χωρίσαι, ἐν πρώτοις μὲν ἐκ παντὸς δικαστηρίου ||<sup>30</sup> εἴργεται κατισχυμένος, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν τῶν τριακοσίων ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἁγίων θεοφόρων πατέρων ἐπισπάσεται ὡς ὑπερβαίνων ὄρια πατέρων καὶ μὴ ἐμμενόντων ||<sup>31</sup> ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον. Ἐπι τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ παρὸν δικαίωμα διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπογραφῶν βεβαιωθὲν ἐπεδόθη τῇ ῥηθείᾳ λαύρα τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, μὴνι καὶ ἰνδικτιῶνι τοῖς ||<sup>32</sup> προγεγραμένοις, γραφὲν προστάξει ἡμετέρα χεiri Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἱερακάρη προεστῶτος, παρουσίᾳ τῶν ὑπογραψάντων μαρτύρων·

||<sup>33</sup> † Παῦλος μοναχὸς καὶ πρώτος.

† Ἰλαρίων μοναχὸς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικηφόρου.

||<sup>34</sup> † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Βεροιώτου.

† Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς ὁ Καλέτζης.

||<sup>35</sup> † Σισώης μοναχὸς μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

† Νικόδημος μοναχὸς καὶ καθηγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Λουτρακίου μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα τὸν μὲν σταυρὸν ἰδιοχείρως τὸ δὲ ὕφος διὰ τοῦ γραφέως.

||<sup>36</sup> † Θεόδωρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσθύτερος ὁ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ κύρ Ξενοφῶντος μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα οἰκεία χεiri.

† Ἀντώνιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Ὀπτιαρᾶ μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

||<sup>37</sup> † Πέτρος μοναχὸς μονῆς τῶν Κάτω Μονῶν μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

||<sup>38</sup> † Μιχαὴλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων τοῦ Δομετίου. †

† Ἰωαννίκιος μοναχὸς τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα τὸν μὲν σταυρὸν ἰδιοχείρως, τὸ δὲ ὕφος διὰ τοῦ γραφέως.

||<sup>39</sup> † Ἰωαννίκιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων τῶν Γλωσσίων ὑπέγραψα οἰκεία χεiri.

||<sup>40</sup> † Νηκῆτας μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Σαράδαρος ὑπέγραψα.

† Παῦλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ||<sup>41</sup> τῶν Καλῶν Γερόντων οἰκεία χεiri ὑπέγραψα.

||<sup>42</sup> † Δημήτριος μοναχὸς τοῦ Δερματᾶ.

† Δομέτιος καὶ καθηγούμενος μονῆς τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

## Act no. 5

CHRYSOBULL OF MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS  
CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF THE MONASTERY OF  
ESPHIGMENOU

June 6767 (1259), *indiction* 2

**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 20, 34-35, 54, 68-69)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 5. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 1000 x 290 mm. The emperor's signature is written with cinnabar. The act is poorly preserved, the text has faded and there are multiple traces of moisture and several ruptures along the folds. The beginning of the text is heavily damaged and the first 7 lines are scarcely readable. The back of the charter is glued to a piece of paper which has covered parts of the text in the left, right and bottom margins<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** Standard theological introduction underscoring that the emperor was benevolently responding to the requests of those who were asking him for help. The monks of the Athonite Monastery of Esphigmenou had requested the emperor to promulgate a new chrysobull in order to confirm all their properties which were described in their ancient chrysobulls and *horismoi*. Michael VIII thereby corroborated that Esphigmenou owned the following estates: 1. The dependency of St. George at the locality Provlakas with its agricultural terrains, vineyards and watermill; 2. The dependency of St. Nicholas Skoutaras with its *paroikoi*, agricultural terrains, vineyards and watermill; 3. The dependency of Sts. Anargyroi at the village of Krosouvo near the Strymon River with all its agricultural terrains, vineyards and watermill. Esphigmenou already possessed two thirds of the village of Krousovo. With the present chrysobull Michael VIII also gave it the remaining one third part of Krousovo, and thus the entire village became the property of Esphigmenou; 4. Land of 5 *zeugaria* from a terrain known as Vrasta; 5. The dependency of Laimin with all its property, *paroikoi* and watermill; 6. The arable land of Moursa which totalled 412 *modioi*; 7. The dependency of St. George at Stephaniana with its *paroikoi*, agricultural terrains, vineyards, watermill and the income from the local annual festival of St. George; 8. A dependency in Thessalonica located in the quarter of Asomatoi; 9. The village of Portaria with all its vine-

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 36.

yards, arable and fallow land, and abandoned estates; 10. In the village of Siderokausia, the *paroikos* Basil Chalkeus, his two sons, George and Marinos, and their property. The aforementioned estates of Esphigmenou were exempted from all public taxes which already existed or could be instituted, namely *angareia*, *parangareia*, *zemia*, *psomozemia*, *ekbole ploimon*, *zeugologion*, *aplektou apaitesis*, *melissoennomion*, and *choiroennomion*. The only exclusion was the tax known as *ta tria kephalaia*, i.e. the annual payment for homicide, treasure trove or rape that might happen in the vicinity of the said properties. This tax had to be paid to the fisc. No state officials were allowed to require the payment of taxes or to trespass on the property of the monastery. Standard final confirmative clauses emphasizing that the document was issued for the protection of the monks.

Signature: Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos, emperor of the *Rhomaioi*.

**Remarks:**

I. The so-called “*kratos* rule”, which usually supports the authenticity of the genuine Byzantine chrysobulls from the Palaiologan period, is not violated, since in the invariable final phrase ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο κράτος the word *kratos*, which in our chrysobull is almost unreadable, is used in accordance with the rule, i.e. it is the first word on the last line of the text and the only word before the emperor’s signature (θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο ||<sup>73</sup> κράτος, l. 72-73). The *kanikloma* – the triple repetition of the word *logos* in three different cases – is also correct and consists of one accusative (l. 20), one genitive (l. 35) and one nominative case (l. 54)<sup>1</sup>.

II. As far as the list of taxes and charges on l. 57-59 is concerned – *angareia*, *parangareia*, *zemia*, *psomozemia*, *ekbole ploimon*, *zeugologion*, *aplektou apaitesis*, *melissoennomion*, and *choiroennomion*, along general lines these were the basic tax exemptions which were normally granted by the Byzantine emperors and despots to the properties of the Athonite monasteries. However, there are some details which must be explained:

II. 1. *Angareia* and *parangareia* (l. 57). In Byzantium *angareia* was a term designating both state and private corvée. It was initially connected with providing unpaid service for facilitating the movement of state officials and army detachments along the roads of the empire. The variant *angareia* referred to the main roads, while *parangareia* to the

1. Cf. Dölger–Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 29, 36 and 117–125; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Βυζαντινὴ διπλωματικὴ*, 261–264.

secondary roads, and this arrangement was registered in the late 9th century collection of laws known as the *Basilics (ta Basilika)*. During the Palaiologan period *angareia* denoted all the sorts of unpaid labor, regardless if it was imposed by private persons (*archontike*) or by the state (*demosiake angareia*)<sup>1</sup>.

II. 2. *Zemia* (l. 57) was a charge paid for having caused a damage or loss, as well as for having delayed a payment due to the tax collectors<sup>2</sup>.

3. *Psomozemia* (l. 57) was a sort of corvée connected with bread supply. It was also mentioned in two chrysobulls which the Serbian Czar Stephen Dušan granted to Vatopedi in 1346 and 1348<sup>3</sup>.

II. 4. *Ekbole ploimon* (l. 57) was the obligation of the tax payers to provide, in some cases, recruits for the navy<sup>4</sup>.

II. 5. *Ennomion* was the charge paid for the use of pasture land (l. 58: *melissoennomion* and *choiroennomion*). It also denoted a tax imposed on all kinds of domestic animals and in documents of the Palaiologan period it already appeared as a regular annual payment<sup>5</sup>.

II. 6. *Zeugologion* (l. 58) was the tax paid for possessing a pair of oxen<sup>6</sup>.

II. 7. *Aplektou apaitesis* (l. 58) was the obligation of the tax payers to accommodate in their houses travelling state and military officials and soldiers, as well as to sell them food at coercively low prices. However, the basic meaning of *aplektion* during all the Byzantine period was “military camp” (*stratopedon*)<sup>7</sup>.

II. 8. The fines *parthenophthoria* (rape), *phonos* (murder) and *heuresis thesaurou* (treasure trove) were also known as “the three capital items” (*ta tria demosiaka kephalaia*). They were initially levied on the peasants only in a case that a murder, rape or treasure trove had taken place near their village and the offender was not discovered. However, from the 13th century onward the term already denoted a regular payment from

1. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 105-107; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, I, 53-56.

2. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 85-87; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, II, 270-271.

3. See Vatopedi II, no. 93, l. 30 and no. 97, l. 31. See also Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 108-109; Соловьев–Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 507.

4. Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, II, 114-116.

5. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 72-76; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, II, 167.

6. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 84; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, II, 269.

7. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 93-94; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, I, 140.

which the recipients of privileges were usually not exempted<sup>1</sup>.

### Topography:

1. The chrysobull says nothing about St. Paul, but the mention of the Esphigmenite dependency of **St. George** which was situated at the locality Provlakas (l. 25-26), i.e. in the isthmus that connects Mount Athos with the peninsula of Chalkidike, could probably explain why Michael VIII's chrysobull for Esphigmenou is presently kept in St. Paul. In 1469 the widow of Sultan Murad II, the Serbian princess Mara Branković, bought the dependency in question from Esphigmenou and donated it to St. Paul<sup>2</sup>. It was probably then when Michael VIII's charter was delivered to the Monastery of St. Paul<sup>3</sup>.

2. The Esphigmenite dependency of **St. Nicholas Skoutaras** (l. 29-28) was located near the village of Vrasta, at the south foot of Mount Kerdyllion and to the northwest of Lake Bolbe. Based on Michael VIII's chrysobull, Esphigmenou also possessed at Vrasta land totaling 5 *zeugaria* (l. 39). Vrasta was renamed Vrasna in 1918 and today it is an abandoned settlement. The modern village of Nea Vrasna was founded in the 1960s on the coast of the Strymonic Gulf<sup>4</sup>.

3. The Esphigmenite dependency of **Sts. Anargyroi** in the village of Krousovon (l. 30-31) was situated near the mouth of the Strymon River to the north of Vrasna. The modern name of Krousovon is Kerdyllia<sup>5</sup>.

4. The Esphigmenite dependency of **St. George** in the settlement of Stephaniana (l. 43) was located at the south foot of Mount Kerdyllion, to the north of Lake Bolbe. The modern name of the village is Stephanina and it is situated at a short distance to the west of Vrasta<sup>6</sup>.

5. Esphigmenou also possessed the village of **Portaria** (l. 48) whose name has remained unchanged through the centuries. It is located in the central part of the Chalkidike Peninsula – between the villages of Arnaia and Hagios Prodromos<sup>7</sup>.

In 1300-1321 all the aforementioned properties of Esphigmenou were extensively described in 4 *praktika* or Byzantine delivery protocols which are still kept in the monastery's archives – in the *praktikon* of Demetrios Apelmenes (1300), in the *praktikon* of Constantine Kounalis, Demetrios Kontenos and Leon Kalognomon (1318), as well as in

1. ODB, III, 1591, 1668, and 2111.

2. See our acts nos. 45 and 51 A-B.

3. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 13, note 1.

4. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 355 and 402.

5. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 390.

6. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 421.

7. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 412.

two *praktika* of George Pharisaios composed in 1321<sup>1</sup>.

**Editions:** Εὐλόγιος, *Ἀυτοκρατορικά χρυσόβουλλα*, 679-680; *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 46-47; Esphigménou, 183-186, Appendix A.

**Bibliography:** Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρσόνησος τοῦ Ἄθω*, 269; D. Anastasijević, Les actes grecs des souverains serbes, *Byz* 12 (1937), 631; Д. Анастасијевић, Есфигменские акты царя Душана, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 10, Prague 1938, 60-64; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 258-260, no. 5; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 1875; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 184; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 1; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 36-37, no. 5.

**Text:**

||<sup>1</sup> [... 15-20 ...] ἀφιερῶσει μισθοληψίας ἀνταπόδοσις αὐτῶν [... 5-7 ...] ||<sup>2</sup> [... 6-8 ...] τὸ κυριακὸν λόγιον [... 15-20 ...] βασι[... 18-20 ...] ||<sup>3</sup> [... 25-30 ...]ται καὶ ἐν τ(οῖς) ἀνίσο[ις] κατὰ ||<sup>4</sup> ἀναλογίαν τὸ ἴσον ἐνδείκνυτ(αι) οἷς μετὰ πλέον τ(ῶν) ἄλλων τῷ θείῳ ||<sup>5</sup> [... 15-20 ...] καὶ [... 4-7 ...] διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτ(ῶν) ἠδύνηται (καὶ) γινώσκεται ||<sup>6</sup> [... 10-12 ...] εὐεργετούμενοι [μεί]ζονα (καὶ) τὸν ἔλεον ὁ μισθαποδότ(ης) ||<sup>7</sup> [πι]αρέχει τῷ εὐεργετοῦντι αὐτοῖς, ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ τῆς ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ [... 12-15 ...] ||<sup>8</sup> [... 14-16 ...] Τοῦτο (καὶ) ποθοῦσα ἡ βασιλ(εία) μου καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν δεομένων ||<sup>9</sup> [τῆς β]ασιλείας [μου εὐ]παραδέκτως τ(ὰς) παρακλήσεις προ(σ)δέχετ(αι), μάλιστα ||<sup>10</sup> δὲ τῶν ἄλλων [τῶν] Θ(ε)ῷ προ(σ)κολληθέντων καὶ ἀφιερωθέντων αὐτῷ ||<sup>11</sup> ὑψηλοτέρων γεγονότων τῆς κοσμικῆς τε τύρβης καὶ τῆς συγχύσε(ως), ||<sup>12</sup> [... 5-8 ...] διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐποιίας καὶ ἀγαθοεργίας [... 8-10 ...] ἡ βασιλ(εία) μου ||<sup>13</sup> πρὸς(ς) Θ(ε)ὸν καὶ τελεώτερον [ἐξ] αὐτοῦ ἔλεον πρὸς(ς) ἑαυτὴν ἐρανίζεται. ||<sup>14</sup> Τοῖνον ἐπεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν σεβασμίαν μ[ον]ῆν ||<sup>15</sup> τὴν ἀνά τὸ Ὄρος διακειμένην τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου ἐπ' ὀνόματι τε τιμωμέ[νην] ||<sup>16</sup> τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς Χ(ριστο)ῦ (καὶ) οὕτω π(ως) ἐπικεκλημένην τοῦ Ἐσφιγμένου ἀνέδραμον πρὸς(ς) τ(ὴν) βα(σι)λ(είαν) μ[ου] ||<sup>17</sup> καὶ ἠτήσαντο αὐτ(ὴν) χρυσόβουλλον ταύτ(ης) ἀπολυθῆναι τῆ κατ' αὐτ(οὺς) μονῆ ||<sup>18</sup> ἐπικυροῦν καὶ ἐδράζον τὸ προσὸν τὲ αὐτ(οῖς) χρυσόβουλλον τοὺς ὀρισμ(οὺς) ||<sup>19</sup> [καὶ λ]οιπὰ δικαιώματα τούτων, ἠυδόκησε τὰ περὶ τούτ(ου) καὶ ἡ βασιλ(εία) μου καὶ ||<sup>20</sup> τ(ὸν) παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ αὐτ(ῆς) ἐπορέγει τούτοις ||<sup>21</sup> δι οὗ καὶ διορίζεται κατέχειν αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ] νέ]μεσθαι ἀταράχως πάντη (καὶ) ||<sup>22</sup> ἀνενοχλήτ(ως)

1. Cf. Esphigménou, 66-72, act no. 8; 99-110, act no.14; 110-116, act no. 15; 116-124, no. 16.

τὰ ὀθενδήποτε (καί) ὀπωσδήποτ(ε) περιελθόντ(α) αὐτ(οῖς) ὀποιαδήτινα ||<sup>23</sup> κτήματα κ[αί] λοιπὰ ἀκίνητὰ τ[ε] καί κινήτὰ τὰ καί κατ[ε]χόμενα παρ' αὐ]τῶν ||<sup>24</sup> καί μηδεμί(αν) ὕφορᾶσθαι δυναστει(αν) ἢ ἀδικίαν ἀπὸ τινος(ς). Ἐχουσι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ||<sup>25</sup> οὕτως· μετόχιον ὁ Ἅγιος(ς) Γεώργιος τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον τοῦ Πρόβ[λακα] μετὰ ||<sup>26</sup> πάντων τῶν δικαίων (καί) προνομίων αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν χωραφίων, ἀμπ[ε]λώνων ||<sup>27</sup> (καί) τοῦ ἐν αὐτ(ῶ) ὕδρομυλικοῦ ἐργαστ(η)ρ(ί)ου· ἕτερον μετόχιον ὁ Ἅγ(ιος) Νικόλαος(ς) τὸ ||<sup>28</sup> καλούμενον τοῦ Σκουταρᾶ μετὰ πάσης τ(ῆς) περιοχῆς καί διακρατήσεως καί ||<sup>29</sup> κατοχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν παροίκων, χωραφίων, ἀμπ(ε)λ(ώνων) (καί) τοῦ ὕδρομυλικοῦ ||<sup>30</sup> ἐργαστηρίου· ἕτερον μετόχιον τὸ ἐν τῶ Κροσούδω, [... 4-6 ...] Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυρ[οι] ||<sup>31</sup> μετὰ πάντων τῶν δικαίων (καί) προνομίων αὐτοῦ, ἡ(γουν) παροίκων, χωραφίων, ἀμπελ(ώνων) ||<sup>32</sup> (καί) τοῦ ὕδρομυλ(ικ)οῦ ἐργαστηρίου· πρὸς(ς) τούτ(οις) καί αἱ δύο μερίδ(ες) τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου τοῦ ||<sup>33</sup> Κροσούδου, ἦτοι τὸ δίμοιρον τοῦ τοιοῦτου χωρίου τὸ κατεχόμενον (καί) νεμόμ(εν)ον ἀρτί(ως) παρὰ τοῦ ||<sup>34</sup> μέρους τῆς μονῆς. Ἐπιφιλοτιμεῖται δὲ τούτ(οις) ἡ βασιλεία μου διὰ τοῦ παρόντος(ς) χρ(υσ)οδούλλ(ου) ||<sup>35</sup> ΛΟΓΟΪ αὐτῆς καί τὴν ἐτέρ(αν) τρίτην μερίδα τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου μετὰ πάσ(ης) ||<sup>36</sup> τῆς κατοχῆς αὐτ(οῦ) καί νομῆς, τουτέστι παροίκων, ἀμπελώνων, χωραφίων [καί] ||<sup>37</sup> λοιπ(ῶν) δικαίων, ὥστε τὸ ὅλον τοιοῦτον χωρίον ὁ Κρόσουδος(ς) κατέχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καί ||<sup>38</sup> εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς παρὰ τ(οῦ) μέρ(ους) τῆς μονῆς οἷον καί ὅσον ὀρᾶται (καί) μηδεμί(αν) μετουσί(αν) ἔχη τίς ||<sup>39</sup> ἐν αὐτῶ· γῆ ζευγαρίων πέντε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγριδίου τοῦ καλουμ(έν)ου τὰ Βραστά· ἕτερον ||<sup>40</sup> μετόχιον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον τὸ Λαιμὶν μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ προ(σ)καθημένων ||<sup>41</sup> [παροί]κ[ων καί] τῶν λοιπῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ (καί) τοῦ ὕδρομυλικοῦ ἐργαστηρίου· ||<sup>42</sup> γῆ ἀρόσιμος(ς) ἢ ἐπονομαζομ(ένη) τοῦ Μουρσᾶ μοδίων οὔσα ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίων δώδεκα· ||<sup>43</sup> μετόχιον ἕτερον ὁ Ἅγ(ιος) Γεώργιος τὸ ἐν τ(οῖς) Στεφανιανοῖς διακείμενον ||<sup>44</sup> μετὰ πάντων τῶν δικαίων καί προνομίων αὐτοῦ, παροίκων δηλαδῆ, ||<sup>45</sup> ἀμπελώνων, χωραφίων (καί) τοῦ ὕδρομυλικοῦ ἐργαστηρίου καί τῆς ἐκεῖσε ||<sup>46</sup> τελουμένης ἐτησίως πανηγύρε(ως) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) μεγαλομάρτ(υ)ρ(ος) Γεωργίου· ἕτερον ||<sup>47</sup> μετόχιον τὸ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλον(ικῆ) διακείμενον ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν Ἄσωμάτων ||<sup>48</sup> μετὰ τ(ῶν) δικαίων πάντων (καί) προνομίων αὐτοῦ· τὸ χωρίον ἢ Πορταρέα μετὰ τῶν ||<sup>49</sup> ἀνάκαθεν ἀπονενεμημ(έν)ων τούτῳ δικαίων (καί) προνομίων, παροίκων δηλονότι, ἀμπελώνων, ||<sup>50</sup> γῆς ἀροσίμ(ου) τὲ καί χερσαί(ας) (καί) τ(ῶν) ἐν αὐτῶ εὐρισκομ(έν)ων ἐξαλειμμάτων· ὁ ἐν τῶ χωρίῳ ||<sup>51</sup> τῶν [Σιδηρο]καφίων προ(σ)καθημένος Βασίλειος ὁ Χαλκεὺς μετὰ τῶν δύο υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ||<sup>52</sup> τοῦ Γεωργίου (καί) τοῦ Μαρίνου καί τῆς αὐτῶν ὑποστάσεως. Ταῦτα πάν[τα] ||<sup>53</sup> κατέχεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τ(ῆς) ῥηθείσης μονῆς ἢ βασιλ(εία) μου εὐδοκεῖ διὰ ||<sup>54</sup>

τοῦ παρόντο(ς) χρυσοβούλλου ΛΟΓΟΥ ἀυτῆς ἀναποσπάστως ||<sup>55</sup> πάντη, ἀναφαιρέτως καὶ ἀνεπαυξήτ(ως) εἰς τ(ὸν) αἰῶνα τ(ὸν) ἄπαντ(α) ||<sup>56</sup> καὶ διατηρεῖσθαι ἀνώτερα πάσης δημοσιακῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ ὀχλησ(εως), ||<sup>57</sup> ἤγ(ουν) ἀγγαρείας, παραγγαρείας, ζημί[ας], ψωμοζημί(ας), ἐκβολῆς πλ[ωῖμων], ||<sup>58</sup> ζευγολογίου, ἀπλήκτου ἀπαιτήσε(ως), μελισσοενομίου, χοιροενομίου ||<sup>59</sup> καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐπηρείας (καὶ) συζητήσε(ως) νῦν τε οὔσης καὶ εἰς τὸ ||<sup>60</sup> [μετέ]πειτα ἐπινοηθησομένης, ἀνευ μέντοι τῶν τριῶν [κεφαλαί-]||<sup>61</sup> [ων], τοῦ φον(ικ)οῦ δηλαδῆ, τῆς τοῦ θησαυροῦ εὐρέσεως καὶ τ(ῆς) [παρθενο-]||<sup>62</sup>[φθορίας], ὡς τῶν τοιούτων ἀποκερδαίνεσθαι ὀφειλόντων παρὰ τοῦ [μέρου] ||<sup>63</sup> τοῦ δημοσίου. Ὅθεν καὶ οὐχ ἔξει τις ἐπ' ἀδείας πόδα ἐπὶ τούτ(οις) παρα-||<sup>64</sup>βαλ(εῖν) [ῆ] ἐτέρ(αν) τινὰ δουλεί(αν) ὅποιαν οὖν ἢ ὀ κεφαλατηκέων δηλαδῆ, ἢ ὀ κ(α)τ(ὰ) ||<sup>65</sup> καιροὺς ἐνεργήσων, ἢ ἕτερος τις δουλεί(αν) δημοσιακὴν ἀναδεδεγ[μένος] ||<sup>66</sup> καὶ ὅποιο(ς) ἄρα καὶ εἴη εἰ μὴ βούλεται ὁ τοιοῦτο(ς) σὺν τῷ μηδὲν ||<sup>67</sup> ἄλλω (καὶ) τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλ(είας) μου [... 10-15 ...] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γ(ὰρ) ||<sup>68</sup> [ἐγε]γόνει τῷ μέρει τῆς διαληφθείσης μον(ῆς) (καὶ) ὁ παρῶν χρυσόβουλλο(ς) ||<sup>69</sup> ΛΟΓΟΣ τ(ῆς) βα(σι)λ(είας) μου (καὶ) ἐπεδόθη) αὐτ(ῆ) εἰς ἀσφάλ(ειαν) αἰωνίζουσας, ||<sup>70</sup> ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα τ(ὸν) ἸΟΥΝΙΟΝ [τῆς] τρεχούσης ΔΕΥΤ(Ε)Ρ(ΑΣ) ||<sup>71</sup> ἰνδικτιῶνο(ς) τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ ἐπτ[ακ]οιστοῦ ἑξήκιστοῦ ἘΒΔΟΜΟΥ ἔτους, ||<sup>72</sup> ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆν[ατο] ||<sup>73</sup> [κράτος] †.

[Μ]ιχαήλ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ||<sup>74</sup> τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασι-||<sup>75</sup>λεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτ[ωρ] ||<sup>76</sup> Ῥωμα(ίων) Δοῦκας Ἄγγελος ||<sup>77</sup> Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολό-||<sup>78</sup>[γος] †

## Act no. 6

CHRYSOBULL OF ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS  
CONFIRMING THAT RADOSLAV SABIA WAS THE LEGAL  
OWNER OF THE ABANDONED VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI  
AND NEOCHORION NEAR THESSALONICA

November 6887 (1378), *indiction 2*

**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 6 and 23)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 34. It is written with grey ink on **paper** with dimensions 310 x 310 mm. The emperor's

signature is written with cinnabar. The back of the act is glued to a piece of white cloth. Its preservation is very poor and there are multiple traces of moisture and ruptures along the folds, mainly in the lower part of the document. The ink in the upper part of the text has faded significantly and is scarcely readable (see **plate no. 2**).

**Variant no. 2.** 15th century certified copy kept in archival folder no. 26. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 450 x 275 mm. Its preservation is very good and there are only two small holes in the margins<sup>1</sup>. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Gabriel, in 1397-1416<sup>2</sup> (see **plate no. 3**).

**Analysis:** The nobleman Radoslav Sabia reported to the emperor that he owned the abandoned villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in the district of Kalamaria to the southeast of Thessalonica. Sabia requested Andronikos IV to confirm his possession of the two abandoned villages with a new chrysobull, as well as to give him a permission to build at his own expense a defensive tower in the territory of the two villages. The emperor corroborated Sabia's possession of the two abandoned villages and entitled him to cultivate freely their terrains, to exploit their properties until the end of his life, and to bequeath them to his children and other legal heirs. Sabia was also authorized by Andronikos IV to build a tower in the area around the two villages and to make on their land as many improvements as he deemed appropriate. Standard final confirmative clauses emphasizing that the document was issued for Sabia's safety.

Signature: Andronikos Palaiologos, emperor of the *Rhomaioi*.

**Remarks:** As far as **Variant no. 1** is concerned, the so-called “*kratos* rule”, which usually supports the authenticity of the genuine Byzantine chrysobulls from the Palaiologan period, is not violated, since in the invariable final phrase ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος the word *kratos*, which in our chrysobull is scarcely readable, is used in accordance with the rule, i.e. it is the first word on the last line of the text and the only word before the emperor's signature (θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο ||<sup>26</sup> κράτος, l. 25-26)<sup>3</sup>.

**Prosopography:** Our charter of Andronikos IV Palaiologos is the earliest in a group of five documents kept in the archives of St. Paul<sup>4</sup>

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 37.

2. Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 237, 272, 295.

3. Cf. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 29, 36 and 117-125; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Βυζαντινὴ διπλωματικὴ*, 261-264.

4. See our **acts nos. 16, 17, 18 and 27**.

and pertaining to the abandoned villages (*palaiiochoria*) of Avramitai and Neochorion in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria<sup>1</sup>, to the southeast of Thessalonica. A Serbian aristocrat named **Radoslav Sabia** acquired these villages as his personal property before 1378 and in 1405 he bequeathed one half part of them to the Serbian abbot of St. Paul, Anthony (Arsenius) Bagaš, and his monastery. In 1405 Sabia also donated to St. Paul a house which he possessed in Thessalonica<sup>2</sup>. His donations were corroborated by the emperor in 1405-1406 and in 1419<sup>3</sup>. However, in June 1405 a chrysobull of John VII Palaiologos confirming Sabia's donations explicitly stated that the donor was a nobleman whose title was "οικειος" of the Byzantine emperor: Ἐπεὶ ὁ οικεῖ(ος) τῆ βασιλείᾳ μου Σάμπιας ὁ Ῥαδοσθλάβος<sup>4</sup>. Sabia died shortly before 1406 and is known only from documents preserved in St. Paul's archives<sup>5</sup>.

### Topography:

1. The abandoned village (*palaiiochorion*) of **Avramitai** (l. 2 and 15) has disappeared, but its location is known. According to P. Theodoridis, it was situated to the north of what is today the coastal village of Nea Kallikrateia, in the vicinity of a locality called Tsouvachli<sup>6</sup>.

2. The abandoned settlement (*palaiiochorion*) of **Neochorion** (l. 2 and 15) was located very close to Avramitai and was also known as Zephyrianoi. According to P. Theodoridis, today this is the village of Hagios Pavlos to the north of Nea Kallikrateia<sup>7</sup>.

**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 48-49, no. 11.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 263-265, no. 8; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3160; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 184; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 2 καὶ 2α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 69; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 37-39, no. 6.

### Text:

† Ἐπεὶ [Σαμπίας ὁ Ῥαδοσθλάβος ἀνέφερεν, ὅτι κέκτηται πρὸ χρό]νων καὶ [μέχρι τοῦ νῦν περι τὴν Καλαμαρίαν] παλαιοχώρια δύο [ἡνωμένα

1. Cf. Θεοχαρίδης, *Κατεπανίκια τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 7-13; Χατζηαντωνίου, *Τὸ «θέμα» Θεσσαλονίκης*, 96-104.

2. See our **act no. 18**, l. 16-17.

3. See our **acts nos. 17, 18 and 27**.

4. Cf. our **act no. 17**, l 1.

5. See PLP, no. 24781; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 118-119; Буџало, *Радослав Сабља*, 459-463.

6. Cf. Θεοδορίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 336 and 370.

7. See Θεοδορίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 370 and 401.

||<sup>2</sup> τό τε Ἀβραμίτας καὶ Νεοχώριον λεγόμενα] καὶ παρεκάλεσεν, ἵνα πορίσῃται χρυσόβουλλον τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐπὶ τε τῇ ||<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς κατοχῇ τούτ(ων) καὶ ὄ[πως λάβῃ] ἄδειαν κτίσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πύργον ἐξ οἰκεί(ων) κόπ(ων) καὶ ἀναλωμάτ(ων) αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέχη ||<sup>4</sup> μὲν οὕτως αὐτὰ ἀνενοχλήτως τὲ καὶ [ἀνεμποδίστ]ως ἐπὶ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτ(οῦ), παραπέμφη δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ὀσφύος παιῖδας τὲ καὶ ||<sup>5</sup> γνησίους κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους αὐτοῦ, τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτ(οῦ) εὐμεν(ῶς) προσδεξαμένη ἢ βασιλεία μου τὸν παρόντα ||<sup>6</sup> χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ [ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπι]βραβεύει αὐτῶ, δι οὗ κ[αὶ διορίζεται] καὶ προστάσει ||<sup>7</sup> (l. 7 is unreadable) ||<sup>8</sup> [... 50-60 ...] μετὰ τῆς κατοχ[ῆς] καὶ νομ[ῆς] αὐτ[ῶν] ... 10-15 ...] ἀδι-||<sup>9</sup>ασεῖστος, ἀναφαιρέτως τὲ καὶ ἀναποσπάστως καὶ [κατὰ λόγον] γονικότητος, ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἀδείας συνιστᾶν καὶ ||<sup>10</sup> βελτιοῦν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον προάγειν κατὰ [τὸν] ἐγχωροῦντα καὶ δυνατὸν αὐτῶ τρόπον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔχη δυ-||<sup>11</sup>νάμεως, παραπέμφει δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ [ὀσφύ]ος αὐτοῦ παιῖδας τοὺς γνησίους κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους ||<sup>12</sup> αὐτοῦ [... 8-12 ...] αὐτοὺς [... 8-12 ...]ρίας καὶ [... 5-8 ...] δουλοσύνης τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ ||<sup>13</sup> (l. 13 is unreadable) ||<sup>14</sup> (l. 14 is unreadable) ||<sup>15</sup> ὁ δηλωθεὶς Σαμπίας ὁ Ῥαδοσθλάβος [τὰ] εἰρημένα [δύο] παλαιοχώρια τό τε τοὺς Ἀβραμίτας καὶ τὸ Νεοχώριον ἀνε-||<sup>16</sup>νοχλήτως, ἀδιασεῖστος, ἀναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστ(ως) καὶ κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος καὶ συστήσει καὶ βελτιώσει ||<sup>17</sup> αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν ἐγχωροῦντα καὶ δυνατὸν αὐτῶ τρόπον, ὡς ἔχει δυνάμεως, ἔχων ἄδειαν κτίσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἴρηται, ||<sup>18</sup> πύργον ἐξ οἰκείων κόπων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ παραπέμφει αὐτὰ καὶ ἄτινα ἂν συστήσ[η] καὶ βελτιώσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ||<sup>19</sup> (l. 19 is unreadable) ||<sup>20</sup> (l. 20 is unreadable) ||<sup>21</sup> [... 20-25 ...] ἐπήρειαν καὶ ἀδι[κίαν] ... 8-12 ...] εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτου μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ ||<sup>22</sup> καὶ βεβαίαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπεχορηγήθη καὶ ἐπεβραβεύθη τῶ δηλωθέντι Σαμπία τῶ ||<sup>23</sup> Ῥαδοσθλάβω καὶ ὁ παρὼν χρυσόβουλλος ΛΟΓΟΣ τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα Νοέβριον ||<sup>24</sup> τῆς ἐνισταμέν[ης] δευτέρας ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ἐξακισχιλιοστοῦ ὀκτακισιοστοῦ ὀγδοηκοστοῦ ||<sup>25</sup> [ἐδδόμε] ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο) ||<sup>26</sup> [κράτος.]

† Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ Θ(ε)ῶ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς ||<sup>27</sup> καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος. †

**Act no. 7. Serbian act no. 1**

FRAGMENT FROM AN ACT OF DONATION ISSUED  
BY NICHOLAS BAGAŠ BALDOVIN IN FAVOUR OF THE  
MONASTERY OF OUR LADY NISIOTISA NEAR EDESSA  
(VODEN)

Before **March 1385**

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.

**Description:** Fragment from an original document kept in archival folder no. 52 as act no. 8. It is written with dark brownish ink on **paper** with dimensions 220 X 230 mm. Its back is glued to a piece of paper. The end of the act is missing (see **plate no. 4**).

**Analysis:** Standard theological introduction. A certain Baldovin donated to the Monastery of the Mother of God Nisiotisa two villages, Kudrejevo and Vinsko, with all their land, agricultural facilities and other properties. The two settlements were declared unalienable possession of Nisiotisa forever. The last lines make it clear that after a pilgrimage to Nisiotisa, Baldovin intended to visit his overlord, the Ottoman sultan.

**Dating:** Based on our **act no. 8**, in March 1385 the author of the present fragment, Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin, bequeathed the Monastery of Our Lady Mesonisiotissa to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul. However, our fragment described the Monastery of Nisiotisa as an independent monastic foundation and consequently it must have been composed before the Greek document of March 1385 which transferred Nisiotisa to St. Paul.

**Prosopography:**

1. Our Slavic act was issued by the Serbian nobleman **Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin** (in Greek Νικόλαος Βαλδουδίνος Παράσης), who ruled the cities of Edessa (Voden) in Macedonia and Trikala in Thessaly from 1366 to 1385. He was married to a daughter of Radoslav Hlapen, a military commander of the Serbian Czar Stephen Dušan who, after Dušan's death, became a semi-independent ruler of the city of Berrhoia (Ber) in southern Macedonia<sup>1</sup>. Baldovin received Edessa as a dowry

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1. On Hlapen see Острогорски, *Серска област*, 112 and 130; Γ. Χιονίδης, *Ιστορία της Βέροιας, της πόλεως και της περιοχής*. 2. *Βυζαντινοί χρόνοι*, Thessalonica 1970, 53-55; H. Matanov, Radoslav Hlapen - Soverain féodal en Macédoine méridionale durant le troisième quart du XIVe siècle, *Études*

from his father-in-law around 1366-1367 and in March 1385 he issued a Greek document which donated the Monastery of the Mother of God Mesonisiotissa near Edessa, whose founder (*kititor*) was Radoslav Hlapen, to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul (see our **act no. 8**). Most probably this happened because by that time superior of St. Paul was his brother, **Anthony Bagaš** (in religion Arsenios)<sup>1</sup>. Nicholas and Anthony Bagaš<sup>2</sup> were descendants of a noble Serbian clan connected with the region of Vranje<sup>3</sup>. Anthony was also a copyist and translator from Greek into Slavic. A note in a Slavic manuscript kept in the Monastery of Rila in Bulgaria makes it clear that this manuscript was based on a Slavic translation made by Anthony Bagaš in the Monastery of Vatopedi<sup>4</sup>. A note in another Slavic manuscript, which was copied about 1461-1462 in the Monastery of St. Paul and is presently kept in the Monastery of Neamț in Moldavia, explicitly states that Anthony Bagaš had translated some Greek hagiographical texts into Serbian: **ѡтцѣ же нашеѡмъ и кѡтиторѣ свѣтаго мѣста сего крѡрь андонїѣ вѣчнаа памѣть, иже прѣведе сїю книгѣ ѡ грѣчкаго извода на срѣбскы**<sup>5</sup>. Evidently, the personal connections of Anthony Bagaš were contributing for good to the welfare of his monastic foundation. The donation of the minor Monastery of Our Lady Mesonisiotissa to St. Paul was also corroborated by Sultan Bayezid I (see our **act no. 9**)<sup>6</sup> because, as it comes out from our fragment, by 1385 Nicholas Baldovin was already a vassal of the Ottoman sultan (cf. l. 15: **хотѣцѣ ми ити къ великомѣ самодръжцѣ сѣлтанѣ**).

2. **Nicholas Radonja** (in religion Roman and later Gerasimos, in the Greek sources Νικόλαος Ῥαδόχνας) was the eldest son of the *sebastokrator* of Ohrid, Branko Mladenović, whose wife, Helena, was

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*Balkaniques* 4 (1983) 68-87; X. Матанов, *Югозападните български земи през XIV век*, Sofia 1986, 101-103; PLP, no. 30848.

1. Cf. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 244-249.

2. Cf. PLP, nos. 21243 and 21244.

3. Ђ. Радојчић, Феудална породица Багаш из Врања (XIV и почетак XV века), *Врањски гласник* 1 (Vranje 1965), 19-23.

4. Е. Спространовъ, *Описъ на рѣкописитѣ въ библиотеката при Рилския манастиръ*, Sofia 1902, 56, no. 3/6 (14); Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 225-227.

5. А. Яцимирскій, Славянскіе рукописи Нямецкаго монастыря въ Молдавіи, *Древности. Труды славянской коммисіи Императорскаго археологическаго общества* II/2, Moscow 1898, 49-50, no. 69 (83); Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 116-119.

6. The donation is discussed in details in Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 244-249; Суботић, *Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе*, 125-168.

a sister of Despot John Uglješa and *Kral* Vukašin<sup>1</sup>. Regardless that he had retired to Mount Athos, Radonja kept on visiting his brothers, Vuk and Gregory Branković, at their hereditary estates in Drenica, and the court of Czar Uroš in Priština<sup>2</sup>.

**Topography** (see **map no. 1**):

1. The Monastery of Our Lady **Mesonisiotissa** (l. 1 and 13) was part of the dowry which Nicholas Baldovin received from his father-in-law, Radoslav Hlapen, who was the founder (*ktitor*) of this monastery<sup>3</sup>. Its name is spelt Nisiotitsa in our Slavic fragment and Mesonisiotissa in the Greek deed of donation which Nicholas Baldovin composed in March 1385 when he donated Mesonisiotissa to St. Paul. There are two main opinions as to the exact location of this foundation. The earlier one was supported by the monk Eulogios Hagiopaulites, M. Laskaris, H. Grégoire, S. Pelekanidis and M. Chatzidakis, who identified Mesonisiotissa with the Monastery of Our Lady Mavriotissa to the northeast of the city Kastoria (Kostur)<sup>4</sup>. The newer view was proposed in 1987 by G. Subotić and was supported by E. Drakopoulou, T. Papamastorakis and Ph. Kotzageorgis. It identified Mesonisiotissa with the remains of a three-aisled basilica in the vicinity of the modern village of Nision, to the west of the city of Edessa (Voden) and to the east of the village of Arnissa (in Slavic Ostrovo). G. Subotić's argumentation of this identification is very convincing<sup>5</sup>. As the matter of fact, the Monastery of Mavriotissa in Kastoria has murals dating from the 11th and 12th century, so it could not have been founded (*ἀνεγερθεῖσα*

1. PLP, no. 24022.

2. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 216-224. See also Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 183-205.

3. See our **act no. 8**, l. 11-13.

4. Εὐλόγιος, *Ἀντοκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα*, 726; M. Laskaris, Le monastère de Mesonisiotissa et la famille serbe des Bagaš, *XIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines (résumés et communications)*, Ohrid 1961, 61; Σ. Πελεκανίδης-Μ. Χατζηδράκης, *Βυζαντινὴ τέχνη στὴν Ἑλλάδα, ψηφιδωτά, τοιχογραφίες. Καστοριά*, Athens 1984, 66-83.

5. Г. Суботић, Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе, *ЗРВИ* 26 (1987), 125-168; Т. Παπαμαστοράκης, "Ἐνα εἰκαστικὸ ἐγκώμιο τοῦ Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου: Οἱ ἐξωτερικὲς τοιχογραφίες στὸ καθολικὸ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Μαυριώτισσας στὴν Καστοριά, *ΔΧΑΕ* 15 (Περίοδος Δ', 1989-1990), Athens 1991, 225; Εὐ. Δρακοπούλου, Ἡ серβικὴ παρουσία στὴν Καστοριά τὶς παραμονὲς τῆς τουρκερικῆς κατάκτησης, *Βυζάντιο καὶ Σερβία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰώνα*, Athens 1996, 89-97; *eadem*, Ἡ πόλη τῆς Καστοριάς τὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ ἐποχὴ (12ος-16ος αἰ.), Athens 1997, 63-64. On the basilica see Ν. Μουτσόπουλος, *Οἱ ἐκκλησίες τοῦ νομοῦ Πέλλης*, Thessalonica 1973, 34-35.

ἐκ βάρων<sup>1</sup>) by Radoslav Hlapen in the mid-14th century.

2. The village of **Kudrêjevo** (l. 11: **κουδρѣεβο**) was probably identical with the abandoned village (*palaiochorion*) of Koutrelou, which in the Greek charter of Nicholas Baldovin of March 1385 is mentioned as donated to the Monastery of St. Paul. The Greek text explicitly states that Koutrelou had some privileges connected with the usufruct of Lake Ostrovo (today Lake Vegoritis)<sup>2</sup> and, consequently, it must have been located near this lake. In 1987 G. Subotić identified Kudrevo/Koutrelou with the modern village of Kedronas (also known as Hagios Dimitrios) to the east of Lake Vegoritis<sup>3</sup>.

3. The village of Vinsko which is mentioned in our Slavic fragment (l. 11-12: **винско**) was not transferred to St. Paul in March 1385, but was only mentioned as a border mark of the property of Mesonisiotissa and was spelt as Vintzo: ἕως τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ λεγομένου καὶ ἕως τοῦ Τζουρουπάτου τὸ λιθάρι καὶ ἕως τοῦ Γραδίσι καὶ ἕως τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ τὸν λάκκον καὶ τοῦ Βίντζου<sup>4</sup>. In 1987 G. Subotić identified this settlement with the modern place name Vinča which is situated to the north of the village of Drosia (in Slavic Droška) and to northeast of the village of Arnissa (Ostrovo). The correctness of his identification is confirmed by the fact that, based on modern topographical maps, even today the minor place name Vinča is adjacent to the two toponyms mentioned in the Greek document of March 1385 - Grantista (Γραδίστη), which lies 4 km east of Arnissa, and Gramatitski dol (λάκκος τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ), which is located at a short distance to the north of the village of Drosia<sup>5</sup>.

1. Cf. our **act no. 8**, l. 11.

2. Cf. our **act no. 8**, l. 46-47.

3. Суботић, *Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе*, 136-137 and 142, no. 28. Суботић, *Манастир Светог Павла, Казивања о Светој Гори 1* (Belgrade 1995). On the village of Kedronas see also Г. Вестителев, *Острово и неговата околност. Единъ малко известенъ кѣтъ на Македония, Македонски прѣгледъ III/2* (Sofia 1927), 11. See also Г. Суботић, *Манастир Светог Павла, Казивања о Светој Гори 1* (Belgrade 1995), 138-141.

4. Cf. our **act no. 8**, l. 29-30.

5. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 246-247; Суботић, *Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе*, 135-137, nos. 8, 9 and 10. See also Κοτσαγιώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 152; P. Soustal, *Mosaiksteine zur historische Toponymie Makedoniens in s P. Soustal, Mosaiksteine zur historische Toponymie Makedoniens in spätbyzantinischer und frühosmanischer Zeit: Zum Beitrag osmanischen Steuerkunden besonders des 16. Jahnhunderts, Space, Landscape and Settlements in Byzantium, Studies in Historical Geography of the Eastern Mediterranean Presented to Johannes Koder*, eds. A. Külzer - M. Popović, Vienna - Novi Sad 2017, 357.

**Editions:** Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 186-187, act no. 1; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 149-153, no. 1.

**Bibliography:** Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 38-40, no. 7; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 149-153.

**Text:**

† пришьашѸ мнѣ балдовинѸ къ прѣчѣѣи влѣци бѣи нисивѣти ||<sup>2</sup> въ еже милости и помощи приети ми застѸпленіе и ||<sup>3</sup> покровъ и прошеніе, ꙗже въ сѸетнѣмъ мира сегѡ жити съ ||<sup>4</sup> деланнѣхъ сѸгрѣшени мой можеша бо прѣчѣѣа елико хо-||<sup>5</sup>щеша тебе бо єдинѸ помощницѸ имамъ, рожѣствомъ бо твоѣмъ ||<sup>6</sup> адъ плѣненъ бистъ, съмѣрть Ѹмрѣтви се ми же животѸ спѣби-||<sup>7</sup>хомъ се, ꙗга приехѸ и тко доволъ азъ глаголю величїа и блѣгѣти ||<sup>8</sup> твоѣ, мѣти и дѣво, и что възѣдїамъ тебѣ ѡ всѣхъ ꙗже тѣбѣ ||<sup>9</sup> бише нѣ, нѣ ꙗко же ѡна въдоваа двѣ лептѣ принесина єи же. ||<sup>10</sup> и азъ балдовинѸ Ѹпѣвѣхъ се елико моцнѸ ми принесѸ и азъ въ ||<sup>11</sup> даръ прѣчѣѣи влѣци бѣи нисивѣти двѣ селици кѣдрѣво и ви-||<sup>12</sup>нкѣ съ всѣми мѣгїами и правинами сель тѣ, да сѸ села тази мо- ||<sup>13</sup>настирѸ прѣчѣѣи бѣи нисивѣтице въ вѣки никѣ неѡнѣмїѣ ||<sup>14</sup> ꙗко и проча села монастыра тога<и>, поклѡшѸ ми се прѣчѣѣи бѣи, ||<sup>15</sup> хощешѸ ми ити къ великомѸ самодѣрѣжцѸ сѸлтанѸ, и сїѣ при-||<sup>16</sup>ношенїе даровѣ приложѣ сї, съ всакѣ Ѹсрѣдїѣ и Ѹтѣрѣженїѣ ||<sup>17</sup> црѣкви и заклинѣ въ гѣ бѣ вседѣрѣжителїа сътворшагѡ нѣбо ||<sup>18</sup> и землю ѡца и сѣна и сѣтго дѣха тронцѸ єдиносѣщнѸ и нера-||<sup>19</sup>зѣлнѸ (sic!) и прѣчѣѣю влѣцѸ бѣи и въ всѣхъ сѣтихъ ѡ вѣка бѣ ||<sup>20</sup> [...]

**Act no. 8**

ACT OF DONATION CONCERNING PROPERTIES IN AND AROUND THE TOWN OF EDESSA (VODEN) BEQUEATHED BY NICHOLAS PAGASIS TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

March 6893 (1385), *indiction* 9th

**Type of the document:** παραδοτήριον ἔγγραφον (l. 51)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 20. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 480 x 300 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is very poor as the bottom margin and parts of the last 12 lines are missing. There are

numerous ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 5**).

**Dating:** The end of the text and the passage containing its date are presently missing. We restored them using an edition of the document published in 1958 in the Greek religious periodical *Agios Pavlos Xeropotamitis*. This edition contains the full text of the charter, including the passage with the date: Μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος θ' τοῦ ,ζωήγ' ἔτους<sup>2</sup>. In our edition we marked the restored text with italics.

**Analysis:** Standard theological introduction stating that God had given the people various gifts and consequently the people must express their gratitude to God. Attempting to express his gratitude to God, Nicholas Pagasis Baldovin donated the Monastery of Our Lady Mesonisiotissa to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul Xeropotamites, which was located at the western foot of Mount Athos and had to its east the Monastery of Bouleuteria. The Monastery of Messonisiotissa had been founded by Baldovin's father-in-law, Radoslav Hlapen, who finally bequeathed it to his son-in-law. Baldovin delivered to St. Paul all the holy books, utensils, movable and immovable property of Mesonisiotissa, because this foundation was facing the danger to be fully abandoned due to the indifference of the local residents. Baldovin finalized his donation when his brother, the abbot of St. Paul Arsenios (Anthony Pagasis), visited his residence. The properties which Baldovin donated to St. Paul were the following: 1. The villages of Konstas and Nision. The domain of the latter was adjacent to a locality called Mireon. 2. The villages of Mavros and Romanos. The domain of the latter was adjacent to the localities Tzouroupatos, Gradisti, Vintzo, and the gulch of Grammatikos. 3. The *paroikoi* George Chalkeus, Konstas Tzoukalas and George Faratzis. 4. A vineyard near the village of Nision which Radoslav Hlapen had bought from a certain Pissiotis. 5. The church of Our Lady Eleousa and several houses in the city of Edessa which were situated near the properties of Domestikos and Kastorianos and close to a locality known as Ververi. 6. Another church in Edessa, which was known as Aspri Ekklesia (White Church), a vineyard totalling 20 *modioi*, a second vineyard of 1 *modios* which was donated by one Stasinios, and the properties bequeathed to Mesonisiotissa by Sarakinos and Kastrophylax. 7. The village of Mireus. 8. An unnamed village whose resident was a certain Alexios. 9. The church of St. George inside Edessa with all its properties. 10. The villages of St. Demetrios and St. Elias outside Edessa. 11. A vineyard which a certain Manasses

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 39.

2. Cf. *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 80.

had donated to Aspri Ekklesia, and another vineyard of 2 *modioi* at Avostrizta near Dragonea which had been donated by the same person. 12. The village of Hostenon which had been donated by the monk Luke Foulтанos. All these properties had been delivered to Mesonisiotissa by Radoslav Hlapen. The properties which Baldovin had himself conveyed to Mesonisiotissa were the following: 1. The abandoned village of Koutrellou. 2. Three fishermen residing near Lake Ostrovo: I. Kyros, son of Prodaninos, his wife Maro, his son Botzikis, and his daughter Theodora; II. Konstas, son of Leios, and his wife Eirene; III. Boleslav, his wife Eirene and his sons Ioannis and Tryphon. The said fishermen were exempted from the taxes *mitaton* and *aplikeuma* as well as from the corvée (*angareia*). In the final confirmative clauses Baldovin postulated that the future overlords of his district, regardless if they would be *Rhomaioi*, Muslims or Serbs, must comply with his donation and abstain from abusing the properties of the Monastery of St. Paul. On the other hand, the monks of St. Paul must commemorate the founders of Mesonisiotissa, Nicholas Baldovin himself, and his parents. Final religious curses directed against anyone who might abuse St. Paul's legal rights over the aforementioned estates by appropriating any of them.

**Remarks:**

In 1987 the Serbian scholar G. Subotić explicitly proved that it was in 1383-1384 when the Serbian aristocrats **Anthony Bagaš** and **Gerasim Radonja** bought from the Athonite Monastery of Xeropotamou the monastic cell (*kellion*) of St. Paul and restored it as an independent foundation<sup>1</sup>.

1. The term *mitaton* (l. 50) usually meant the obligation of private individuals to quarter military or state officials<sup>2</sup>.

2. The term *aplikeuma* (l. 50) derived from *aplektion*, a Byzantine word of Latin origin meaning "military camp"<sup>3</sup>. *aplikeuma* designated the obligation of the tax payers to accommodate in their houses traveling state and military officials and soldiers, and to sell them food at low prices<sup>4</sup>.

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1. See Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 246-247; Суботић, *Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе*, 135-137.

2. ODB, II, 1385.

3. See Έ. Κριαράς, *Λεξικόν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἐλληνικῆς δημόδου γράμματείας (1100-1669)*, II, Thessalonica 1971, 362-363.

4. Oikonomidēs, *Fiscalité*, 93-94; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικό βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, I, 140.

**Prosopography:**

1. For **Nicholas Baldovin Pagasis (Bagaš)**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**.

2. On **Anthony Pagasis (Bagaš)**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**.

3. On **Radoslav Hlapen**, see see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**.

**Topography:**

1. For the Athonite Monastery of **Bouleuteria** (l. 15), see the topography of our **act no. 1** (cf. **map no. 5**).

2. For the Monastery of Our Lady **Mesonisiotissa** (l. 11-13), see the topography of our **act no. 7** (cf. **map no. 1**).

3. For the abandoned village (*plaiiochorion*) of **Koutrelou** (l. 46), see the topography of our **act no. 7** (cf. also **map no. 1**).

4. The village of **Nision** (l. 26) is still extant at a short distance to the west of the town of Edessa. It is situated near the north shore of the artificial Lake Agra which was created in 1955 (cf. **map no. 1**).

5. The village of **Chostenon**, which was donated to Mesonisiotissa by the priest-monk Luke Phoultanos (l. 43), might have been identical with the village of Chostianes or Chostiani in the district of Moglena, about 40 km to the northeast of Edessa. This settlement was mentioned in four documents of Megiste Lavra issued in 1086, 1089, 1115 and 1181<sup>1</sup>. Until 1912 it was also known as Osiani or Ošan. Its modern name is Archangelos.

**Editions:** Καλλιγᾶς, *Ἀθωνιάς*, 88 (partial edition); Πίστης, *Περιγραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 66 (partial edition); Εὐλόγιος, *Ἀυτοκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα*, 726-727; Каждан, *Два поздневизантийских акта*, 317-320, no. 4 (partial edition omitting the theological introduction); *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 76-80 (partial edition).

**Bibliography:** Успенский, *Указатель актовъ*, 38, no. 34; J. Müller, *Historische Denkmäler in den Klöstern des Athos, Slavische Bibliothek I* (ed. F. Miklosich), Vienna 1851, 167; Langlois, *Le Mont Athos*, 69; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 265-268, no. 9; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 274-276, no. 25 and pl. 7; Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 244-247; Β. Νεράντζη-Βαρμάζη, *Ἡ βαλκανικὴ ἐπαρχία κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους βυζαντινοὺς αἰῶνες*, Thessalonica 1998, 174-177; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου*

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1. Lavra I, 258, no. 48, l. 6; 262, no. 49, l. 28; 313, no. 60, l. 27 and 338, no. 65, l. 4. See also Μ. Παπαγεωργίου, *Τὸ χωριὸ «Χώστιανες» τοῦ θέματος Μογλενῶν*, *Μακεδονικά* 9 (1969), 48-63; Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 428.

Παύλου, 152-153; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 39-42, no. 7.

**Text** (the restored end of the charter is marked with italics):

Ὡσπερ ὁ κοινὸς δεσπότης κ(αι) ποιητῆς ἐκάστου τῶν κτισμάτων μετὰ τοῦ χρησιμεύειν καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐχαρίσατο, εἰς ἔνδειξιν ||<sup>2</sup> τῆς οἰκεί(ας) δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμί(ας) αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ παρ' ἡμ(ῶν) ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖσθαι βούλετ(αι), εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πρὸς ||<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖνον εὐνοί(ας) καὶ πίστεως, ὁ οὐ(ρα)νὸς γὰρ κ(αι) ἡ γῆ, ἥλιός τε καὶ θάλασσα συντελοῦσι μ(έν) εἰς τὴν διακόσμησ(ιν) τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τ(ὴν) τοῦ ||<sup>4</sup> ἀν(θρώπου)ου χρῆ(σιν) καὶ σύστασιν, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐξαιρέτον, ὁ μ(έν) ἄστρασιν πλείστοις καὶ διαφόροις πεποικιλμένος, ἡ δὲ παν-||<sup>5</sup>τοίσις εἶδεσι κομῶσα φυτῶν. Ἥλιος δὲ φωτὶ κατηγλαϊσμένος φαιδρῶ (καὶ) ἔρπετῶν ἢ θάλασσα γέμουσα, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄριθμός, ||<sup>6</sup> τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα, κἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέρ(αν) φιλοτιμηθεῖεν ἰσχύν, τοῦτο μόνον ἔχουσι τὸ ἐξαιρέτον, τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐχαριστίαν καὶ ||<sup>7</sup> εὐνοίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ Νικόλαος Παγάσης ὁ Βαλδουδίνος, μετὰ τ(ὴν) κοινὴν ταύτην φιλοτιμί(αν), ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς συναπο-||<sup>8</sup>λαύω, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλαν(θρωπί)α (καὶ) χάριτι ἰδί(ως) τῆς θεί(ας) πειραθεῖς συμπαθεί(ας) καὶ πολλῶν ἀξιωθεῖς παρὰ Θε(ο)ῦ δωρεῶν φιλοτίμων, ἀντι-||<sup>9</sup>φιλοτιμησασθαι μ(έν) ἐβουλόμην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἀξί(ως) τὰς ἀμοιβάς. Ἐπει δὲ ἀν(θρώποι)σι ἀδύνατον πρεπούσας ἀποδοῦναι τὰς χάριτας, ||<sup>10</sup> ἃς εὐηργετήθη παρὰ Θε(ο)ῦ, τὴν δυνατὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποδίδωμι, εἰς ἔνδειξιν μόνην τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μου εὐχαριστί(ας) καὶ πίστεως, ||<sup>11</sup> καὶ ἦν κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ κληρονομίαν ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ μου ἐκεῖνου Ῥαδοσλάβου τοῦ Χλαπένου σεβασμίαν μονὴν τὴν ||<sup>12</sup> παρ' ἐκεῖνου ἀνεγερθεῖσ(αν) ἐκ βάρθρων αὐτῶν, τῇ ὑπερευλογημ(ένῃ) ἡμῶν Δεσποίνῃ καὶ Θεομήτορι, τὴν οὕτω πωσ καλουμένην Μεσσησιαίτισσ||<sup>13</sup>αν, ἀνατίθημι καὶ ἀφιερῶ, καὶ ὅλη ψυχῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ πίστει καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ διαθέσει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν παραδίδωμι ||<sup>14</sup> πρὸς τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ Ἐρησοποταμίτου τὴν ἀπὸ τοὺς πρόποδας μὲν καὶ πρὸς δύοσιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμέν(ην), ||<sup>15</sup> ἀριστερὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέποντι τῶν Βουλευτηρί(ων). Ἀνατίθημι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκεῖσεν καθὼς εἴρηται, μετὰ πάντων ὧν ἔχει δικαί(ων) ||<sup>16</sup> καὶ προνομίων κινητῶν τε καὶ ἀκινήτων, ὧν τε ὁ εἰρημένος ἐκεῖνος ἀφιέρωσε πενθερός μου, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ προσαφιέρω(σα) ||<sup>17</sup> ὕστερον, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἦσαν ἱερὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνου παραδεδομένα καὶ βιβλία καὶ ἕτερα εἶδη τινὰ εἰς καλλωπισμὸν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ἀγί(ας) ταύτ(ης) ||<sup>18</sup> ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς μονῆς, ἃ καὶ

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκείνῳ παραδοτηρίῳ ἐντέτακται, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἔφθειρε, καὶ ἡ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμέλεια καὶ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ||<sup>19</sup> μεταβολή. (Ἐ)πεὶ  
 καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονὴ πρὸς παντελῆ ἀπέβλεπεν ἤδη χαλασμὸν  
 διὰ τ(ῆν) τῶν ἀν(θρώπων) ἀπορί(αν) κ(αὶ) ἔνδει(αν), ||<sup>20</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ  
 ὀσιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς αὐθέντης κ(αὶ) ἀδελφός μου κύρ Ἀρσένιος θεόθεν  
 κινηθεὶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπεδήμησεν, ὡς ἂν τὰ καθ' ||<sup>21</sup> ἡμᾶς πν(ευματ)ικῶς  
 ἐπισκέφε(ται), ὃς καὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ἀθωνίτιδα κατέχει καὶ ἐφορεύ(ει)  
 τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Παύλου μονήν, μεθ' ὅτι πολλ(ῆς) τῆς ἀξιώσεως ||<sup>21</sup> αὐτῷ  
 παραδέδωκα ταύτην, ὡς ἂν ἐπισκέψη(ται) καὶ ἐπιμελεί(ας) ἀξίωση τῆς  
 δυνατῆς διὰ τ(ῆν) τ(ῶν) μακαρί(ων) ἐκείν(ων) κτητόρων μνήμην καὶ  
 ὠφέ-||<sup>22</sup>λει(αν) ψυχικὴν, κάμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, κ(αὶ) κατέχη ταύτην εἰς  
 τὸ ἐξῆς ἀνενοχλήτ(ως) ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν πολλάκις δηλωθεῖσα τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου)  
 Παύλου μονή. Καὶ ||<sup>23</sup> τὰ μ(έν) εὐρισκόμενα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ βιβλί(ων)  
 παρέλαβ(εν) ὅσα καὶ οἷα. Συμπαραδέδωκα δὲ αὐτῷ (καὶ) τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἀφιερωθέντα παρὰ τοῦ πενθε-||<sup>24</sup>ροῦ μου ἐκεῖνα χωρία, τὸ μ(έν) οὕτω  
 λεγόμενον τοῦ Κώνστα, ἔχον ἀν(θρώπου)ς ὄσους καὶ οἴους, ὅσοι τε ζῶσιν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ||<sup>25</sup> ἐν τῷ παραδοτηρίῳ ἐκείνου (καὶ) ὅσοι  
 εὐρίσκοντ(αι) νῦν φυσικοὶ τε πάροικοι, ὑποταγᾶται, προσκαθήμενοι καὶ  
 προσήλυτοι. Τὸ ||<sup>26</sup> δὲ ἕτερον, τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον Νησί(ν), μετὰ τῶν  
 ἀν(θρώπων) κ(αὶ) προσηλύτων καὶ προσκαθημένων, (καὶ) τῆς λοιπῆς  
 νομῆς καὶ πε-||<sup>27</sup>ριοχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἕως τοῦ συνόρου τοῦ λεγομ(ένου) Μηρέου,  
 τὸ δὲ ἕτερον, οὕτω λεγόμενον τοῦ Μαύρου, μετὰ τῶν ἀν(θρώπων) καὶ  
 τῆς νομῆς (καὶ) ||<sup>28</sup> δεσποτεί(ας) αὐτοῦ ἀπάσης. Ἔτερον χωρίον τ(οῦ)  
 Ῥωμανοῦ, (καὶ) αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν ἀν(θρώπων) ὄσων καὶ οἴων κ(αὶ) τῆς  
 λοιπῆς ἀπάσης {νομῆς} καὶ ||<sup>29</sup> δεσποτείας αὐτοῦ, ἕως τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ  
 [βρασι]λικοῦ λεγομ(ένου) καὶ ἕως τοῦ Τζουρουπάτου τὸ λιθάρι καὶ ἕως  
 τοῦ Γραδίστι κ(αὶ) ἕως ||<sup>30</sup> τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ τὸν λάκκον καὶ τοῦ Βίντζου.  
 Καὶ ταῦτα μ(έν) εἰσὶ τὰ ἐκτός. Τὰ δὲ ἐντός, ἅπερ ἔχω καὶ διεδεξάμην ||<sup>31</sup>  
 καὶ αὐτὰ ὡς οἰκεῖ(α) μου καὶ παραδίδωμι καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην τοῦ  
 Ἁγίου Παύλου μονήν, εἰσὶ ταῦτα· Γεώργιος ὁ Χαλκεύς, ||<sup>32</sup> Κώνστας ὁ  
 Τζουκαλᾶς, Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Φαράτζης (καὶ) τὸ ἐξωνηθὲν ἀμπέλιον παρὰ  
 τοῦ πενθεροῦ μου ἐκείνου, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πισσιώτου, ||<sup>33</sup> ὄσον καὶ οἶον, καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Ἀθανασίου μοναχοῦ καὶ τὸ καταφυτευθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου  
 πλησίον τοῦ Νησίου. Καὶ τ(ῆν) ἀγί(αν) ἐκκλη-||<sup>34</sup>σίαν τῆς Ἐλεούσης  
 μετὰ τ(ῶν) ὀσπητίων ἐντός τῆς ἐκκλησί(ας) κ(αὶ) ἐντός τοῦ κάστρου  
 πλησίον τοῦ Δομεστίκου ὀσπητίου ὑποκέραμον ||<sup>35</sup> κ(αὶ) τόπον ὄσον καὶ  
 οἶον, τὸν διερχόμενον ἕως τοῦ Βέρβερι καὶ ἕως τῆς στρατάς, καὶ ἕτερον  
 ὀσπητίον πλησίον τῆς αὐτῆς ||<sup>36</sup> ἐκκλησί(ας) καὶ τοῦ Καστοριανοῦ.

Ἐκκλησία ἑτέρα ἐκτὸς τοῦ κάστρου ἢ λεγομένη Ἄσπρη μετὰ ἀμπελί(ων) μολίων κ' καὶ χω-||<sup>37</sup>ραφίων ὄσων καὶ οἶων, καὶ τὸ ἀφιερωθὲν ἀμπέλιον παρὰ τοῦ Στασινοῦ μολίου ἑνός, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦ Σαρακηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ Καστρο-||<sup>38</sup>φύλακος ἐκεῖσε μολίου ἑνός ὅπερ ἀφῆκαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησί(αν) μνήμης αὐτῶν ἕνεκεν, (καὶ) ἐκτὸς πάλιν, χωρίον τοῦ Μηρέα ||<sup>39</sup> ἔχον [...] ροτροβί(ας) ε' (καὶ) μύλωνα, ἕτερον χωρίον ὅπου ἐκαθέζετο ὁ Ἀλέξιος. Ἐντὸς δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Κάστρου ἐκκλησί(αν) τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Γεωργ(ίου), ||<sup>40</sup> μετὰ πάντων ὧν ἔχει δικαί(ων) καὶ προνομί(ων), ἀμπελί(ων) δηλονότι, χωραφίων καὶ ὀσπητί(ων) καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δικαί(ων) αὐτοῦ. Ἐκτὸς δ' αὖθις ||<sup>41</sup> τὸν Ἀγ(ιον) Δημήτριον, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ δικαίοις καὶ προνομίοις αὐτοῦ, (καὶ) τὸ χωρίον τὸ οὕτω λεγόμε(νον) ὁ Ἀγ(ιος) Ἡλί(ας) καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Μανασ-||<sup>42</sup>σῆ ἀφιερωθὲν ἀμπέλιον εἰς τὴν Ἄσπρην Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀβουστρίτζαν μολί(ων) β' πλησίον τοῦ Δραγονέα, καὶ τὸ ||<sup>43</sup> παρὰ τοῦ ἱερομονάχου Λουκά τοῦ Φουλτάνου ἀφιερωθὲν χωρίον, τὸ λεγόμε(νον) Χοστενόν, μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δικαί(ων) καὶ προνομί(ων). Καὶ ||<sup>44</sup> ταῦτα μὲν εἰσὶ ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἐκείνου πενθεροῦ μου τῆ εἰρημένη μονῆ προσεκυρώθησ(αν) καὶ ἃ παραδέδωκα ἀρτίως μετὰ ||<sup>45</sup> τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς πρὸς τ(ὴν) πολλάκις διαληφθεῖσ(αν) ἀθωνίτιδα τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Παύλου σ(εβασμίαν) μονήν. Ἄ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξ οἰκείου μου ἀρτί(ως) ||<sup>46</sup> προσαφιέρωσα, εἰσὶ ταῦτα· τὸ παλαιοχώριον, τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον τοῦ Κούτρελλου, μετὰ τῆς νομῆς ἀπάσης καὶ δεσπο||<sup>47</sup>τείας αὐτοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῆ λίμνῃ τῷ Ὀστρόβω τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλιεῖς τρεῖς, Κῦρον τὸν τοῦ Προντανίνου υἱόν, οὗ ἡ γυνὴ Μάρω, ὁ δὲ ||<sup>48</sup> υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μποτζίκης, ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ Θεοδώ(α), ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Κώνστας τοῦ Λείου ὁ υἱός, οὗ ἡ γυνὴ Εἰρήνη, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Μπολέ-||<sup>49</sup>σλαβος, ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Εἰρήνη, οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν Ἰωάννης καὶ Τρύφων, οἵτινες ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἀδιενόχλητοι ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρείας αὐθεντικῆς, ||<sup>50</sup> ἀγγαρείας λέγω, μιτάτου, ἀπλικευμάτου ἢ τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀμὴ νὰ εἶναι μόνον εἰς ὑπηρεσί(αν) τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἀκαταζήτητοι. ||<sup>51</sup> Ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἅπαντα ὅσα τε ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖν(ος) πενθερός μου ἀφίερωσε τὰ ἐν τῷ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐκτεθέντι παραδοτηρίῳ ἐγγράφῳ, ||<sup>52</sup> καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἀρτί(ως) ἐκδέδωκα, εἴτε χωρία, εἴτε ἀν(θρώπ)ους, εἴτε παλαιοχώρια, εἴτε ἀμπέλια, εἴτε ὀσπήτια, εἴτε μύλωνας, εἴτε ζῶα, ||<sup>53</sup> εἴτε ναοὺς, εἴτε ἄλλο τι, προσκυρῶ, ἀνατίθημι, ἀφιερῶ, παραδίδωμι ὅλη ψυχῆ, ὅλη προθυμία, ὅλη πίστει καὶ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει ||<sup>54</sup> πρὸς τὴν εἰρημ(ένην) τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Παύλου ἀθωνίτιδα μονήν μετὰ καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης μου Δεσποίνης καὶ Θεομήτορος, ||<sup>55</sup> τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης Μεσσησιαωτίσσης, μετὰ τε πάντων ὧν ἔχουσι δικαίων καὶ

προνομί(ων) παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων, ἀ-||<sup>56</sup>ξιῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον μετ' ἐμὲ αὐθεντεύσοντας, εἴτε Ῥωμαῖοι εἶεν, εἴτε μουσουλμάνοι, εἴτε Σέρβοι ὡς ἂν στέργωσιν τὴν παροῦσ(αν) ||<sup>57</sup> μου προσκύρωσίν τε καὶ ἀφιέρωσιν, καὶ διαυθεντεύωσι τ(οὺς) καλογγήρ(ους) ἀπὸ τοὺς βουλομέν(ους) ἀδικῆσαι ἢ διανοχλῆσαι ἢ τὸ τυχόν ||<sup>58</sup> διασεῖσαι αὐτούς. Εἰ δὲ τις βουληθεῖ τῶν τοῦ μέρους μου λόγον τὸν τυχόντα κινῆσαι κληρονομίας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι διανοχλῆσαι τὴν εἰρημένην τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ||<sup>59</sup> μονήν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἰσακούεσθαι καὶ καταδεδικασμένον ἀπὸ παντὸς δικαστηρίου ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἐπισπάσαι τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνων ἀράς. Ὀφείλουσι δὲ οἱ τῇ τοιαύτῃ σεβασμῖα μονῆ ἑνασκούμενοι πρῶτον ||<sup>60</sup> μὲν εὐχεσθαι ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπὲρ τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων κτητόρων τῆς ἐνταῦθα θεομητορικῆς μονῆς, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων μου, τοῦ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα κτήματα προσκυρώσαντος. Ἄν μέντοι βουληθεῖ τις τῶν τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ καταλόγου, κἂν ὁποίου γένους ἐστίν, ἀκρωῶσαι ἢ παρασαλεῦσαι, ἢ τι τυχόν ἀποσπάσαι τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ πενθεροῦ μου ἀφιερωτηρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐγγράφῳ ἀποσπάσαι, νὰ ἔχη τὰς ἀράς τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτῶ θεοφόρων πατέρων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγανάκτησιν, καὶ τὸ ἀπαρόρησιαστον ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο γέγογε καὶ τὸ παρόν μου παραδοτήριον ἐγγράφον καὶ ἐπεδόθη τῇ διαληφθεῖσῃ πολλὰκις σεβασμῖα τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μονῆ δι' ἀσφάλειαν. Μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος θ' τοῦ ,σὼγγ' ἔτους.

## Act no. 9

DECREE OF SULTAN BAYEZID I CONFIRMING THAT THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL WAS THE LEGAL POSSESSOR OF THE MONASTERY OF MESONISIOTISSA NEAR EDESSA

Between 1389 and 1402

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the visible text.

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 49. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 180 x 240 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of cloth. Its preservation is very poor, with abundant traces of moisture and numerous ruptures. The ink has faded to such a degree that the text is unreadable and only few words could be

deciphered. At the beginning of the text there is a tuğra of the sultan<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis and dating:** The charter of Bayezid I the Thunderbolt (Yıldırım) probably confirmed the fact that the Monastery of Our Lady Mesonisiotissa near the town of Edessa (Voden) belonged to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul, which had received it as a donation from Nicholas Pagasis Baldovin in March 1385 (cf. our **acts nos. 7 and 8**). Fortunately, the text on l. 4-5 is readable and states that the protagonist of our **acts nos. 7 and 8**, Nicholas Baldovin, had made a donation to the monks of St. Paul at an earlier date. The district of Edessa was conquered by Bayezid I in the autumn of 1389, after the victory of the Ottomans at Kosovo Pole, and thus it is very likely that our document was promulgated during the early years of Bayezid's reign (the years 1389-1402 which we offer as a date for the document correspond to the overall reign of Bayezid I). A Turkish document (*nişan*) issued by an Ottoman prince named Orhan between January 26 and February 4, 1412, which is kept in the archives of St. Paul, also confirms that by that date the monastery was the legal possessor of the village of Mesonisiotissa near Edessa<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions:** *unpublished*

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 274-175, no. 15; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 31; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 15-154; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 43, no. 8.

**Text** (it consists of 13 lines of which l. 2-3 and 6-13 are unreadable):

Tuğra of Sultan Bayezid I written with Arabic script.

Ὅρισμός τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθέντου καὶ μεγάλου ἀμηρᾶ τοῦ Παγιάζιτπέϊ Βαλδουδῖνο ||<sup>2</sup> (l. 2 is unreadable) ||<sup>3</sup> (l. 3 is unreadable) ||<sup>4</sup> [... 10-15 ...] παρέδωκεν ὁ Βαλδουδῆνος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀγιοριτῶν ||<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου ἐν τῷ Ἄθωνι [... 7-10 ...] || (l. 6-13 are unreadable).

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 43.

2. Cf. Boškov, *Ein Nişan des Prinzen Orhan*, 127-152; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 154.

**Act no. 10 A. Greek prototype**

ACT OF THE *PROTOS* NEOPHYTOS SANCTIONING THE  
INDEPENDENCE OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL FROM  
THE MONASTERY OF XEROPOTAMOU

November 6908 (1399), *indiction* 8th

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the surviving Greek text.

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 42. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 320 x 300 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of newer paper. Its preservation is very poor. Its lower part is missing while the beginnings and the ends of the lines are scarcely readable due to moisture<sup>1</sup>.

**Dating:** Our charter contains no date. For its dating see its Serbian translation (**act no. 10 B**).

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. Several years earlier the Serbian noblemen Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja had retreated as monks to Mount Athos, intending to create there a monastic house which would contribute to the salvation of the souls of many people. On Athos they found a monastic establishment (*kellion*) dedicated to St. Paul, which was subordinated to the Monastery of Xeropotamou, and started restoring and embellishing its buildings. They built a church and a tower and planted vineyards. Desiring to avoid future conflicts with Xeropotamou, they asked this monastery to grant them a document authorizing them to control St. Paul for as long as they could maintain it in good condition. The two founders also claimed that their new monastic house could not be ceded to any ruler or aristocrat and should not be sold to another Athonite monastery but, if it would be overwhelmed by poverty, it must be taken back by Xeropotamou. However, if their new monastery desired to invite a king or a nobleman as a “new founder” (*ktitor*) it could do that without any hindrance. Intending to maintain good relations with Xeropotamou, at an earlier date the monks of St. Paul had signed a document arranging all the necessary details. However, several years later Xeropotamou confronted severe financial difficulties and asked St. Paul for support. Desiring to keep the good relations between the two foundations but intending also to secure the position of their own monastery, Gerasim and Anthony then

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 43.

gave Xeropotamou 100 ounces of silver. This step of good will was confirmed with a special document issued by the *protos* Dorotheos which was delivered to the Monastery of St. Paul. Nevertheless, at a certain moment frictions and conflicts arouse between the two monasteries, so Gerasim and Anthony visited Xeropotamou and succeeded to settle the difference. The situation normalized and it was decided that every monk of Xeropotamou must be treated in St. Paul as a monk of St. Paul, and every monk of St. Paul must be treated in Xeropotamou as a monk of Xeropotamou. In other words, the two monasteries were expected to act as a single foundation, the only exception to this rule being the internal affairs of each of them. Moreover, the monks of St. Paul were not allowed to detach from Xeropotamou an unnamed *kellion*, which they were exploiting, and to cede it to another monastery or to a lay lord. However, if the said *kellion* failed to meet its expenses Xeropotamou was authorized to take it back, but without violence ...

*The end of the Greek prototype is missing. For an analysis of the missing text, see our act no. 10 B, which is a Serbian translation of act no. 10 A. Its text is full and it offers the reader the final paragraphs together with the signatures.*

#### **Mentioned documents:**

1. Document of the Athonite *protos* Dorotheos corroborating that Anthony Bagaš and Gerasim Radonja had subsidized the Monastery of Xeropotamou with 100 ounces of silver (δεδώκασι πρὸς τὴν μονήν τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου οὐγγίας ἀσῆμι ἑκατόν, ἐπ' ἐγγράφῳ δικαιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐκείνου πρώτου κυροῦ Δωροθέου, l. 63-67). Taking into consideration the data provided by our **Act no. 7 (Serbian act no. 1)** and what is known about the Athonite *protos* Dorotheos (see entry no. 2 in the **prosopography** of the present act), this document could be dated to 1385 but is not preserved in the Greek archives of St. Paul.

2. An act of confirmation which pertained to same same affair was issued before the present document is mentioned only in the final paragraph of the Serbian translation (see our **act no. 10 B**, l. 71-72).

#### **Prosopography:**

1. For **Anthony Bagaš** and **Gerasim Radonja** see the prosopography of our **act no. 7 (Serbian act no. 1)**.

2. The *protos* **Dorotheos** was a monk of Xeropotamou who appeared in several Athonite documents of the period August 1384 - November 1387<sup>1</sup>.

1. Prôtaton, 140, no. 67; Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 374-375, no. 67.

**Editions:** *Χρονογραφική ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 73-76.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 271, no. 12; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 16; Συβοτιῆ, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 230-233; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 43-45, no. 9.

**Text:**

- 1 † Τ(ῆς) ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) κεκρυμμένης ζωῆς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἴδιον, ἢ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καλόν. Αὐτὴ καὶ γὰρ [.....] εἴρηται κεκρυμμένη ζωή, ἢ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ εἰρήνη πνευματικῆ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ζήση πνευματικῶς ὁ μὴ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγαπῶν; πῶς δὲ ἀγαπήσῃ τὸ θεῖον ὁ μὴ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτὴν ἔνοικον τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν ἔχων; Εἰς ἣν καὶ θαρρόυντες
- 5 οἱ χωρίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἔξω τῶν κοσμικῶν, ταῖς ἐρήμοις προσφεύγοντες καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ζῆν ἐθέλομεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μηδὲν προτιμῶντες αὐτῆς. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ κατὰ κόσμον εὐγενέστατοι καὶ περιφανέστατοι ἄρχοντες, ἐν μοναχοῖς τε ἀξιολογώτατοι καὶ τιμιώτατοι, ὃ τε κύρ Γεράσιμος ὁ Ῥαδώνιας καὶ κύρ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Παγάσης, πρὸ πολλῶν ἤδη τῶν χρόνων ἐν
- 10 τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀγ(ίῳ) Ὅρει φοιτήσαντες ψυχικῆς ἕνεκα σωτηρίας, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τινος τῶν ἀπάντων σκοπῶν τὴν κοσμικὴν ἀφέντες ἐκουσίως ἀρχὴν τε καὶ ματαιότητα, βουλὴν ἔθεντο παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμονοοῦσαν, συστῆσαι τι ἐξ οἰκείων ἐξόδων καὶ κόπων ἱερὸν τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ κτῆμα εἰς συναθροισμὸν μὲν ὠφέλειαν καὶ ψυχαγωγίαν πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ψυχῶν, εἰς ἰδίαν δὲ
- 15 ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἔρωτος πνευματικοῦ ἰδιότητα, οὐ μὴν δ' ἄλλὰ καὶ εἰς αἰωνίαν καὶ διηγεκῆ μνήμην αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων αὐτοῖς, ἦντινα δὴ γνώμην καὶ τὰ κατὰ βούλησιν ἐπιβραβεύει Θε(εός). Καὶ κελλίον εὐρίσκεται αὐτοῖς ὠφελιμώτατον ὁμοῦ τε καὶ χρήσιμον τῇ αὐτῶν θεαρέστῳ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῷ κατὰ Θε(ε)ῷ Σ(ωτῆ)ρι σκοπῷ συμβαίνει τὸ
- 20 ὑπὸ τῆς σ(εβασμ)ίας καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγιορειτικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς θείας τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου μονῆς ἔκπαλαι δεσποζόμενον καὶ διαφέρον κελλίον, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τιμώμενον τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Παύλου, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἀρυσθέντες, σκηνάς ἔθεντο ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς ἡνίας πάσας, τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τούτοις περὶ πολλοῦ ἐνομίσθη ἢ μόνον ὁ Ἁγ(ιος) Παῦλος καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ
- 25 πᾶσα καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν περὶ αὐτό. Βελτιώσεις τε καὶ οἰκοδομαὶ συχναί, ὁ ἱερὸς καὶ θεῖος ναὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὸ πύργος. Τὰ εἰς κατὰ μονὴν κελλία, ἀμπέλια τὰ νῦν ὀρώμενα κήπων ἐνέργεια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἄπερ ἢ πολλῶν δέεται χρεία. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τὸν Θε(εόν) ἐν εἰρήνῃ βιαζόμενα γίνεσθαι ἔργα, χωρὶς καὶ τῆς τῶν συνεπομένων ἐνδόσεως, ἀνάρμοστα εἶναι δοκοῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπώμενα, τὸ κύριον τῆς τελείας καὶ δεσποτείας
- 30 καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀνενοχλησίας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν γενομένων ἀσφαλείας, βιαζόμενοι ἔχειν εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα οἱ ῥηθέντες ἐντιμώτατοι κατὰ

μοναχοὺς καὶ οἱ τούτων διάδοχοι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἐγκρίτων  
 καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μέρους αὐτῆς, τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου δῆλον ὅτι, ἐνδόσημον  
 35 αἰτοῦσι γραφὴν ἐπιχορηγοῦσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ μέρει αὐτῶν τὸ κατὰ  
 πάντα ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην, ὥστε κατέχειν τὸ ῥηθὲν κελλίον μέχρις  
 ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἢ τούτων ἰσχύη καὶ διακρατῆ γενεά, καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ἄρχειν,  
 καὶ νέμεσθαι ὡς ἴδιον, ἀνοικοδομεῖν, βελτιοῦν, συνιστᾶν. Καὶ τὰς τῶν  
 πόνων ἀναπαύσεως μόνους ἀπολαμβάνειν, τὴν τυχοῦσαν καταδυναστείαν  
 40 ἢ διενόχλησιν μὴ ἐχόντων ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν τῆς μονῆς. Τούτου καὶ μόνου  
 τηρουμένου παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἄδειαν αὐτοὺς ποτὲ  
 παραπέμπειν τὸ κελλίον αὐτὸ εἰς τινα τῶν ἀπάντων, βασιλέα τυχόν,  
 ἢ ἄρχοντα, ἢ εἰς μονὴν ἑτέραν ἀγιορειτικὴν, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἀπορήσουσι ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἐφορᾶν καὶ οἰκοκυρεῦν, ἐκουσίως τότε τῇ  
 45 τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου ὑποταγήσονται. Πλήν, ὡς βουληθῶσιν, οἱ τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου)  
 Παύλου τοῦ καιροῦ διερχομένου προσκαλέσασθαι ἑαυτοῖς κτήτορα καὶ  
 κυβερνήτην τινὰ τῶν εἰρημένων, βασιλέα ἢ ἄρχοντα, ἢ τῶν τὰ μεγάλα  
 δυναμένων, ἄδειαν ἐχέτωσαν πᾶσαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἥτις καὶ προέβη κοινῶ  
 συμβιβασμῶ ἐγγράφῳ τῶν δύο μερῶν εἰς αὐτῶν προθύμως τῇ αἰτήσει  
 50 τῶν διαληφθέντων πατέρων τῶν Ἐηροποταμηνῶν. Τὸ δ' ἐξαίρετον τοῦ  
 συμβιβασμοῦ τὰ [... 5-8 ...] ὁμοσεῖν μοναστηρίου, τηρουμένων κατὰ  
 πάντα τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ ἰσασμοῦ. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἅτινα κατὰ μέρος ἐπεὶ  
 ἔδοξε γράψαι τοῖς τότε, παρέλκοντα ἔδοξε ὧδε γράφεσθαι ἢ τάττεσθαι,  
 ἀνάρμοστα πάντη φαινόμενα, ἐπὶ ἔνδεια οὐδεμία ἐστί, τοῦ παραπέμψαι  
 55 καὶ ἀποσπάσαι τὸ κελλίον εἰς τινα, ὡς κατὰ μέρος ἄνω δεδήλωται. Χρόνοι  
 τῷ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου συχνοὶ καὶ χρεῖας γενομένης διὰ τινα ἀνάγκην, ζήτησιν  
 ἐποίησαντο οἱ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου [...] τῶν τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Παύλου ἐγκρίτων,  
 τοῦ κυροῦ Γερασίμου καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀντωνίου, δώματος τόσου, ὅσου  
 εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἢ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγάπη φανῆ μάλιστα καὶ  
 60 ἵνα καὶ τὴν προγεγονοῦσαν πράξιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστερεώσωσι καὶ  
 βεβαιωτέραν στήσωσιν εἶναι, εἰς ἣντινα αἰτησιν καλογνώμως εἴξαντες  
 οἱ πολλάκις ῥηθέντες ἐντιμότατοι γέροντες, δεδώκασιν πρὸς τὴν μονὴν  
 τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου οὐγγίας ἀσῆμιν ἑκατόν, ἐπ' ἐγγράφῳ δικαιώματι τῷ  
 παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνου πρώτου κυροῦ Δωροθέου γεγογότι καὶ ἄχρι  
 65 τοῦ νῦν τηρουμένῳ καὶ τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντι. Ἄλλὰ τὰ διὰ μέσῳ τῶν χρόνων  
 ἐπιγεγόμενα σκάνδαλα πολλά, καὶ ἡ τῶν διαρρέοντων πραγμάτων στάσις  
 ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ παρατρέπεται ἀσυστρόφως πορευομένων ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 πάντες ἄν(θρωπ)οὶ τὰς γνώμας ἐξ ἴσου. Οὐδέ, εἰ καὶ κοινὴν ὤρισεν ὁ  
 Χ(ριστὸ)ς εἶναι τὴν εἰρήνην ἅπασιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τηρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ ἔμενεν  
 70 οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἄνω γέγονε κάτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρὰ τινῶν λέγεσθαι, ὡς  
 ἐγὼ μὲν πράττων σοὶ λέγω ἐν ἅπασιν, οἷς ἀρέσκομαι. Σὺ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως,

ἀλλὰ ἀδίκως ἔφθασε καὶ μέχρι τῶν δύο μερῶν τούτων, τῆς μονῆς λέγω  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Παύλου, ἔθεντο καὶ κοινολογίαι ἐγένοντο μέσον αὐτῶν  
 εἰς ὄχλησιν ἀφορῶσαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κατάλυσιν. Γέγονεν οὖν [... 10-  
 75 12 ...] διό καὶ παραγενόμενοι οἱ τιμιώτατοι γέροντες, ὁ κύριος Γεράσιμος  
 καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου, κοινῇ τε διασκεψάμενοι  
 καὶ εἰρηνεύσαντες, μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὄντων ἐγκρίτων καὶ πάντων,  
 ἔδοξε καλὸν κατ' ἄμφω τὰ μέρη παραγένεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ταπεινότητα, ὡς ἂν ἡ παρακολουθήσασα εἰρήνη καὶ ὁ συμβιβασμὸς ἀπὸ  
 80 τοῦ νῦν ἔσται καὶ μὴ ἐπιστασίας ἡμέρας καὶ ἀκροάσεως, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ  
 τῶν προγεγονυῶν κρίσεων, συμφωνιῶν καὶ γραφῶν ἐπιβεβαιώσεως. Καὶ  
 δὴ ἐπιβεβαιούσα ἡ ἡμετέρα ταπεινότης ἄπερ ἀμφοτέρων ἤκουσε τῶν  
 μερῶν, ἐπικυροῦσα τε καὶ τὰ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐπιγιγνόμενα ταῖς δυσί  
 μοναῖς, ἀποφαίνεται οὕτως, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἵνα διατηρῆται ἡ πρώτη  
 85 ζητηθεῖσα καὶ γενομένη εἰρήνη καὶ τηρῶσιν εἰς ἄλληλα τὰ μοναστήρια  
 τὴν κατὰ Θε(εὸν) εἰρήνην καὶ ἀγάπην εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. Ἡ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Παύλου ἀγάπη, ἀναδοχή, εὐμένεια καὶ  
 τιμή, ὅτε τυχῶν ἢ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καταλάβοι ἢ ὁ  
 τυχῶν ἀδελφός, ἀναπαύσεως ἀξιούμενος ἕκαστος κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τύπον.  
 90 Ὅμοίως καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου ὅτε παραβάλλη εἰς τὸν Ἁγ(ιον) Παῦλον,  
 ἵνα ἐπιτυχάνῃ τιμῆς, ἧς ἔστιν ἄξιος, ὡς πρῶτος ἀδελφός. καὶ ἀγάπης,  
 ἀναπαύσεως ὁμοίως καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου ἐκεῖσε  
 παραγένετο, ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αὐτῷ ἀνάπαυσιν, ἧς δεῖ γε,  
 95 χρείας ἐχούσης, λαμβάνειν ἀπ' ἐκεῖσε ἀκωλύτως οἷον ῥουδίου, δαδίου  
 καὶ σπαράγγματος, καθ' ἃ καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἁγιορεῖται. Καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν  
 μίαν εἶναι τὰ δύο μοναστήρια μονὴν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀπὸ πληροφορίας  
 ζητήμασι, πάρεξ τοῖς μερισμοῖς τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεων.  
 Καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ποτε τοὺς τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Παύλου ἀποσπάσαι ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἢ τὸ κελλίον ἀπὸ τῆς σεβ(ασμίας) τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου μονῆς, καὶ εἰς  
 100 χεῖρα ἐτέραν αὐθεντικὴν αὐτὸ προσηλωσαι, ἢ τινὸς μονῆς ἀγιορειτικῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ ζῆν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐτάχθη ἐλευθέρως καὶ δεσποτικῶς. Ὅταν δὲ  
 πρὸς τσσαύτην ἔλθῃ ἀπορίαν, ὅπερ ἀπευχόμεθα, καὶ πραγμάτ(ων) καὶ  
 ἀν(θρώπων), ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξαρκεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ διακρατεῖν τὸ κελλίον,  
 105 δύο ἢ τριῶν ἐκεῖσε περιλειφθέντων καὶ τούτων ἀδυνάτων καὶ παντάπασιν  
 ἠπορημένων, ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀδιάστως ὑποταγήσονται τότε τῇ μονῇ τοῦ  
 Ἐηροποτάμου, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ δυναστείας, ἢ βίας ἢ τινὸς ἐνοχλήσεως. Εἰ  
 δὲ παραβαίνοντες φανοῖεν ἐκάτεροι, οἳ τε Ἁγιοπαυλιῖται τὸ ἀποσπάσαι  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου ἢ οἱ Ἐηροποταμηνοὶ τὸ βία καὶ μετὰ  
 110 ... [The end of the document is missing].

**Act no. 10 B**  
**Serbian act no. 2. Translation of Greek act no. 10 A**

SERBIAN TRANSLATION OF THE ACT OF THE *PROTOS*  
 NEOPHYTOS SANCTIONING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE  
 MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL FROM THE MONASTERY OF  
 XEROPOTAMOU

November 6908 (**1399**), *indiction* 8th

**Type of the document:** ΟΤΔΔΔΙΤΕΛΗΝΟΕ ΠΙΣΑΝΗΕ (l. 71)

**Description:** The translation is preserved in two variants:

**Variante 1.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder 52 as act no. 9. It is written with dark brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 350 X 760 mm and its preservation is relevantly good (see **plate no. 6**).

**Variante 2.** Late 16th or early 17th century copy kept in archival folder 52. It is written on **paper** with dimensions 310 X 440 mm and its preservation is very good (see **plate no. 7**).

**Dating:** The end of the Greek prototype (**act no. 10 A**) is damaged and the passage with the date is missing, but there is a date on l. 74-75 of its Serbian translation: **мѣсѧца ноемврїѧ настоещѧ ѡсмомѧ индиктѧ, въ лѣто ϣѧϣ** = November 6909 (**1400**), *indiction* 8th. Thus, the only available date for both variants of the text is the one provided by the Serbian translation, but it is unknown when this translation was made. There is a discrepancy between the year and the number of the *indiction*, because the 8th *indiction* ends on August 31, 1400. November 1400 corresponds to the 9th *indiction*<sup>1</sup>. The number of the *indiction* on l. 74 is written with two separate words (**ѡсмомѧ индиктѧ**), so it is quite unlikely that the error could be in the number of the *indiction*. On the contrary, the last letter denoting the numeral 9 (**ϣ**) in the year **ϣѧϣ** (6909) could have easily been copied in a wrong way. Ignoring the date available in the Serbian translation, in 1903 G. Smyrnakis assumed that the Greek original dated from 1392<sup>2</sup>. In 1942 and in 1981 St. Binon and K. Chrysochoidis repeated this dating with no comment of their own<sup>3</sup>. The correct dating, which is **November 1399**, was established and argued by D. Papachryssanthou and G. Subotić in 1975, 1983

1. See Grumel, *La chronologie*, 262.

2. Σμυρνάκης, *Άγιον Όρος*, 602.

3. Binon, *Χέροποταμου et Saint-Paul*, 27, no. 12; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, 267.

and 1992, and was finally affirmed by Ph. Kotzageorgis in 2008. The main argument supporting this dating is the fact that several Athonite acts composed between October 1400 and October 1403 mention as a *protos* of Athos a certain Gennadios, a person who must have replaced Neophytos of our act before October 1400<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** *For an analysis of the beginning of the text, see above our act no. 10 A, which is the Greek prototype of the Serbian translation. However, the missing end of the Greek prototype is available only in the Serbian translation, so its analysis is given here:*

... However, if the said *kellion* failed to meet its expenses, Xeropotamou was authorized to take it back, but without violence. If any of the two monasteries would break the law, e.g. if the monks of St. Paul would denounce their subordination to Xeropotamou, or the monks of Xeropotamou would try to take control of the few remaining monks of St. Paul, the wrath of God should fall upon them. St. Paul was also entitled to possess the *kellion* of the Archangel Michael, with all its land and properties and with the district of St. Anna (l. 67). The two foundations should also refrain from illegal activities and violent behaviour (l. 64-71). The present confirmative document (*otdaditelnoe pisanie*, l. 71), along with another document which had been composed at an earlier date, were delivered to the representatives of St. Paul to be kept for future use. Date: November 6908, *indiction* 8th. An additional note states that the Greek prototype contained the following signatures: 1. Neofit, *protos* of Athos; 2. Gerasim, ex-superior and *dikaiou*; 3. Therapon, ex-superior; 4. Galaktion, ex-superior; 5. Dorothei, *eklisiarh*; 6. Kalinik, ex-superior; 7. Symeon, spiritual instructor (*duhovnik*, in Greek *pneumatikos*); 8. Dosithei, priest-monk; 9. Iakinth, priest-monk; 10. Theodosie, elder; 11. Gabriel, priest-monk; 12. Theodosie, bishop of Hierissos and Mount Athos.

#### **Mentioned documents:**

1. An act of confirmation pertaining to same same affair which was issued before the present document is mentioned on l. 71-72: **ΠΙΣΑ ΣΕ ΣΤΕ ΩΠΤΑΔΔΗΤΕΛΝΟΕ ΠΙΣΑΝΤΕ Η ΠΡΕΒЖДЕ СЕРГО ПОДТВРЖДЕННАГО**. It was delivered to the representatives of St. Paul in order to be kept for future use. However, today there is no such Greek or Serbian act in the archives of St. Paul<sup>2</sup>.

1. Prôtaton, 141, no. 76; Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 230-233; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 378, no. 76. See also Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 268 and 270, acts nos. 17 and 18; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 41 and 43.

2. Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 266-271, acts nos. 14-20 (1016-1423); Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 35-51, acts nos. 5-12 (1259-1401).

**Prosopography:**

The fact that the Greek prototype was issued by a *protos* named Neophytos is known only from its Serbian translation, because the end of our **act no. 10 A** is damaged and the signatures are missing. Neophytos was a *protos* of Mount Athos from March 1391 to March 1392 and from September 1398 to January 1400. He passed away before September 1403<sup>1</sup>.

**Topology:** According to G. Subotić, the *kellion* of Archangel Michael and the “district of St. Anna” (ΠΟΡΤΕΙ Η ΟΥ ΣΒΕΤΟΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΝΟΥ, l. 69), could be identified with what is today the *skiti* of St. Anna<sup>2</sup>. On the contrary, having scrutinized the Turkish archives of St. Paul, Ph. Kotzageorgis assumed that “the district of St. Anna” was a minor monastic settlement located at a short distance to the southeast of St. Paul and to the northwest of what is today the so-called Nea Skiti, a group of monastic dwellings belonging to St. Paul. The modern *skiti* of St. Anna is situated to the southeast of Nea Skiti and appeared for a first time in the Athonite documents only during the Ottoman period<sup>3</sup>. Its territory has always been property of Megiste Lavra<sup>4</sup>, so it could have hardly been the locality mentioned in our act (cf. **map no. 5**).

**Remarks:** The *incipit* of the Greek prototype (our **act no. 10 A**) corresponds precisely to the *incipit* of our Serbian text: **ИЖЕ ВЪ ХРИСТѢ ПОКРЪВЕНЬИ ЖИВУТЬ, НЕ ИСТЬ ИНО УСАВЪ** = τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ κεκρυμμένης ζωῆς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἴδιον. As we already pointed out above, the end of the Greek prototype is missing and its last surviving passage corresponds to l. 69 of the Serbian translation (ΠΟΡΤΕΙ Η ΟΥ ΣΒΕΤΟΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΔΕΛΕΙ ΒΥΣΚ ΠΡΑΒΕΔΝΗΙ ΟΒΗΤΕΛΗ ΤΟΕ). The Serbian translation is, along general lines, precise, but some passages were translated in a rather obscure manner, and it is quite difficult to understand some of them if we ignore the text of the Greek prototype, whose precision is much higher than that of the Serbian text. A specific difference between the Greek original and its Serbian translation could be detected on l. 21-22, where the Serbian text reads: **ТАКОЖЕ ВЪЗНИМЪЕТИ РЕЧЕННЮЮ КЕЛИЮ ДОНДЕЖЕ ТАМО СРЪБСКАА МОЩЬ И ДРЪЖАВНЫХЪ РОДА, ВЛАДЫЧЪСТВОВАТИ И ВЛАДАТИ**, which means that Bagaš and Radonja were authorized to control St. Paul for as long as

1. See Prôtaton, 140 and 141, nos. 69 and 75; Παπαχρυσάνθου, Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 375 and 377, nos. 69 and 75.

2. Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 233-236.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 44.

4. Cf. Συμυρνάκης, *Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 410-413; Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρσόνησος τοῦ Ἁθῶ*, 94, 106, 138 and 179-180; Χρήστου, *Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 233, 245 and 247; Γ. Πεντζίκη, *Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, II, Athens 2003, 146-155.

“the Serbian power and their own stately clans would dominate and prevail”. However, at this point the Greek text is neutral and makes no reference to “Serbian” power at all: ὥστε κατέχειν τὸ ῥηθὲν κελλίον μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἡ τούτων ἰσχύη καὶ διακρατῆ γενεά, καὶ δεσπόζειν καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ νέμεσθαι ὡς ἴδιον, ἀνοικοδομεῖν, βελτιοῦν, συνιστᾶν (act no. 10 A, l 34-38).

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 49-50; Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 188-191, act no. 2; Стародубцев, *Писани извори о црквама*, 145 (this edition is based of that of D. Sindik and offers only lines 5-18 of the act); Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 154-160, no. 2.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 187-188 (Sindik’s dating of the act to November 1409 is erroneous); Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 230-233; Стародубцев, *Писани извори о црквама*, 144-146; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 41-44, no. 9; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 154-160.

### Text:

† иже въ хѣ̄ покръвении живѡтъ, нѣ ѣ̄ йно ѡс[ѡб]ь крѡме сьми]ренїа добрость. сѣи оубо вѣмь рѣныи живѡтъ по ||<sup>2</sup> крѣвении, къ бгѡу любовь и съѣдинѣнїе и сьмиренїе дхѡвно. каковѡ ѣ̄ живѡвати дхѡвно, ѣже нѣсть по бѡу любѣ||<sup>3</sup>ви. како же възлюбить бжтвенѡе, ѣже любви сїе прѣбывающи въ хѣ̄ илѣ въ нѣи дрѣзаящи себѣ ѡлѡчїста изь-||<sup>4</sup>вѣнь мїра. въ поустыниа привѣгоуеми и въ горѣ, и живѡвати хѡтещѣ въ сьмиренїи. ни ѣдинѣмь прѣпочитаемь ||<sup>5</sup> себѣ, юже и въ мирѣ блгорѡнїи и нарѡчитїи кнѣзи. въ инѡцѣ̄ достѡнїи словѡмь и чѣстїю. кѡ герасимь рѣ-||<sup>6</sup>дѡнна. и кѡ антѡнїе багашь. прѣ нѣколко оубо лѣтъ съ нами въ стѣе гѡри посадишѣ. за дшѣвенѡе тѣчїю ||<sup>7</sup> спсѣнїе. и нѣ по нѣкомѣ срѣченїю мирскаѡ ѡставише вѡлю, влѣсть и соуѣтїе. сѣвѣтъ полѡжише междоу ||<sup>8</sup> собѡу съѣдинїенъ. създати ѡ своѣго илѣнїа и трѣда стїилище бѣи и дѡмь. въ събрѣнїе же полѣзе дшѣвныи ||<sup>9</sup> мнѡгымь и йнымь дшѣмь. въ оутѣшенїе же и оупѡкоенїе, и рачїтелѣно дхѡвнаго своїства. нѣ сїцевымь бо, ||<sup>10</sup> нѣ и за вѣчныи и въсегдѣшныи пѣмѣти. тѣ̄ и ко роди прѣбывающїи сїмь. ѣко такоѡ рѣзѡма и съвѣщѣнїа ||<sup>11</sup> раздѣаетъ бѣ. и келїе ѡбрѣтаемь полѣзныхь, соугрѣбѣи чѣсти. сїцевоу бгѡбгѡднѣ възделѣнїю и по бѣ ||<sup>12</sup> вынїи стѣзченїю. иже въ нами стѣе гѡры. црѣка и бжтвенѡа жѣропотѣмьскаѡ ѡбїтѣль. ѡ дрѣвлѣ влѣдїимь и ||<sup>13</sup> нѡсїимь келїе, йменемь почитаемь стѣго пѣвѣла. иже и изволише, крѡвы полѡжише въ тѡи. и оумь всѣкъ ||<sup>14</sup> дшѣвныи. и нѣ ѣдино йно сїмь, за мнѡго пѡмнѣ се, тѣчїю крѡмѣ стѣго пѣвѣла. и брѣзѣствїа въсѣ и теченїе сѣмоу. ||<sup>15</sup> лѣчшѣ̄ и здѣнїа чѣста. сѣнныи и бжвныи хрѣмь, дѣло йхь. ѡколнымь пїрьгь. въ

ѡбѣитель келіе. винограда ||<sup>16</sup> нѣна видимые. врьтогра съ дѣбаніа. и ѣна нѣкаа. ѣже мнѡзѣмь прѣстаѣ потреба. понѣ, за съмирѣніе бжїе ||<sup>17</sup> поспѣшаема дѣла бѣвають. безъ и тѣ послѣди ѡдатїе. нестерѡчна бѣвають мнѣшим се. и не възлюбена ||<sup>18</sup> гѡпѡствы съврѣшенїе владычѣствы. и съмирѣніе, и съ безъ прѣрѣніе. ѣще же бѣвшомѣ оутверждѣнію. поспешъ ||<sup>19</sup> створѣма ѣмѣти въ вѣкы всѣ. рѣныи прѣчтѣнѣ и сї въ ѣнѡцѣ. и по сї послѣднїи. и ѡ ѡбитѣли лоучши. и ||<sup>20</sup> въсѣ ѡ страны тоѣ. жеропотама. сїрѣчь въздадїтелнѣ прѡсецш писанїю, ѣсплнѣяющш и въсѣ страны тоѣ, ||<sup>21</sup> по всемоу свѡбодно. и владычѣствѣвно, ѣакоже възнамѣети рѣннѣю келїю дондѣже тамо срѣбскаа мѡщѣ и дрѣ ||<sup>22</sup> жавныхъ рѡда, владычѣствовати и влати. и ѣмѣти ѣако своѣ. здати. сътѣврати. красїти. и трѣдѡ прѣпо ||<sup>23</sup> чївалищюу. самемъ въспрїемати. пѡ сълоучшїих се власти. семоу съмоушенїе да не ѣмѣють кѣда ѡ ѡбитѣли ||<sup>24</sup> томоу, и крѡмѣ съхранѣемѣ ѡ братїи нашихъ ѡ срѣблѣ. да не ѣмѣють ѡсвоожѣніе тѣ некога ѡпоустити кѣ ||<sup>25</sup> лию сїю, кѣ некоторомѣ ѡ въсѣѣ, црѣ сълоучїти се ѣли кнезѣ. ѣли въ ѡбитѣль ѣноу стѣе гѡры, нѣ ѣще толи ||<sup>26</sup> кѣ запоуцїенїю достїгнеть, ѣако немощи пїтати се и дрѣжати, ѣавѣствѣвно тогда жеропотамѣ да по ||<sup>27</sup> вїноуют се. ѡваче ѣще въсхѡцеть стго павла ѡбрѣтаемын врѣменѣ грѣдѣщюу призвати себѣ ктїтора и ||<sup>28</sup> крѣмитѣла некотораго ѡ прѣреченныхъ црѣ ѣли кнезѣ. ѣли ѡ великѣ мѡгоуцїи, свѡожѣніе да ѣмають въ ||<sup>29</sup> сакомѣ сїцевоу сътворити. ѣже и прѣвъзыде ѡбщюу съ потѣкменоу писанїѣ ѡвоихъ странѣ. ѡ тѣхъ оусрѣдно ѣспрѡ ||<sup>30</sup> сившї прѣѡстѣвшїихъ ѡцѣ жеропотамскихъ. юже и ѣзрѣдномоу потѣкменїѣ, ѡвое глаше съѣдинїенїе, ѣмѣетно ||<sup>31</sup> ѡбитѣлїем съхранїати по въсегдѣ съмирѣнїа и ѣзравнїенїа, ѣ ѣна нѣкаа ѣаже по чїслѣ. тамо въстѡтѣше писати ||<sup>32</sup> соуцїи тогда. привлече се и здѣ хѡтѣше писати се и повелѣти се. неслѡжна въ семоу /ѣви се/ ни ѡтрадини коѣ ѣ, прѣпослѣти ||<sup>33</sup> и ѡпрасноути келїю кѣ комоу. ѣако же пѡ рѣдѣ съвыше ѣвїхѡ. лѣтѣ по семя нѣколико, и потреба бѣ за нѣкое ||<sup>34</sup> поноуждѣніе. и стѣзанїе сътворише ѣже ѡ жеропотама, съ ѡ стго павла лоучшїи, кѣ герасима, и кѣ ѣнтѡнїа. ||<sup>35</sup> данѣць нѣколикоу въ пѡмощѣ тѣмѣ. ѣако да кѣ нимъ любовь ѣветѣ паче. и ѣако и прѣжѣ бѣвше строенїюу ||<sup>36</sup> кѣ сїмъ повтѡрѣдетѣ и крѣпчанїе полѡжетѣ бѣти. въ нѣкое прошенїе добрѡразѣмно почѣше ѣже въ мно ||<sup>37</sup> жаѣ рѣннїи чѣстнѣшїи стѣрци. подѣдоше кѣ ѡбитѣли оунычѣ срѣбра, рѣ. съ записанїемъ ѡправданнѣмъ ||<sup>38</sup> ѡ по прѣжде нась прѡта кѣ дорѡѡѣа бѣвшаго. и ѣаже до нѣна съхранѣемо и оутверждѣно ѣмѣеть. нѣ помеждѣ лѣтѣ ||<sup>39</sup> приключают се крѣмолѣства мнѡжаѣ. и по теченїи ѣз лиха стѣтїе. ѣ ѣгда и прѣтѣвѣрает се невѣзвращѣно ||<sup>40</sup> ѡ хѡдѣшемъ намѣ. ѣако не оуѡо въсї члци рѣзѣма ѣдїнога. ни ѡбщѣ заповѣда хс бѣти съмирѣнїе въсѣмѣ. ||<sup>41</sup> сїцевѣ же и съхранѣет се. и бѡ стоїати сїцевѣ, не хѡтѣше гѡрнїаа бѣти дѡлѣ. нѣ ѡ некоторѡи гласти се. ѣако ||<sup>42</sup> ѣзѣ ѣсѣмъ лоучшїи тѣвѣ ѡглю. ѡ въсѣѣ въ ѣаже оугѣждаем си. тї же нѣ тако. нѣ непрѣвѣдно.

приспѣ и до ѡбоѣ срѣ||<sup>43</sup>ны и сѣмь, въ ѡбитѣли глѡ и въ стѣго павла. ѡ здѣ и ѡбщесловѣе бѣ междѣ ихъ въ оутѣзвлѣнїи носещѣ. и съмирѣнїа ||<sup>44</sup>пороушити. бѣ сѣмь въ неколико. иже и прїдоше чѣнїи старци, кѣ герасимъ и кѣ антѡнїе, въ жеропотѣ, ѡбще по||<sup>45</sup>сѣтнше и съмирнше, съ въ тѣ лѣчшими, и въсѣли. по мнѣ се добрѣ ѡбоѣ странѣ, прїти и нашѣмъ смѣренїѣ. іаже ||<sup>46</sup>съ лоучшомъ се съмирѣнїю и съ потѣкменїю ѡ ннѣа. да боудеть и съпрѣстѣтелѣстѣвъ нашѣмъ и слышанїю, нѣ же ||<sup>47</sup>и ѡ прѣже бѣвшѣ соудомъ. съ потѣкменїемъ и писанїемъ, въ оутѣврѣжденїе. и сѣмъ подѣврѣждаѣ и наше смѣренїе, иже ѡ ||<sup>48</sup>ошѣ слышахѣмъ странѣ. оустрѣенномъ прѣво и ннѣа бѣвшѣ ѡ обоѣ ѡбитѣли, поѣвѣает се сїце. іако ѡ днѣ, да съхранѣ||<sup>49</sup>ют се ѣзтезанныи и бѣвши мїръ. и съхранѣти се ѡ обоѣ монастыра. по бѣ съмирѣнїе, и любви въсѣгдашныѣ. ||<sup>50</sup>ѡбитѣль жеропотамѣскаа, къ ѡбитѣли стѣго павла. любовь, възпрїѣтїе, благолюбѣство, и чѣтъ, егда сълоу||<sup>51</sup>чит се прѣстѣтелѣ и въ ѡбитѣль прїити. сълоучѣвыи се братѣ, оупокоенїѣ да оудѡвлит се, къждо по своѣмъ, ||<sup>52</sup>мѣстоу. тождѣ и ѡ жеропотама, егда прїидеть ѡ стѣго павла. да прїемлѣтъ чѣсть иже ѣ достѡинѣ пак ||<sup>53</sup>прѣвыи братѣ, и любви оупокоенїе. тождѣ и ктѡ иѣнѣ ѡ жеропотама тамѣ прїидеть, да въспрїемѣтъ подѡ||<sup>54</sup>еное егѡ оупокоенїю. иже потрѣбѣ и мѣють, да възѣмѡуть ѡ тамѣ незадѣвно. сїрѣчь роуи. бѡринѣ ||<sup>55</sup>каменїе за варѣ. іако же и всѣи ѡ стѣе гѡры. и нераздѣлимоѣ речѣмъ. едина боудеть ѡбоѣ мона||<sup>56</sup>стыра ѡбитѣль, въ всѣ ѡ оудѣвнаго прошѣнїа. свѣнѣ раздѣленїа своѣ оустрѣенїа и оудовѣ. и да не мѡ||<sup>57</sup>гоуѣтъ никогдѣ стѡпавлѣани ѡтрѣгнѣти на себѣ келїю, ѡ чѣстныѣ ѡбитѣли жеропотамѣскыѣ. и ||<sup>58</sup>въ роуцѣ иномѡу госпоженїѣ приложеть. илѣ къ иныѣ ѡбитѣли стѣе гѡры. нѣ прѣбѣвати ѡ себѣ ||<sup>59</sup>іако же оучини се ѡсвобожденїе и владѣчѣстѣвно. егда же въ толико прїидоуѣт запѡстѣнїю. да ||<sup>60</sup>не съвоудѣт се николиже мѡлимъ. ѡ състрѣенїа и чѣкѣ, іаже не мѡщи се крѣмити ѡ себѣ, и дрѣжа||<sup>61</sup>ти келїю, двоѣмъ илѣ трѡемъ тамѣ ѡстѣвшимъ, и сѣмъ нѣмошнымъ и съ въсма ѡвоубоженымъ ||<sup>62</sup>хѡтѣнїемъ. нѣ силѡстїю да повїноуѣтъ се тогдѣ ѡбитѣли жеропотамѣскѡи. нѣ посїлѣемъ /и/ и дрѣ||<sup>63</sup>занїемъ. и нѣ съ коѣмоу мѣтежѣ. аще лѣ же прѣстѣпленїе іавѣтъ ѡбои. илѣ стѡпавлѣани ѡ||<sup>64</sup>врѣгнѡуѣтъ себѣ ѡ жеропотама. илѣ жеропотѣмѣци дрѣзѡстїю и посїлѣемъ хѡтѣще иждѣноуѣтъ ||<sup>65</sup>ѡстѣвшихъ мало братїи. да възтрѣгнѡуѣтъ на себѣ бѣжїи гнѣвъ. къ сѣмъ и проклетѣи да соуѣтъ ||<sup>66</sup>ѡ нашего смѣренїа. и вѣчнѣи ѡнаѡемѣ повїнни. еще къ сѣмъ длѣжнѣе дрѣжѣти и не пороу||<sup>67</sup>шати. іако и ѡ почѣла стѣго павла ѡбитѣль, келїю ѡрхистрѣатїга, съ въсѣми ѡправдѣнїи и мѣгѣми тоѣ, ||<sup>68</sup>да доносѣтъ сїѣ. и іако своѣ прѣдѣдѣтелѣнѣ ѡ прѣвѣ вѣкы жеропотама, съ блѣгословѣнїи /и/ ѡправдѣнїемъ и оу||<sup>69</sup>законѣнїемъ. тождѣ и оу стѡпоуѣ анноу прѣдѣль въсѣ прѣвѣдныи ѡбитѣли тоѣ. съ оузаконѣне и мѣге сѣмоу. ||<sup>70</sup>посїлѣ илѣ мѣтежѣ. нѣ ѡ когѡ да ѡбрѣщѣтъ ѡбитѣль. въ елика прѣвѣднѣ поѣвѣхѣмъ хѣѡу блѣтїю. сѣмъ ||<sup>71</sup>иѡ въсѣмъ радї въ съхранѣнїемъ

оуѣтверѣженіемъ и непорѣшеніемъ. писа се сїѣ ѡдадїтельное писанїе. и ||<sup>72</sup> прѣжѣ  
 сегò поѣтверѣженнаго. и подáде се мнѡгаци (sic!) рѣннымъ чьстнѣишимъ въ  
 иноцѣхъ, иже въ ст҃го пá||<sup>73</sup>вла прѣстáтелиемъ. и по тѣмъ страны тоѣ въсѣмъ,  
 въ вѣкы вьсѣгá съхранятї се. пописанїемъ и оуѣт||<sup>74</sup>ренїемъ нашемъ писанїю.  
 иже и ѡ жеропотáма лоуѣшїи. мѣца ноємврїа настоѣшѣ ѡсмомъ индїктѣ. ||<sup>75</sup> въ  
 лѣтѣ сѣѣ. имѣше прѣвоѡвразно и пописанїе сїцеѣѣѣ. ||<sup>76</sup> прѡ' ст҃ые горы  
 неѡфїтъ іерѡмѡнá. сѣенноинокъ герасимъ проиѣмѣн и дїкѣи. ферапѡнь  
 про||<sup>77</sup>иѣмѣнь. галактїѡ проиѣмѣнь. дорофѣи и(кли)с(и)á(хъ). калинникъ  
 проиѣмѣн. свмѣѡ дѣховникъ. доси||<sup>78</sup>фѣи іерѡмѡнá. іакїнофъ іерѡмѡнá. феодрѡсїѣ  
 старѣць. гаврїїилъ іерѡмѡнá. ||<sup>79</sup> смѣренни епїскопъ іериса и ст҃ые горы феодрѡсїѣ.

### Act no. 11

#### DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* GENNADIOS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU

October 6909 (1400), *indiction* 9th

**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 45)

**Description:** The charter is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 6. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 680 x 300 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of cloth. Its preservation is poor as its lower part with some of the signatures are missing.

**Variant no. 2.** 15th century certified copy kept in archival folder no. 41. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 360 x 300 mm and its back is glued to a piece of newer paper. Due to moisture its preservation is poor. The ink has faded, there are numerous ruptures along the folds and the lower part of the act with some of the signatures is missing. This copy was authenticated by the bishop of Hierissos and Mount Athos, Theodosios<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 8**).

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. When the founder of the Athonite Monastery of St. John the Forerunner, Dionysios, arrived in Mount Athos and started building his monastery, he abstained from delimiting the territory of his foundation. As long as he was alive, there were no conflicts between the newly founded Monastery of Dionysiou and the

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 46.

neighboring Monastery of St. Paul, and harmony and love prevailed. When Dionysios died, his monks visited the *protos* of Mount Athos and asked him to delimit the land of their monastery and to confirm the delimitation with a special document. The *protos* did not consult the other Athonite abbots and issued an act of delimitation which provoked protests from the part of St. Paul. Then the *protos* issued a second document which ratified the first and granted more land to the Monastery of Dionysiou. The tension between the two monasteries increased, and there was fear that some monks might even commit a murder. Due to this situation, the abbot of St. Paul, Anthony, appeared in front of the *Synaxis* of Karyai and informed the Athonite abbots about the details of the conflict. The *protos* and the *hegoumenoi* of the other monasteries then decided to solve the difference by inspecting in situ the controversial localities. The commission which was assigned to the case included the monks Sophronios from Megiste Lavra, Makarios from Vatopedi, Makarios from Iviron, Iovanis from Chilandar, Nikandros from the Russian monastery, and the ex-superior Theodosios from a *kathisma* located in Karyai. During its on-site investigation the commission figured out that there were no documents pertaining to the difference. However, the members of the commission tried to find any kind of evidence that could enable them to reach a decision, but all the persons who were interviewed about the conflict were speaking exclusively about the earlier period of peace between the two monasteries, providing in this way no clues at all. The commission finally interrogated the spiritual instructor Nikodemos and the elder from Syrgiana Gregory, threatening them with an excommunication from the church. When asked to give his opinion about the case, Gregory declared in writing that he knew from an old hearsay that the monastic cells of Drouvanistis, of Galaktion, of Phylassomenon, and of St. John the Baptist, as well as those belonging to Cyril and Sklethros, were the property of the Protaton, while the coastal area between the boundaries of the Monastery of Bouleuteria and the ravine of the Monastery of *kyr* Simon was the property of Xeropotamou. Moreover, Nikodemos stated that when he first arrived in the Monastery of Dionysiou many years ago, its founder Dionysios had just asked the *protos* Dorotheos of Chilandar to grant him a greater territory. However, according to Nikodemos, Dionysios never received a document confirming his new acquisitions. As all these testimonies did not help in verifying the ownership of the localities in question and as there were no written documents, the commission proceeded to demarcating anew the border line between the two monas-

teries. The border started from a large ravine flowing to the sea from the ridge of Kalathas. At that place there was a large outcrop of rocks which the commission marked with a carved cross. The boundary then passed near a massive rock which had the shape of a tower and close to an oak tree which was also marked with a cross. Further, it reached the property of an abbot named Theodore and ascended to the top of the mountain ridge at a place from which the Monastery of the Amalfitans was visible. The land to the east of this border line belonged to the Monastery of St. Paul, while the land to the west belonged to Dionysiou. The monks of the two monasteries were advised to respect the boundary and to abstain from violating it. All documents that existed before the new demarcation were declared void and invalid. Standard religious curses and formulae threatening the abusers of the present arrangement with excommunication. The document was delivered to the monks of St. Paul for their safety.

Signatures: 1. Gennadios, *protos* of Mount Athos; 2. Sophronios of Megiste Lavra; 3. Makarios of Vatopedi; 4. Makarios of Iviron; 5. Iovanis of Chilandar (Slavic signature); 6. Nikandros from the Russian monastery (Slavic signature); 7. Stephen, ex-abbot; 8. Epiphanius, ex-abbot of the Russian monastery; 9. Gerasimos, ex-abbot of Xeropotamou; 10. Theodosios from Karyai; 11. Ioasaph, deacon who had composed the document.

Confirmative signatures on the back of the document: 1. Mark, abbot of Megiste Lavra; 2. Ignatios, abbot of Vatopedi; 3. Gregory, abbot of Chilandar (Slavic signature); 4. Neophytos, abbot of Xenophontos; 5. Gerasimos, abbot of Esphigmenou.

**Remarks:** The Greek term *ρίζιμαία πέτρα*, which is available on l. 32, means “outcropping boulder or rock”<sup>1</sup>. This term is probably first attested in *De administrando imperio* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in the description of the rapids and the barrages of the Dnieper River: μέσον δὲ αὐτοῦ πέτραι εἰσὶ ρίζιμαῖαι ὑψηλαὶ νησίω δίκην ἀποφαινόμεναι<sup>2</sup>. The interpretation proposed by Charles du Cange for the adjective *rhizimaios* in this specific passage of Constantine VII is *periculosus* (dangerous)<sup>3</sup> and is not very precise. The recent Austrian

1. Cf. Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707*, act no. 8 (olim IV), l. 29; no. 9 (olim V), l. 20-21; no. 27 (olim XX), l. 12-13.

2. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravesik (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 1 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1*), Washington, D.C. 1967, chapter 9, l. 27-28.

3. Charles du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon 1688 (reprinted Graz 1958), 1298.

*Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* provides a correct translation of the epithet *rhizimaios* as *verwurzelt, unverrückbar*<sup>1</sup>. The basic meaning of *rhizimaios brachos, lithos* or *petra* (outcropping stone) is still in use in Modern Greek and can be illustrated with two examples taken from Modern Greek literary texts of the late 19th and the early 20th century:

I. The short story *Τὰ δύο κούτσουρα* by Alexandros Papadiamantis: ... τὸ παμπάλαιον ἐκεῖνο σπιτάκι, σχεδὸν ἰσόγειον μὲ τὰ δύο κελλιά του, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, μὲ τὸν διάδρομόν του εἰς τὸ μέσον, τὸν ἔχοντα ὡς δάπεδον τὸ χῶμα τῆς γῆς, μὲ τὸν σκοτεινὸν θάλαμον παραμέσα, τὸν θεμελιωμένον κατὰ πλεῖστον ἐπάνω εἰς **ρίζιμαίους βράχους**<sup>2</sup>.

II. The novel *Ἡ λυγερή* by Andreas Karkavitsas: ... ἐξώρμιζε τὸ μάτιασμα, “εἶτε στὸν ὕπνο εἶτε στὸν ξύπνο” ἐπήρχετο, διώκουσα αὐτὸ “σὲ μέρη ἀκατοίκητα, σὲ **ρίζιμιά λιθάρια**”<sup>3</sup>.

Both texts make it clear that the basic meaning attested in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century has remained unchanged until the late 19th century<sup>4</sup>.

#### **Topography** (cf. map no. 5):

Two identifiable features of the terrain are described in the act:

1. *Rache tou Kalatha* (Ridge of the Basket Maker = *ράχη τοῦ Καλαθᾶ*, l. 32). Today *Lakkos tou Kalatha* (Ravine of the Basket Maker) is the name of a steep torrential stream flowing down from the highest peak of Mount Athos and passing at a short distance to the south of the Monastery of St. Paul. As the “ridge” and the “ravine” of Kalathas are evidently correlated toponyms, the “Ridge of Kalathas” must have been located in the mountain to the northwest of St. Paul.

2. The text states that high in the mountain the border between Dionysiou and St. Paul passed near a trail leading from Karyai to St. Elias, and more specifically near a point from which the locality of *Amalphinon* was visible (l. 36-37). This trail must have been part of the so-called *basilikos dromos* or Royal Trail, which in the Ottoman centuries was also called *beilidikos dromos* (Trail of the Beğ) and passed through the highest parts of the Athonite peninsula<sup>5</sup>. The name *Amalphinon* refers to the remains of the ancient Monastery of the Amalfitans which

1. *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, 7. Faszikel, Vienna 2011, 1504.

2. Α. Παπαδιαμάντης, *Τὰ δύο κούτσουρα*, *Ἄπαντα Γ'* (vol. III), ed. N. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Athens 1989, 623.

3. Α. Καρκαβίτσας, *Ἡ λυγερή*, Athens 1994 (Νεοελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη, ed. Ἰδρυμα Κώστα καὶ Ἑλένης Οὐράνη), 44.

4. Cf. N. Ἀνδριώτης, *Ἐτυμολογικὸ λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς*, Thessalonica 1967<sup>2</sup>, 310.

5. See Vatopedi I, 25, fig. 2.

are located on the north coast of Athos, southeast of the Monastery of Karakallou and northwest of Megiste Lavra<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, the demarcation line between St. Paul and Dionysiou started from the south coast of Athos, climbed up along the “Ridge of the Basket Maker”, and finally reached the watershed of Mount Athos at a locality from which the north coast of the Athonite peninsula was clearly visible.

3. The monastic cell of **Drouvanistis** (l. 27) was built in a well known district. According to G. Smyrnakis, Drouva or Gravanisti was the name of a steep rocky cliff with a small waterfall in the riverbed of the only torrential stream flowing down to the sea between the neighbouring monasteries of Grigoriou and Dionysiou: μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μονῶν Γρηγορίου καὶ Διονυσίου ὑπάρχει τὸ ὑψηλότετον βραχώδες μέρος, ἐξ οὗ χύνεται ὁ καλούμενος καταρράκτης Ντρούβα ἢ Γραβανιστὴ σήμερον<sup>2</sup>. The waterfall of Drouvanistis or Gravanistis is clearly visible from the sea. The name is of Slavic origin, its initial form probably being *grebenište* (ГРЕБЕНИШЕ, which in this specific case means “ridge”)<sup>3</sup>.

For the Monastery of **Bouleuteria** (l. 28) see the topography of our **act no. 1** (cf. also **map no. 5**).

4. The limits of *kyr Simon* (l. 29) were, in fact, the borders of the property of the Monastery of Simonopetra.

**Editions:** Κουρίλας, *Τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἡσυχαστῶν*, 222-227; *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 82-85; Λάμπρος, *Τὰ Πάτρια*, 238-240 (partial edition).

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 271-274, no. 14; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 17 and 17α; Συδοτηή, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 237-240; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 60; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 46-49, no. 10.

#### Text:

† Αἱ ἀπλότητες δὲ ἄρα καὶ αἱ ἐνώσεις πολλῶ καλλίους ἤπερ κατὰ ποικιλί(ας) καὶ διαστάσεις, αἱ μ(ὲν) γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον τυγχάνουσιν ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι μόνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦς ||<sup>2</sup> ἀπεκληρώθησ(αν) καὶ ἡ μ(ὲν) ἀπλότης τοσαύτης τιμῆς ἠξίωτο πρὸς Θεοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ ἐθελῆσ(αι) ἑαυτὸν τῇ ταύτης προσηγορία

1. Cf. М Мерлини, *Неизвестный Афон. История бенедиктинского монастыря на Святой Горе*, Moscow 2016.

2. See Συμυρνάκης, *Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 10.

3. Cf. Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἁγιον Ὄρος*, 182-183.

καλ(εῖν), ἀλλὰ κ(αι) τὴν ἔνωσιν, οὐ μόν(ους) τοὺς ὅτι ἐγγυτάτῳ τούτου (καί) ||<sup>3</sup> περὶ αὐτόν, τοὺς θεῖους νόας φημί, ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς τ(οὺς) εἰκόνι τετιμημένους τῇ θείᾳ ἀξιοῖ. Αἱ δὲ ποικιλίαι κ(αι) διαστάσεις ὑπεισηλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀπὸ Θ(εο)ῦ, ἣ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες οὕτω διέκειντο, ||<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς πρώτης τυχῶν ἀξίας κ(αι) παρὰ Θ(εο)ῦ ὦν φῶς δευτερον, οὐκ ἀρκ(εῖν) οἰηθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν τσοσύτην ἀξίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη κ(αι) ἰσοθεῖαν φαντασθεῖς, ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀξίας ἐκείνης, κ(αι) διάστασιν ἀπὸ Θ(εο)ῦ προυξέ-||<sup>5</sup>νησεν ἑαυτῷ. Ἐντεῦθ(εν) ποικίλως γίνεται τὴν κακίαν καὶ ὅπ(ε)ρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπέστη, καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτο τοῦτο παθεῖν πάση μηχανῇ πεῖσαι πειρᾶται. Ἐντεῦθ(εν) ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ μακροσμός, ||<sup>6</sup> ἐντεῦθ(εν) αἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διχόνοιαι, ἐντεῦθ(εν) οἱ φόνοι, ἐντεῦθ(εν) ὁ τῶν κακ(ῶν) ἐσμός, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάντα λέγοντες διατρίβωμ(εν). Ἄλλ' ἦν μ(έν) ταῦτα (ἐ)πί πολὺ, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλαν(θρωπ)ία τοῦ με-||<sup>7</sup>γάλου Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Σ(ωτῆ)ρος ἡμῶν (ἐ)πεφάνη, ταῦτα πάντα ὥχετο (ἐ)κποδῶν καὶ ὡς καπνὸς διελύθη κ(αι) τοῖς βουλομ(έν)οις πάλιν (ἐ)πί τὴν πρώτην (ἐ)πανελθ(εῖν) ἀξίαν, οὐδὲν τὸ κωλύον, ἦνωσε γ(ὰ)ρ ἡμᾶς ὁ Θ(εο)ς ||<sup>8</sup> εἰρηνοποιήσας τὰ πάντα κ(αι) ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν ὁδὸν ἐνώσεως κ(αι) ἀγάπης πρὸς οὐρανὸν φέρουσαν, ἦν βαδίζων ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος κ(αι) τῶν ἄνω ἐφιέμ(εν)ος Διονύσιος, ἐδείματο μονὴν ||<sup>9</sup> τῷ μεγάλῳ Προδρόμῳ καὶ Βαπτιστῇ, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ ζητῆσαι ὀροθετηθῆν(αι) τὸν χῶρον τὸν π(ε)ρὶ τὴν μονὴν, ὃν εἰκὸς νέμεσθαι καὶ κατέχειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ μονῇ. Ἐγίνωσκε γ(ὰ)ρ ἀκριβῶς διάστασιν ||<sup>10</sup> εἶν(αι) ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅπ(ε)ρ οὔτε πρᾶξαι οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι ὅλως ἐκεῖνος ἠνείχετο. Ἐν(τεῦθ)εν ἦν αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ἦν ὁ ἱερός Διονύσιος ἐδομήσατο, κ(αι) τοῖς γείτοσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ||<sup>11</sup> τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τὰ πάντα κοινά, διάστασις γὰρ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς μοναῖς οὐκ ἦν, ἔνωσις δὲ μᾶ(λλον) μεθ' ἀπλότητος καθαρᾶς κ(αι) ἀγάπης δεσμὸς ἄρρήκτος. Χρόνος δὲ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ||<sup>12</sup> βραχὺς κ(αι) ὁ μὲν γ(έ)ρων πρὸς ὃν ἐπόθει μεταβαίνει Θ(εο)ν τὰς ἐκεῖθ(εν) ἀποληψόμε(νος) τῶν ἐνταῦθα πόνων ἀμοιβάς, ὃ δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αἰεὶ βασκαίνων βάσκανον (ἐ)πιβαλῶν ||<sup>13</sup> αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμόν, οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν κατὰ Θ(εο)ν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μονῶν, ἀλλὰ διαστῆσαι τούτους ἀλλήλων ἐσκέφατο. Ἐντεῦθ(εν) ὄρους τινὰς κ(αι) συστατικὰ γράμματα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ||<sup>14</sup> τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου ζητεῖν ἔπεισεν, οἱ καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ παντός Ὅρους προῖσταμ(ένω), γράμματα γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς ἠτήσαντο, χωρισμὸν τινα καὶ ὄρ(ους) ||<sup>15</sup> ἔχοντα τῶν τόπων, οὓς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν εἰκός. Ὁ δὲ μὴ συνιεὶς τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου (ἐ)πίνοιαν καὶ εἰ τὸ κακὸν προδήσεται(αι), μόνος, γνώμης ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὅρει παντί, εἶξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ γράμμα ||<sup>16</sup> παρέσχεν, ὅπ(ε)ρ οὐκ εἰς μικράν τινα ταραχὴν ἐνέδαλε τοὺς Ἁγιοπαυλίτας, ἀναλογιζομ(ένους) τὴν τε προτέραν ἔνωσιν, κ(αι) ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην

ἐγεγόνει τῶν τοῦ Ὁρους παντός, ἀλλ' ἕως ||<sup>17</sup> μ(έν) ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἦν οὐ τοσοῦτον εἰς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐκίνει, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ κ(αί) ἕτερον ἐγένετο κυρωτικὸν τοῦ προτέρου καὶ πλείω χῶρον περιλαμβάνον, τέλεον μ(έν) τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ||<sup>18</sup> καλὸν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπελήλατο τῶν μονῶν, εἰς τοσαύτας δὲ ταραχὰς κ(αί) μάχας ἐχώρησαν οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς μοναχοί, ὡς καὶ φόβον εἶναι πολὺν μήπου τις αὐτῶν τύχη πεσῶν, ἔργον φόνου ||<sup>19</sup> γενόμενος, ὅπερ εἰδὼς ὁ ἐν μοναχοῖς ὀσιώτατος κύρ Ἀντώνιος, ὁ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μονῆς προϊστάμ(ενο)ς ὅτι τάχος εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμ(ᾶς) ἱερὰν ἀνατρέχει Σύναξιν καὶ τὰ συμβάντα δῆλα πᾶσι ||<sup>20</sup>ποιεῖ, ἃ δὴ πάντα ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμ(ῶν) ἀκούσασα συνδιασκεψαμ(ένη) τοῖς π(ε)ρι αὐτὴν θείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἡγουμ(έν)οις οὖσι τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει παντί, δεῖν ἔκρινε τοπικ(ῶς) ἐκεῖσε παραγενέσθ(αι) ||<sup>21</sup> ὥστε καὶ τὸν τόπον ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ διενέξις ἰδεῖν, κἀντεῦθ(εν) τὰ δέοντα κ(αί) βουλεύσασθαι καὶ καταπρᾶξαι. Κ(αί) δῆτα ἄνδρες ἐκλεγέντες οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰδότες, ἀπὸ μ(έν) τῆς Ἁγίας Λαύρας ὁ τιμι(ώτατος) ἐν ||<sup>22</sup> ἱερομονάχοις κ(ὕρ) Σωφρόνιος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου ὁ τιμι(ώτατος) ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ) Ματθαῖος, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὁ τιμι(ώτατος) ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κ(αί) πν(ευματ)ικοῖς κ(ὕρ) Μακάριος, ἀπὸ τοῦ Χελανδαρίου ὁ τιμι-||<sup>23</sup>(ώτατος) ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ) Ἰωβάνης, ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥώσων ὁ γέρων ὁ κ(ὕρ) Νίκανδρος, κ(αί) ὁ προηγούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καθίσματος τῶν Καρυῶν ὁ πν(ευματ)ικὸς κ(ὕρ) Θεοδόσιος. Οὗτοι οὖν πάντες προκριθέντες, ἦλθον μεθ' ἡμῶν κ(αί) παραγενόμε(εν)οι ἐκεῖσε ||<sup>24</sup> δικαίωμα παλαιγενὲς ἐζητοῦμεν προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς, ὡσὰν δι' αὐτοῦ γνοίημ(εν) τίνος ὁ τόπος, δι' ὃν ἡ ταραχὴ. Οἱ δὲ δικαίωμα μ(έν) οὐκ ἔχειν εἶπον, διηγούμε(εν)οι ἅμα καὶ τὴν προτ(έ)ρ(αν) ||<sup>25</sup> ἔνωσιν, μάρτυρας δὲ προσέβαλλον τὸν τε πν(ευματ)ικὸν κ(ὕρ) Νικόδημον, κ(αί) τὸν ἀπὸ Συριάν(ων) κ(ὕρ) Γρηγόριον τὸν γέροντα, ἄνδρας ἀξιούς πιστευθῆναι εἰς μαρτυρίαν κ(αί) λόγῳ ἐρωτηθέντες ἀπλ(ῶς), ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ ||<sup>26</sup> τὸ μήποτε ὑπονοῆσαι τινα, ὡς τάχα γε διὰ φιλί(αν) ἢ ἔχθραν ἐναναφανῆναι τὸ δίκαιον, κ(αί) βάρως ἀλύτου κ(αί) φρικώδους ἀφορισμοῦ ἐξεφωνήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ δι' ἔχθραν ἢ φιλί(αν) τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπο-||<sup>27</sup>κρύψαντος, ὁ κ(αί) ἀκούσας ὁ κ(ὕρ) Γρηγόριος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐγγράφως λέγων ἔχειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς τὰ κελλία τοῦ τε Δρουβανιστοῦ, τοῦ Γαλακτίωνος, τῶν Φυλασσομ(ένων), τὸ (ἐ)πάνω κάθισμα ||<sup>28</sup> ὁ Πρόδρομος, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίλλου κ(αί) ὁ Σκλήθρος εἰσὶ τοῦ Πρωτάτου, τὸ δὲ παραθαλάσσιον ἅπαν, ἀρχόμε(νον) ἀπὸ τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῶν Βουλευτηρί(ων), καὶ καταντῶν ἕως τοῦ ἀύλακίου ||<sup>29</sup> τῆς τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Σίμωνος ἐνι τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου, ὁ δὲ πν(ευματ)ικὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὅτε ὑπετάγην τῷ ἱερῷ Διονυσίῳ, τότε δέδωκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος κ(ὕρ) Δωρόθεος ὁ Χιλανταρινός, περισχὴν ||<sup>30</sup> τινα πολλήν, ὁ δὲ οὖν

ἔφθασε λαβεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ γράματος. Ταῦτα εἰπόντων ἐκείνων ἀκούσαντες καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντες γνῶναι τίνος ἄρα εἶη ὁ τ(όπος)ς ὑπ(ὲρ) οὗ ἢ διένεξις, (ἐ)πεὶ οὐτε γράμμα ἦν οὐθ' οἱ μάρτυρες ||<sup>31</sup> ἴσασι ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς, ἡμεῖς τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὸν πραγματευόμε(εν)οὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς μοναῖς, κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενόμε(εν)οὶ καὶ μέσῃν χωρίσαντες, μήτε τούτους μήτ' ἐκεῖν(ου)ς στενώσαντες, διεκρίναμ(εν) ||<sup>32</sup> καὶ ἀπεφηνάμεθα καὶ ἐπήξαμεν ὄρους, οἳ κ(αὶ) ἔχουσιν οὕτω· ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔστι λάκκος μέγας, ὃς καλεῖ(ται) τῆς ῥάχως τοῦ Καλαθαῶ, ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τοίνυν λάκκῳ πέτρα ἐστὶ μεγάλη ῥίζημαία, ἐν ἣ ||<sup>33</sup> ἐνεχαράξαμ(εν) τίμιον σ(αυ)ρόν κ(αὶ) μὴν πρὸς κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς πέτρας ἐπήξαμ(εν) σταυροπήγιον, εἶτα ἀνερχόμεθα κατ' ἴσον εἰς τὴν εἰς ὅξυ λήγουσαν μεγίστην πέτραν, ἣτις κ(αὶ) σχῆμα πύργου ἔχει ||<sup>34</sup> ἦν καὶ σχίζοντες εἰς μέσον εἰσερχόμεθα μέχρι μεγ(άλων) πετρῶν, ἐφ' αἷς δρυῶς ἐν ἣ κ(αὶ) σ(αυ)ρὸς κεχαραγμ(ένος) ἐστὶ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔπειτα ἀφέντες δεξιὰ κ(αὶ) πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὴν ἀπιδεῶν ἀνερχόμε(ενοι) εὐρί-||<sup>35</sup>σκομ(εν) τύμβον πετρώδη, ἐφ' ᾧ δρυῶς μεγίστη, ἐν ἣ σ(αυρ)ός, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἕτερος, ὃς ἦν μὲν παλαιὸς ἐν τῇ δρυϊ κεχαραγμένος, ἀνεκαινίσθη δὲ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τούτου τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου ||<sup>36</sup> μνημα ἢ ἀλώνων, ὅπερ ἀφέντες πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κατήλθου(εν) μικρὸν κ(αὶ) ἀνεχαράξαμεν ἐν δυσι δένδρεσι ἀντικρὺ ἰστάμ(ενοις) σ(αυ)ροὺς δύο, κατ' ἰσότητα διαβαίνοντες ἐνεχαράξαμ(εν) σ(αυ)ροὺς ἐν τριάκοντα ||<sup>37</sup> δένδρεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τέλει ἀντικρὺ τῆς σελλάδος, ἀφ' ἧς ὀρᾶται ἡ τῶν Ἀμαλφηνῶν, ἴσταται ἐλάτῃ μεγάλῃ, ἐν ἣ τρεῖς σ(αυ)ροὺς πεποιήκαμ(εν). Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ὀροθετηθέντων παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν ||<sup>38</sup> σύνδεσμον τῆς μακαρί(ας) ἀγάπης λέγομ(εν) καὶ ἀποφαινόμεθα, ὡσὰν τὰ μ(έν) πρὸς ἀνατολὰς πάντα ἔχει τὸ μέρος τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, τὰ δὲ δυτικὰ ἔχει τὸ μέρος τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου, μηδενὸς ἀπὸ ||<sup>39</sup> γε τοῦ νῦν ἔξοντος ἄδειαν κινήσαι ἢ διενοχλήσαι ἢ τῷ μέρει τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μονῆς ἢ τῆς τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν εἰρήνῃ κ(αὶ) ὁμονοίᾳ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς μονὰς ἀρχουμένας τοῖς ||<sup>40</sup> οἰκείοις ὄροις ἀποφαινόμεθα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ προλαβόντα γράμματα ἔξουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἄκυρα καὶ ἀβέβαια ἔσονται, καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀραῖς ἐνεπεδώθησαν, ||<sup>41</sup> ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ καὶ γωνίᾳ γεγονότα καὶ μὴ ἔχοντά τι μόνιμον κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον οὗ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἀδόκιμος καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπόβλητον, ὀφείλουσι καταλυθῆναι ὡς νόθα καὶ παρεγχάρακτα, ||<sup>42</sup> τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν γεγογότος ἔχοντος τὸ βέβαιον κ(αὶ) ἀσφαλές, ὡς μετὰ γνώμης πάντων γενομένου τῶν ἀγιωρειτῶν, ἂν δὲ τις τυχὸν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου, οὐκ ἀρκούμε(ενος) τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν γενο-||<sup>43</sup>μένους ὄροις, εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τούτων χωρῆσ(αι) πειραθείς, τὸν τοιοῦτον οἷος ἄρα κ(αὶ) εἶη ὡς παραβάτην κ(αὶ) χαιρέκακον ἔχομεν

ἀφωρισμ(ένον) ἀπὸ Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς, Υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἁγίου Πν(εύματος) τῆς μιᾶς κ(αὶ) ἀσυγχύτου ||<sup>44</sup> Θεότητος, ἐχέτω τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων δέκα κ(αὶ) ὀκτὼ θεοφόρ(ων) π(ατέρ)ων, κ(αὶ) ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ εἴη μετὰ τοῦ Ἰουδα τοῦ προδότου. Κ(αὶ) εἰς ἀσφάλειαν κ(αὶ) βεβαίωσιν κ(αὶ) τὸ παρὸν ἐγεγόνει ||<sup>45</sup> γράμμα κ(αὶ) ὑπογραφὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπεδόθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μοναχοῖς, μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος θ' ,ςλθ'.

||<sup>46</sup> † Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρ(ους) Γεννάδιος ἱερομόναχος.

† Ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Λαύρας Σωφρόνιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πν(ευματ)ικός.

† Μακάριος μοναχὸς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου.

||<sup>47</sup> † Μακάριος ἱερομόναχος κ(αὶ) πν(ευματ)ικός ὁ Ἰβήρων.

† иованъ монахъ хиландарски.

† никандръ еромонахъ ѿ рѣсы.

† Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ προηγούμενος.

† епифаніе монахъ и проигдменъ ѿ рѣсы.

||<sup>48</sup> † Ὁ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Γεράσιμος κ(αὶ) προηγούμε(εν)ος τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου μ(αρτυ)ρῶν καὶ βεβαιῶν ὑ(πέγρα)ψα.

† Ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κ(αὶ) πν(ευματ)ικοῖς Θεόδουλος ἀπὸ τῶν Καρεῶν.

||<sup>49</sup> † Ὁ γραφεὺς Ἰωάσαφ εὐτελῆς διάκονος.

### Confirmative note on the back of the act:

Ἄναγνόντες τὰ ἐντὸς γεγραμμ(ένα), ἐρωτήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε παρα-  
||<sup>2</sup>γεγονότας, (ἐ)πεὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γνώμῃ ἐκεῖσε ἀπῆλθον, βεβαιοῦμ(εν) τὸ παρὸν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιγραφαῖς·

† Ὁ καθηγούμε(εν)ος τῆς σε(βασμίας) κ(αὶ) ἱερᾶς βασιλικ(ῆς) Μεγάλ(ης) Λαύρ(ας) Μάρκος ἱερομόναχος.

||<sup>3</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμε(εν)ος τῆς σε(βασμίας) κ(αὶ) ἱ(ερᾶ)ς βασιλικῆς μεγ(άλης) μον(ῆς) τοῦ Βατοπεδίου Ἰγν(άτιος) ἱερομόναχος καὶ πν(ευματ)ικός.

† игдменъ хиландарски ||<sup>4</sup> григоріе еромонахъ.

† Ὁ καθηγούμε(εν)ος τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος Νεόφυτος ἱερομόναχος.

† Ὁ καθηγούμε(εν)ος τῆς σε(βασμίας) βασιλ(ικῆς) μονῆς τοῦ Ἐσφιγμένου Γεράσιμος ἱερομόναχος.

## Act no. 12

DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* GENNADIOS SETTLING A  
TERRITORIAL DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF  
ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOUOctober 6909 (1400), *indiction* 9th**Type of the document:** Not specified in the text.**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 13. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 640 x 300 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as the beginning of the first four lines of the text and part of the bottom margin with an unknown number of signatures, are missing<sup>1</sup>.**Analysis:** The late priest-monk Dionysios had settled at a locality situated on the south coast of Mount Athos, where he built a monastery dedicated to St. John the Forerunner. During his lifetime he did nothing in order to delimit the territory of his monastery, because the neighboring Monastery of St. Paul never disturbed his monks. However, the peace between the two monasteries was short-lived. After Dionysios's death, his congregation requested the *protos* of Mount Athos to demarcate the border between their monastery and that of St Paul. The *protos*, without consulting the other Athonite abbots, hurriedly drew up a document which separated the land of Dionysiou from that of St. Paul, and a little bit later he composed a second act which ratified the first. This event created tension in the relations between the two monasteries and the abbot of St. Paul, Anthony, requested the Athonite Synaxis to investigate the case. The *protos* and the abbots of the other Athonite monasteries agreed and decided to examine the disputed area in situ. For this reason a commission of monks was assigned to the case. It included Sophronios of Megiste Lavra, Makarios of Vatopedi, Makarios of Ivron, Iovanis of Chilandar, Nikandros from the Russian monastery, and Theodosios from Karyai. During their on-site investigation these monks figured out that there were no documents pertaining to the case, but there were two important witnesses, the spiritual instructor Nikodemos and the elder Gregory from Syrgiana. The commission threatened them with an excommunication from the church and then questioned them. Gregory declared in writing that he knew from old hearsay that the monastic cells of Drouvanistis, of Galaktion, of Phylasomenon, of St. John the Baptist, of Cyril, of Mark and Dionysios, and

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 49-50.

of Sklethros were the property of the Protaton, while the coastal area between the boundaries of the Monastery of Bouleuteria and the ravine of the Monastery of *kyr* Simon (i.e. Simonopetra) was the property of Xeropotamou. The spiritual instructor Nikodemos stated that when he first arrived in the Monastery of Dionysiou many years ago, its founder Dionysios had just asked the *protos* Dorotheos of Chilandar to give him a greater territory. However, according to Nikodemos, Dionysios never received a document confirming his new acquisitions. As all these testimonies did not help in verifying the ownership of the localities in question and as there were no written documents, the commission proceeded to demarcating anew the border line between the two monasteries. The border started from the large ravine flowing down to the sea from the ridge of Kalathas. At that place there was a large outcrop of rocks which the commission marked with a carved cross. The boundary then passed near a massive rock which had the shape of a tower and close to an oak tree which was marked with a cross too. It reached the property of an abbot named Theodore and ascended to the top of the mountain ridge at a place from which the Monastery of the Amalfitans was visible. The land to the east of this border line belonged to the Monastery of St. Paul, while that to the west belonged to Dionysiou. The monks of the two monasteries were advised to respect the limits and to avoid violating them. Having defined their boundaries with St. Paul, the monks of Dionysiou also asked for a new demarcation of their border with the monastic cells that belonged to the Protaton. The *protos* then gave them all the monastic cells which were enumerated above, except for the cell of Galaktion, because it belonged to the Monastery of *kyr* Simon (Simonopetra). The border between Dionysiou and the property of the Protaton started from the locality Tessarakontakopos (Forty Oars) on the sea shore, climbed up leaving the so-called "Rock of Jacob" to the west, passed near the monastic cells of Drouvanistis and Phylassomenon, crossed a deforested area (*madara*) and ended at the so-called *basilikos dromos* or Royal Trail which followed the mountain crest. The Monastery of Dionysiou was thereby authorized to control all the described district and nobody was allowed to restrict it. The monks who intended to settle in this district were obliged to ask the monastery for the permission. The monks Mark and Dionysios, who were already residing in the delimited area, were subordinated to the abbot of Dionysiou and were not allowed to sell or cede parts of their cell's property to other persons. If they disobeyed this order, the monastery had the right to expel them. Standard religious curses and formulae threatening the abusers of the present arrangement with excommunication. Date:

October of the 9th *indiction*, 6909. Signatures: 1. Gennadios, *protos* of Mount Athos; 2. Sophronios of Megiste Lavra; 3. Makarios of Vatopedi; 4. Makarios of Iviron; 5. Theodoulos from the Protaton.

**Mentioned documents:** The *protos* Gennadios is said to have already issued two acts separating the land of Dionysiou from that of St. Paul (l. 22-24). One of them might have been our **act no. 11**.

**Prosopography:** The *protos* Dorotheos of Chilandar was a well known person of Serbian origin who was active in 1357-1366<sup>1</sup>.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 5**):

1. For the **Ridge of Kalathas** (l. 62-63) and the Monastery of the **Amalfitans** (l. 77), see the topography of our **act no. 11**.

2. For the Monastery of **Bouleuteria** (l. 52), see the topography of our **act no. 1**.

3. On the monastic cell (*kellion*) of **Drouvanistis** (l. 49 and 92) see the topography of our **act no. 11**.

**Editions:** Κουρίλας, *Τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἡσυχαστῶν*, 153-156.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Χέροποταμου et Saint-Paul*, 271-274, no. 14bis; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Νικολόπουλος-Οικονομίδης, *Κατάλογος Διονυσίου*, 278, no. 55; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 18; Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 237-240; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 49-52, no. 11.

**Text:**

1 ||<sup>1</sup> [... 10-15 ...] πολλῶν ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κ(ὺρ)  
 Διονύσιος ... 10-12 ...] τὴν κατοίκησιν ποιησάμενος [...] τὴν  
 μεσημβρινὴν βλέποντα θάλασσαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίου Ὁρους τόπον, ἐν  
 ᾧ καὶ μονὴν ἐδείματο, ἐπ' ὀνό[ματι τοῦ τιμίου προ]φήτου Προδρόμου  
 καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ. Εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἀπεβίω μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον πορισάμ(εν)ος  
 5 γράμμα [... 7-10 ...] τοῦ Ὁρους παντὸς καὶ τῆς κοινῆς Συνάξεως διὰ τὸν  
 [......] μονὴν χῶρον, ὃν εἰκὸς νέμεσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ἐπειδὴ τῆς μέσης  
 οὗτος ἐτύγγανεν ὧν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέμοντο καὶ κατεῖχον ἀδιαφόρως τὰ περίεξ  
 παρὰ μηδενὸς τῆς πλησίον μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου εὐρίσκοντες  
 διενόχλησιν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς μοναῖς τὰ πάντα κοινά· οἳ τε γὰρ  
 10 τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ κ(ὺρ)  
 Διονυσίου χώρους τὰ κατὰ χρεῖαν πληροῦντες ἦσαν, οἳ τε τοῦ ἁγίου  
 Διονυσίου εἰς τὸν Ἁγιον Παῦλον ὁμοίως, κ(αὶ) οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἔνωσιν οὐκ εἶασεν ὁ

1. Protaton, no. 61, 138-139; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, no. 61, 370-371; Κοραῆ, *Света гора*, 134-140.

15 τοῦ φθόνου πατήρ μέχρι τέλους φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαστῆσαι ἀλλήλων  
 αὐτοὺς ἔπεισεν, κ(αί) τοῖς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου γράμματα συστατικά  
 ζητεῖν ὑπέβαλεν, οἱ κ(αί) προσελθόντες ἐν τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον καιρὸν τοῦ  
 Ὁρους προῖσταμένῳ, ἤτησαντο γράμμα γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χωρίζον τοὺς  
 20 περὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μονὴν τόπους ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου. Ὁ δὲ  
 βάσανον τῷ πράγματι μὴ δοῦς, γνώμης χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὁρει παντί,  
 εἶξεν αὐτῶν τῇ δεήσει, καὶ γράμμα πάρεσχεν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ εἰς ταραχὴν  
 ἐκίνησε τοὺς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, ἀναλογιζομένους ὅπως μὲν  
 25 εὐνοϊκῶς αὐτοὶ διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. Ἄλλ' ἕως  
 μὲν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μόνον ἦν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἢ ταραχὴ, ἀφοῦ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον  
 γράμμα ἐγένετο κυρωτικὸν τοῦ προτέρου, τοσοῦτον εἰς [...]χος ἐχώρησαν  
 καὶ ταραχὰς οἱ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μονῶν, ὡς καὶ φόβον εἶναι πολὺν μὴ  
 παραχωρήσει Θεοῦ ἔργον φόνου γένοιται τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν· ὅπερ εἰδὼς ὁ  
 30 τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μονῆς προῖστάμενος ὁσιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ)  
 Ἀντώνιος ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεράν Σύναξιν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κυροῦ  
 Διονυσίου ἐνεκλήτευσεν. Ἡ οὖν ταπεινότης ἡμῶν συνδιασκεψαμένη ἅμα  
 τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν θείοις ἀνδράσι καὶ ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει  
 σεβασμίων μονῶν ἔκρινε βέλτιον εἶναι τοπικῶς ἐκεῖσε παραγενέσθαι, ὡς  
 35 ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον, ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ διένεξις, ἵνα κἀντεῦθεν τὸ δέον ποιήσῃ, οἱ δὲ  
 ἐκλεγέντες ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἄξιοι πιστεῦσθαι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀπὸ  
 μὲν τῆς Ἁγίας Λαύρας ὁ τιμιώτατος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κ(ὕρ) Σωφρόνιος ὁ  
 πν(ευματ)ικός, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου ὁ τιμιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ)  
 Μακάριος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὁ τιμιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ)  
 Μακάριος, ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιλανδαρίου ὁ τιμιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ) Ἰωδάνης,  
 40 ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥώσων ὁ γέρον ὁ κ(ὕρ) Νίκανδρος καὶ προηγούμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ καθίσματος τῶν Καρεῶν ὁ πνευματικὸς κ(ὕρ) Θεοδόσιος. Οὗτοι οὖν  
 προκριθέντες ἦλθον μεθ' ἡμῶν, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἐζητήσαμεν εἰ  
 45 πού τις αὐτῶν ἔχει παλαιγενὲς δικαίωμα ἐγγραφον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ  
 ἔχειν εἶπον, μάρτυρας δὲ προέβαλον τὸν τε πν(ευματ)ικὸν κ(ὕρ)  
 Νικόδημον καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Συριάνων κ(ὕρ) Γρηγόριον τὸν γέροντα, ἄνδρας  
 50 ἀξιόους πιστωθῆναι ἐπὶ μαρτυρία πολλῶν πραγμάτων [... ἐν] λόγῳ  
 ἐρωτηθέντας ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς διὰ τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν καὶ βάρος ἄλυτον  
 καὶ φρικώδους ἀφορισμοῦ ἐξεφωνήσαμεν ἐνώπιον πάντων κατὰ τοῦ δι'  
 ἔχθραν ἢ φιλίαν τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑποκρύφοντος, ὃ καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν  
 ἐγγράφως, λέγοντες ὁ μὲν κ(ὕρ) Γρηγόριος ἔχειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς παλαιᾶς ὡς  
 τὰ κελλία τοῦ Δρουβανιστοῦ, τοῦ Γαλακτίωνος, τῶν Φυλασσομένων, τὸ  
 ἐπάνω κάθισμα ὁ Πρὸδρομος, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίλλου, τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου καὶ  
 Διονυσίου καὶ ὁ Σκληθρος εἶναι τοῦ Πρωτάτου, τὸ δὲ παραθαλάσσιον  
 ὄλον ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῶν Βουλευτηρίων καὶ καταντῶν

55 μέχρι τοῦ ἀύλακος τῆς τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Σίμωνος εἶναι τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου. Ὁ δὲ  
 πν(ευματ)ικὸς· ὅτε ὑπετάγην τῷ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίῳ δέδωκεν ἐκείνῳ ὁ  
 πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος κ(ὕρ) Δωρόθεος ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιλανδαρίου περιοχὴν τινα  
 πολλήν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν διὰ γράμματος. Ταῦτα εἰπόντων  
 ἐκείνων ἀκούσαντες καὶ μὴ δυναθέντες γνῶναι τίνας ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὁ  
 60 ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ διένεξις, ἐπεὶ οὔτε γράμμα ἦν, οὔτε οἱ μάρτυρες εἶπον περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὸν πραγματευόμενοι ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς  
 μοναῖς, κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενόμενοι καὶ μέσση χωρήσαντες, μήτε  
 τούτους μήτε κάκεινους στενώσαντες, διεκρίναμεν καὶ ἀπεφηνάμεθα καὶ  
 ὁροθετήσαμεν οὕτως· ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔστι λάκκος μέγας, ὃς καλεῖται  
 65 τῆς Ῥάχεως τοῦ Καλαθᾶ, ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τοίνυν λάκκῳ πέτρα ἐστὶ  
 μεγάλη ῥιζημαία ἐν ἣ ἔνεχαράξαμεν τίμιον σταυρὸν καὶ μικρὸν  
 προσεπήξαμεν σταυροπήγιον, εἶτα ἀνερχόμεθα κατ' ἴσον εἰς τὴν ὀξὺ  
 λήγουσαν μεγάλην πέτραν ἣτις καὶ σχῆμα πύργου ἔχει, ἣν καὶ σχίζοντες  
 διχῆ ἀνερχόμεθα μέχρι μεγάλων πετρῶν ἐφ' αἷς δρύς, ἐν ἣ καὶ σταυρὸς  
 70 κεχαραγμένος ἐστὶ παρ' ἡμῶν. Ἐπειτα ἀφέντες δεξιὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς  
 τὴν ἀπίδαίαν, ἀνερχόμενοι εὐρίσκομεν τύμβην πετρώδη ἐφ' ἣ δρύς  
 μεγίστη, ἐν ἣ σταυρὸς, μικρὸν δὲ πρὸς ἕτερος ὃς ἦν μὲν παλαιὸς ἐν τῇ  
 δρυὶ καχαραγμένος, ἀνεκαινίσθη δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν. Ἀνωτέρω δὲ τούτου τὸ  
 τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου ἀλώνι, ὅπερ ἀφέντες πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κατήλθομεν  
 75 μικρὸν καὶ ἐνεχαράξαμεν σταυροὺς δύο ἐν δένδροισι δυσὶν ἀντικρὺ  
 ἀλλήλων ἰσταμένοις, κατ' ἰσότητα δὲ βαίνοντες μέχρι πολλοῦ  
 ἐνεχαράξαμεν σταυροὺς ἐν δένδροισιν τριάκοντα, ὧν μέσον ἴσταται δρὺς  
 μεγίστη ἔχουσα κλάδον πρὸς δύσιν κλίνοντα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ  
 περιορισμοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς σελάδος ἀφ' ἧς ὄραται τοῦ Μολφηνοῦ, ἴσταται  
 80 ἐλάτη μεγάλη, ἐν ἣ τρεῖς σταυροὺς πεποιήκαμεν. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως  
 ὁροθετηθέντων διεκρίναμεν καὶ ἀπεφηνάμεθα ὡς ἂν τὰ μὲν πρὸς  
 ἀνατολὰς πάντα ἔχη ἡ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου μονή, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἡ τοῦ  
 κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου, μηδενὸς ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ νῦν ἕξοντος ἀδείαν διανοχλῆσαι  
 αὐτοῖς. Ἐντεῦθεν μέχρι τέλους τὰ ὅρια τῆς μονῆς Διονυσίου  
 85 περιελήφθησαν ἐν τῷ γνωστῷ ἐγγράφῳ, ὅπερ παρουσιάζουσιν ὡς  
 αὐθεντικὸν οἱ Ἁγιοπαυλιῖται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐζήτησαν οἱ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κ(ὕρ)  
 Διονυσίου καὶ τὰ κελλία τὰ μαρτυρηθέντα ὅτι εἰσὶ τοῦ Πρωτάτου καὶ  
 πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὁροκύκλος γενέσθαι τὸν περὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μονὴν πάντα  
 χῶρον περιλαμβάνων, ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν εἴξασα τῇ δεήσει αὐτῶν, ἅμα  
 90 καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν θείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐπιδίδωσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰρημένα  
 πάντα κελλία, ἄνευ τοῦ Γαλακτίωνος, τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν δεσποτείαν  
 τελεῖ νῦν τῆς τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Σίμωνος, ὁροθετεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
 μονὴν ἅπαντα χῶρον, ὃς ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τοῦ οὕτω πως

καλουμένου Τεσσαρακοντακώπου, και ἀφεις πρὸς δύοσιν τὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβου  
πέτραν ἀνέρχεται μέχρι τοῦ κελλίου τοῦ Δρουβανιστοῦ κάκειθεν  
95 περιορίζων τοὺς Φυλασσομένους ἀναβαίνει διὰ τῆς μαδαρᾶς ῥάχεως ἕως  
τῆς ῥάχεως ἐκείνης, καθ' ἣν ἡ τῆς μέσης βασιλικὴ τυγχάνει ὁδὸς και  
καταντᾶ ἕως τῆς ἐλάτης τῆς μεγάλης, ἐν ἧ καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν τρεῖς τίμιοι  
τυγχάνουσι σταυροί. Τὸν τοιοῦτον τοίνυν ἅπαντα χῶρον ὀφείλει κατέχειν  
100 διηνεκεῖς ἅπαντας αἰῶνας, παρὰ μηδενὸς εὐρίσκουσα τὴν τυχοῦσαν  
[.....] και διενόχλησιν [.....] ἴσως βουληθεῖεν εἰς τὰς [... 10-12 ...]  
εὐρίσκομένῳ τόπῳ τὴν κατοίκησιν ποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ἐξέσται αὐτοῖς  
κατοικῆσαι γνώμης ἄνευ και θελήσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ μονῇ, ἀλλὰ  
105 και οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου ἀδελφοὶ δύο, ὃ τε κ(ὐρ) Μάρκος  
και ὁ κ(ὐρ) Διονύσιος, ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν τὴν ὑποταγὴν και εὐπειθειαν ἐν  
τῇ μονῇ μέχρις ἂν ἐν ταῖς ζωσιν ᾧσιν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτῶν θάνατον ἵνα  
μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν παραπέμπειν τὰ τε κελλία και τὰ ἀμπέλια και τὴν  
ἄλλην ἅπασαν αὐτῶν περιουσίαν πρὸς ἕτερα πρόσωπα, ἀλλ' ᾧσιν ὑπὸ  
τὴν τῆς μονῆς δεσποτείαν ἅπαντα. Ἄν δὲ συνεργία τοῦ πονηροῦ ἔτι  
110 ζῶντες παραπέμψαι ταῦτα θελήσωσι πρὸς ἕτερον πρόσωπον μὴ  
ἐπιμένοντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς μονῆς ὑποταγὴν, ἵνα οὗτοι μὲν ἐκδιώκωνται  
τελειῶς τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, τὴν δὲ βελτίωσιν ἅπασαν ἣν ἐποίησαν μετὰ  
τῶν κελλίων αὐτῶν ἔχη ἡ μονὴ ὡς δεσπόζουσα τοῦ τόπου παντός. Ταῦτα  
ἐγένετο θελήσει και γνώμῃ τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει πάντων και  
115 βουλόμεθα τὸ βέβαιον ἔχειν και ἀμετακίνητον παρὰ παντός τοῦ μεθ'  
ἡμᾶς τὴν τοῦ Πρωτάτου διακονίαν ἀναχθησομένου· οὐ γὰρ κεκρυμμένως  
και ἀσκέπως ἐγεγόνει, ὡσπερ τὰ προλαβόντα γράμματα, ἀ και οὐκ  
ἐστέρχθησαν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον σκεψάμενοι και ἐρευνήσαντες  
ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅλα ταῦτα πεποιήκαμεν ἐνώπιον  
120 πάντων, ὅθεν και ὀφείλουσι τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν. Τὸν δὲ εἰς ἀνατροπὴν  
χωρήσαντα τῶν τοιούτων, οἷος ἄρα και εἶη, ἔχομεν ἀφορισμένον ἀπὸ τῆς  
τρισυποστάτου και ἀδιαιρέτου θεότητος ἐν τῷ νῦν και ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι  
αἰῶνι. Καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἐγένετο και τὸ παρὸν και ἐπεδόθη τῇ  
διαληφθεῖσῃ μονῇ τοῦ κ(ὐρ) Διονυσίου μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'  
125 ἔτους ς'β'θ'.

† Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Γεννάδιος ἱερομόναχος,

† Ἀπὸ τῆς Λαύρας Σωφρόνιος ἱερομόναχος.

† Ἀπὸ τὸ Βατοπέδην Μακάριος μοναχός.

† Μακάριος ἱερομόναχος και πν(ευματ)ικὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων.

130 † Ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις πν(ευματ)ικὸς Θεόδουλος ἀπὸ τὸ  
Πρωτάτον.

## Act no. 13

DEED CONCERNING THE SALE OF LAND TO THE  
MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL BY DEMETRIOS KOMNENOU6910 (1401-1402), *indiction* 10**Type of the document:** πρατηριῶδες γράμμα (l. 14)**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 55. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 235 x 220 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor and there are abundant traces of moisture and ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 9**).**Analysis:** In the beginning of the document there is a cross-shaped signature (*signon*) of Demetrios Komnenou, who declares that he had composed the present document without pressure or compulsion. He had been notified that a Muslim owner of a *timar* named Mahmoudis had sold the land on which the church of Our Lady Eleousa was built to the Monastery of St. Paul, and that the monastery had restored and embellished the church. However, the area around the church did not belong to St. Paul. For this reason, Demetrios decided to donate this terrain to St. Paul and received from its abbot Anthony 150 *aspra* (= *akçe*) which were given for the commemoration of Demetrios's late father, Komnenos, during the liturgy. In this way the aforementioned terrain became the property of St. Paul. The present deed was corroborated by the following witnesses: 1. The monk David, whose lay name was Kastrophylax; 2. His brother George; 3. The priest-monk Luke; 4. [.....] Allis. 5. The Muslim Pazarli; 6. The Muslim Hatzi-Mouhoumoulis. The document was composed and signed by the *protopapas* Andronikos. Date: 6910, *indiction* 10th.**Prosopography:** On the abbot of St. Paul, **Anthony Pagasis** (l. 9-10), see the prosopography of our **acts nos. 7** and **8**.**Topography:** The church of Our Lady **Eleousa** (l. 5) seems to have been identical with the Monastery of the Mother of God Mesonisiotissa near the town of Edessa, which Nicholas Baldovin donated to St. Paul in 1385. On Mesonisiotissa see the topography of our **acts nos. 7** and **8**.**Editions:** *unpublished***Bibliography:** Χρυσσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 26;

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 52.

Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 153-154; K. Smyrlis, *The First Occupation of Macedonia (ca 1383 - ca 1403). Some Remarks on Land Ownership, Property Transactions and Justice, Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 100-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication* (ed. A. Beihammer, M. Parani, and Ch. Schabel), Leiden-Boston 2008, 334-335; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 52-54, no. 12.

**Text:**

Σί(γνον) Δη||<sup>2</sup>μητρίου  
τοῦ Κο||<sup>3</sup>μνηνοῦ.

||<sup>4</sup> † Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ υἱὸς τύθημοι καὶ ποιὸ ἐκουσί(ως) καὶ αὐτοθελῶς, ||<sup>5</sup> ἄνευ τινὸς ἀνάγκης [.....] καὶ βραδουργίας, ἀλλὰ καθαραῖς οὖν τῇ γνώμῃ ||<sup>6</sup> καὶ τῇ συνεδήσει καὶ [.....] ἀπλότῃ, ἐπεὶ εὔρον ὅτι ὁ Μαχμούτης ὁ μου-||<sup>7</sup>σλουμάνος ὃς προλαβαίνει [...] τιμαράτος ἐπράθη παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τόπος ||<sup>8</sup> τῆς ἐκκλη(σίας) τῆς Ἐλεούσας πρὸς τὸ μοναστήριον, (καὶ) ἀνηκοδῶμησαν αὐτὸν ||<sup>9</sup> τὸν ἐνόητα μὲν ναὸν ὡς καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρότερον. Ἀπελήφθη νῦν τόπος τις ἐκ-||<sup>10</sup>κτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησί(ας) οἷον ἡ αὐλή. Ἐφάνη καὶ ἐμοὶ καλ(ὸν) καὶ ἐδώρισα καὶ ||<sup>11</sup> τὸν ἀποληφθέντα τόπον, ὅσος καὶ οἷος ἐστίν, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ μονα-||<sup>12</sup>στήριον, ἐξ οὗ ἀνέλαβον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς μου τοῦ κυρ Ἀντωνίου ||<sup>13</sup> ἄσπρ(α) ρν' ἵνα ἔχει καὶ ὁ π(ατ)ήρ μου ὁ μακάριος ὁ Κομνηνὸς τὸ μνημόσυνον ||<sup>14</sup> αὐτοῦ. Ὁ [.....]του[.....] ἐδώθη παρ' ἐμοῦ ὁ παρ(ὸν) τόπος μετὰ πάσης νο||<sup>15</sup>μῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κατέχειν καὶ νέμεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ μοναστή-||<sup>16</sup>ριον εἰς τὸ βρέβαιον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρότερον. Τούτου γὰρ χάριν ||<sup>17</sup> ἐγράφη καὶ τὸ παρ(ὸν) πρατηριῶδες ἡμῶν γράμμα κατενώπιον τῶν πα-||<sup>18</sup>ρατυχόντων ἀξιοπίστων μαρτύρων· τοῦ ὀσιωτ(ά)τ(ου) ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὺρ) Δα(βιδ) ||<sup>19</sup> τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον Καστροφύλακος, κ(ὺρ) Γεωργίου τοῦ αὐταδέλφου αὐτοῦ, ||<sup>20</sup> τοῦ ἱερομονάχου Λουκᾶ, [... 10-12 ...] καὶ τοῦ Ἀλλῆ [.....] ||<sup>21</sup> των μουσλουμάνων δὲ τὸν Παζαρλί καὶ τοῦ χατζῆ-Μουχουμούλης.

||<sup>22</sup> Ἐγράφη (καὶ) τὸ παρ(ὸν) γράμμα τῇ χειρὶ Ἀνδρονίκ(ου) πρωτόπαπα καὶ δικαίου τοῦ Ἀ[.....]

||<sup>23</sup> Ἐν ἔτει ,ςῃι' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) τῆς ι<sup>τῆς</sup>.

**Act no. 14**

*SIGILLIODES GRAMMA* OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN  
PATRIARCH MATTHEW I SETTLING A BORDER DISPUTE  
BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND  
DIONYSIOU

September 12, 6912 (**1403**), *indiction* 12

**Type of the document:** *σιγίλλιον γράμμα* (l. 33 and 39)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variante no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 10. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 650 x 410 mm. Its preservation is relevantly good, but at some places the text is scarcely visible. The patriarchal seal which was initially attached to the bottom margin is lost, and there are only traces of its cord or *merinthos* (see **plate no. 10**).

**Variante no. 2.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 40 as act no. 26. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 560 x 390 mm. Its preservation is very good and there are only few dark stains on its surface<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** Several years ago, the monks Gerasimos and Anthony had produced to the Patriarch Matthew a document issued by the Monastery of Xeropotamou which entitled them to possess the *monydrion* (minor monastery) of St. Paul. According to this document, St. Paul was not subordinated to Xeropotamou but every monk of Xeropotamou had to be honoured in St. Paul as a monk of St. Paul, and every monk of St. Paul had to be honoured in Xeropotamou as a monk of Xeropotamou. However, later on Xeropotamou ran into financial difficulties and asked for support Gerasimos and Anthony, who gave it 100 ounces of silver. Subsequently, a dispute arose between the two monasteries and the agreement which was reached was confirmed with a document of the *protos* Neophytos (this is our **act no. 10 A**). This agreement was accepted and respected by the monks of Xeropotamou who had signed it. The devil, however, created new scandals and conflicts when a priest-monk named Dionysios built a new monastery next to that of St. Paul. After Dionysios's death, his monastery received from the *protos* of Mount Athos a document which defined the borders between Dionysiou and St. Paul. The monks of St. Paul were not present when this document was composed, and they protested because the monks of Dionysiou

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 54.

were trespassing on terrains which Xeropotamou had recognized as belonging to St. Paul. However, the *protos* issued for Dionysiou a second document which confirmed the earlier one and gave Dionysiou additional terrains which were detached from St. Paul's domain. This step caused a righteous indignation among the monks of St. Paul. For this reason, after the death of the *ktitor* Gerasimos the abbot of St. Paul, Anthony, requested the Synaxis of the Athonite abbots to solve the problem. The Athonite elders then advised the *protos* to send a delegation to the controversial locality, in order to figure out if Dionysiou was really trespassing on St. Paul's land. The delegation visited the place, and threatened with an excommunication from the church all the witnesses who might refuse to tell the truth. A document was then composed, but it contained no helpful testimonies or conclusive declarations of witnesses. However, it became clear that the controversial terrains really belonged to St. Paul and thus the border between Dionysiou and St. Paul was firmly established. The two monasteries were thereby advised to accept the agreement described in an earlier document and to refrain from future quarrels. A representative of St. Paul named Gerasimos then presented the earlier document to the patriarch and asked him to validate it by issuing a patriarchal *sigillion*. By chance, at that time the *protos* of Mount Athos and some other Athonite monks were in Constantinople, so they were asked about this document. Their answer was that the document was genuine and valid. Matthew I finally settled the difference by recognizing the legal rights of St. Paul but without upsetting the monks of Dionysiou. However, few days later a monk of Dionysiou named Gerasimos arrived in Constantinople and requested the patriarch to have a meeting with the representative of St. Paul. At this meeting, which was also attended by the *protos* and other Athonite monks, Gerasimos of Dionysiou only claimed that the new demarcation of the border line would deprive his monastery of an area valuable for its timber. The patriarch, nonetheless, decided that he must validate the document composed by the *protos*, because it was drawn up with prudence. Matthew I finally ordered the monks of the two monasteries to accept and respect the border line as it was already demarcated, and threatened anyone who might attempt to violate the present arrangement with an excommunication. The patriarchal *sigillion gramma* was delivered to the monks of St. Paul for their safety. Signature: Matthew, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. Act of the *protos* Neophytos which arranged the new status of the

Monastery of St. Paul and its relations with its former overlord, the Monastery of Xeropotamou (l. 9-10). This evidently was our **act no. 10 A**.

2. Act of an unnamed *protos* of Mount Athos who had separated the land of Dionysiou from that of St. Paul without inviting representatives of St. Paul (l. 14-15). The same statement is also available in our **act no. 12**, l. 19-25. However, it seems that the document in question could not have been our **act. no 11**.

2. Charter which the monk Gerasimos of St. Paul (not the founder Gerasim Radonja) produced to Patriarch Matthew I for confirmation (l. 27-28). This charter must have been our **act. no 11**.

**Remarks:** On the conflict between the monasteries of St. Paul and Xeropotamou (l. 1-11), see our **acts nos. 10 A** and **10 B**. For the dispute between the monasteries of St. Paul and Dionysiou over the boundary between their domains (l. 14-28), see our **acts nos. 11** and **12**.

**Prosopography:** On the founders (*ktitors*) of St. Paul, **Gerasimos** and **Anthony** (l. 1), see the prosopography of our **acts no. 7** and **no. 8**. The text of our document (l. 18-19) makes it clear that *ktitor* Gerasimos, i.e. the Serbian nobleman Nicholas Radonja, had died before September 1403.

**Editions:** Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Άγιορειτικοί θεσμοί*, 473-476.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xeropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 275-276, no. 16; Darrouzès, *Les registes des acts*, no. 3264; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Άγίου Παύλου*, no. 11; Суботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 241-242; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η άθωνική μονή Άγίου Παύλου*, 60; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Έπιτομές Άγίου Παύλου*, 54-56, no. 13.

**Text:**

† Ματθαῖος ἐλέψ̄ Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας  
Ῥώμης καί οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης

† Φθάνουσι πρό τινων ἤδη χρόνων οἱ τιμιώτατοι ἐν μοναχοῖς, ὃ τε κ(ὺρ) Γεράσιμος καί ὁ κ(ὺρ) Ἀντώνιος, λαβόντες μετὰ ἐκδοτηρίου γράμματος παρά ||<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐνασκουμένων τῇ θείᾳ καί ἱερᾷ βασιλικῇ καί πατριαρχικῇ μονῇ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου τῇ κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τὸν Ἄθω διακειμένη τὸ ἀνῆκον αὐτῇ μονύδριον ||<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τιμώμενον ἐπί συμφωνίᾳ, ἵνα κατέχωσιν αὐτὸ οἱ τε ῥηθέντες γέροντες καί οἱ τούτων διάδοχοι κατ' ἀλληλουχίαν ἀκα-||<sup>4</sup>τάλυτον καί ἵνα ἦ τὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἐλεύθερον, ἀδούλωτον καί ἀδέσποτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἢ καταδυναστείας τῶν Ἐηροποταμηνῶν, τηρου-||<sup>5</sup>μένου τούτου μόνου

παρά τε τῶν Ἐηροποταμηνῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγιοπαυλίτας παρά τε τῶν Ἀγιοπαυλιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἐηροποταμηνούς, ἴν' ὁπότ' ἂν τις ἕκα-||<sup>6</sup>τέρων εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐτέρων παραβάλη μονήν, ἐπιτυγχάνη τῆς ἀρμοζούσης αὐτῶ [... 10-16 ...] τάξεως καὶ τιμῆς, κἄν τε τῆς πρώτης ἄξιος ὢν τύχη κἄν τε ||<sup>7</sup> τῆς δευτέρας καὶ καθεξῆς. Χρόνου δέ τινος μεταξὺ παρωχηκότος καὶ χρείας καταλαβούσης τοὺς Ἐηροποταμηνούς, ἐζήτησαν συγκρότησίν τινα καὶ βοή-||<sup>8</sup>ειαν παρά τῶν ῥηθέντων Ἀγιοπαυλιτῶν γερόντων, τοῦ τε κ(ὕρ) Γερασίμου καὶ τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ἔλαβον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀσήμεν οὐγγίας ἑκατόν. Εἶτα πάλιν, πρὸς τινὰς φιλονει-||<sup>9</sup>κίας χωρησάντων καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥηθείσαις μοναῖς, εἰρήνευσαν αὐθις δι' ἐπιστασίας τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου πρώτου τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους κ(ὕρ) Νεοφύτου ἱερομονάχου ἐκείνου ||<sup>10</sup> ἐπικυρώσαντος καὶ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν συμφωνίαν διὰ γράμματος αὐτοῦ, εἰς ὃ καὶ οἱ Ἐηροποταμηνοὶ πάντες ὑπέγραψαν καὶ τηρεῖν αὐθις ἐνυπογράφως τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν συμφωνίαν ||<sup>11</sup> ἔσπερξαν, ἦν καὶ τηροῦσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ τηρήσουσι Χ(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα, εἰρήνην τε καὶ βελτίωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς μοναῖς προξενούσαν. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἔσχε τὰ περὶ ||<sup>12</sup> τούτου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ἄνωθεν ἐφευρετῇ τῆς κακίας καὶ κοινῶ πολεμίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐ λείπουσιν ἀφορμαὶ σκανδάλων καὶ ταραχαὶ ἐτέρωθεν περὶ-||<sup>13</sup> γυρα τοῖς Ἀγιοπαυλίταις ὀχλήσεις καὶ σκάνδαλα, τοῦ γοῦν γέροντος τοῦ ἱερομονάχου κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου ἐκείνου μονήν καὶ αὐτοῦ δειμαμένου πλησίον τῆς τοῦ ||<sup>14</sup> Ἀγίου Παύλου μονῆς. Εἰς τὸν πλησίον τόπον αὐτῶν, μετὰ τὸν τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου θάνατον, ὄρια καὶ τόπον ἐζήτησαν οἱ ἐκείνου διάδοχοι καὶ ἔλαβον διὰ γράμματος ||<sup>15</sup> τοῦ τηνικαῦτα πρώτου τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους, ἀπόντων τῶν Ἀγιοπαυλιτῶν, ὅπερ εἰς σκάνδαλα καὶ ὀχλήσεις παρεκίνησεν αὐτούς, ἀφαιρουμένους ἀφ' ὧν ἐγκρατεῖς ||<sup>16</sup> ὑπῆρχον πρότερον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐηροποταμηνῶν διακατοχῆς καὶ δεσποτείας, οἱ δὲ γε τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου οὐ μόνον ἠρνήθησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ||<sup>17</sup> ἕτερον ἐπικυρωτικὸν γράμμα παρά τοῦ πρώτου κομίζονται πλείονα τόπον αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενον ἀφ' οὗ τόπου οἱ Ἀγιοπαυλίται ἐκράτουν, ὅπερ αὐτούς καὶ σφόδρα ||<sup>18</sup> ἐλύπησέ τε καὶ ἐσκανδάλισε καὶ πολλὰς ἔμελλε προξενεῖν τὰς ὀχλήσεις ἅς ἀνακόπτων ὁ τῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Παύλου μονῆς προϊστάμενος ὁ κ(ὕρ) Ἀντώνιος, μετέστη ||<sup>19</sup> γὰρ πρὸς Θ(εὸν) ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ κ(ὕρ) Γεράσιμος, σύναξιν ἐζήτησεν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τὸν Ἄθω σεβασμίων βασιλικῶν μεγάλων μονῶν γενέσθαι καὶ κοινῇ ||<sup>20</sup> πάντας διακρίναί τε καὶ παῦσαι τὰ προσδοκώμενα σκάνδαλα. Συναχθέντες τοίνυν ἅπαντες οἱ ἐκεῖσε εὐρισκόμενοι τιμιώτατοι καθηγούμενοι καὶ κοινῶς ||<sup>21</sup> τὰ περὶ τούτου συνδιασκεψάμενοι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν σεβασμίων μονῶν, γέροντας ἄνδρας πν(ευματ)ικούς τε καὶ ἐναρέτους παρέσχοντο τῷ τότε πρώτῳ, ὡς ||<sup>22</sup> ἂν ἐκεῖσε τοπικῶς ἐπιστατήσωσι καὶ διορθώσωνται, εἴ τι τῶν

αὐτοῖς διαφερόντων οἱ Ἄγιοπαυλιῖται ἀφηρέθησαν, οἱ καὶ τοπικῶς ἐκεῖσε παραγενόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτρα-||<sup>23</sup>χήλια φορέσαντες καὶ ἀφορισμὸν ἐκφωνήσαντες ἄλυτον κατὰ τῶν παραχθέντων μαρτυρῆσαι γερόντων, ἀπὸ μὲν μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν τῶν καὶ καταγεγραμμένων εἰς τὸ τοιαύτης ||<sup>24</sup> ἐπιστασίας γράμμα, ὃ ἐποίησαν περὶ τούτου, οὐδὲν εἶχον σαφές διακρίναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι τοὺς Ἄγιοπαυλίτας προκατόχους καὶ μονὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ παλαιὰν νομὴν ||<sup>25</sup> ἔχοντας εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως διέκριναν καὶ ἔθεντο ὅρια, ἃ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς μοναῖς μὴ στενοχωρεῖσθαι παρέχει καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν δια-||<sup>26</sup>λαμβάνονται γράμματι τὸ ἀνενόχλητον ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς μοναῖς προξενουῦντα, ὃ δὴ γράμμα ἀναδραμόντες οἱ Ἄγιοπαυλιῖται ἔδειξαν τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι δι' ἐνὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ||<sup>27</sup> τῆς συνοδείας αὐτῶν, τοῦ μοναχοῦ κ(ὺρ) Γερασίμου, καὶ ἠξίωσαν διὰ σιγιλλίου γράμματος τὸ κῦρος ἐπὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι γράμματι πορίσασθαι ἀνενοχλησίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ||<sup>28</sup> ποιήσας πρῶτος καὶ οἱ Ἄγιορειῖται πάντες σχεδὸν ἔτυχον παρόντες ἐναυῖθα καὶ ἐρωτηθέντες συνοδικῶς παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος περὶ τοῦ γράμματος εἰ οὕτω προσέβη ἀληθές, ||<sup>29</sup> ἐμαρτύρησαν αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν πάντων προβῆναι καὶ ἀναντίρρητον, ἐπιστάντων μετὰ ἀγίων εἰκόνων τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τόπῳ καὶ διακρινάντων ὅσον διαλαμβάνεται ||<sup>30</sup> ἐν τῷ γράμματι αὐτῷ ἀπαθῶς καὶ τηρησάντων τὸ τε δίκαιον τῶν Ἄγιοπαυλιτῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παντελῶς στενοχωρῆσαι τοὺς τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου. Παρεγένετο δὲ μετ' ὀλίγας ||<sup>31</sup> ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου μοναχὸς Γεράσιμος καὶ ἐζήτησε τῷ Ἄγιοπαυλίτῃ ἀντικριθῆναι, ὧν δὴ καὶ παραστάντων συνοδικῶς παρόντων τοῦ τε πρώτου καὶ τῶν ||<sup>32</sup> Ἄγιορειτῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν εἰπόντων περὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστασίας γράμματος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν δίκαιον εἶχεν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα, στέρησιν δὲ ξύλων εἶπε ἔχειν τὸ κελλίον ||<sup>33</sup> αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ὀρίων. Ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ παρόντος σιγιλλίου γράμματος διαγινώσκει καὶ ἀποφαίνεται τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν καὶ βέβαιον καὶ τήν ||<sup>34</sup> τε ἐρῶμένην καὶ ἀκατάλυτον τηρηθεῖσαν τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν μετὰ τοῦ τότε πρώτου περὶ τῶν ὀρίων διάκρισιν καὶ ὀροθέτησιν καὶ κατέχειν καὶ νέμεσθαι ἀμφοτέρας ||<sup>35</sup> τὰς μονὰς τὰ ὅρια ὅσα διαλαμβάνει τὸ ῥηθέν γράμμα τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν καὶ τηρεῖσθαι τὰ ὅρια οὕτως ἀμετάθετα καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτα, ὡς τὸ ῥηθέν γράμμα διαλαμβάνει, ||<sup>36</sup> τῇ γοῦν ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος σιγιλλίου γράμματος τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος καθέξει ἢ ῥηθεῖσα σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου καὶ οἱ ἐνασκούμενοι ταύτῃ ἱερομό-||<sup>37</sup>ναχοὶ τε καὶ μοναχοὶ τὰ ὅρια ὅσα τὸ τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν γράμμα διαλαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνενοχλήτως καὶ πάντῃ ἀδιασειστώσως ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Διονυσίου μοναχῶν εἰς ||<sup>38</sup> αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα. Εἰ δὲ τις παρασαλεῦσαι ἐπιχειρήσει τὰ τεθέντα ὅρια, τοῦτον, ὅποῖος ἄρα καὶ εἴη, ὑπὸ βαρύτατον καὶ φρικώδη

ἀφορισμὸν ἔχει ἢ μετριότης ἡμῶν. ||<sup>39</sup> Εἰς τὴν περι τούτων δήλωσιν καὶ βεβαίαν ἀσφάλειαν γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ παρὸν σιγίλλιον γράμμα τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, ἐπεδόθη τῇ σεβασμῖα καὶ θεία μονῆ τοῦ ||<sup>40</sup> Ἁγίου Παύλου, εἰς μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον τῆς νῦν τρεχούσης ἐβ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τοῦ ,ςζιβ'ου ἔτους ἀπελύθη τῇ δωδεκάτῃ.

||<sup>41</sup> † Ματθαῖος ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος  
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς  
πατριάρχης †.

### Act no. 15

#### LETTER OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCH MATTHEW I CONCERNING A BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU

October 6912 (1403), *indiction* 12

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 24. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 300 x 385 mm. Its preservation is good as there are only few holes in the margins<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 11**).

**Additional notes** on the recto:

1. † Διὰ τῶν μέρος μας τοῦ βουνοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου.
2. † ω раздѣлене мери еѣти павль и дивонис[...]

**Analysis:** The Athonite monasteries of St. Paul and Dionysiou had a dispute over their boundary in the mountain that separated them. The monks of St. Paul supported that they had been owning the controversial localities for a very long period of time and that these localities had been bequeathed to them by the Monastery of Xeropotamou. The monks of Dionysiou usurped them because they were adjacent to their monastery and then resorted to the authority of the *protos* who issued some documents which only increased the tension between the two monastic houses. St. Paul then requested the Synaxis of the Athonite abbots to try the case. The Synaxis assigned to the case a special delegation. The *protos* of Athos and this delegation visited the controversial area and demarcated its borders. Later on, accompanied by several Athonite

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 56.

abbots, the *protos* arrived in Constantinople. The monks of St. Paul, in turn, sent to Constantinople their representative Gerasimos, who produced to the patriarch the document composed by the delegation and requested Matthew I to ratify it. The patriarch asked the *protos* of Athos about the authenticity of this document and when he received a positive answer, he ratified it with a *sigillion gramma*. A little bit later, the monks of Dionysiou, Gerasimos and Dorotheos, confronted Gerasimos of St. Paul in front of the patriarchal Synod, attempting to invert the case. However, the discussion yielded no new conclusions and Dionysiou accepted the demarcation made by the aforementioned delegation as a valid one. The patriarch thereby ordered the two monasteries not to trespass on the territory of the other and to settle their differences peacefully. Anyone who might attempt to violate the present arrangement would be threatened with an excommunication. *Menologema*: October of the 12th *indiction*.

**Remarks:** On the conflict between the monasteries of St. Paul and Dionysiou over the boundary between their domains, see our **acts no. 11, no. 12** and **no. 14**.

**Prosopography:** Our **act no. 14** (l. 18-19) makes it clear that the founder (*ktitor*) of St. Paul Gerasimos (Nicholas Radonja) died before September 1403 (for him see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**). Consequently, the monk Gerasimos who in October 1403 represented the Monastery of St. Paul in front of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Matthew I was another person of whom we know virtually nothing.

**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 254-255, no. 97; Κουρίλας, *Τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἡσυχαστῶν*, 227-228.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 277, no. 17; Darrouzès, *Les registres des acts*, no. 3266. Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 12; Сyботић, *Обнова манастира Светог Павла*, 241-242; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 60; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 56-57, no. 14.

**Text:**

† Ἐπεὶ μετὰξὺ τῶν σεβασμίων καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ θεί(ων) μονῶν τῶν κατ(ὰ) τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τὸν Ἄθω διακειμ(ένων) τοῦ τε Ἁγίου ||<sup>2</sup> Παύλου καὶ τοῦ κ(ύρ) Διονυσίου συνέβησαν σκάνδαλα καὶ ὀχλήσεις διὰ τὸν μετὰξὺ τούτων βουνόν τε καὶ τόπον, ὃν οἱ ||<sup>3</sup> μὲν Ἀγιοπαυλιῖται ὡς προκάτοχοι καὶ δίκαια ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου βασιλικῆς καὶ θείας μεγάλης μονῆς ἔλεγον αὐ||<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἀνήκειν ἅτε καὶ πολυχρόνιον νομῆν ἔχουσιν εἰς αὐτό, οἱ δὲ τοῦ κ(ύρ) Διονυσίου ἐσφετερίζοντο τὸν τόπον ὡς ἔγγιστα

καὶ ἐπάνω ||<sup>5</sup> αὐτῶν κείμενον καὶ πολλάκις εἰς φιλονεικίας καὶ ὀχλήσεις ἐχώρησαν, εἶτα καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ προσεχώρησαν οἱ τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου ||<sup>6</sup> καὶ γράμματα ἐπορίσαντο, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μικρὰ σκάνδαλα προέβησαν καὶ ὀχλήσεις. Ἀναδραμόντες οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἅγιο-||<sup>7</sup>παυλίται καὶ κοινήν σύναξιν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ πάντ(ων) γενέσθαι τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν, γνώμη καὶ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα πρώτου ||<sup>8</sup> συνήχθησάν τε καὶ ὀροθέτησαν τὰς μονὰς ἑκατέρας ἀπὸ πάντ(ων) τῶν σεβασμίων μεγάλων μονῶν ἐκλεγέντες οἱ ||<sup>9</sup> κρείττους εἰκόνας τὲ ἐκβαλόντες ἀγί(ας) συνάμα τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ὄρια ἑκατέροις πηξάμενοι ἀραῖς τε καὶ ἀφορισμοῖς ἐγγράφ(ως) ||<sup>10</sup> ἐμπεδόσαντες μηδένα ποτὲ παραβῆναι ἢ καταλύσαι τὰ προβάνα παρ' αὐτῶν ὄρια, ἃ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀνενοχλησίαν ἐπήξαντο ||<sup>11</sup> ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ῥηθισῶν σεβασμίων μονῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρεί(ας) καταλαβούσ(ης) ὁ τε τηνικαῦτα πρώτος καὶ οἱ Ἄγιορεῖται πάντες διὰ τινος ||<sup>12</sup> δουλεί(ας) ἀναγκαιί(ας) ἔστειλαν ἐνταῦθα τινὰς, ἀνέδραμον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἄγιοπαυλίται δι' ἐνὸς τινὸς τῆς συνοδείας αὐτῶν, τοῦ μοναχοῦ Γερασίμου, ||<sup>13</sup> καὶ ἔδειξαν τὸ κοινὸν γράμμα τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν καὶ ἠξίωσαν ἐπικυρωθῆναι αὐτὸ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἡμ(ῶν) μετριότητος, ἠρωτήθησαν δὲ ὁ τε ||<sup>14</sup> πρώτος καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἄγιορειτῶν σταλέντες, εἰ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον γράμμα παρὰ τῶν Ἄγιοπαυλιτῶν, καὶ ὠμολόγησαν ἅ||<sup>15</sup>παντες αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ γράμμα καὶ οὕτω προσβῆναι τὰ τῆς ἐπιστασί(ας), ὡς ἐκεῖνο διαλαμβάνει. Διὸ καὶ ἐπεκυρώθη διὰ σιγιλίου ||<sup>16</sup> γράμ(α)τος τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότη(η)τ(ος). Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου παρεγένοντο, ὁ τε Γεράσιμος καὶ ὁ παπᾶς Δωρόθεος, καὶ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν ἐπε-||<sup>17</sup>χείρησαν καὶ συνοδικ(ῶς) ἀντεκρίθησαν τῷ Γερασίμῳ, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀφηρέθησαν. Ὁ γ(οῦν) μεταξὺ τόπος ὁ ὀροθηθεὶς ἦν τοῦ ||<sup>18</sup> Ἁγίου Παύλου. Κατεπείσθησαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ εἰρήνευσαν μετὰ τῶν Ἄγιοπαυλιτῶν, ἵνα λαμβάνωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὧν ἂν δέοντ(αι), τηρουμένων ||<sup>19</sup> τῶν ὀρίων οὕτως ὡς ἐτέθησαν. Εἰρήνης καὶ μετανοίας μεσολαβούσης ἢ μετριότη(ης) ἡμῶν διαγινώσκει καὶ ἀποφαίνεται τὰ μὲν ὄρια τη-||<sup>20</sup>ρεῖσθαι ἀκίνητα καὶ πάντα ἀπαρασάλευτα οὕτ(ως), ὡς ἐτέθησαν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων, φορεσάντ(ων) καὶ ἱερέων ὑπὸ πάσ(ης) τῆς ἀγιορειτ(ικῆς) ||<sup>21</sup> συνάξεως, λαμβάνειν δὲ τοὺς τε Ἄγιοπαυλίτ(ας) καὶ τ(οὺς) τοῦ κ(ὕρ) Διονυσίου, ὧν ἂν δέοντ(αι) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλήλων τόπ(ων), ἀδελφικῶς καὶ διὰ μετανοίας ||<sup>22</sup> μοναχικῆς καὶ πν(ευματ)ικῆς ἀγάπης καὶ διαθέσεως, ὡς ὀφείλουσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις τηρ(εῖν) τὸ φιλάδελφον. Εἰ δὲ τινες τούτ(ων) παρασαλεῦσαι τὰ ὄρια ἐπιχειρήσωσι, τὸν ||<sup>23</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγ(ίας) καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου Τριάδος βαρύτατον καὶ φρικώδη ἀφορισμὸν ἐκφωνεῖ κατ' ἐκείνων ἢ μετριότη(ης) ἡμῶν, εἴ τινες ἄρα καὶ εἶεν. Ἀπολυθέντα ||<sup>24</sup> εἰς τ(ὴν) περὶ τούτ(ων) ἀσφάλειαν ἐν ἔτει ,ς<sup>ω</sup>ζ<sup>ω</sup>ιβ<sup>ω</sup> †.

**Μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρ(ίῳ) (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιβ' †**

## Act no. 16

ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN RADOSLAV SABIA  
DONATING PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE  
MONASTERY OF ST. PAULJune 1, 6913 (1405), *indiction* 13**Type of the document:** ἔγγραφον (l. 33)**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 14. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 700 x 330 mm. Its preservation is relevantly good and there are only few traces of moisture in the margins (see **plate no. 12**).**Variant no. 2.** 15th century certified copy kept in archival folder no. 18. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 550 x 290 mm. Its preservation is poor as there are multiple traces of moisture and a large rupture in the bottom margin. The second and the third lines are not readable<sup>1</sup>. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel in 1405-1416<sup>2</sup>.**Analysis:** Standard theological introduction referring to the charity of the pious emperors who were imitating God's mercy. Radoslav Sabia had received in the past, with a chrysobull promulgated by the Emperor Andronikos IV Palaiologos, two villages in the district of Kalamaria (to the southeast of Thessalonica), Avramitai and Neochorion. Sabia had also been given a permission to bequeath the two villages to his children and other legal heirs. Sabia's possession of the two villages had been ratified with a *horismos* of the Emperor John VII Palaiologos, son of Andronikos. With the present charter Sabia donated one half of the aforementioned villages to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul and to its abbot, Anthony Pagasis. More specifically, Sabia donated to St. Paul one half of the land, of the villagers, of the vines and of the fruit trees which were available in the two villages. Moreover, he delivered to the monastery the entire local defensive tower, one carriage, 10 beehives and 6 geese. The other half of the two villages, including the houses which Sabia had built near the tower, he bequeathed to his children, Doukas and Laskaris. If one of them died, it was his brother who was entitled to inherit him. However, after the death of the last of them,1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 57.2. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 237 and 295.

final heir of all the properties of Sabia was declared the Monastery of St. Paul. Sabia's sons were not allowed to sell or donate the inherited property, because they only had its usufruct. The present charter was composed with the approval of the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Gabriel, and was signed by several members of his Holy Synod. Date: June 1, 6913, *indiction* 13th.

Cross-shaped signature (*signon*) of Radoslav Sabia.

Signatures of witnesses: 1. Demetrios, deacon and great *oikonomos* of Thessalonica; 2. Michael Kalothetos, great *skeuophylax* of the metropolis of Thessalonica; 3. John Mazaris, priest and *protekdikos* of the metropolis of Thessalonica; 4. Peter Andreiomenos, deacon, *dikaiophylax* and great *chartophylax* of Thessalonica.

Signature on the rear: Gabriel, metropolitan of Thessalonica, *hypertimos* and *exarchos* of all Thessaly.

**Note on the rear:** † Τοῦ ἁγιοκοιμήτου Σάμπη ἃ διὰ τοὺς Ἀβραμίτας καὶ τὸ Νεοχώρηγν.

**Remarks:** The ecclesiastical titles which are mentioned in the signatures (*oikonomos*, *skeuophylax*, *protekdikos* and *dikaiophylax*) were usually given to the heads of the basic departments of the Metropolitanate of Thessalonica, who were in charge of its chancery and of its financial, archival and judiciary activity<sup>1</sup>.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. The chrysobull of Andronikos IV Palaiologos granting to Sabia the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion (l. 8-9) is our **act no. 6**.

2. The *horismos* of Andronikos's son, John VII Palaiologos, which ratified Sabia's possession of the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion (l. 13-14) is presently not available in the archives of St. Paul.

**Prosopography:**

1. For **Radoslav Sabia**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 6**.

2. On **Anthony Pagasis** see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**.

**Topography:** On the abandoned villages (*palaiochoria*) of **Avramitai** and **Neochorion**, see the topography of our **act no. 6**.

**Editions:** Εὐλόγιος, *Ἀντοκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα*, 704-706; *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 9 (1958), 103-106.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 278-281, no. 19; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 27 καὶ 27α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 72; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἀρχεῖο Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 57-59, no. 15

1. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 229-270.

**Text:**

† Οἱ θειότατοι βασιλεῖς κατὰ Θεοῦ μίμησιν εὐεργέται τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν με-||<sup>2</sup>τοχετεύουσιν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ περιουσίᾳ φιλανθρωπίας ||<sup>3</sup> καὶ εἰς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ υἱοὺς υἱῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, κατὰ διαδοχὴν μέχρι πέρατος τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος χρυσοβούλλοις ||<sup>4</sup> λόγοις τὰς τοιαύτας ἐμπεδοῦντες πράξεις αὐτῶν μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅσον εἰπεῖν τιμιωτέροις καθ' ἃ βασιλικοί τε ||<sup>5</sup> εἰσί, καὶ μέσος ἐν αὐτοῖς παραλαμβάνεται ὁ Θεός, ὃ καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἢ χρυσοῦ σφραγὶς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ τὸν δεσποτικὸν ἄν-||<sup>6</sup>τιφερομένην θεῖον χαρακτηῖρα καὶ ἢ τριττὴ τοῦ λόγου κατὰ πτωσιν ἐναλλαγῆ, εἰς τιμὴν ἐπινοηθεῖσα τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος ἧς, ||<sup>7</sup> εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκωθεὶς λόγος καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρεῖται πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς καθ' ἃ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ||<sup>8</sup> δόξαν. Τοιαύτης καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίωμαι τῆς εὐεργεσίας εὐτυχοῦς τυχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ αἰοδίμου καὶ ||<sup>9</sup> μακαρίτου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, καὶ νῦν ἔχων ἐπ' ἀδείας διὰ θείου χρυσοβούλλου λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλαμαρίαν ||<sup>10</sup> δύο χωρία, τοὺς Ἀβραμίτας καὶ τὸ Νεοχώριον, παραπέμπειν εἰς τοὺς ἐξ ὁσφύος παῖδας καὶ τοὺς διαδόχους μου, εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ||<sup>11</sup> ὀνόματος τοῦ παρεχομένου μοι ταῦτα ἁγίου βασιλέως καὶ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ αἰώνιον, καὶ πρὸ τῶν παίδων μου τὸν Θεὸν ||<sup>12</sup> ἠγγασάμην ἀντὶ τούτοις ἐμοῦ τοῦ διαδόχου οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐμοῦ, πλάσμα καὶ ποίημα καὶ κτῆμα κἄν ὦμεν ἀμαρτωλοί. ||<sup>13</sup> Ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοχῆ καὶ ὀρισμῶ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ||<sup>14</sup> τοῦ ἐρασμιωτάτου υἱοῦ ἐκείνου δηλαδὴ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐεργετηκότος με ταῦτα ἁγίου βασιλέως καὶ ἤδη καθαρᾶ τῆ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἀμεταμελήτῳ μου τῆ προθέσει, ||<sup>15</sup> μετὰ σκοποῦ τε μεμεριμνημένου καὶ πολυημέρου διασκέψεως, ὅλη ψυχῆ καὶ προθυμίᾳ προσκυρῶ καὶ ἀφιερῶ τῆ πανάγῳ ||<sup>16</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου μητρ(ι) καὶ τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ, διὰ σοῦ τοῦ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐθέντου καὶ πατρός μου, τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου ||<sup>17</sup> ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον Παγάση, καὶ τῆς κατὰ σέ ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει τῷ Ἄθῳ ἱεράς μονῆς τῆς ||<sup>18</sup> ἐπ' ὀνόματι τιμωμένης τῆς πανυπεράγνου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ Θεομήτορος τῆς Ἁγιοπαυλιτίσσης καὶ ἐπικεκλημένης τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, ||<sup>19</sup> τὸ ἡμισυ ἅπαν τῶν εἰρημένων χωρίων τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν καὶ τοῦ Νεοχωρίου, ἧτοι τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀπάσης τὸ ||<sup>20</sup> ἡμισυ, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ προσκαθημένων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδίως διαφερόντων ἐμοὶ ἀμπελιῶν, ἅπαν ὅσον ἐγὼ ||<sup>21</sup> κατέσκαψα καὶ κατεφύτευσα, μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων ὀπωροφόρων δένδρων, τὸν πύργον μόνον μονομερῶς ἀφιερῶ τῆ μονῆ, ||<sup>22</sup> καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔχω ἀμαξίων τὸ ἐν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔχω μελισσίων μανάδια δέκα, πάτον ξύλινον καὶ χηνάρια ἕξ. Ταῦτα ἀφιερῶ τῆ εἰρημένη μονῆ ||<sup>23</sup> καὶ

τῷ Θεῷ καθὼς εἴρηται κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Τὰ δὲ ἐγγύς τοῦ πύργου ὀσπήτια, ἅπερ ἔκτισα, καὶ τῶν ἀπαριθμημένων ἀπάντων τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμίση, λέγω, ἵνα ἔχωσι κατὰ χρῆσιν παρὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ||<sup>24</sup> τὴν ζωὴν τὰ δύο γνήσιά μου παιδιά, ὁ Δούκας καὶ ὁ Λάσκαρις, καὶ ἐὰν ὁ εἷς προτελευτήση τοῦ ἑτέρου ὁ περιλειφθεὶς ἔχει ταῦτα ||<sup>25</sup> παρὰ πᾶσαν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ζωὴν, μετὰ τελευτῆν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον τῶν χωρίων ὀλοκλήρως ἔχωσιν ἢ μονῇ δεσποτικῶς, ||<sup>26</sup> ἐξουσιαστικῶς, κυρίως καὶ ἀναφαιρέτως μετὰ πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιοχῆς καὶ τῶν ὄλων αὐτῶν δικαίων καὶ προνομίων, ἔχοντες ||<sup>27</sup> ἐξουσίαν πάντα ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅσα τοῖς ἀληθεῖσι καὶ κυρίως τῶν πραγμάτων δεσπότης ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτέτραπται, ἀνενο-||<sup>28</sup>χλήτως καὶ ἀδιασειστως ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μέρους μου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ διαληφθέντες παῖδές μου, ὁ Δούκας δηλαδὴ καὶ ὁ Λάσ-||<sup>29</sup>καρις, ἐξουσιν ἄδειαν ἢ διαπραῖσαι ἢ δωρεᾶς τρόπον δοῦναι πρὸς τινα ὄλον ἢ μέρος τυχόν τοῦ καταλιμπανομένου αὐτοῖς ἡμίσεως, ||<sup>30</sup> ἢ διαθέσθαι ἐν καιρῷ τελευτῆς αὐτῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ· τὴν γὰρ χρῆσιν μόνην ἔχειν ὀφείλουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, τῆς δεσποτείας ἤδη τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ ||<sup>31</sup> καθιερωθείσης καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θείους καὶ φιλευσεβεῖς νόμους μένειν παρ' αὐτῷ ὀφειλούσης ἀναποσπάστως, εἰ μὴ τις βούλοιο ὑποπeseῖν τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ||<sup>32</sup> Θε(ε)οῦ κατακρίματι καὶ τῷ βάρει καὶ τὴν μερίδα αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μετὰ Ἰούδα τοῦ προδότου καὶ τῶν σταυρωσάντων τὸν Κ(ύριον). ||<sup>33</sup> Σὺν τῷ καὶ οὕτως ἐρῶσθαι τὸ παρὸν ἔγγραφον ἰσχύειν ὀφείλον, καὶ ὡς πρακτικὸν σωματικῆς καὶ τοπικῆς παραδόσεως. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ ||<sup>34</sup> ἐξετέθη, εἰδήσει τοῦ παναγιωτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ δεσπότη, τοῦ θειοτάτου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης, ὑπερτίμου καὶ ||<sup>35</sup> ἐξάρχου πάσης Θετταλίας κυροῦ Γαβριήλ, ἐνώπιον τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θείας καὶ ἱεῶς συνόδου καὶ ἀρχόντων ἄλλων ἐγκρίτων, τῶν ὑπο-||<sup>36</sup>γραψάντων κατὰ μῆνα Ἰούνιον τῆ α' τῆς ιγ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τοῦ ,ς'ιγ' ἔτους.

||<sup>37</sup> Σί(γνον) Ῥαδοσλάβου

||<sup>38</sup> τοῦ Σάμπια.

||<sup>39</sup> † Ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος Θεσσαλονίκης διάκονος Δημήτριος στεργόμενος μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

||<sup>40</sup> † Ὁ μέγας σκευοφύλαξ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης Μιχαὴλ διάκονος ὁ Καλόθ(ετος) μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

||<sup>41</sup> † Ὁ πρωτέκδικος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰωάννης ἱερεὺς Μάζαρις.

||<sup>42</sup> † Ὁ δικαιοφύλαξ Πέτρος διάκονος καὶ μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ Θεσσαλονίκης ὁ Ἀνδρειωμένος συμμαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραψα.

**Signature on the rear:**

† Ὁ μητροπολίτης Θεσσαλονίκης ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἑξαρχος πάσης Θετταλίας Γαβριήλ †

## Act no. 17

CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS  
CONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S DONATION OF PROPERTY  
IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAULJune 6913 (1405), *indiction* 13th**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 10, 16, 27-28)**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 1. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 600 x 390 mm. The emperor's signature is written with cinnabar. The preservation of the charter is relevantly good as there are only three small ruptures along the folds. The golden seal of the emperor with diameter 32 mm is attached to the bottom margin with a red silken cord (*merinthos*) (see **plate no. 15**).

**Variant no. 2.** 15th century certified copy kept in archival folder no. 1A. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 550 x 370 mm. Its preservation is good as there are only few traces of moisture in its upper right section<sup>1</sup>. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel in 1405-1416<sup>2</sup>.

**Analysis:** The servant (*oikeios*) of the emperor, Radoslav Sabia had received from John VII's late father, Andronikos IV Palaiologos, a chrysobull according to which he was the legal possessor of the abandoned villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in Kalamaria. These villages were subordinated to the Byzantine fiscal authorities. Later Sabia decided to donate one half of these villages to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul and to its abbot, Anthony Pagasis. He thereby composed a special document which arranged the donation of one half of his estates in the aforementioned villages to the Monastery of St. Paul, and made some provisions for the other half as well. For this reason, Anthony Pagasis requested John VII to ratify Sabia's donation by issuing a new chrysobull. With the present chrysobull John VII decreed that the Monastery of St. Paul was the legal proprietor of one half of the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion and that, after the death of Sabia's sons, all the properties of the two villages had to be delivered to St. Paul. By promulgating the present chrysobull, John VII authorized the monastery to sell, transfer or donate the said properties as their exclusive

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 59.

2. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 237 and 295.

legal owner. The serfs (*paroikoi*) who were already residing in the two villages, as well as those who would take up residence there in future and had not been previously registered in the local fiscal records, were exempted from all public taxes which already existed or were expected to be instituted, namely from the *angareia* (corvée) and *melissoennomion*. The villagers were also entitled to exploit unrestrictedly their vineyards and fishing facilities. No state official was allowed to require the payment of taxes or to trespass on the property of the two villages. Standard final confirmative clauses emphasizing that the document was issued for the protection of the monks.

Signature: John Palaiologos, emperor of the *Rhomaioi*.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. The chrysobull of Andronikos IV Palaiologos granting to Sabia the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion (l. 1-4) is our **act no. 6**.

2. The document arranging the donation of one half of Sabia's estates in Avramitai and Neochorion to St. Paul (l. 5-7) is our **act no. 16**.

**Remarks:** On the terms *angareia* and *melissoennomion* see the remarks to our **act no. 5**.

As far as **Variant no. 1** is concerned, the so-called “*kratos* rule”, which usually supports the authenticity of the genuine Byzantine chrysobulls from the Palaiologan period, is evidently violated, since in the invariable final phrase ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος the word *kratos* is neither the first word on the last line of the text, nor the only word before the emperor's signature (ἐννεα||<sup>29</sup>κοσιοστοῦ τρισκαιδεκατοῦ ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημείνατο κράτος, l. 28-29), as the rule requires. Regardless of this inconsistency, according to N. Oikonomidis the chrysobull is genuine and authentic<sup>1</sup>. The *kanikloma* – the triple repetition of the word *logos* in three different cases – is correct and consists of one accusative (l. 10), one genitive (l. 16) and one nominative case (l. 28)<sup>2</sup>.

**Prosopography:**

1. For **Radoslav Sabia**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 6**.

2. For **Anthony Pagasis**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**.

**Topography:** On the abandoned villages (*palaiochoria*) of Avramitai and Neochorion, see the topography of our **act no. 6**.

**Editions:** Εὐλόγιος, *Αὐτοκρατορικά χρυσόβουλλα*, 706-707; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 282-286, no. 20; Каждан, *Два поздне-*

1. See Οικονομίδης, *Ἑλληνικά ἔγγραφα*, 520, no. 13.23.

2. Cf. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 29, 36 and 117-125; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Βυζαντινὴ διπλωματικὴ*, 261-264.

византийских актах, 314-315; Χρονογραφική ιστορία, 9 (1958), 106-108.

**Bibliography:** Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3205; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 3 and 3a; Οικονομίδης, *Ἑλληνικά ἔγγραφα*, 520, no. 13.23; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 72; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἀρχεῖο Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 59-60, no. 16.

**Text:**

† Ἐπεὶ ὁ οἰκεῖ(ος) τῆ βασιλείᾳ μου Σάμπιας ὁ Ῥαδοσθλάβος πρὸ χρόν(ων) ἐπορίσατο χρυσόβουλλον τοῦ ἁγίου μου αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλ(έως) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τῆς βα-||<sup>2</sup>σιλεί(ας) μου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου, διοριζόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀκωλύτως καὶ ὡς γονικὸν αὐτοῦ κτῆμα καὶ τ(οὺς) αὐτοῦ γνησί(ους) παῖδας ||<sup>3</sup> τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλαμαρίαν δύο παλαιοχωρία, Ἀβραμί(τας) καὶ Νέον Χωρίον καλούμενα, ὑπὸ τὴν δουλωσύνην εὐρισκόμεν(α) τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ῥωμαί(ων) καὶ ἐκ-||<sup>4</sup>δουλεύοντα, ἀρτίως δὲ ὁ δηλωθεὶς Σάμπιας ἠθέλησε ψυχικῆς ἕνεκεν αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας ἀφιερῶσαι διὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὺρ) ||<sup>5</sup> Ἄντωνίου, τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον Παγάση, τῆ κατ' αὐτὸν σε(βασμῖα) μονῆ παρὰ τὸ Ἄγ(ιον) Ὅρος τ(ὸν) Ἄθω μονῆ τῆς πανυπεράγνου μου δεσποίνης καὶ θεομήτορος τῆ ἐπω-||<sup>6</sup>νομαζομένη τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, ἅπαν τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ προειρημένου χρυσοβούλλου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πέποιηκε τοῦτο ἐγγράφως, παραδοὺς τῆ ||<sup>7</sup> εἰρημένη σε(βασμῖα) μονῆ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ τοιοῦτου αὐτοῦ χρυσοβούλλ(ου), ποιησάμ(εν)ος ἀποκατάστασι(ν) ἐν τῷ ἀφιερωτηρίῳ αὐτοῦ γράμμ(ατι) καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἡμίσεως, ||<sup>8</sup> ὡς κατωτέρω λεχθήσεται)· καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ὁ δηλωθεὶς κ(ὺρ) Ἀντώνιος τὴν τοιαύτην ἀποκατάστασι(ν) καὶ ἀφιέρωσι(ν) ἐπικυρωθῆναι παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου ||<sup>9</sup> εἰς πλείονα καὶ διηνεκῆ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν μονῆς αὐτῆς, δι' ἣν ἔχει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην καὶ διάθεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ μὴ τούτου γενομένου, ἕτερόν τι πάντ(ως) ||<sup>10</sup> ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆ κατ' αὐτὸν σε(βασμῖα) μονῆ ποιήσιν εἶχομεν, τ(ὸν) παρόντ(α) χρυσόβουλλ(ον) ΛΟΓΟΝ ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει αὐτῆ, ||<sup>11</sup> δι' οὗ εὐδοκεῖ, προστάσει, θεσπίζει καὶ διορίζεται κατέχειν τ(ὸν) δηλωθέντα τιμιώτ(α)τ(ον) ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὺρ) Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν δηλωθεῖσαν σε(βασμῖαν) ||<sup>12</sup> μονὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, τὸ ἀφιερωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ Σάμπια νῦν μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ δύο χωρία τοὺς Ἀβραμί(τας) καὶ τὸ Νέον ||<sup>13</sup> Χωρίον, μετὰ δὲ θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὅλον κυρίως, ἀναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστ(ως) καὶ κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος· ἄδειαν ἔχουσαν ||<sup>14</sup> τὴν σε(βασμῖ)αν μονὴν ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν περιλήψιν

καὶ δύνάμιν τοῦ ἀφιερωτηρίου αὐτοῦ γράμματος πάντα τὰ κατὰ θέλησιν, ἦγ(ου)ν ἀνταλλάττειν, ||<sup>15</sup> ἀποχαρίζεσθαι, βελτιοῦν· παρὰ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντων διανοχλουμένην ἐφ' οἷς βούλεται ποιεῖν ἐν τούτοις. Τῆ γοῦν ἰσχύϊ καὶ ||<sup>16</sup> δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος χρυσοβούλλου ΛΟΓΟΥ τῆς βασιλείας μου, καθέξει ἢ δηλωθεῖσα σε(βασμῖα) μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ||<sup>17</sup> καὶ ὁ ῥηθεὶς τιμιώτατος ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὺρ) Ἀντώνιος, ὁ κατὰ κόσμον Παγάσης, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀσκουμένων μετ' αὐτοῦ μοναχῶν ||<sup>18</sup> νῦν μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ Σάμπια κατὰ τὴν περίλη(ψιν) τῆς ἐγγράφου αὐτοῦ παραδόσε(ως), μετὰ θάνατ(ον) δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄλον ||<sup>19</sup> ἀνενοχλήτως, ἀδιασειστώως καὶ κατὰ τελείαν δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα, παρὰ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντ(ων) ὀφείλοντες διανοχλεῖσθαι ἔνεκεν τῆς ||<sup>20</sup> κατοχῆς καὶ δεσποτείας τῶν εἰρημέν(ων) δύο χωρί(ων), τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦ Νεοχωρίου, καὶ τῶν συνηθῶν καὶ νενομισμένων καὶ ||<sup>21</sup> ἀνηκόντ(ων) αὐτοῖς δικαί(ων), ἀλλ' ἔχειν ταῦτα καὶ νέμεσθαι ἀκωλυτ(ῶς) διὰ παντὸς εἰς τ(οὺς) ἐξῆς καὶ διηνεκεῖς χρόν(ους) κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ περίλη(ψιν) ||<sup>22</sup> τῆς ἐγγράφου αὐτῶν παραδόσεως, ἵνα καὶ οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χωρίοις προσκαθῆμ(εν)οι καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι παρὰ αὐτῶν προσκαθίσωσι ||<sup>23</sup> ξένοι παντάπασι κ(αὶ) τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνεπίγνωστοι, διατηρῶνται ἐλεύθεροι ἀπάν(των), ἦ(γου)ν μελισσονομίου, ἀγγαρείας καὶ ἀπλῶς πάσης καὶ παντοί(ας) ||<sup>24</sup> ἀπαιτήσεως καὶ ἐπηρείας, ἀρχοντικῆς καὶ δημοσιακῆς, τῆς τε νῦν οὔσης τῆς τε γενησομένης, ἔχειν τε αὐτ(οὺς) ὁμοί(ως) κ(αὶ) τὰ δίκαια τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ||<sup>25</sup> καταφυτευθέντ(ων) ἀμπελ(ί)ων, ἔτι τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλιοτόπια, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ἀπάντ(ων) ἢ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς κεφαλατικευόντ(ων) ἢ ἀπαιτητῶν ἢ τ(ῶν) οἴανοῦν ||<sup>26</sup> ἀπαιτήσιν δημοσιακῆν ποιουμένων, ἢ τῶν νῦν ὄντων, ἢ τῶν ἐλευσομέν(ων) τολμήσει διασεισμον τινὰ ἢ ὄχλησιν ἐπαγαγεῖν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσι χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς ||<sup>27</sup> ἐν αὐτοῖς προσκαθημένοις, ὅθεν κ(αὶ) εἰς μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ τὴν ἀσφάλ(ειαν) ἐπεχορηγήθη καὶ ἐπεδραβεύθη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ παρῶν χρυσόβουλλος ||<sup>28</sup> ΛΟΓΟΣ ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα ἸΟΥΝ(ιον) τῆς ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙ(δεκάτης) ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ἐξακισχιλιοστοῦ ἐνεα||<sup>29</sup>κοσιοστοῦ τρισκαίδεκατοῦ ΕΤΟΥΣ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὔσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόδλητον ὑπεσημείνατο κράτος.

||<sup>30</sup> † Ἰωάννης ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς ||<sup>31</sup> βασιλεὺς καὶ  
αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥω-||<sup>32</sup>μαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος †

## Act no. 18

*PROSTAGMA* OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII  
PALAIOLOGOS RECONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S  
DONATION OF PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO  
THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

October of the 15th *indiction* [1406]

**Type of the document:** *πρόσταγμα* (l. 17)

**Description:** No original is available. The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** 15th century certified copy kept in archival folder no. 19. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 530 x 290 mm and its preservation is very good. This copy was authenticated by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel in 1406-1416<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 14**).

**Variant no. 2.** 20th century copy dated September 7, 1931. It is kept in archival folder no. 19 and is written with violet ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 270 x 210 mm<sup>2</sup>.

**Analysis:** The monks of of St. Paul, whose former abbot was the late Anthony Pagasis, produced to the Emperor John VII Palaiologos an act of donation signed by Radoslav Sabia, which concerned the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in Kalamaria. Sabia had received these villages with a chrysobull promulgated by the late Emperor Andronikos IV Palaiologos. On the other hand, the late abbot Anthony had received a chrysobull signed by John VII Palaiologos which corroborated that the two villages were an irrevocable and unalienable property of the Monastery of St. Paul. Then the monks presented to to John VII the testament of Radoslav Sabia, which had approximately the same content and validity as his act of donation, and requested the emperor to reconfirm it with an imperial *prostagma*. John VII thereby promulgated the present *prostagma*, postulating that the Monastery of St. Paul was authorized to possess undisturbed all the properties mentioned in Sabia's act of donation, and a house which Sabia owned in Thessalonica. Standard final confirmative clause and a date: October of the 15th *indiction*. Authentication of the copy signed by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel.

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1. See Χατζηαντωνίου, *Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης*, 237 and 295.

2. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 61.

**Mentioned document:** The earlier chrysobull of John VII Palaiologos which affirmed that the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion belonged to St. Paul (l. 7) is, most probably, our **act no. 17**.

**Prosopography:**

1. For **Radoslav Sabia**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 6**. Based on the present document he must have died before October 1406.

2. For **Anthony Pagasis**, see the prosopography of our **act no. 7**. By June 1405 he was still alive<sup>1</sup>, while the present charter mentions him as already deceased (l. 1: κὺρ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Παγάση ἐκείνου = the late sir Anthony Pagasis). Consequently, he must have died between June 1405 and October 1406.

**Topography:** On the abandoned villages (*palaiochoria*) of **Avramitai** and **Neochorion**, see the topography of our **act no. 6**.

**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 119-120, no. 42.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 286-287, no. 21; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3206; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Ἄγιου Παύλου*, no. 4; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἄγιου Παύλου*, 72; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἄγιου Παύλου*, 61, no. 17.

**Text:**

† Ἐπειδὴ οἱ μοναχοὶ τ(ῆς) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸ Ἄγ(ιον) Ὅρος τὸν Ἄθω σε(βασμίας) μονῆς τῆς τοῦ κ(ὺρ) Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Παγάση ἐκείνου ||<sup>2</sup> τῆς εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμ(έν)ης τῆς ὑπεραγί(ας) μου δεσποίνης τ(ῆς) Θε(οτό)κου καὶ ἐπικεκλημένης τοῦ Ἄγ(ίου) Παύλου ||<sup>3</sup> ἐνεφάνισ(αν) τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου πρῶτον μὲν ἀφιερωτήριον γράμμα Ῥαδοσθλάβου τοῦ Σάμπια ||<sup>4</sup> ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Καλαμαρία διακειμ(έν)ων παλαιοχωρί(ων), τῶν τε Ἀβραμιτῶν καὶ τοῦ Νέου Χωρίου ||<sup>5</sup> λεγομ(έν)ου, ἃ δὴ εἶχεν ὁ τοιοῦτος Σάμπιας διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου αὐθέντου μου ||<sup>6</sup> καὶ βασιλέ(ως) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀφιερωτηρίῳ γράμμ(α)τι προεπορίσατο καὶ ὁ εἰρημένος ||<sup>7</sup> κ(ὺρ) Ἀντωνίος ἐκεῖνος χρυσόβουλλον τῆς βασιλείας μου ὑπὲρ τῆς τιοαύτ(ης) κατ' αὐτὸν σε(βασμίας) μονῆς διο-||<sup>8</sup>ριζόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὴν τὰ τιοαῦτα χωρία ἀναποσπάστ(ως) καὶ ἀναφαιρέτ(ως), ὡς ἐκεῖσε κατὰ μέρος ||<sup>9</sup> διαλαμβάνετ(αι), ἔτι δὲ ἐνεφάνισαν καὶ διαθήκην τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σάμπια παραπλησίαν τὴν δύναμ(ιν) ||<sup>10</sup> ἔχουσιν τῷ προειρημένῳ γράμμ(α)τι, ἐδεήθησ(αν) δὲ καὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν βασιλεί(αν) μου τυχεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι ||<sup>11</sup> τούτοις καὶ ἐπικυρωτικῷ προστάγματος, ἥδη διορίζεται ἡ βασιλεία μου διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς ||<sup>12</sup> προστάγματος, ἵνα ἔχωσ(ιν) ἡ εἰρημ(έν)η

1. Cf. our **act no. 17**, l. 5 and 17.

σεβασμία μονή τὰ ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀφιερωτηρίῳ γράμματι καὶ ||<sup>13</sup> ἔτι τῷ χρυσοβούλλῳ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου δύο χωρία τὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἐμπεριεχομένην δύναμ(ιν) ||<sup>14</sup> ἀνενοχλήτως ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρημ(έν)ην διαθήκην ἔχειν τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἀκατάλυτον ||<sup>15</sup> καὶ κατέχειν τοὺς εἰρημ(ένους) μοναχοὺς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅπερ ὁ αὐτὸς Σάμπιας διατίθεται ὁσπήτιον ||<sup>16</sup> ἐν τῇ θεοσώστῳ καὶ περιφανεῖ πόλ(ει) Θεσσαλονίκη διακείμενον βεβαί(ως) καὶ ἀδιασείστως ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου, ||<sup>17</sup> οὗ χάριν ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ παρὸν τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου πρόσταγμα ἀπολυθέν. Εἶχε καὶ δι' ἐρυθρῶν ||<sup>18</sup> γραμμάτων τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ θείας χειρὸς τὸ· μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε'. Τὸ παρὸν ἴσον ἀντιβλήθην ||<sup>19</sup> καὶ εὐρεθὲν κατὰ πάντ(α) ἐξισάζον τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπεγράφη παρ' ἡμῶν δι' ἀσφάλειαν. †  
||<sup>20</sup> † Ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης Γαβριήλ.

### Act no. 19

#### PROSTAGMA OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING THE VILLAGE OF HAGIOS PAVLOS (ST. PAUL) IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

January 24, (1407) *indiction* 15th

**Type of the document:** *προσταγμὸς* (*πρόσταγμα*) ἰσχὺν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν χρυσοβούλλου (l. 11 and 6-17)

**Description:** No original is available. The only extant version is a 19th century copy which is kept in archival folder no. 17, in the section *Collective copies of Byzantine documents*. It is written with black ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 450 x 310 mm. The signature is written with cinnabar. Its preservation is good but there are ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 15**).

**Analysis:** With the present *prostagos* or *prostagma*, whose validity was supposed to be equal to that of a chrysobull, the Emperor John VII Palaiologos donated to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul and its abbot Theodoulos the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra, and authorized the monastery to repopulate it by establishing there 15 families of freemen who were not registered

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 61.

in the tax catalogues. Moreover, the emperor gave the monastery of St. Paul 10 *zeugaria* of agricultural land in the aforementioned village, and the usufruct of the local fishing facility. These properties of St. Paul were declared exempt from all the state taxes, and the same was valid for the free farmers who were expected to take up residence in the village of Hagios Pavlos. However, these free farmers would be obliged to deliver 1/30 of their annual agricultural production for the maintenance of the local castle and of the defensive towers all over the peninsula, as well as for reinforcing in every possible way the defense of the castle and of the peninsula in general. The present *prostagma*, whose validity was equal to that of a chrysobull, was promulgated for the Monastery of St. Paul and was given to its abbot Theodoulos. A note at the end of the text states that, except the 1/30 of their agricultural production, the villagers were also obliged to deliver 1/30 of their total income for the needs of the local defense. Date (*menologema*): January 24 of the 15th *indiction*.

**Prosopography:** In our document the abbot of St. Paul Theodoulos (l. 9 and 16) is described by the Emperor John VII Palaiologos with the term *kyr*, which is an abbreviated variant of *kyrios*, i.e. sir. The term *kyr* is used for Theodoulos not only in the present imperial charter, but also in a deed of donation granted to his monastery in 1410 by the eminent Serbian noblemen George and Lazar Branković: *при старци кѣр ѡεωδολѣ тогда сѣшдѣемѣ старцѣ въ монастѣри тѡ*<sup>1</sup>. Regardless that this is everything we know about Theodoulos, the fact that both the Byzantine emperor and the Serbian lords described him as *kyr* indicates that he was probably of noble origin<sup>2</sup>.

**Topography:** According to P. Theodoridis, the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra was built on the place which is presently occupied by the modern village of Nea Phokaia<sup>3</sup>. The most remarkable monument in Nea Phokaia today is its well preserved 15th century tower, which was constructed after 1407 for the defence of the properties of the Monastery of St. Paul in the same district (cf. **map no. 6**).

**Editions:** ; Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 128, no. 45/46-II.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 289, no. 23; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3208; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 33β; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἁγίου*

1. See our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4**, l. 17.

2. Cf. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 119.

3. Θεοδορίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 408.

Παύλου, 114; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 61-62, no. 18.

**Text:**

† Ἡ βασιλεία μου διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς προσταγμοῦ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχὺν ἔχοντος χρυσοβούλλου εὐεργετεῖ καὶ δωρεῖται ||<sup>2</sup> τῇ κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμένη σεβασμίᾳ καὶ ἀγία μονῇ Παύλου τοῦ ὁσίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Κασσάνδραν ||<sup>3</sup> Ἅγιον Παῦλον ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ σὺν αὐτῶ κατοίκητων φαμελίων ἐλευθέρων δέκα πέντε καὶ γῆν ζευγαρίων δέκα ||<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε τοπικὴν καὶ μερικὴν ἀλείαν τῶν ὄψαρίων, ὡσάν ἔχει ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ τὸ δηλωθὲν παλαιὸν χωρίον τὸν Ἄ-||<sup>5</sup>γιον Παῦλον καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς μελλούσας προσκαθίσει φαμελίας δεκαπέντε ξένας οὔσας καὶ ἀνεπιγνώστους τῷ δημο-||<sup>6</sup>σίῳ καὶ τὴν γῆν τῶν δέκα ζευγαρίων καὶ τὴν τοπικὴν ἀλείαν ἀδοῦλωτα παντελῶς καὶ ἐλεύθερα ἀπὸ πάσης ἀπαιτήσε-||<sup>7</sup>ως δημοσιακῆς καὶ δόσεως, ἔχει τέ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῶ γραφόμενα κατὰ τελείαν δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα ἀ-||<sup>8</sup>ναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστως καὶ κατὰ λόγ(ον) γονικότητος καὶ ποιῆ εἰς αὐτὸ αὕτη τὲ ἡ μονὴ καὶ ὁ ταύτης τιμιώτατος κα-||<sup>9</sup>θηγούμενος κ(ὕρ) Θεόδουλος πάντα τὰ κατὰ θέλησιν, ἐλεύθερον ἅπαξ διατιρούμενον, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, ἐκ πάντων τῶν ||<sup>10</sup> δημοσιακῶν ἀπαιτήσεων καὶ δόσεων εἰς τε τὰς προσκαθισομένας ἐκεῖσε φαμελίας, εἰς τὰ ζευγάρια καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ||<sup>11</sup> τῶν δέκα ζευγαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν τοπικὴν ἀλείαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὀφείλοντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε προσκαθίσει μέλλοντας παρὰ τῆς μο||<sup>12</sup>νῆς ἀποδιδόναι κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν εἰσοδημάτων τῆς κατασπορᾶς αὐτῶν τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔνεκεν τῆς φυλάξεως τοῦ ||<sup>13</sup> καστελλίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πύργ(ων) καὶ ἐν καιρῶ ἀνάγκης τοῦ νησίου συντρέχειν καὶ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τὸν δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ||<sup>14</sup> τρόπον εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν καὶ τοῦ καστελλίου καὶ τοῦ νησίου, καθὼς ὁ τότε καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη ἀ-||<sup>15</sup>[παιτήσει]. Τούτου χάριν ἐγένετο τῇ δηλωθείσῃ ἱερὰ μονῇ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου καὶ τῷ ταύτης καθηγουμενῷ, τιμιω-||<sup>16</sup>τάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὕρ) Θεοδούλῳ, καὶ τὸ παρὸν τῆς βασιλείας μου πρόσταγμα ἰσχὺν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν χρυ-||<sup>17</sup>σοβούλλου, ἀπολυθὲν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ.

† Εἰ καὶ λέγομεν ἐκ τῶν γεννημάτων κατασπορῶν ἀποδιδόναι τὸ ὑπὲρ ||<sup>18</sup> τῆς φυλάξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποσοῦ εἰσοδημάτων αὐτῶν ὀφείλουσιν ἀποδιδόναι τοῦτο.

||<sup>19</sup> † Μηνί Ἰανου(αρίῳ) (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ἐς'. †

## Act no. 20

CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS  
REFERRING TO DONATIONS WHICH SEVERAL ATHONITE  
MONASTERIES HAD RECEIVED BY HIM IN THE PENINSULA  
OF KASSANDRA

February 6915 (1407), *indiction* 15th

**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 39)

**Description:** No original is available. The only extant version is a 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17, section *Collective copy of Byzantine documents*. It is written with black ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 450 x 310 mm. Its preservation is good, but there are several ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plates nos. 16-17**).

**Analysis:** Standard theological introduction. When the future Emperor John VII was appointed Despot of Thessalonica, he decided to restore the defensive wall at Palene for the safety of his people. This wall had been first built by the father of Alexander the Great, who named it Kassandreia, while those after him called it Potidaia. This wall had fallen into disrepair. John VII renovated it and did the same with many other defensive structures in the peninsula. Moreover, he built additional defensive towers using his own money and donations, and opened a canal connecting the Gulf of Thessalonica (Thermaikos) with the Gulf of Torone (Kassandra), transforming in this way the peninsula of Kassandra into an island, something that was very helpful for the Christians, but unpleasant for the heathen. Then he transported to Kassandra oxen in order to increase the surface of the arable land and the total amount of the agricultural production. He also decided to donate part of this production to Christ, to the Virgin Mary, to St. John the Baptist, to the Holy Forty Saints (celestial protectors of the Monastery of Xeropotamou) and to St. Paul the Athonite. Thus, he divided the tithe of the agricultural production into twenty-four parts. With the present chrysobull the monastery of Pantocrator in Constantinople and the Athonite monasteries of Megiste Lavra, Vatopedi and Xeropotamou were entitled to receive 4/24 of the tithe levied on the products cultivated in the peninsula of Kassandra. The Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Thessalonica was entitled to receive 5/24 of this production and the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul 3/24. This arrangement was

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 62.

supposed to remain valid until John VII's death and pertained only to the tithe levied on the agricultural production. After his death, the monasteries were supposed to start receiving all the income deriving from the *paroikoi* and their domestic animals, including the tax which had to be paid to the fisc. The district in which this arrangement was valid included the village of Treis Ekklesiai (Three Churches), half of the abandoned village of St. Demetrios, the villages of Skordiches and Leuke, the castle that was expected to be build close to Skordiches, and the abandoned nearby village of Pasparas. However, a terrain of 5 *zeugaria* was detached from this district, while 10 *zeugaria* of land were added at the locality Portes (Gates) of Kassandra. Anyone who might attempt to abuse the present arrangement should be cursed. During John VII's lifetime, the monasteries had no obligations towards him. After his death however, each monastery had to commemorate him with a religious service every week: the Constantinopolitan Monastery of Pantocrator had to commemorate him and his father, Megiste Lavra and Vatopedi had to commemorate him and his wife Eirene, while the remaining three monasteries had to commemorate only John VII. Final confirmative clauses corroborating the validity of the issues mentioned in the exposition of the chrysobull. Date: February of the 15th *indiction*, 6915. Validation of the copy with a repetition of the date in the form of *menologema*.

**Topography (cf. map no. 6):**

1. The villages of **Skordiches** (l. 26), **Treis Ekklesiai** (Three Churches, l. 26), **Leukes** (l. 27), and **Pasparas** (l. 27) were located in the northern part of the peninsula of Kassandra. Their names are attested only in our document and in its two variants which are kept in the monasteries of Xeropotamou and Megiste Lavra<sup>1</sup>.

2. The village of **Hagios Demetrios** (l. 26) was situated in the same district. In 1080, 1082, 1333, 1407, and 1421 it was mentioned as a property of Vatopedi<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions:** F. Dölger, *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden*, Munich 1931, no. 56, col. 60-61 and pl. XXI (partial edition); Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 219-225 and 233 (partial edition); Εὐδόκιμος Ξηροποταμηνός, *Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει Ἄθρῳ ἱερά, βασιλική, πατριαρχική καὶ σταυροπηγιακὴ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου (424-1925)*, Thessalonica-Serrhai 1926 (reprint Thessalonica 1971), 26-

1. Xéropotamou, 201-208, no. 28; Lavra III, 144-149, no. 159. See also Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 408, 420 and 425.

2. Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 365.

27 (partial edition with errors); Xéropotamou, 201-208, no. 28; Lavra III, 144-149, no. 159.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 287-289, no. 22; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3209; Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 130, no. 45/46-V; Χρυσσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Ἀγίου Παύλου*, no. 33ε; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 114; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 62-64, no. 19.

**Text:**

† Ὁ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως ἄρχων, ὅλος ἀγαθὸς ὢν, ἀρχὴν ἐδημιούργησεν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἀθάνατον. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τούτῳ σκοπός, ἵν' οὗτος σύνθετος ὢν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ἀγγέλων εὐρίσκηται καὶ δοξάζῃ τὸν εὐεργέτην, οὐχ ὅτι δόξης ὁ πλάστης ἐδεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ πλάσματος, ἀνευδεῆς γάρ, ||<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ πλάσμα δόξαν ὀφειλομένην ἐπιτρέπον τῷ πλάστῃ δικαίας πληρωθῇ δόξης καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅμοιος γένηται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων ἀντύγων ἔπεσεν ὁ πρῶτος πλασθεὶς, καὶ ταῦτα χαίρων ἀπλότῃτι, φέρειν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα σύνθετον ||<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Καὶ πλασάμενος ἀντιστρόφους αἰτίας, ὑποψιθυρίσας αὐτὸν γενέσθαι θεόν, ὑποσκελίσας ἔρριψεν ἐν τῇ γῆ, καὶ ὁ πεσὼν ἐξαισίον ἔκειτο πτώμα καὶ γέλωτος ἄξιον οὐ μικροῦ. Τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ὡς τούτῳ μὴ δύναμις ἦν ἐπανορθώσεως πρόποτε· τριῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο ||<sup>4</sup> μεγάλων ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξίωμα, ταπεινώσεως μὲν ἀντὶ προτέρας ἀλαζονείας, ὑπακοῆς δὲ πάλιν ἀντὶ προτέρας παρακοῆς, καὶ τελευταῖον τοῦ θανεῖν ἐτοίμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους, καθ' οὗ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἀπατηθεὶς ἔπραξεν. Ὁ δὲ δρᾶν οὐ μόνον αὐτά, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀποστῆναι ||<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἠδύνατο. Διόπερ ὁ πλάσας αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐς ὕστερον ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάντα μάταια ἦ. Καὶ κατελθὼν ἐξ ὕψους τῆς ὑπερουρανίου θεότητος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, ὃν ἅπασιν εὐσεβέσι χρέος ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητον παντοίαις ἀμεί-||<sup>6</sup>βεσθαι δωρεαῖς, νῶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράγματι· νῶ μὲν εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς κοινὸν εὐεργέτην αἰεὶ· λόγῳ δὲ τοῦτον ἐπαινεῖν ὡσημέραι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ· πράγματι δὲ προσάγειν αὐτῷ τὸ κάλλιστον ὢν ἔχει καὶ τιμιώτερον, ἀπάντων αὐτῶν ὄντι χορηγῶ μόνῳ. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ||<sup>7</sup> καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγε νομοθέτης ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου, δηλῶν ὡς διὰ τούτων ἀνάγκη τοῦτον δοξάζεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτων οὗτος μόνος ἐξεταστής· οἶδε γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς πολλαπλασίους παρέχει τοῖς τιμᾶν αὐτόν γε βουλευομένοις. ||<sup>8</sup> Εἰ γοῦν ἅπασι χρέος αὐτὸ, πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει τοῖς βασιλευσὶ δυοῖν ἕνεκα, τῶ μὲν ὡς πολλαπλασίους ὀφείλουσι χάριτας τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς πλάτος παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένοις, τῶ δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἐσομένοις κανόνα· τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ ||<sup>9</sup>

καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα τὴν μακαρίαν παρθένον τιμᾶσθαι χρεῶν, αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ γένει τῶν χριστιανῶν. Διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου, κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδε Θεός, κύριος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης γενόμενος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἀπάντων πεποιημένος τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἐπεὶ ||<sup>10</sup> νόμος ἔλληγι καὶ βαρβάρῳ παντὶ μέχρι αἵματος ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀγωνίζεσθαι, νόμος δὲ Θεοῦ πάλιν τοῦ πρώτου θεοειδέστερος καὶ λαμπρότερος ἕκαστον ἑαυτὸν παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ ἐτέρου διδόναι, ἠβουλήθη ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους ἐγὼ τὸ περὶ τὴν Παλὴννην ἀνανεώσασθαι ||<sup>11</sup> τεῖχος, ὃ Κασάνδριαν μὲν ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὠνόμασεν, ἐκ βάθρων πεποιημένος αὐτό, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐν ὑστέρῳ Ποτίδαιαν· καὶ εὔρον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὸ ἐρρίμμενον καὶ διαλυθὲν ὥσπερ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ἢ τὰ ἐν κατόπτροις τεύχη φαινόμενα, ||<sup>12</sup> ἢ καὶ ἃ Μωσῆς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας ἐδημιούργησε νυκτερινὰ καὶ θαλάσσια. Τοιοῦτον ἦν ὡς μηδὲ ὁμοίωμα τεύχους φαίνεσθαι. Βουλῆ δὲ καὶ γνώσει πλείστη χρησάμενος ἡμετέρα, ἔτι καταβαλὼν οὐ μόνον ὅσον εἰς δύναμιν χρήματα, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ||<sup>13</sup> ἐμὴν ἀφίκετο δύναμιν, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων οὐ μόνον εἰς βοήθειαν οὐκ ὄντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιουμένων τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, μόνον βοηθοῦντος Θεοῦ μοι, ψκοδόμησα τεύχη καὶ πύργους ἐπάνω τῶν παλαιῶν θεμελίων, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ τῶν πάλαι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ βελτίονα καὶ ||<sup>14</sup> θαυμασιώτερα τῶν ποτέ, ὡς εἶναι μὲν εὐσεβέσιν ἀσφάλειαν, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, σχῆμα φαιδρὸν μὲν ἰδεῖν, πολὺ δὲ φαιδρότερον ἐννοῆσαι, καὶ λαμπρὸν μὲν ὁράσει, πολὺ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ λαμπρότερον, καὶ τερπνὸν μὲν ἀκοῆ, λογισμοῖς δὲ ||<sup>15</sup> τερπνότερον. Μάνδρα τίς ἐστὶν ἧς ὁ λύκος ἀδυνατεῖ σπαράξαι τὸ πρόβατον. Ἐποησάμην δὲ πρὸς βραχὺν αὐτὸ χρόνον, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀρθῶσι, καὶ ὄρυξα τάφρον περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἤνωσα τὴν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Θερμαϊκῷ θάλασσαν ||<sup>16</sup> μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Τορωναϊκῷ θαλάσσης. Καὶ νῆσον ἠργασάμην τὴν ἤπειρον, κάλλιστον εὐσεβέσι κτῆμα καὶ τοῖς ἀλλογενέσιν ἀνάρμοστον. Εἶτα βόας ἀνεθέμην τῇ νήσῳ, ὠφελιμώτατα βίῳ ζῶα αὐλακας ἀνατέμνειν καὶ σπεῖραι σῖτον ||<sup>17</sup> αὐταῖς ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἀλωνίσαι πάλιν ὅτε καιρὸς, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν πορίζωμαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτία μοι κόρη μόνη παρθένος καὶ ὁ ταύτης πρωτότοκος, ἔκρινε δίκαιον ἡ βασιλεία μου διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοὺς πρώτους ||<sup>18</sup> καρποὺς τῶν σπόρων τῆς δεκατίας ἀποδοῦναι τῷ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ καλλίστῃ μητρὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ δούλοις καὶ θεραπευταῖς ἅμα, ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος βαπτιστῆς πρῶτος ἀπάντων μείζων αὐτῷ μαρτυρούμενος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ ἅγιοι τεσσα-||<sup>19</sup>ράκοντα οἷς ἀκολουθεῖ Παῦλος ὁ ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ καλούμενος ὅσιος. Ἐπιτρέπω δὲ τῆς δεκατίας τὸν μερισμὸν οὕτω γίνεσθαι, ἰσταμένης ἀπάσης ἐν ἀριθμῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ· ὅθεν δὴ

καὶ τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ||<sup>20</sup> λόγον ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει αὐταῖς, δι' οὗ εὐδοκεῖ, προστάσσει, θεσπίζει καὶ διορίζεται, ἵν' οἱ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ τιμωμένης εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου τοῦ Παντοκράτορος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου λαμβάν-||<sup>21</sup>ωσι τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν, ἔτι οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ καὶ βασιλικῇ τῆς μεγάλῃς Λαύρας μονῇ, τιμωμένη εἰς ὄνομα τῆς Παναγίας, λαμβάνωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν. Ἔτι οἱ εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν καὶ βασιλικὴν μονὴν εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, τιμωμένην ||<sup>22</sup> καὶ αὐτὴν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς Παναγίας, λαμβάνωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν. Ἔτι οἱ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ θεοσώτῳ πόλει Θεσσαλονίκῃ λαμβάνωσι οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν πέμπτον. ||<sup>23</sup> Ἔτι οἱ ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ καὶ βασιλικῇ μονῇ εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου, τιμωμένη εἰς ὄνομα τῶν ἀγίων τεσσαράκοντα, λαμβάνωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν. Ἔτι οἱ εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν καὶ βασιλικὴν μονὴν τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ εὐρισκόμενοι μοναχοὶ ||<sup>24</sup> λαμβάνωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τρίτον ἀριθμὸν· ὡς γίνεσθαι τοὺς πάντας εἴκοσι τέσσαρας. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ' ὄρω τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς λαμβανέτωσαν ἀκωλύτως, καὶ μεριζέσθωσαν ὡσπερ εἶπομεν τὴν δεκατίαν ἀπάσης γεννηματικῆς τῶν ζευγαρίων μου ||<sup>25</sup> κατασπορᾶς. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσομένην ἀποδημίαν τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἧ̄ δοῦναι χρέος ἀνάγκης, τότε μὴ μόνον τὸ δέκατον αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν γεννημάτων, ἀλλ' ἅπαν ὅσον καὶ οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ εὑρεθὲν τότε γέννημα καὶ οἱ βόες ἅπαντες καὶ ἡ τούτων πᾶσα παρασκευή, ||<sup>26</sup> καὶ ἔτι τὰ χωρία ἐν οἷς οἱ βόες αὐτοὶ κατακάμνουσι, καὶ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τῷ δημοσίῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων, οἷον τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Τριῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσεως παλαιοχωρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου, καὶ ἔτι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκορδίχῃ μετὰ τοῦ γενησομένου ||<sup>27</sup> φρουρίου ἐκεῖσε μέχρι καὶ ὅλης τῆς Λεύκης, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ τούτων παλαιοχωρίου τοῦ καλουμένου Πασπαρᾶ, ἄνευ μόνον γῆς ζευγαρίων πέντε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Πορτῶν τῆς Κασανδρίας ζευγαρίων δέκα, ἅπαντα μετὰ τῆς περιοχῆς καὶ νομῆς αὐτῶν, ||<sup>28</sup> ἔστωσαν ἀφιερωμένα ταῖς μοναῖς ταύταις καὶ μεριζόμενα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ δεκάτου τῶν γεννημάτων ἀναλογίαν, Καὶ ὁ πειραθησόμενος ἀνατρέψαι τὴν παροῦσαν μου πράξιν, ὅποῖος ἂν εἴη, ἐν τῷ παρόντι μὲν εὐπορήσει τῆς ἀσθενείας τοῦ Κάϊν καὶ ||<sup>29</sup> τῆς Ἰεζῆ λέπρας καὶ τῆς λώβης Ἰώβ χωρὶς τῆς ἐν ὑστέρω ὑγείας αὐτοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι γένοιτο κληρονόμος θρόνου τοῦ ψευδωνύμου βασιλέως Σατάν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διαδόχων, ἔτι Ιούδα καὶ τῶν σταυρωσάντων Χριστόν, ἧ̄ καὶ βαπτισθέντων ἐν ὑστέρω δὲ ἀρνη-||<sup>30</sup>σαμένων αὐτὸν δημοσία, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐ μόνον ὄρια βασιλέων ἀρχαίων ἀ κελεύουσιν ἅπαντι

στέργειν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῖους ὄρους ἠθέλησαν ἀθετεῖν, μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι παρασαλεῦσαι τὰ ἅπαξ ἀφιερωθέντα Θεῷ προστάττοντας. Ἐπιζῶσα μὲν ἡ βασιλεία μου ||<sup>31</sup> οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις μοναῖς μοναχοὺς ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφήσει τῇ αὐτῶν αὐτοπροαιρέσει ὡσάν αὐτοὶ βούλονται ἢ καὶ δύναιτο ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς, εἴτε διὰ λειτουργειῶν, εἴτε δι' ἐλεημοσύνης. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεταλλάξω τὸν βίον, ||<sup>32</sup> μονὴν ἐκάστην ἀπαιτῶ τοῦτο, ἵνα ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ἅπαξ τῆς ἐβδομάδος μίαν, ὅποῖαν ἂν ἡμέραν αὐτὴ διακρίνη, ποιῇ δὲ αὐτὴν ἢ μὲν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου τοῦ Παντοκράτορος ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγίου μου αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς βασιλείας μου ||<sup>33</sup> καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα, ἢ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης Λαύρας καὶ ἢ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονὴ ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐρασμιωτάτης μοι ἀγούστης κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης, ἢ δὲ μονὴ τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ἐηροποτάμου καὶ ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου ||<sup>34</sup> ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς μόνης. Εἴ τις οὖν καὶ τούτων περισσότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς βουλευθεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ πρὸς πένητας ἢ πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς ἢ πρὸς αἰχμαλώτους ἢ πρὸς ἀσθενεῖς, χάρις εἴη τούτῳ παρὰ Θεοῦ, χαριζομένου τούτῳ πολλαπλάσιον ἐν ||<sup>35</sup> καιρῷ. Εἰ δε τις πάλιν τὴν κατὰ ἀνάγκην λειτουργίαν ἀπαιτηθεῖσαν πειραθεῖη καταλῆσαι ποτε, ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς κοινωνὸς τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀναγεγραμμένων φίλων τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἀνθ' ὧν σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀνατρέψαι βεβούλευτο, ἥς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἄξιος. ||<sup>36</sup> Τῇ γοῦν ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος χρυσοβούλλου λόγου τῆς βασιλείας μου ὀφείλουσι λαμβάνειν ἀκωλύτως αἱ δηλωθεῖσαι σεβάσμαιι μοναὶ τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς, τὴν δεκατίαν πᾶσαν τῆς γεννηματικῆς κατασπορᾶς τῶν ζευγαρίων μου, ||<sup>37</sup> καὶ μερίζειν ταύτην ὡσπερ ἄνωτέρω διαλαμβάνεται. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευταίην ὀφείλουσι λαβεῖν ἅπαν τὸ εἰσόδημα τῆς κατασπορᾶς τῶν ζευγαρίων μου καὶ αὐτὰ πάντα δὴ τὰ ζευγάρια καὶ τὰ παλαιοχώρια καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοχωρίοις ||<sup>38</sup> προσκαθημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα ὅσα κατὰ μέρος ἄνωθεν καταγράφονται, καὶ καθέξουσι ταῦτα κυρίως, δεσποτικῶς, ἀναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστως καὶ κατὰ τελείαν δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἄνωθεν διαλαμβανόμενον, διατηρούμεναι καθάπαξ ||<sup>39</sup> ἐκ παντὸς προσώπου ἀνώτεραι πάσης ἐπηρείας καὶ ὀχλήσεως. Εἰς γοῦν μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ παρὼν χρυσοβούλλος λόγος τῆς βασιλείας μου ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα Φεβρουάριον τῆς ἐνισταμένης ἐ' ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ,ς<sup>οο</sup>ᾰ<sup>οο</sup>ιε<sup>οο</sup> ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ||<sup>40</sup> εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο κράτος.

Τὸ παρὸν ἴσον μεταγραφὸν εἰς βεβαίωσιν ὑπεγράφη καὶ μηνολογήματι:

† Μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε'.

## Act no. 21

CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII  
PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING A DONATION IN THE  
PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA WHICH HE HAD MADE TO  
THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

June 6915 (1408), *indiction* 1st

**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 5, 11, 17)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 2. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 520 x 315 mm. The emperor's signature is written with cinnabar. The preservation of the charter is very good. The golden seal of the emperor, whose diameter is 32 mm, is attached to the bottom margin with a red silken ribbon or *merinthos*<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 18**).

**Dating:** The year 6915 (1406-1407) corresponds to the 15th *indiction* (see above **acts nos. 19** and **20**). The 1st *indiction* corresponds to the year 6916 (September 1407 - August 1408). The error in the date has been commented and corrected by F. Dölger<sup>2</sup>, who reasonably dated the charter to 1408.

**Analysis:** With an earlier document the Emperor John VII Palaiologos had donated to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul and to its abbot Theodoulos the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra, 15 families of free farmers who were expected to take up residence in this village, an agricultural terrain of 10 *zeugaria*, and the usufruct of the local fishing facility. Later the monks of St. Paul requested the emperor to corroborate all these properties with a chrysobull, so with the present chrysobull John VII certified that the Monastery of St. Paul and its abbot Theodoulos were the legal possessors of the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos and of the agricultural terrain of 10 *zeugaria*. They were also entitled to exploit the local fishing facility. These properties of St. Paul were declared exempt from all the state taxes, and the same was valid for the free farmers who were expected to repopulate the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos. However, these farmers would be obliged to deliver 1/30 of their annual agricultural production for the maintenance of the local castle. Standard final confirmative clause emphasizing that the document was issued for the protection of the monks. Date: June 6915, *indiction* 1st.

Signature: John Palaiologos, emperor of the *Rhomaioi*.

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 64.

2. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3210.

**Remarks:** The so-called “*kratos* rule”, which usually supports the authenticity of the genuine Byzantine chrysobulls from the Palaiologan period, is violated, since in the invariable final phrase ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος the word *kratos* is neither the first word on the last line of the text, nor the only word before the emperor’s signature (ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτε-||<sup>19</sup>ρον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημεῖνατο κράτος, l. 18-19). However, the *kan-ikloma* – the triple repetition of the word *logos* in three different cases – is correct and consists of one accusative (l. 5), one genitive (l. 11) and one nominative case (l. 17)<sup>1</sup>. Thus, regardless of the violation of the “*kratos* rule”, the document is genuine.

**Mentioned documents:** The earlier document of John VII Palaiologos, which donated to the Monastery of St. Paul the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in the peninsula of Kassandra (l. 1), is our **act no. 19**.

**Prosopography:** For the abbot of St. Paul Theodoulos (l. 12), see the prosopography of our **act no 19**.

**Topography:** For the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra, see the topography of our **act no 19** (cf. **map no. 6**).

**Editions:** Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, XXV, no. CXCI; Μ. Γεδεών, Ἐπίσημα βυζαντινὰ γράμματα, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 19 (1899), 372-373; Λάμπρος, Τὰ Πάτρια, 240-241 (partial edition); Εὐλόγιος, Ἀυτοκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα, 786-787; Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 127, 45/46-I; Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία, 10 (1959), 8-9.

**Bibliography:** Успенский, Указатель актовъ, 50; Langlois, *Le Mont Athos*, 70; Σμυρνάκης, Ἅγιον Ὄρος, 602-603; Βλάχος, Ἡ χερσόνησος τοῦ Ἄθω, 271; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 290-291, no. 24; Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3210; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 185; Χρυσοχοΐδης, Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου, no. 5 and 33a; Μωϋσῆς, Προσκυνητάριον Ἁγίου Παύλου, 27; Κοτζαγεώργης, Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου, 114; Κοτζαγεώργης, Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου, 64-65, no. 20.

#### Text:

† Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τινὸς ἐδωρήσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ εὐηργέτησε τῷ τιμιω(τάτῳ) ἐν μοναχοῖς κὺρ Θεοδούλου ||<sup>2</sup> καὶ καθηγουμένῳ καὶ τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν σ(εβασμῖα) μονῇ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου τῇ περὶ τὸ Ἅγιον

1. Cf. Dölger–Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 29, 36 and 117–125; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Βυζαντινὴ διπλωματικὴ*, 261–264.

Ὅρος τὸν Ἄθω διακειμένην ||<sup>3</sup> διὰ προστάγματος αὐτῆς, τὸ περὶ τὴν Κασάνδριαν παλαιοχώριον Ἅγιον Παῦλον ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ σὺν τούτῳ ||<sup>4</sup> κατοίκη(σιν) φαμιλίων δεκαπέντε καὶ γῆν ζευγαρίων δέκα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε τοπικὴν καὶ μερικὴν ἀλείαν τῶν ||<sup>5</sup> ὀφαρί(ων), ἐδεήθη δὲ ἀρτί(ως) ἢ τοιαύτη σ(εβασμία) μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τὴν τοιαύτην δωρεὰν καὶ εὐεργεσί(αν) κατέχειν διὰ ||<sup>6</sup> χρυσοβούλλου αὐτῆς, αὕτη τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ ἐπιχορηγεῖ τε καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει αὐτῆ, ||<sup>7</sup> δι' οὗ εὐδοκεῖ, προστάσει, θεσπίζει καὶ διορίζεται κατέχειν αὐτὴν τὸ περὶ τ(ὴν) Κασάνδριαν παλαιοχ(ώ)ρ(ιον) τὸν Ἅγιον Παῦλον ||<sup>8</sup> καλούμενον, μετὰ καὶ γῆς ζευγαρί(ων) δέκα καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε τοπικῆς καὶ μερικῆς ἀλεί(ας) καὶ τὴν κατοίκη(σιν) φαμιλί(ων) ||<sup>9</sup> δεκαπέντε ἐλευθέρ(ων) καὶ ἀνεπιγνώστων τῷ διμοσίῳ, ἀδούλωτα παντελῶς καὶ ἐλεύθερα ἀπὸ πάσης δημοσιακῆς ||<sup>10</sup> ἀπαιτήσεως καὶ δόσεως, κατὰ τελεῖαν δεσποτεῖ(αν) καὶ κυριότητα, ἀναφαιρέτ(ως), ἀναποσπάστ(ως) καὶ κατὰ λό(γον) γονικότητος ||<sup>11</sup> ποιεῖν τε εἰς αὐτὰ ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ θέλησ(ιν) ἀκωλύτ(ως) παρὰ παντὸς καὶ ἀνενοχλήτ(ως). Τῆ γοῦν ἰσχύι καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος ||<sup>12</sup> χρυσοβούλλ(ου) ΛΟΓΟΥ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου καθέξει ἢ δηλωθεῖσα σ(εβασμία) μονὴ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου καὶ ὁ ταύτης ||<sup>13</sup> καθηγούμενος κ(ὺρ) Θεόδουλος ὁ τιμιώ(τατος) ἐν μοναχοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἅπαντες μοναχοὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν παλαιοχ(ώ)ρι(ον) τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ||<sup>14</sup> τὸ περὶ τ(ὴν) Κασάνδριας μετὰ τῆς ῥηθείσης νομῆς αὐτοῦ, τῆς γῆς τῶν δέκα ζευγαρί(ων), τῆς τοπικῆς ἀλεί(ας) καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερί(ας) ||<sup>15</sup> τῶν ἐλευθέρ(ων) δεκαπέντε φαμιλί(ων) τῶν μελλόντ(ων) παρ' αὐτῶν προσκαθῆσαι, ἐλεύθερον καθ' ἅπαξ κ(αὶ) ἀναπαίτητον, ἀπὸ πάσης ||<sup>16</sup> δημοσιακῆς ἀπαιτήσεως καὶ δόσεως, παρὰ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντ(ων) διενοχληθησόμε(εν)ον ποτέ, ὀφείλοντας τοῦτο μ(ε)τὰ ||<sup>17</sup> τ(οὺς) ἐκεῖσε προσκαθῆσαι μέλλοντας παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν, ἀποδιδόναι ἐκ τῶν εἰσοδημά(των) αὐτῶν τὸ τριακοστόν, ἔνεκεν τῆς ||<sup>18</sup> φυλάξεως τοῦ κάστρου. Εἰς γοῦν μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ τ(ὴν) ἀσφάλ(ειαν), ἐπεχορηγήθη καὶ ἐπεβραβεύθη αὐτῆ καὶ ὁ παρῶν ||<sup>19</sup> χρυσόβουλλ(ος) ΛΟΓΟΣ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα Ἰούν(ιον) τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ ἑνια-||<sup>20</sup>κοσιοστοῦ πεντεκαϊδεκάτου ἔτους, ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτ(ης), ἐν ᾧ κ(αὶ) τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ||<sup>21</sup> ὑπεσημεῖνατο κράτος. † Ἦτοι αὕτη δὲ δωρεὰ καὶ εὐεργεσί(α) ἢ διὰ τοῦ παρόντος χρυσοβούλλ(ου) ἵνα διαμείνη ||<sup>22</sup> εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μόνην μονὴν ἀδιάσπαστος καὶ διηνεκῆς, μηδό(λως) ἔχουσα ἐπ' ἀδεί(ας) κατὰ ||<sup>23</sup> τινὰ τρόπο(ν) μεταδιδόναι ἀλλαχοῦ.

||<sup>24</sup> † Ἰωάννης ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ||<sup>25</sup> τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς ||<sup>26</sup> καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥω-||<sup>27</sup>μαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος †

## Act no. 22

PROSTAGMA OF THE EMPEROR MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS  
VALIDATING A DONATION MADE TO THE MONASTERY OF  
ST. PAUL IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRAJanuary 6917 (1409), *indiction* 2nd**Type of the document:** πρόσταγμα (l. 11-12)**Description:** No original is available. The only extant version is a 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17, section *Collective copy of Byzantine documents*. It is written with black ink on a double sheet of paper with dimensions 450 x 310 mm. Its preservation is relevantly good and there are only minor ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 19**).**Analysis:** The monks of the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul produced to the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos a chrysobull of his late cousin, John VII, according to which they owned the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra. They requested the new emperor to promulgate a *prostagma* reaffirming their possession of the said village. Manuel II thereby validated all the content of John VII's chrysobull and corroborated that the Monastery of St. Paul was the proprietor of the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos in Kassandra. Final confirmative clause. Date: January 6917, *indiction* 2nd.**Mentioned documents:** The chrysobull of the late John VII Palaiologos for the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (l. 1-4) is our **act no. 21**.**Remarks:** The name of the emperor is not mentioned, but there could be no doubt about it. As John VII died in September 1408, the present confirmative *prostagma* was evidently promulgated in January 1409 by his successor, Manuel II.**Topography:** For the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra, see the topography of our **act no 19** (cf. also **map no. 6**).**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 129, no. 45/46-III.**Bibliography:** Успенский, *Указатель актовъ*, 50; Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, XXVI, no. CXCIX; Langlois, *Le Mont Athos*, 70; Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 291-292, no. 25. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, no. 3325. Χρυσοχοῦδης,

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 65.

Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου, no. 33γ. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 114; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 65-66, no. 21.

**Text:**

† Οἱ ἐνασκούμενοι εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὸ {Ἄγιον} “Ὅρος τοῦ Ἄθω σεβασμίαν μονὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου τὴν εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένην τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου παρα-||<sup>2</sup>γενόμενοι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου ἐνεφάνησαν αὐτῇ χρυσόβουλλον τοῦ μακαρίτη ἐξαδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου Ἰωάννη τοῦ βασιλέως διαλαμβάνον, ἵνα κατέ-||<sup>3</sup>χει ἡ αὐτὴ μονὴ τὸ περὶ τὴν Κασάνδραν παλαιοχώριον Ἅγιον Παῦλον καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι διαλαμβάνη τὸ αὐτὸ χρυσόβουλλον καὶ ||<sup>4</sup> διαμένει αὐτὴ ἡ εὐεργεσία εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ μόνην τὴν μονὴν, καὶ διὰ πλήρονα ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῶν παρεκάλεσαν τὴν βα-||<sup>5</sup>σιλείαν μου, ἵνα πορίσονται ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρόσταγμα αὐτῆς. Ἡ βασιλεία μου γοῦν εὐμενῶς δεξαμένη τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτῶν παράκλησιν ||<sup>6</sup> ἔχει θέλημα καὶ διορίζεται διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς προστάγματος, ἵνα τὸ εἰρημένον χρυσόβουλλον ἔχει τὸ στέργον καὶ κύριον ||<sup>7</sup> καὶ βέβαιον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν αὐτῷ διαλαμβάνεται, ὡς κατὰ μέρος καὶ κατέχει ἡ ῥηθεῖσα μονὴ ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνε-||<sup>8</sup>νοχλήτως τὸ εἰς τὴν Κασάνδραν εἰρημένον παλαιοχώριον τὸ καλούμενον Ἅγιος Παῦλος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν αὐτῷ διαλαμβάνεται ||<sup>9</sup> ὡς κατὰ μέρος καὶ τὴν περιλήψιν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρυσοβούλλου καὶ καθὼς εὐλόγως δικαιούται, διὰ παντὸς ||<sup>10</sup> μὴ εὐρίσκουσι παρὰ τινὸς εἰς τοῦτο τὴν τυχοῦσαν διενόχλησιν καὶ ἐπήρειαν. Τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ παρὸν πρόσ-||<sup>12</sup>ταγμα τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐν ἔτει ἐξάκισ χιλιοστῶ ἐνεακοσιοστῶ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ, ἀπολυθέντες μηνὶ Ἰανν(ουαρίῳ) (ἰνδικτιῶνος) β’.

**Act no. 23 A. Greek prototype**

ACT OF THE *PROTOS* SIMON GRANTING THE *KELLION* OF SOTIRIOTIS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

November 6918 (1409), *indiction* 3rd

**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 24)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variante no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 32. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 340 x 295 mm. Its back

is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as there are numerous traces of moisture and ruptures along the folds and across the signatures. Parts of the margins are missing (see **plate no. 20**).

**Variation no. 2.** 20th century typewritten copy kept in archival folder no. 25 of the Turkish archives as act no. 136. It is typed on **paper** with dimensions 340 x 210 mm<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The superior of the Monastery of St. Paul, Theodoulos, had requested the *protos* of Mount Athos, Simon, to give to his foundation the nearby monastic cell (*kellion*) of Sotiriotis, which was abandoned and desolated. This request was triggered by the difficulties which St. Paul was experiencing as a newly founded monastery which had no reliable source of timber for maintaining its buildings and for fuel. The *protos* consulted some Athonite abbots and elders and concluded that the Protaton, which was the proprietor of the *kellion* of Sotiriotis, was not properly exploiting it and was receiving no income from it. As there was no perspective that this situation might change in future, the *protos* granted the *kellion* of Sotiriotis to the Monastery of St. Paul, underscoring that he had no essential reason to reject the request because the cell had been abandoned for a very long time and there was evidently no other way to renovate it. The monks of St. Paul were thereby authorized to restore their new estate, while the Protaton was obliged to respect their legal rights over Sotiriotis, because the *kellion* was granted not for profit but in order to provide support to the Monastery of St. Paul. In return, the monks of St. Paul were obliged to give the Protaton half *hyperpyron* per year. Final confirmative clauses. Date: November 6918, *indiction* 3rd.

Signatures: 1. Simon, *protos*; 2. Theodosios, *ekklesiarches* and *pneumatikos*; 3. Dorotheos, *ex-ekklesiarches*; 4. Paisios, *epiteretes*; 5. Domentian, superior of Makre (Slavic signature); 6. Isidoros, superior of Kophou; 7. Neophytos, superior of Xystre; 8. Euthymios, superior of Philogonou (Slavic signature); 9. Daniel, superior of Kaproules; 10. Euphrosynos, superior of Apseudes; 11. Matthew, superior of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity; 12. Matthew, priest-monk.

#### **Prosopography:**

1. The *protos* **Simon** (l. 26) was a monk of Xeropotamou and was mentioned in several Athonite documents of the period August 1384-November 1387<sup>2</sup>.

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 66.

2. Protaton, 140, no. 67; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 374-375, no. 67.

2. The *ekklésiarches* **Theodosios** (l. 27) appeared in the Athonite documents from 1405 to 1409 as a superior of “the Monastery of Stephen”<sup>1</sup>. Though it is not very likely, this might have been the Monastery of Kastamonitou, which is known to have been dedicated to St. Stephen ever since 1051<sup>2</sup>.

3. The ex-*ekklésiarches* **Dorotheos** (l. 28) is also known from two documents kept in the Monastery of Dionysiou<sup>3</sup>. He ceased to be *ekklésiarches* of Karyai at an uncertain date before 1409, but evidently retained the title until the end of his life.

4. The *epiteretes* (supervisor) **Paisios** (l. 28) seems to be mentioned only in this document<sup>4</sup>.

5. Based on our **act no. 29** of 1423, the superior of the Monastery of Philogonou, the Slav **Euthymios** (l. 31), was a Serbian nobleman.

6. It is unclear if the superior of the Monastery of Makre, the Slav **Dometian** (l. 29), was of Serbian or Bulgarian origin. The minor monastic house Makre or Makrou was located at a short distance to the south of Karyai, in the vicinity of the Monastery of Kutlumus<sup>5</sup>.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 5**): The location of the abandoned monastic cell of **Sotiriotis** remains unknown. Everything we know about it is that it was situated very close to the Monastery of St. Paul (l. 2: τὸ πλησίον αὐτοῦ διακείμενον).

**Editions:** Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Ἀγιορειτικοὶ Θεσμοί*, 476-477.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 292, no. 26; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 19; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 39; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 66-68, no. 22.

**Text:**

† Ο τιμιώτ(ατος) ἐν μοναχοῖς κ(ὺρ) Θεόδουλος, ὁ καθηγούμενος τοῦ εἰς τὴν Πέτραν κελλίου καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου, προσελθὼν ||<sup>2</sup> ἤξιωσε κ(αὶ) ἐζήτησε δοθῆναι τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν

1. Prôtaton, 161; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 417.

2. Kastamonitou, 1; Pavlikianov, *Greek and Bulgarian Documents of Zographou*, 110-113 and 429-430; Pavlikianov, *The Post-Byzantine Greek and Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 216-218.

3. Dionysiou, 76 and 131, acts nos. 8, l.26 and 23, l. 35. Cf. also Prôtaton, 161; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 417.

4. Prôtaton, 158; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς*, 414.

5. Cf. К. Павликианов, Славянското присъствие в светогорския манастир Макру през XIV и XV век, *СОЗ 2* (Sofia 1996), с. 112-113 and 117; Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος*, 89-90.

μονουδρίῳ τὸ πλησίον αὐτοῦ διακείμενον παλαιοκέλλι(ον) τὸ οὕτω  
 πως καλούμε(ον) τοῦ ||<sup>3</sup> Σωτηριώτου ὡς ἐγκαταλελειμμένον καὶ  
 ἀποκεχερωμένον, ἐζήτησε δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς μικράν τινα παραφυγὴν τοῦ  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθίσματος τῆς Πέτρας, ||<sup>4</sup> ἅτε νεωστὶ γεγονὸς οὔτε τόπον  
 ἔχειν περὶ αὐτό, οὔτε ἄλλην τινα παραμυθίαν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ὑπάρχει  
 ἐστενωμένον καὶ οἰονεῖ ||<sup>5</sup> περιτετειχισμένον καὶ ἀποκεκλεισμένον, ὑφ'  
 ἧς ἀνάγκης οὐ μόν(ον) τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων στέρεται ξύλων  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ||<sup>6</sup> μικροῦ λείπεται τῆς χρείας τῶν καυσίμων. Ταῦτα  
 καὶ ἄλλα πλείω εἰπὼν ἃ πάσχει, ἐδεήθη τοῦ ζητουμένου. Ὅθεν κοινῇ  
 μετὰ τῶν τιμιωτάτων ||<sup>7</sup> καθηγουμένων καὶ γερόντων τοῦ καθίσματος  
 συνδιασκεψάμενοι μὴ τι προσίσταται εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τοῦτο διὰ τὰ κωλύοντα  
 δικαιώματα ὅποια, ||<sup>8</sup> εὐρομεν ὅτι τὸ Πρωτᾶτον, ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοκελλίου  
 τούτου τοῦ Σωτηριώτου, οὔτε πρότερον ἐλάμβανε τίποτε, ὡς οἶδασι καὶ  
 μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ πολυ-||<sup>9</sup> χρόνιοι γέροντες, οὔτε νῦν ἔχει τι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐλπίζει  
 ποτὲ λαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰονοῦν ἤδη ὡς ἀργὸν τοῦτο καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦν  
 ||<sup>10</sup> εἰς τὸ Πρωτᾶτον, παραδιδόαμεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην Πέτραν τοῦ  
 Ἁγίου Παύλου. Εἰ μὲν ἦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις συντελεῖα οὐδαμῶς ἐμέλλομεν ||<sup>11</sup>  
 τῆς τοῦ Πρωτάτου κατοχῆς ἀποστερήσειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ σεπτὰ δικαιώματα  
 διορίζεται ἀνεκποίητα εἶναι τὰ τῷ Πρωτάτῳ διαφέ-||<sup>12</sup> ροντα κελλία, ἀλλ'  
 ὡς αὐτὰ θεσπίζει περὶ τῶν πρόσδοτον ἐχόντων καὶ εὐπορίαν ἐμποιοῦντων  
 ὀρίζει, ὡς ἂν μὲ πτωχείαν ὑπομένει καὶ ἔνδειαν ||<sup>13</sup> τὸ Πρωτᾶτον, ἃ δὲ  
 ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνόνητα τέως ὑπάρχει καὶ οὐδεμίαν προξενεῖ τὴν χορηγίαν,  
 οὔτε δικαίωμα οὔτε εὐλογος πρό-||<sup>14</sup> φασις κωλύει διδόναι ταῦτα πρὸς  
 ἀνακαίνισιν καὶ καλλιέργειαν καὶ βελτίωσιν, ὡσάν καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 δοξάζηται καὶ ὠραιότης ||<sup>15</sup> ἦν τῷ τόπῳ. Διὰ τὰ εἰρημένα τοίνυν ταῦτα  
 αἴτια γνώμη, ὡς ἐβρῆθη τῶν τιμίων γερόντων, ὀφείλει κατέχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 νῦν καὶ ||<sup>16</sup> νέμεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῦ Σωτηριώτου κελλίον τοὺς εἰς τὴν  
 μονὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου εὕρισκομένους τιμιωτάτους ἱερομονάχους καὶ  
 μοναχοὺς καὶ συνιστᾶν ||<sup>17</sup> καὶ βελτιοῦν αὐτό, ὄση δύναμις, καὶ τὴν ἐξ  
 αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποφέρεσθαι μονομερῶς πρόσδοτον ἀκωλύτως ἀπὸ παντός  
 καὶ ||<sup>18</sup> ἀνενοχλήτως, ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐσομένους σὺν  
 Θ(ε)ῷ ὀσιωτάτους πρώτους τηρῆσαι τὴν ἡμετέραν ταύτην πρᾶξιν, ἣν οὐ  
 ||<sup>19</sup> κέρδους ἕνεκα ἐποιήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ βοηθοῦντες τῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου  
 κελλίῳ, πανταχόθεν ὡς εἴρηται ὄντι ἐστερημένῳ, δίκαιον ᾤθημεν  
 ||<sup>20</sup> εἶναι ἀγιορειτικῶς συνδραμεῖν ἀπόρῳ καὶ βοηθηῖν κελλίῳ, ἐξ ὧν  
 ἡμῖν οὐδεμία προσγίνεται βλάβη, διὰ τὴν κοινὴν κατάστασιν αὐτοῦ ||<sup>21</sup>  
 τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίου Ὁρους, καὶ ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὸ φιλάδελφον. Ὅθεν  
 ἀπ' ἄρτι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ὀφείλει ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου κατέχειν  
 τὸ δηλωθὲν ||<sup>22</sup> κελλίον ἀδιασειστῶς, ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδιστῶς ἀπὸ  
 παντός, τηροῦσα μόνον τοῖς γείτοσι τὸ ἀβλαβὲς καὶ ἀζήμιον, ἐτάχθη δὲ  
 ||<sup>23</sup> κατ' ἔτος παρέχειν εὐλογίας χάριν καὶ τέλους πρὸς τὸ Πρωτᾶτον

τοῦ πραττομένου τὸ ἡμισυ ὑπέρπυρον ἐντίμως καὶ εὐγνωμόνως. Καὶ εἰς δῆλωσιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ||<sup>24</sup> παρούσης πράξεως τὸ παρὸν ἡμέτερον γεγονός γράμμα, ἐπεδόθη τῇ διαληφθείσῃ μονῇ τῆς Πέτρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος γ' ||<sup>25</sup> ἔτους ,ςῆιη'.

||<sup>26</sup> † Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὅρους Σίμων ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>27</sup> † Ὁ ἐκκλησιάρχης Θεοδόσιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πν(ευματ)ικός.

||<sup>28</sup> † Δωρόθεος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πρῶτην ἐκκλησιάρχης. †

† Παΐσιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἐπιτηρητής.

||<sup>29</sup> † ИГДМѢНЬ МАКРІѢ ІЕРОМОНАХЪ ДОМЕНТІАНЪ.

||<sup>30</sup> † Ἰσίδωρος ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Κωφοῦ.

||<sup>31</sup> † Νεόφυτος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Εὐστρη. †

† ΕΝΦΩΜΙΕ ΙΕΡΩΝΑΧ И ИГДМѢ ФИЛОΓОНЪ.

||<sup>32</sup> † Δανιήλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Καπρούλη. †

||<sup>33</sup> † Εὐφρόσυκος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἀφευδῆ. †

||<sup>34</sup> † Ματθαῖος ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος. †

||<sup>35</sup> † Ματθαῖος ἱερομόναχος. †

### Act no. 23 B

#### Serbian act no. 3. Translation of Greek act no. 23 A

#### SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A GREEK ACT ISSUED BY THE PROTOS SIMON FOR THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

November 3, 6918 (1409)

**Type of the document:** книга (l. 30)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 5. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 300 x 440 mm. Its preservation is poor as parts of the upper margin and the beginning of the text are missing (see **plate no. 21**).

**Analysis:** See our **act no. 23 A. Greek prototype**. Along general lines, the Slavic translation is correct and precise. Most probably, it was produced shortly after its prototype was composed.

**Note on the rear:** † книга за сотирь.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 50-51 (Stojanović's transliteration of the Slavic text has numerous mistakes); Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 161-164, no. 3.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 192-193, act no. 4; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 161-164.

## Text:

||<sup>1</sup>[чѣстнѣиши въ монасѣхъ квр феодалъ] и҃г҃мень и҃же въ ка́мени  
 ѡбитѣли именованнѣи ст҃го павла прїи||<sup>2</sup> [... 20-25 ... ѡв]итѣль, и҃же близъ  
 ю҃го прилежеш ветхюу келію, мѣсто нарицаемо свтири||<sup>3</sup>[... 20-25 ...]ѣно[.]  
 аже сїѣ въ малъ нѣкои покѡи своѣи ѡбитѣли, понїѣ ново к[.....] ||<sup>4</sup>[в.]ти [мѣс]  
 тѣ и ов[.] стран[... 5-7 ...]мѣти ник[....]ѣ[.....]ѣ ѡколе ни ино нѣкоє ѡтѣшенїе  
 ѡвсоудѣ ||<sup>5</sup> и҃ сѣтѣскниено и҃ брѣды заграждено и҃ заключено, и҃ толико ноу҃жно,  
 іако не тѣчию не имѣти е҃же за ѡграженїе ||<sup>6</sup> дровїе, нь и҃ е҃же въ потрѣбѣ  
 жеженїю скоудно имѣше, се҃го ради страданїа поиска рѣннѣю келію дати се  
 ем҃. ||<sup>7</sup> тѣмже ѡбщно съ чѣстными и҃гоумени и҃ съ ст҃арци и҃же въ каѡїзмѣ,  
 расмотривше пойскахѣ, е҃да нѣ[коє] ||<sup>8</sup> приложенїе или дохѡдькѣ и҃ прѡта[т]ѣ ѡ  
 оно҃го мѣста сотириѡта, и҃ знахѣ іако прѣжѣ нѣ [было] прѡта[та,] ||<sup>9</sup> но [о]нѣ  
 ѡ него іакѣ знаю видѣв[ши] мнѡлѣтнїи старци, и҃ свѣтелствѣють ѡ сѣмь,  
 нижѣ нїа има[тъ] ||<sup>10</sup> чѣ ѡ нїгѡ, нижѣ надѣет се чѣ когда на прѣдѣ приети,  
 и҃ іако видѣхѣ іако никаа же полза или помоу҃шь ||<sup>11</sup> и҃ прѡта[т]ѣ ѡ того мѣста,  
 дадосмо га въ рѣннѣю ѡбитѣль ст҃го павла, и҃вѣ а҃ще хѡтѣше быти чѣ люво  
 ||<sup>12</sup> и҃ мало прихоженїе ѡ нїего прѡта[т]ѣ, мѣ никаа же се҃гѡ не быхѣ сѣтворили,  
 и҃вѣ и҃ велика нѣкаа ||<sup>13</sup> ѡправданїа оу҃речена со҃т неѡложно давати се ѡ келїи  
 прѡта[т]ѣскѣ въ прѡтато, нѣ и҃ сїа съ расс҃жде||<sup>14</sup> нїемь възимаѣ, прѡтивѣдающї  
 и҃манїю, и҃ прѡтивѣ потрѣбѣ приѣмлющї, и҃ іако да не въ оу҃божѣство и҃  
 ли||<sup>15</sup>шенїе нѣжнѣ прїидеть прѡтато, о[н]а іаже сѣтъ малаа и҃ не и҃менитаа  
 мѣста, и҃ ни є҃дино҃го ни малаа при||<sup>16</sup>ношенїа, ни дохѡдѣка нѣкоєго бл҃гослѡвна  
 и҃моу҃щаа, сїа подѡбаеть давати къ ѡбновленїю и҃ оу҃добротѡ||<sup>17</sup>ренїю и҃  
 потверженїю, іако и҃ бѣ да слѡвит се въ нї, и҃ мѣсто да строит се. и҃ ради рѣннѣ  
 сїхъ винь, разоумо||<sup>18</sup> м же и҃ сѣвѣтомь старьцѣ, подобно быти въ мѣнихѣ,  
 ѡселѣ да ѡбладаю и҃ сѣдрьжеть келію мѣсто рѣннѣ ||<sup>19</sup> свтириѡтъ чѣтнѣиши  
 сѣщенници и҃ и҃нѡци, ѡбрѣтающен се въ ѡбитѣли ст҃го павла, и҃ ѡбна҃вляю  
 и҃ крѣ||<sup>20</sup>петѣ іака сіла, и҃ ѡ тоудѣ ѡбрѣтающен се потрѣбы приносити въ  
 монастырь повсе҃днєвно, ѡ всѣ безъ зазора ||<sup>21</sup> и҃ безъ всако҃го прѣкослѡвїа.  
 мѡлни же и҃ и҃же по на хѡтеши быти прѣемники прѣпѡвнѣишен прѡты, ||<sup>22</sup>  
 непотѣкновенноу быти сѣтворенноу нами дѣлѣ семѣ, е҃же не придобытїа ради  
 нѣкоєго сѣтворихѣ ||<sup>23</sup> нѣ помагающе ст҃го павла ѡбитѣли, ѡ всоудѣ іакѣ  
 рече се прѣжѣ, сѣши оу҃тѣснїнѣ. прѡведно бѡ въ мѣ||<sup>24</sup>нихѣ по стѡгорѣскоидѣ  
 ѡбвѣчаю зѡвѣ мѣстѣ помоу҃шь нѣкою сѣтворити съ тѣмь ѡ него на мь ни  
 є҃дина ||<sup>25</sup> прибываеть пакѡсть. и҃ ради ѡбщєе, е҃же по бѣзѣ любѣе насъ сѣщїи  
 въ стѣн гѡрѣ, и҃ сѣєдинїенїа рѣ и҃ братолубїа. ||<sup>26</sup> тѣмже ѡ днѣ, и҃ іаже по  
 сї, пѡданѣ имѣти стѡмѣ павла рѣннѣю келію, непоколѣвимо, непотѣкновенно,  
 ||<sup>27</sup> и҃ безъ забавленїа ѡ всѣ и҃же ѡкрѣтъ въ сѣсѣдствѣ безъ всакоє нѣкоє  
 прѣркаемьнѣ вѣци. ѡставихом же ||<sup>28</sup> да дават се ѡ ст҃го павла на всако лѣто  
 прѡта[т]ѣ влѣнїе дарь половина перпере, и҃же ходитъ въ врѣме сѣ, гѡтѡво ||<sup>29</sup>

и безъ прѣкослѣвіа. свѣтелства же ради и оутвержденіа бывшее нами вещи  
сеи, написа се ѿ на настоеціа ||<sup>30</sup> книга, и да се рѣниѣи ѡвѣтѣли каменѣ стго  
павла, в' лѣтѣ зціи, мѣца ноемврїа въ г' днь.

||<sup>31</sup> † прѣтъ стынѣ горы, сімѣнь іеромѣна.

||<sup>32</sup> † еклісарѣ ѡеѡстѣ іеромѣнахъ и дѣхвѣник.

||<sup>33</sup> † дорѡѡен іеромѣнахъ и прѣжде бывшіи екліархъ.  
паистѣ моѣ и епїтирить.

||<sup>34</sup> † исидоръ іеромѣна и гѣмень квѣд.

неѡфитъ моѣ и гѣмень зистрѣ.

||<sup>35</sup> † еѡѡимїе іеромѣна и гѣмень филогѡнѣ.

данїиль моѣ и и гѣмень капрѣлю.

||<sup>36</sup> † еѡрѡсинъ моѣ и и гѣмѣ апсидѣ.

маѡен іеромѣна и гѣмень стынѣ троїце.

||<sup>37</sup> † дрѣгын маѡен іеромѣна.

дометїанъ іеромѣна и гѣмень макрїи.

#### Act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4

ACT OF THE SERBIAN ARISTOCRATS, GEORGE AND LAZAR  
BRANKOVIĆ AND THEIR MOTHER MARA, DONATING TO ST.  
PAUL THE VILLAGE OF KUZMINO ON THE SITNICA RIVER

October 14, 6919 (1410)

**Type of the document:** записанїе (l. 17)

**Description:** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 1. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 220 x 320 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper. Lines 16-19 are written by another hand (see **plate no. 22**).

**Analysis:** The Serbian aristocrats George, Lazar and Mara donated to the Monastery of St. Paul, which was situated at the foot of Mount Athos, the village of Kuzmino on the Sitnica River with all its properties and privileges. The local authorities of any rank, including the *voevoda* and the *kefalija*, were not allowed to intervene in the affairs of this village, which was declared exempt from the obligation to provide men for military service, from the corvée *gradozidanie*, and from the taxes *sokja* and *ungija*. Its only fiscal obligation was to pay to an unspecified “czar” a tax which was denoted with the Greek term *telos*. By the time

when the present act was composed Lazar was already dead, but the donation of Kuzmino to St. Paul had been decided while he was still alive. As a superior of St. Paul is mentioned the elder Theodoulos. Final confirmative clauses directed against any potential offender of the donation. The act was composed in the Serbian town of Peć by a scribe named Novak and witness was a scribe named Alexa.

**Note on the rear:** † χρῆσσωλѣ за село кѣз'мино на ситници гюр'гѣ деспота.

**Remarks** on the Serbian fiscal and administrative terms of the act:

1. *Kefalija* (κεφαλια, l. 3). This Serbian term corresponded to the Byzantine administrative office of *kephale* (κεφαλή)<sup>1</sup>. According to Lj. Maksimović, the institution of the Byzantine *kephalai* or *kephalatikeyontes* was adopted in medieval Serbia with almost no changes. It denoted an administrative position with various civil and military functions, but was not a hierarchical rank. The *kefalija* was a provincial governor in charge of a basic administrative unit, i.e. he was the head of the local fiscal officials and tax-collectors<sup>2</sup>. He was also authorized to buy basic agricultural goods at coercively reduced prices: кѣфалиѣ цю соу по градовѣхъ да оузымаю свои доходѣкъ закономъ, и да нѣ се продаваю жита и вина и меса за динарь цю иномъ за два, нъ грагтанинъ този да нѣ продава, а нѣ никто<sup>3</sup>.

2. *Gradozidanie* (градозидание, l. 5) was the equivalent of the Greek tax *kastroktisia*. In Serbia this fiscal term also appeared in the form *kućezidanie* (literally “building of houses”). It referred to a corvée connected with the construction and restoration of fortifications. The corresponding Byzantine fiscal charge *kastroktisia* was first attested in a document of the Athonite Monastery of Iviron issued in 995<sup>4</sup>. In Byzantium it initially denoted an actual state corvée, but during the 14th century the term began to lose its technical meaning and gradually became a tax payable in cash<sup>5</sup>. Based on the Law Code of the Serbian Czar Stephen Dušan, in late medieval Serbia the building and

1. Cf. ODB, II, 1122.

2. Михаљчић, *Хрисовуља цара Уроша*, 96.

3. Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 8-9, no. 8 (29-30). Cf. also Љ. Максимовић, *Византијска провинцијска управа у доба Палеолога*, Beograd 1972, 71-100.

4. Iviron I, no. 8, l. 13.

5. Σ. Τρωϊάνος, *Καστροκτισία, Βυζαντινά* 1 (1969), 39-57; Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 110111, 174, 284, 285, 288, 292, 295; ODB, II, 1112; Михаљчић, *Хрисовуља цара Уроша*, 94; Веселиновић, *Повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 201.

maintenance of fortified settlements was a duty of their residents, as well as of the inhabitants of the adjacent administrative district (*župa*): за градъ зиданїе. гдѣ се градъ шбори или коула, да га направѣ граждање тогазїи града и жоупа що естъ прѣдѣль того града<sup>1</sup>.

3. *Vojska* (воиска, l. 5). This administrative term was also known as *vojnica* and *vojstatik* and referred to the obligation of the peasants to serve in the army. This obligation was officially instituted in Stephen Dušan's Law Code, which stated that hereditary estates could be exempted from corvées and taxation, but not from the *soće* tax and from military service: и бацине вѣсе да сѣ свободне шть вѣсѣхъ работъ и поданькъ царства ми развѣ да даю сокѣ, ина конѣ и воинѣ да воюю по законѣ<sup>2</sup>. During the reign of the Serbian despots Stephen Lazarević and George Branković (1402-1456), the *vojnica* was transformed in a tax payable in cash twice a year, and usually totalled 20 *dinari* per household. The purpose of this transformation was to provide more money for the increased war expenses of the Serbian rulers<sup>3</sup>.

4. *Sokja* (сока, l. 5). It could be also spelt as *сокѣ* or *сокъ*, while in modern Serbian it is pronounced as *soće* (соће). This was the basic tax in medieval Serbia. It was collected both in kind and in cash, and usually consisted of one *kābāl* (къбаль, in Greek *modios*) of wheat and the sum of one *perper* (from the Greek *hyperpyron*) payable in golden or silver coins. By the mid-14th century the collection of *soće* yielded about 50000 ducats per year. According to M. Blagojević, this tax was introduced in the early 14th century and was due by all farming households in the villages. It was not a tax on the land (*zemljarina*) or on the male members of the household (*glavarina*) but on the household itself, and the entire revenue from it belonged to the Serbian ruler<sup>4</sup>. Dušan's Law Code described the *soće* as a royal income payable by everyone and the noblemen even had to double their payment if they missed to pay the *soće* in time. The *soće* was paid twice a year, on Easter and in late October: доходькъ царьскыи, сокѣ и наметь и арачь, да дава вьсакъ чловѣкъ, къбаль жита, половина чистаа а половина прѣпроста, волта перперь динарьми. а рокъ томоу житоу, да се оусипа, на митровь днь, а дрюги рокъ на рождьство христово. ако ли сокѣа властелинъ не да на те

1. Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 4, по. 13.

2. Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 12, II.1. (39).

3. Веселиновић, *Повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 201.

4. М. Благојевић, Соће - основни порез средњовековне Србије. Једна перпера или кабао жита, *Глас Српске Академије наука и уметности* 390. *Одељење историјских наука* 11 (Belgrade 2001), 1-43; Михаљчић, *Хрисовуља цара Уроша*, 94; Веселиновић, *Повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 201.

РОКОВЕ, ВЛАСТЕЛИНЪ ТЪ ДА СЕ СВЕЖЕ НА ЦАРЪСКОМЪ ДВОРОУ, И ДА СЕ ДРЪЖИ, ДОКЛЕ ПЛАТИ ДВОИНОМЪ<sup>1</sup>.

5. *Ungja* (УНГИА, l. 5). In modern Serbian it is spelled as *unča* or *unča*. In late medieval Serbia this term deriving from the Latin *uncia* (ounce) initially designated an accounting unit equal to 20 *dinari* or *aspri*. It was with this value that in the late 14th century the *unča* became a tax payable to the rulers of Serbia by every household for its fireplace. Like the *sokja* it was due twice a year, on Easter and in late October, and was interchangeable with a tax labelled *ducat*. *Ungja* and *ducat* were normally not required together from the same household<sup>2</sup>.

6. *Telos of the czar* (ТЕЛОСЪ ЦАРЕВЪ, l. 5-6). The Greek word *telos* means tax in general<sup>3</sup>. The text of our document makes it clear that the donors did not nullify the *telos of the czar*, as they did with all the other payments which were due to the Serbian administration (РАЗВЕ ТЕЛОСА ЦАРЕВА). Consequently, the *telos* was a tax payable to a ruler with a status higher than that of the Serbian Despot Stephen Lazarević. According to R. Ćuk, during the early 15th century *telos* was a synonym of the Ottoman tax *harac*<sup>4</sup>.

#### Prosopography:

1. **George Branković** (ca 1375-1456) was the son of Vuk Branković, who in 1378-1389 ruled Kosovo Polje, Metohija and Skopje, and the daughter of *knez* Lazar Hrebeljanović, Mara Lazarević. Between 1398 and 1402, the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I restored to him and his brother Gregory most of the lands which he had taken from their father, and probably forced them to purchase their hereditary domain with money which their father had deposited in Ragusa. After Bayezid's defeat in the battle of Ankara, tensions between George Branković and his uncle, the Despot Stephen Lazarević, caused a war which Branković lost in the battle of Tripolje in November 1402. Nevertheless, after Lazarević's death in July 1427, Branković was nominated as his successor by a council of noblemen held at Srebrenica. In May 1429 a Byzantine envoy conferred on him the title of despot. Soon afterwards Hungarian troops invaded his territory attempting to take the district of Mačva and Belgrade, while the Ottomans attacked him from the south taking Niš, Kruševac and Golubac. In 1427-1430 Branković

1. Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 9-10, no. 10 (33).

2. Веселиновић, *Повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 201-202.

3. ODB, II, 2022-2023; Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 74-75 and 85.

4. Ћук, *Повеља царице Марје*, 107-109. Cf. also М. Спремић, Турски трибутари у XIV и XV веку, *Историјски гласник* 1-2 (Belgrade 1970), 9-59.

built a large fortress at Smederevo, on the confluence of the Morava and Danube Rivers, to the east of Belgrade. It became his capital city, but was conquered by the Ottomans in August 1439. By the end of 1439 Branković's only remaining territory was that around the mining centre of Novo Brdo. However, the Ottomans took it in June 1441. In 1443 a military campaign manned with both Hungarian and Serbian troops recaptured Smederevo, Niš and Sofia. The result was that Sultan Murad II restored to George Branković part of his former domain and signed a ten-year truce. It was for this reason that Branković refused to participate in the crusade which the Hungarians launched with papal encouragement in 1444. After the crusade's defeat at Varna on November 10, 1444, Branković reaffirmed his subordination to the Ottomans. After the fall of Constantinople, in 1454-1455 Mehmed II attacked anew Serbia and reduced Branković's power to the area north of the West Morava River. In 1456 the Serbian despot was detained by the Hungarian regent, Michael Szilágyi, and held for ransom. He died soon after he was released<sup>1</sup>.

2. **Lazar Branković** (l. 1) was a brother of George Branković. During the war between the sons of Bayezid I, Suleyman and Musa (1402-1420), Lazar supported Suleyman, while his uncle, the Despot Stephen Lazarević, sided with Musa. In June 1410 the armies of Suleyman and Musa met at Kosmidion near Constantinople. After the battle Stephen Lazarević retreated to the Byzantine capital, while Suleyman sent Lazar to Serbia ordering him to seize control of the Serbian throne. However, Lazar was detained by supporters of Musa in Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and was executed in July 1410<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Cf. Ч. Мијатовић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић - господар србима, подунављу и зетском приморју*, I-II, Belgrade 1880 and 1882; Jireček, *Geschichte*, 161-216; J. Papadrianos, Les informations apportées par G. Sphrantzès sur le rôle du despote Serbe, Djuradj Branković, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 2 (1972-1973), 165-169; PLP, no. 3076; М. Спремић, Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и мачванска бановина, *ИЧ* 23, (Belgrade 1976), 23-36; М. Спремић, Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и краљ Алфонс Арагонски, *Зборник Филозофског факултета XV-1. Споменица Ивана Божића*, Belgrade 1985, 127-143; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 250-319; М. Спремић, Деспот Стефан Лазаревић и „господин“ Ђурађ Бранковић, *ИЧ* 56 (Belgrade 2008), 49-68; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 286-288, 290-292 and 297-299.

2. В. Мошин, Грамота Вука Бранковича с печатљу деспота Ђоана Ангела Палеолога, *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 1966, 378-381; И. Божић, Неверство Вука Бранковића, *О кнезу Лазару. Научни скуп у Крушевцу* 1971, ed. I. Вожић and V. Ђурић, Belgrade 1975, 223-242; PLP, no. 3096.

3. **Mara Branković** (l. 1) was a daughter of Lazar Hrebeljanović, sister of Stephen Lazarević, and mother of the Despot George Branković. In 1371 she married Vuk Branković who in 1378-1389 ruled Kosovo Polje, Metohija and Skopje. After the death of her husband in 1397 she became a nun but kept on supporting her sons, George and Lazar, who were trying to restore their control over the territory which once belonged to their father, but had passed in the hands of their uncle, Stephen Lazarević. It was Mara who in 1412 arranged the reconciliation between her son George Branković and her brother Stephen Lazarević. The final result of her efforts was that in 1425 George Branković was officially declared her brother's heir. Mara died in April 1426<sup>1</sup>.

**Topography:** The village of Kuzmino on the Sitnica River is still extant (cf. **map no. 2**). Its modern name is Kuzmin and it is situated about 12 km west of Priština, at a short distance to the east of what is today the settlement of Veliki Belačevac. It is first mentioned in a document of 1330<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 32; Новаковић, *Законски споменуци*, 528-529; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 164-168, no. 4.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 193-194, act no. 5; Κοτζαχέωργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 55; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 164-168.

#### Text:

ꙸчи мѣсть гнѣ гюрь и гпгга маара и гнѣ лазарь мѡнастирь светагѡ павла, иже въ светей ||<sup>2</sup> гворе подѣ афонѡ, и даѣ мѡнастирь тѡмѣ село кѣзмино на ситнице съ всеми мегтамъ ||<sup>3</sup> и правинами села тѡган, и да не има ѡвласти надѣ селом темь ни воевода, ни кифалига, ||<sup>4</sup> ни властнѣи кѡи, ни малъ, ни гѡлѣ, и да мѡ е свобода ѡ все рабѡтъ мали и гѡлѣмихъ ||<sup>5</sup> гѡспѡдства ни, ни градозиданига, ни воинске, ни сокта, ни ѡниге разѡе телѡса ||<sup>6</sup> царѡва. и въ вреѣ тѡ въ неже престави се гнѣ лазаар, паче и еше сѡциѡ живѣ лазарѡ ||<sup>7</sup> згѡрисамѡ да село тѡзи како да га приложимѡ мѡнастирь светагѡ павла /за помѣнь лазарѡвъ/ въ ||<sup>8</sup> ѡтвержѣние вечно и непоколебимѡ. и къ сѣмѣ мѡ[ли]мо и запрѣшамѡ ||<sup>9</sup> егѡже бѡ изволи гѡспѡдоваати въ месте тѡ ѡ рода нашегѡ или оногѡ когѡ ||<sup>10</sup> изволи бѡ непѡтвореномѣ бѣи сиемѣ више реченѡмѣ словѣ нѡ па[че] бѡ ||<sup>11</sup> лшѣ потѡврѣжати се ако же ѡбичан ѣсть потѡврѣжавати гѡспѡцка записа ||<sup>12</sup> нига светимѣ и бѡжѣствѣннѣ црква. ктѡ ли дрѣзне разорѣи

1. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, 215-217, 269-272 and 277-279. PLP, no. 17211.

2. Пурковић, *Понис села*, 108.

сина вражѣи ||<sup>13</sup> наважѣниємъ и потъщит се ѿѣети село кѡзмино приложенѣе ||<sup>14</sup> нами мнѡнастирь свѣтаагѡ павла да «мѡ естъ мѡстнѣи» /таковааго/ да «га» сѡинѣ ||<sup>15</sup> гъ бѡ и пречиста егѡ бѡмати зѣ и въ бѡщимъ вѣце, и да естъ проклѣ ||<sup>16</sup> ѡ все светѣи иже ѡ века бѡгѡс ѡгѡдивши, а тѡмѡ» и сине село прило- ||<sup>17</sup> жисмо «...» при старци кѡ фѣвдѡлѣ тога сѡщдѣмѡ старцѡ въ мѡнастири тѡмѡ † въ лѣто ||<sup>18</sup> зѡѡѡ, мѡца ѡ дѡ, ѡ пеки писа нова дѡакъ. и томѡ записанѣо мѡтнѣи алеѡа ||<sup>19</sup> дѡакъ.

## Act no. 25

### HORISMOS OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL LAND IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA

February 2, 6923 (1415)

**Type of the document:** *ὀρισμός* (l. 6)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 54. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 185 x 290 mm. The despot's signature is written with cinnabar. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is very poor and there are numerous ruptures along the folds. Parts of the text are scarcely readable due to moisture<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 23**).

**Variant no. 2.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17, section *Collective copy of Byzantine documents*. It is written with black ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 450 x 310 mm. The signature of the despot is reproduced with red ink. The preservation of this copy is relevantly good.

**Analysis:** The Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, granted to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul the agricultural land of Souros, which was situated in the peninsula of Kassandra, and allowed the monks to transform it into an olive grove. Moreover, he entitled the monastery to receive 6 *koila* of salt per year from the salt pans in Kassandra.

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 68.

**Prosopography:** The name of the despot who issued the document is not mentioned in the text, while his signature contains only a title: *the Despot*. However, it is well known that the Byzantine despot who ruled Thessalonica from 1408 to 1423, and finally surrendered the city to the Venetians, was **Andronikos Palaiologos**<sup>1</sup>, a cousin of the Emperor John VII. He has also issued our **acts no. 26** and **no. 27**.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 6**): The land of Sourou (l. 2) does not appear in other Athonite documents. However, in 1333 an act preserved in the Monastery of Xenophontos mentioned a similar place name located near the modern village of Siviri or Sivri on the northwest coast the peninsula of Kassandra – the ridge of *Souroulistou* (Σουρουλίστου ράχη)<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, it is unknown if the two toponyms were correlated.

**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 129, no. 45/46-IV.

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 6; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Αγίου Παύλου*, 114; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 68-69, no. 23.

#### Text:

† Ἡ βασιλεία μου εὐεργετεῖ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τοῦ Ἄθω σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου ||<sup>2</sup> πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου τὸν ἐν τῇ Κασάνδρᾳ λειμῶνα τὸν καλούμενον τοῦ Σουροῦ, ἵνα ὅπως ἐργάσωνται καὶ κατα-||<sup>3</sup>φυτεύσωσι καὶ ποιήσωσι αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶνα καὶ ἔχει αὐτὸν ἢ τοιαύτη μονή. Εὐεργετεῖ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἢ βασιλεί-||<sup>4</sup>α μου, ἵνα ἔχη καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλυκῆς τῆς Κασανδρίας κατ' ἔτος ἄλλας κοιλὰ ἔξη τῶν κατὰ καιρῶν ||<sup>5</sup> δι' ὑπηρετοῦν μέλων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δοῦναι τῆς ἀλυκῆς ὀφειλόμενον διδόναι τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναζηλώτως. Τοῦτου εἶνε ||<sup>6</sup> ἔστω καὶ ὁ παρῶν ὀρισμὸς τῆς βασιλείας μου διὰ συνιθῆς ἐν τῷ ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ ἐννεακισιοστῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ ||<sup>7</sup> ἀπολυθεὶς τῇ β' Φεβρουαρίου.

||<sup>8</sup> † ὁ Δεσπότης

1. See PLP, no. 21427.

2. Xénophon, 61 (comment on act no. 1), act no. 22, l. 13 and act no 25, l. 48. See also Θεοδορίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 420.

## Act no. 26

*HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA  
ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING TO THE  
MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL LAND OF 30 *ZEUGARIA* IN THE  
PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA

March 6925 (1417), *indiction* 10th

**Type of the document:** *ὀρισμός* (l. 7)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 35. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 200 x 295 mm. Its back is glued to a piece of paper. The preservation of this charter is very poor and the text is scarcely readable due to moisture. The despot's signature was initially written with cinnabar but was later overwritten with black ink.

**Variant no. 2.** Copy made on September 7, 1931, which is kept in archival folder no. 35. It is written with violet ink on **paper** with dimensions 270 x 205 mm<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The monks of the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul produced to the Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, a chrysobull of his cousin, the late Emperor John VII, and a *prostagma* issued by the Emperor Manuel II. These documents were donating to them land of 10 *zeugaria* and the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos (St. Paul) in the peninsula of Kassandra. The monks requested Andronikos to give them one more agricultural terrain in the same district. The surface of this terrain amounted to 30 *zeugaria*. Andronikos satisfied their request and gave them the agricultural terrain of 30 *zeugaria*, authorizing them to possess in toto 40 *modioi* of land in the abandoned village of Hagios Pavlos. The free farmers who were expected to take up residence in this village would only have the obligation to deliver to the fisc 1/30 of their annual agricultural production, as it was determined in the chrysobull of John VII. Date: March 6925, *indiction* 10th.

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 71. For our analysis of the document we also used its summary (*epitome*) which was published by Ph. Kotzageorgis in 2008. This summary contains details which we were unable to read due to the very poor condition of preservation of the charter.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. Chrysobull promulgated by the Emperor John VII (l. 2). This is our **act no. 21** of 1408.

2. Decree (*prostagma*) issued by the Emperor Manuel II (l. 4). This is our **act no. 22** of 1409.

**Prosopography:** On the Despot **Andronikos Palaiologos** who issued the document, see the prosopography of our **act no. 25**.

**Editions:** *unpublished*

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 7; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Αγίου Παύλου*, 115; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 71-72, no. 25; Ν. Μερτζιμέκης, *Τὸ μετόχι τῆς ἀθωνικῆς μονῆς Αγίου Παύλου στὴν Κασσάνδρα Χαλκιδικῆς: ὁδοιπορικὸ στὴν ἱστορία του, Τὰ Νέα τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς*, December 12, 2020.

**Text:**

Ἐπεὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τ[οῦ ... 15-20 ... τ]ῆ σεβασμία μονῆ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου τιμιώτατοι μοναχοὶ εὐηργετήθησαν [... 10-12 ...] ||<sup>2</sup> [... 50-60 ...] χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ μακαρίτη ἐξαδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου Ἰωάννη [... 10-15 ...] ||<sup>3</sup> [... 30-35 ...] Ἰωάσαφ [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>4</sup> [... 60-70 ...προ]στάγματος τοῦ [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>5</sup> [... 60-65 ...] βασιλέως διαλαμβάνον [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>6</sup> [... 60-65 ...] γῆν ζευγαρίων λ' [... 35-40 ...] ἵνα κατέχει ἡ αὐτὴ μονὴ ||<sup>7</sup> [... 50-55 ...] τὴν Κασσάνδραν παλαιοχώριον Ἅγιον Παῦλον καὶ γῆν [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>8</sup> [... 50-60 ...] ἐζήτησαν δὲ οἱ εἰρημένοι τιμιώτατοι μοναχοὶ [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>9</sup> [... 40-45 ...] ἡ βασιλεία μου τὴν αὐτῶν αἵτησιν καὶ παράκλησιν προσδεξαμένη [... 8-10 ...] ||<sup>10</sup> [... 50-60 ...] ξένοι παντάπασι καὶ ἀνεπίγνωστοι τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ [... 10-15 ...] ||<sup>11</sup> [... 50-60 ...] κατὰ τὴν περίληψιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ [... 15-20 ...] ||<sup>12</sup> [... 50-60 ...] κατὰ μῆνα Μάρτιον τῆς δεκάτ(ης) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) τοῦ ς<sup>ου</sup>λ<sup>ου</sup>κε<sup>ου</sup> ἔτ(ους).

† ὁ Δεσπότης †

**Act no. 27**

*HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA  
ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THE  
POSSESSIONS OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL  
IN THE VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION IN  
KALAMARIA

September 6928 (1419), *indiction* 13th

**Type of the document:** ὀρισμός (l. 11)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 39. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 200 x 250 mm. The back of the charter is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is very poor and the text is scarcely readable due to moisture. The despot's signature is written with cinnabar (see **plates nos. 24-25**).

**Variant no. 2.** Copy made on September 7, 1931. It is kept in archival folder no. 39 and is written with violet ink on **paper** with dimensions 270 x 210 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The Despot of Thessalonica, Andronikos Palaiologos, had ordered in writing the monks of St. Paul to show him their documents for the properties of Radoslav Sabia, which authorized them to act as legal possessors of the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion in the district of Kalamaria. The monks produced two chrysobulls which corroborated and guaranteed their legal rights as owners of the aforementioned dependencies and Andronikos got convinced that their documents were genuine and authentic. The monks then requested Andronikos to promulgate a new *horismos* reconfirming and securing their legal rights over the villages of Avramitai and Neochorion. For this reason the despot issued the present document. Date: September 6928, *indiction* 13th.

**Mentioned documents:** The two chrysobulls referring to the property of Radoslav Sabia (l. 4) must have been our **acts no. 6** of 1378 and **no. 17** of 1405. The written order of the despot to the monks of St. Paul, which is mentioned in the beginning of the text (l. 2), is not preserved.

**Prosopography:**

1. On the Despot **Andronikos Palaiologos** who issued the document,

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 72.

see the prosopography of our act no. 25.

2. For Radoslav Sabia, see the prosopography of our act no. 6.

**Topography:** On the abandoned villages (*palaiiochoria*) of Avramitai and Neochorion, see the topography of our act no. 6.

**Editions:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 86-87, no. 31.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 292-293, no. 27; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 8; Οικονομίδης, *Ἑλληνικά ἔγγραφα*, 522, no. 13.26. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 115; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 72-73, no 26.

**Text** (as the charter is heavily damaged by moisture and parts of it are not readable, we restored the missing text using the photograph published by F. Dölger in 1948<sup>1</sup> and marked the text which is presently not readable with italics):

† Ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐνασκούμε(εν)οι τῆ κατὰ τὸν Ἄθω διακειμ(έν)η σεβασμία μονῆ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τιμιώτ(α)τ(οι) ||<sup>2</sup> μοναχοὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν δι' ὀρισμοῦ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) μου, ὥστε ἐμφανῆσαι τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ||<sup>3</sup> τῶν μετοχί(ων), ὧν κέκτηντ(αι), τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν καὶ τοῦ Νέου Χωρίου, ἃ δέδωκεν ὁ Σαμπίας πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην σε-||<sup>4</sup>βασμίαν μονήν, ἐνεφανῆσαν δὲ χρυσόβουλλα δύο, ἃ καὶ ὀρόντες ἐκρίναμ(εν) ταῦτα βέβαια εἶναι καὶ ἀκα-||<sup>5</sup>τάλυτα, ἐζήτησαν δὲ οἱ εἰρημ(έν)οι τιμιώτατοι μοναχοί, ἵνα πορίσοντ(αι) καὶ ὀρισμ(όν) τῆς βασιλ(είας) μου διὰ πλεί-||<sup>6</sup>ονος βεβαιώσεως καὶ ἀσφαλ(είας), ἡ βασιλεία μου τὴν αὐτῶν αἵτησιν καὶ παράκλησιν εὐμενῶς προσδεξά-||<sup>7</sup>μ(έν)η ἔχει θέλημα καὶ διορίζετ(αι) διὰ τ(οῦ) παρόντ(ος) αὐτῆς ὀρισμοῦ, ἵνα ἔχει ἡ σεβασμία ταύτη μονή τῆς βασιλ(είας) μου τοῦ ||<sup>8</sup> Ἁγί(ου) Παύλου τὰ τοιαῦτα δύο μετόχια, τοὺς Ἀβραμίτ(ας) καὶ τὸ Νέον Χωρίον, μετὰ πάσης ἀδεί(ας) κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύνα-||<sup>9</sup>μιν τῶν ἐμφανισθέντων ἡμῖν δύο χρυσοβούλλων καὶ οὐδεὶς ποτὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τρέχοντος τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπή-||<sup>10</sup>ρειαν [ἐπά]γει τῆ δηλωθείσ(η) σεβασμία μονῆ ἕνεκεν τῶν τοιούτων μετοχί(ων), ἀλλ' ἅπαξ κατέχει ταῦτα κυρί(ως) καὶ δε-||<sup>11</sup>σποτικῶς, ἀναφαιρέτ(ως) πάντ(α) καὶ ἀναποσπάστως, ὅθεν καὶ δι' ἀσφάλειαν ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ παρὼν ὀρισμὸς τῆς ||<sup>12</sup> βασιλεί(ας) μου κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτεῦριον τῆς τρισκεδεκάτ(ης) ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ,ς<sup>ω</sup>λ<sup>ω</sup>κη<sup>ω</sup> ἔτ(ους).

† ὁ Δεσπότης †

1. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, no. 31.

## Act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5

ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN GEORGE  
BRANKOVIĆ DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL  
THE VILLAGES OF DOBRAŠEVCE, VRANIN DOL AND PATEINovember 15, 6928 (1419), *indiction* 13th**Type of the document:** записаниѣ (l. 35)**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 13. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 220 x 290 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper, but its preservation is relevantly good (see **plate no. 26**).**Analysis:** Theological introduction. With the present charter George Branković and his wife, Eirene Kantakouzene, donated to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul the village of Trnava and the village of Dobraševce on the Drenica River. These two villages had been already bequeathed to St. Paul at an earlier date by George Branković, by his mother and by his brothers, Gregory and Lazar. With the present act Branković also donated to St. Paul the village of Vranin Dol on the Lab River and the village of Patei at Trupovštica. The four villages were declared by Branković exempt from all the corvées and taxes which were collected by his tax officials, especially from the taxes *unča*, *vojštatik*, *sokia* and *travnina*. However, this tax exemption was not valid for payments due to the Turks. Religious formulae directed against any potential abuser of the donation described in the act. Final confirmative clause. As a superior of St. Paul is mentioned the monk Pamvo. Date: November 15, 6928, *indiction* 13th. The act was composed in the town of Vučitrn by a scribe named Bogdan.**Note on the rear:** за села врани ДѠ и патѣи.**Mentioned document:** The text refers to an act of donation issued at an earlier date by George Branković, his mother Mara and his brothers Gregory and Lazar. This document donated to St. Paul the villages of Trnava and Dobraševce and is presently not available in the archives of the monastery.**Remarks** on the Serbian fiscal and administrative terms the act:On the taxes *unča* (l. 23), *vojštatik* (l. 24), and *sokia* (l. 24) see the remarks to our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4**.1. *Travnina* (l. 24). The name of this tax derives from the word *treva*, which is Slavic for “grass”. It was a charge paid for the use of grazing

land and pastures in general<sup>1</sup>.

2. *Pobirici* (l. 24). In our text the term *pobirici* is closely connected with the word *raboti* which designated corvées of all the types. *Pobirici* derives from the Slavic verb **върати**, which means “to take” or “to collect” and is also related to the word *birnik*, Bulgarian for “tax collector”. Consequently, regardless that R. Ćuk doubted about its exact meaning<sup>2</sup>, the term *pobirici* most probably referred to the additional charges and fees paid by the peasant households in 15th century Serbia. The term *pobirici* is also mentioned in our **act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14** (l. 4), which is a deed of donation signed by the widow of Murad II, the Serbian princess Mara Branković.

### Prosopography:

1. **Eirene Kantakouzene** (l. 12) was the second wife of the Serbian Despot George Branković. Their marriage took place in December 1414 and when in July 1429 Branković was promoted to the rank of the despot, the couple had been married for 15 years and already had six children. Eirene’s parents cannot be identified for sure. She had at least three brothers - George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos († 1456 or 1459)<sup>3</sup>, Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos († 1453)<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Kantakouzenos († 1463)<sup>5</sup>, while her sister, Helena Kantakouzene, had married a king of Georgia in the Caucasus<sup>6</sup>. The local Serbian population disliked the Greek Eirene because of her influence on George Branković. The posterior Serbian folklore named her *Prokleta Jerina* (“the Damned Eirene” or “Eirene the Termagant”) connecting with her the hardship caused by the construction of the fortress of Smederevo (Semendria) by George Branković. This large castle on the Danube was completed in 1430 and Eirene certainly played a role in its construction as far as her brother, George Kantakouzenos, was a supervisor of the works. The rumours that she was poisoned by her son Lazar are not

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1. М. Благојевић, Планине и пашњаци у средњовековној Србији (XIII-XIV-века), *Историјски гласник* 2-3 (Belgrade 1966), 84-89.

2. Ђук, *Повеља царице Маре*, 110.

3. PLP, no. 10959; Б. Ферјанчић, Византинци у Србији прве половине XV века, *ЗРВИ* 26 (Belgrade 1987), 174-178; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 63-64 and 142.

4. PLP, no. 10957.

5. PLP, no. 10968.

6. D. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460: a Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Washington DC 1968, 176 and 184-186; D. Nicol, The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos: Some Addenda and Corrigenda, *DOP* 27 (1973), 312-315.

confirmed by any historical source<sup>1</sup>.

2. On **George Branković** see our act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.

3. On **Lazar Branković** see our act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.

**Topography** (cf. map no. 2):

1. The village of **Trnava** (l. 18) seems to be identical with the modern village of the same name which is located south of Podujevo and north of Priština, near the Lab River in the district of Kosovo Polje. However, it is known that the settlement of Trnava was created by former residents of the village of Zakut, to the north of Podujevo<sup>2</sup>.

2. The village of **Dobraševce** on the Drenica River (l. 18-19) seems to be identical with the modern village of Dobroševac, which is situated on the Drenica River west of Priština and south of Vučitrn<sup>3</sup>.

3. The village of **Vranin Dol** on the Lab River (l. 21) is still extant. It is located north of Priština and south of Podujevo<sup>4</sup>.

4. The village of **Patei** at Trupovštica (l. 21-22) is difficult to identify. The syntax of the phrase indicates that Trupovštica was not the name of a river or mountain, but of a district. It could be suggested that Patei might have been identical with the modern village of Pantino, which is situated on the Sitnica River at a short distance to the west of Vučitrn<sup>6</sup>. Given the fact that our charter was issued in the town of Vučitrn, such an identification seems plausible, regardless that it cannot be proved for sure.

**Editions:** V. Vetterlein, Zu Miklosich's Monumenta serbica, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 12, Berlin 1890, 300-303 (this edition is based on a photograph kept in the collection of P. Sevast'janov in St. Petersburg); Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 32-33; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 530-531; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 169-172, no. 5.

**Bibliography:** Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 38-39, act no. 9 (К. Dmitriev-Petkovič erroneously dated the act to 1414: *Деснота сербскаго Гюрга съ женою Ириною Кантакузиною 5.Ц.Кв. (6922-1414), даетъ монастырю села Тръново, Доброшевѣцъ на Дрънници. На пергаментъ печати нѣтъ и писанъ у Влѣчѣмь Тръну*); Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 194-195, act no. 6; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 55; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 169-172.

1. М. Вукчевић, *Бурђева Јерина у традицији и науци*, Vršac 1934.

2. Пурковић, *Попис села*, 86.

3. Пурковић, *Попис села*, 74.

4. Пурковић, *Попис села*, 125.

## Text:

†иже ѿ небеса въ битие вса привѣдѣи, неизрѣнною мѣдростію. творче и сѣдѣтелю видим[имъ] ||<sup>2</sup> и небимѣи всѣ, гаже на нѣи и на земли. ѿче безначелне (sic!) и непостижене и недѣлнслне, и са-||<sup>3</sup>мѣмь тѣмь змнѣмь силѣ, гаже на нѣи тебѣ прѣдѣстоющѣи, и на земли испльняющѣи бже-||<sup>4</sup>ствѣннаа ти повелѣннѣа. снѣ съвѣначел[не] и съпрѣстоолне ѿцѣ. дше стіи. иже ѿ ѿца ||<sup>5</sup> исходои, и на снѣ почиваеи. ѣдинчестнѣ и съпрѣстоолнѣ. и съпокланѣи и съславимъ ||<sup>6</sup> ѿцѣ и снѣ. бже ѣдинѣи, иже въ трѣ лицѣхъ познаваемѣи и покланѣемѣи. тебѣ при-||<sup>7</sup>падаѣи, тебѣ млим се. мѣти въсприети прѣси, ѿ нашѣ грѣхопадѣнѣи. ѿ тебе влѣга-||<sup>8</sup>гь чловѣколюбца бѣ нашегѣ. ти вѣ рѣкѣмь иси ѿ вѣко. твоими прѣстѣи ||<sup>9</sup> и сладкѣи зсти. прѣсите и прѣимѣте. и ищите и ѿбрѣщете. сѣмъ же бже-||<sup>10</sup>ствѣнномъ и прѣстоолнѣмъ глѣ твоѣмъ послѣдѣюще и мѣ раби твои. съ змили-||<sup>11</sup>[ниемъ припад]ающе. и азъ рабъ твои гюргъ и съ бгѣмъ даровѣнною ми сѣпрѣ[жнѣи] ||<sup>12</sup>цею, гжею катакѣзною кѣра ериноу малаа приносим ти, твоѣа ѿ тв[онхъ тебѣ] ||<sup>13</sup> ѿ вѣко, прѣводеще ти въ мѣтѣхъ, прѣпѣбнагъ и бгѣноснагъ стѣмъ ѿца нашегѣ ||<sup>14</sup> павла, прѣснавшагъ въ постѣ иже въ стѣи гѣрѣ аѣна. тако да мѣтѣми иѣгъ ||<sup>15</sup> подаси намъ ѿставленнѣи грѣхѣмъ. и спѣбѣши на деснагъ ти прѣдѣстоаннѣа. ||<sup>16</sup> въ вторѣмъ и сѣашѣмъ твоѣмъ прѣшѣстѣи. сѣгъ ради приносимъ снѣ прино-||<sup>17</sup>шениѣ храмѣ [стѣи и прѣпѣдобнаго] ѿца нашегѣ павла иже въ стѣи гѣрѣ. сѣмъ ||<sup>18</sup> трѣнавѣ с {о}колѣмъ. и с мѣтами и с правинами села тога. сѣмъ добравѣще на дре-||<sup>19</sup>ници. с мѣтами и правинами села тѣ. и ѿвози цѣ газ приложѣи. и цѣ смо ||<sup>20</sup> прѣжде приложили. мѣнастѣрѣ вишепѣсанномъ з гѣогѣмъ и манкомъ ми ||<sup>21</sup> и з гѣномъ и братѣ ми гргѣрѣмъ, и лазарѣмъ. сѣмъ вранинѣ дѣ на лавѣ. и сѣмъ па||<sup>22</sup>тенъ з трѣповѣници с {о}колѣмъ. и с мѣтами и правинами сѣмъ тѣ. този все ѿско-||<sup>23</sup>[води] и гѣспѣство ми ѿ всѣ работѣ и датѣ гѣспѣства ми ѿ знѣ и ||<sup>24</sup> [вои]шатѣи. и сѣкѣи и рѣвиннѣ. и ниѣхъ рабѣмъ и побѣрицѣмъ малѣи и великѣи ||<sup>25</sup> гѣспѣства ми, развѣ тѣрѣскѣ платѣи и да испрѣвляю мѣнастѣрѣ, мѣ-||<sup>26</sup>настѣрѣскѣ. къ сѣмъ же мѣ, прѣлежнѣи мѣннѣи мѣлимъ, аще когѣ блго||<sup>27</sup>вѣлитѣ бѣ ѿ рѣда нашегѣ гѣподѣствоватѣи. или иѣнѣ когѣ, ѿ хрѣтолюбѣи-||<sup>28</sup>вѣи гѣдѣ въ мѣстѣхъ тѣхъ, и дѣже снѣ приношениѣ ѿбрѣтанѣт се. тѣ тако ||<sup>29</sup> брата нашегѣ молимъ [... 15-20 ... више] писанномъ непотвореннѣмъ бѣи. нѣ пачѣ ||<sup>30</sup> бѣлшѣи потѣрѣждати се, по законѣхъ бжѣтѣвннѣи. аще ли ктѣ ѿбрѣтѣ||<sup>31</sup>цѣт се такоѣи диаволѣи зхѣщреннѣи ѿбѣетѣ ѿслѣплѣннѣа, и разоритѣ ||<sup>32</sup> снѣа, или чтѣ ѿимѣтѣ ѿ сѣ здѣ вѣписаннѣи ѿ мѣнастѣра стѣмъ павла, тако-||<sup>33</sup>вѣгъ да разоритѣ гѣ бѣ своимъ гнѣвѣмъ и рѣчѣа бгѣмѣти здѣи и въ вѣдѣшѣи ||<sup>34</sup> вѣцѣхъ въ вѣчнѣи мѣцѣхъ, и да мѣ иѣ ѿмѣститѣлѣ стѣи и рѣбѣннѣи ѿцѣ нашѣ ||<sup>35</sup> пѣвѣ на сѣашнѣ сѣдѣ хѣвѣ. и снѣа вса вишеписаннаа съврѣшишѣи и запѣише ||<sup>36</sup> при иѣдѣменѣ кѣрѣ пѣмѣвѣ. въ лѣ зѣцѣи. иѣндиктѣиѣнѣи тринадѣтоми ||<sup>37</sup> настѣющѣмъ, мѣца нѣвѣрѣннѣа. еѣи з вѣлѣчнѣи трѣнѣмъ. бѣданѣи пѣса.

## Act no. 29

ACT OF THE *PROTOS* MALACHIAS GRANTING LIMITED  
AUTONOMY TO THE MONASTIC CELL (*KELLION*) OF  
PHILOGONOU IN KARYAIMay 6931 (1423), *indiction* 1**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 22)**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:**Variante no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 28. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 365 x 295 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor and the beginning of the text is missing. There are abundant traces of moisture and numerous ruptures along the folds (see **plate no. 27**).**Variante no. 2.** Handwritten 20th century copy kept in archival folder no. 28. It is written with cerulean blue ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 270 x 210 mm. Its preservation is very good.**Variante no. 3.** Typewritten 20th century copy kept in archival folder no. 28. It is typed on a double sheet of **paper with** dimensions 295 x 195 mm<sup>1</sup>.**Analysis:** The priest-monk and spiritual instructor Euthymios had acquired the monastic cell of Symeon Theodochos, also known as the *kellion* of Philogonou, during the time when protos of Mount Athos was a certain Gennadios. The cell was located in Karyai and when Euthymios took it, it was almost a ruin. Euthymios built a defensive tower and a house, and made several other improvements in the *kellion*. However, every time when he was asking the *protos* to recognize his *kellion* as a free and self-governing one, to appoint an abbot for it, and to certify that it would remain autonomous after Euthymios's death, the Athonite authorities responded negatively. Euthymios then requested for support the Serbian Despot Stephen, who reacted to his request positively. Stephen sent a letter to the *protos* and the Synaxis of Mount Athos asking them to satisfy Euthymios's request and to bestow an autonomous status on his *kellion* making it independent from the Protaton. The Athonite Synaxis examined the case and agreed to recognize the autonomy of Philogonou, because the Serbian despot had spent significant sums for supporting and renovating the monasteries of Mount Athos. For this reason, the recognition of the autonomy of Philogonou was viewed as an expression of gratitude to the Serbian

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 73.

benefactor. The *protos* Malachias and the Athonite Synaxis thereby conferred on the *kellion* of Philogonou the status of an autonomous foundation (*autodespoton*). Its monks were entitled to renovate their foundation and to elect an abbot of their own. After the death of this abbot, the *kellion* had to elect a new one, unlike the other monastic cells in Karyai which, after the death of their tenants, normally returned to the jurisdiction of the Protaton. Nobody was allowed to claim or take over the property of Philogonou. Nevertheless, the *kellion* was not totally independent as it was obliged to acknowledge its submission to the Protaton by giving it each year 5 measures (*metra*) of wine, while its monks were obliged to work for the Protaton without payment (*corvée*) 5 days per year, i.e. one day for each specific agricultural activity such as maintenance of the olive groves, collecting fodder and grape harvest. Philogonou was also obliged to provide its services to the Protaton together with the *kellia* of Kophou and Kochliaras. Date: May 6931, *indiction* 1st.

Signatures: 1. Malachias, *protos* of Mount Athos; 2. Gregory, abbot of Megiste Lavra; 3. Theophanes, abbot of Vatopedi; 4. Georgian signature; 5. Athanasios, abbot of Chilandar (Slavic signature); 6. Pachomios, abbot of Xeropotamou (Slavic signature); 7. Methodios, abbot of Docheiariou; 8. Anthony of Xenophontos; 9. Makarios, abbot of Esphigmenou; 10. Gregory, abbot of Karakallou; 11. Jacob, abbot of Philotheou; 12. Nikandros, abbot of Pantocrator; 13. Basil, abbot of Zographou (Slavic signature); 14. Chariton, abbot of the Russian monastery (Slavic signature); 15. Neophytos, abbot of Kastamonitou (Slavic signature).

### Prosopography:

1. **Gennadios**, who is mentioned in the restored beginning of the text, was *protos* of Mount Athos in 1400-1403. In 1400 he settled a difference between the monasteries of St. Paul and Dionysiou<sup>1</sup>.

2. The protagonist of our act, the priest-monk **Euthymios**, was a person of noble Serbian descent. When the Athonite authorities refused to declare the *kellion* of Philogonou autonomous, i.e. equal to the major Athonite monastic houses, he was so influential that he asked for support the Despot of Serbia, Stephen Lazarević. The despot responded by pressing the *protos* Malachias to satisfy Euthymios's demand. Thanks to the intervention of the Serbian despot, Philogonou became theoretically independent (*autodespoton*), regardless that it was still obliged to

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1. See our acts no. 11 and no. 12. Cf. also Prôtaton, 141, no. 76; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικός μοναχισμός*, 378, no. 76..

provide some services to the Protaton. Another document from the archives of St. Paul, which was issued in 1456, makes it clear that by that date Philogonou was already bestowed on St. Paul by a group of monks whose spiritual father had once been the aforementioned Euthymios<sup>1</sup>. Evidently, Euthymios was a person who enjoyed the benevolence of the Serbian Despot Stephen Lazarević and was closely connected with the Monastery of St. Paul. Though there is no direct evidence, the whole situation indicates that he must have been a Serbian aristocrat<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions:** Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Άγιορειτικοί θεσμοί*, 478-481.

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Άγίου Παύλου*, no. 20, 20α και 20β; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Άγίου Παύλου*, 39; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομές Άγίου Παύλου*, 73-74, no. 27.

**Text** (as the beginning of the document is missing we restored it using the edition of N. Papademetriou-Doukas published in 2002<sup>3</sup>, and marked the restored text with italics):

[† Ὁ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικὸς κ(ὺρ) Εὐθύμιος ... λαβὼν τὸ κελλίον τὸ εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου Συμεῶν τοῦ Θεοδόχου καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενον τοῦ Φιλογόνου ... τοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὀσιωτάτου πρώτου κ(ὺρ) Γενναδίου, ἐρείπιον καὶ ἡμελημένον καὶ πάσης τῆς τοῦ τόπου ἐπιτηδειότητος τ' ἄλλα σχεδὸν πρὸς οἴκησιν ἀνθρώπων πάντη ἄχρηστον, ἐσπούδασεν ἰδίους ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐβελτίωσεν αὐτὸ καὶ πύργον ἀνήγειρε καὶ κελλίον ἐδείματο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀνθρώποις ἀνήκουσαν ἀνάγκην ... κατάλληλον τῇ σπουδῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἔχων ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ τοιοῦτῳ κελλίῳ, ἐζήτησε πολλάκις καὶ παρεκάλεσε καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς τε κατὰ] ||<sup>1</sup> καιρὸν πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέροντας [... 25-30 ...], ἵνα τύχη [... 20-25 ...] τὸ τοιοῦτον [... 20-25 ...] τοῦ κατὰ καιροὺς πρώτου καὶ διαμένη ἡγούμενος ||<sup>2</sup> [... 20-25 ...] ὑπὸ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ διαδόχων τοῦ κελλίου, καὶ οὐκ ἔτυχε τούτου διὰ τὸ [... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῷ Πρωτάτῳ, ὡσπερ καὶ πάντες οἱ κελλιῶται [... 30-35 ...] ||<sup>4</sup> καὶ πολλάκις ἀποτυχῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς αἰτήσεως οὐκ ἡμέλησεν ἀλλὰ τῷ πανευτυχεστάτῳ καὶ ὑψηλοτάτῳ δεσπότη Σερβίας τῷ κ(ὺρ) Στεφάνῳ προσ[έφυγεν ... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐφέσεως αὐτοῦ, ἔτυχε τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐμενείας καὶ ἀναδοχῆς, ὅς καὶ ἤξιωσε διὰ γραφῆς του τὸν πανοσιώτατον πρώτον, καὶ τοὺς τὰ πρῶτα φέροντας τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὁρει σεβασμίων μονῶν καὶ ἀπλῶς ὄλην τὴν σύναξιν, ||<sup>6</sup> ἐπινεῦσαι

1. See our act no. 41.

2. Cf. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 119-120.

3. Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Άγιορειτικοί θεσμοί*, 478.

αὐτοῖς τῇ αἰτήσῃ τοῦ εἰρημένου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ, αἰτῶν τὴν αὐτῷ καταθεῖναι χάριν, ἐλευθερῶσαι τὸ εἰρημένον κελλίον τῆς τοῦ πρώτου κυριότητος καὶ χαρίσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτονομίαν. Πολλάκις ||<sup>7</sup> οὖν περὶ τούτου διασκεψαμένη ἡ ἱερά σύναξις, ἐπινεῦσαι δεῖν ἔκρινε τῇ αἰτήσῃ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς δεσπότη, ἄτοπον κρίνασα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης εὐγνωμοσύνης ἀνάξιον, εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν ||<sup>8</sup> ὁ πανευτυχέστατος δεσπότης [... 25-30 ...] ἀμφοτέραις, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, χερσὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν ἀντλῶν καὶ χορηγὸς καὶ κτήτωρ καὶ προνοητὴς καὶ τροφεὺς πάντων ||<sup>9</sup> τῶν ἱερῶν μοναστηρίων γενόμενος, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον σχεδὸν πάντας εὐεργετῶν καὶ παντοίως αὐτῶν κηδόμενος, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κελλίου ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ταύτην μὴ τελείαν αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι [... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>10</sup> [... 30-35 ...] καὶ τῷ Πρωτάτῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα [... 25-30 ...] ἔσται δὲ καὶ τῷ κελλίῳ εἰς βελτίωσιν καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τῶν ἐνοικούντων αὐτῷ ὠφέλειαν τε καὶ προκοπὴν. Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τε ||<sup>11</sup> εὐγνωμοσύνην τῷ ἡμετέρῳ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ κτήτορι ἀποτινόντες καὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τοῖς κόποις στοιχοῦντες, ὅ,τε πανοσιώτατος πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου ||<sup>12</sup> Ὅρους Μαλαχίας ἱερομόναχος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ὅρους σύναξις, ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς τετίμηκε τὸ εἰρημένον τοῦ Φιλογόνου κελλίον, ὥστε μὴ εἰς πρόσωπα ὠρισμένα τόσα ἢ τόσα ||<sup>13</sup> κείσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτοδέσποτον ἔπειτα ἐπανέρχεσθαι πάλιν πρὸς τὴν δεσποτείαν τοῦ πρώτου καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κελλία, ἀλλὰ διαμένη αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοδέσποτον κατὰ διαδοχὴν ||<sup>14</sup> εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα [... 25-30 ...] τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρισκομένων καὶ ἀσχολουμένων, τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντα προϊστάμενον καὶ γέροντα καὶ ἡγούμενον ἔχοντες [... 15-20 ...] καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ τοῦ ||<sup>15</sup> κατὰ καιροὺς εὐρισκομένου πρώτου, μὴ μέντοι ἄδειαν ἔχοντες ἀποσπῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν πως [εἰς] ἄλλα τινὰ ἐξωτερικὰ πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ τῇ πράξει καὶ τῇ αἰρέσει τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχ-||<sup>16</sup>ούντων μοναχῶν, καὶ μηδέποτε παρασαλεύειν αὐτὸ καὶ δουλοῦν καὶ [... 20-25 ...] αὐτὸ τῆς εἰρημένης αὐτονομίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, ἣν αὐτῷ ὅ τε νῦν πρῶτος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ Ὅρους ἐδράβησε ||<sup>17</sup> σύναξις διὰ τὰς ῥηθείσας αἰτίας. Ὅφειλει μέντοι καὶ τὸ κελλίον φυλάττειν τῷ Πρωτάτῳ, καθάπερ εἶπομεν, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς [... 20-25 ...] πρὸς αὐτό, ὅπερ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ||<sup>18</sup> [... 30-35 ...] ἡγῶν διδόναι κατ' ἔτος οἶνον μέτρα πέντε [... 15-20 ...] ἔτι τε ἀγαρεῖας ἡμέρας πέντε, εἰς κλάδος μίαν, εἰς βλαστολόγημα μίαν, εἰς στεφάνια μίαν, εἰς χορτάριον μίαν ||<sup>19</sup> καὶ εἰς τρύγος ἔτι μίαν. Ὅμοίως δὲ καί, ἐπειδὴν συμβῆ γενῆσθαι καὶ συδοσία ἀπὸ τοῦ καθίσματος, ἵνα συντελῆ καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Κωφοῦ κελλίον καὶ τοῦ Κοχλιαρᾶ καὶ ὅσα ὁμοταγῆ τούτοις καί, πλην τούτων, ἄλλο ||<sup>20</sup> μηδὲν ὀφείλει [... 15-20 ...]

τὸ κελλίον πρὸς τὸν κατὰ καιροὺς πρῶτον [... 30-35 ...] τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀδελφούς, πλὴν τοῖς ὀφειλομένοις τοῖς μοναχοῖς πρὸς τοὺς προεστῶτας αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ||<sup>21</sup> ὀφείλει φυλάττειν τῷ κελλίῳ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ [... 15-20 ...] ἐλευθερίαν ἀνενόχλητον καὶ ἀδιάσειστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ ἀναδοχὴν καὶ βοήθειαν ὡς ἰδίῳις τέκνοις. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε καὶ τὸ ||<sup>22</sup> παρὸν γεγονός γράμμα ἐπεδόθη, ὡς δικαίωμα πρὸς τὸ διαληφθὲν κελλίον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐνοικούντας ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπογραφὲν συνήθως κατὰ μῆνα Μάιον τῆς ἀ' ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ,ς>λα<sup>ο</sup> ἔτους.

||<sup>23</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐζήτησεν ὁ πνευματικὸς καὶ διὰ τὰ ζῶα αὐτοῦ τὸ ὅλον εἰς νομὴν αὐτοῦ, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ, μόνον ὅσον περιείληφε ἀπὸ τοῦ φραγμοῦ, ὃν περιεστήσατο πρὸ χρόνων τινῶν.

||<sup>24</sup> † Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Μαλαχίας ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>25</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς Μεγάλης Λαύρας Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>26</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μεγάλης μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου Θεοφάνης ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>27</sup> † Georgian signature.

||<sup>28</sup> † ИГДМЕНЬ ЧЪСТНЫЕ СЃЕННЫЕ ЦРСКЫЕ ОБИТЕЛИ ХИЛАНДАРА ИЕРОМОНАХЪ АΘΑΝΑΣΙΕ. †

||<sup>29</sup> † ИГДМЕНЬ ЧТНЫ СЦЕННЫЕ ЦРСКЫЕ [ОБИТЕЛИ] ЖЕРОПОТЪ ИЕРОМ[ОНАХЪ ПА] ХВАНІЕ. †

||<sup>30</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τοῦ Δοχειαρίου Μεθόδιος ἱερομόναχος. †

† Ἀντώνιος ἱερομόναχος Ξενοφῶν. †

||<sup>31</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἐσφιγμένου Μακάριος ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>32</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Καρακάλλου Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>33</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Φιλοθέου Ἰάκωβος ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>34</sup> † Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος Νίκανδρος ἱερομόναχος. †

||<sup>35</sup> † ИГДМЕН ЧЪСТНЫЕ СЦЕННЫЕ ЦРСКЫА ОБИТЪЛИ ЗОГРАФ ВАСИЛІЕ ИЕРОМОНАХЪ. †

||<sup>36</sup> † ИГДМЕНЬ ЧЪСТНЫЕ И СЦЕННЫЕ ОБИТЪЛИ ЦРСКЫЕ РОШКЫЕ ХАРИТОНЪ ИЕРОМОНАХЪ. †

||<sup>37</sup> † ИГДМЕНЬ ЧЪСТНЫЕ И СЦЕННИЕ ОБИТЪЛИ ЦРСКЫЕ КАСТАМОНИТСКИ ИЕРОМОНАХЪ НЕУФВЪ. †

**Act no. 30. Serbian act no. 6**

ACT OF DONATION ISSUED FOR THE MONASTERY OF ST.  
PAUL BY THE SERBIAN NUN MAKRINA

Before **1429**

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.

**Description:** The document is presently not available in St. Paul's archives. Based on its description by K. Dmitriev-Petković published in 1865, the act was written on parchment and had a small wax seal<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** At a time when lord of Serbia was George [Branković], the nun Makrina, feeling that her death was nearing, donated to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul the church of St. Nicholas in the village of Strelci near Mount Čičavica with all its properties, privileges, monastic cells, vineyards and orchards. This church had been renovated by her mother and by her father, the monk Isaia, so Makrina bequeathed it to St. Paul for the commemoration of their souls. Final confirmative clause and religious condemnation directed against the potential abusers of Makrina's decision.

**Dating:** The document contains no date. In 1890 Lj. Stojanović dated it without any argumentation to 1419. The only certain thing about this charter is that it was composed before George Branković was promoted to the rank of a despot, i.e. before 1429.

**Prosopography:**

1. The nun **Makrina** is mentioned only in the present document. Based on an Ottoman tax cadaster (*defter*) cited by T. Starodubcev, by 1487 the Monastery of St. Nicholas at Mount Čičavica was already abandoned<sup>2</sup>.

2. On George Branković, see the prosopography of our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.**

**Topography (cf. map no. 2):**

1. **Čičavica** is a small mountain situated approximately in the centre of Kosovo Polje, to the south of Vučitrn and to the west of Priština. It

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1. Cf. Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 13.

2. See T. Стародубцев, Прилози проучавању цркава и манастира осниваних или обнављаних у области Бранковића од 1371. до 1455 године, I, *Косовско-Метоксијски зборник* 5 (Belgrade 2013), 42-43 and 56.

separates the district of Drenica from the Kosovo Plain<sup>1</sup>.

2. The village of **Strelci** was first mentioned in 1314, in a charter of the Serbian King Milutin<sup>2</sup>. According to our document, it was located near Mount Čičavica (оу чичавици) and for this reason it could be identified with the modern village of Strovce or Streoce (both names are phonetic variants of *Strelci*) which is situated on the eastern slope of the same mountain.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 36, no. 7; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 217-218, Serbian Appendix no. II.

**Bibliography:** Дмитрієвъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 13. K. Dmitriev-Petković described the document in the following way: [*Деспота Гюрга*] *Его же на пергаменъ съ малою восковою печатию. Имъ монахиня Макрина даетъ монастырю св. Павла мѣсто въ Чичавицѣ въ Стрѣлицѣ. Годъ не означенъ.* See also Т. Стародубцев, Писани извори о црквама и манастирима подизаним или обнављаним у областима Лазаревића и Бранковића. IV. Разнородне правно-имовинске исправе, *Саопштења XLVIII*, Belgrade 2016, 139-140 and 147; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 217-218.

**Text** (as published by Lj. Stojanović in 1890):

- 1 по милости божии и господина гюрга азъ мншгвгргѣшнаа калогѣрица  
макрина въ разоумѣвши кѣньць нестоителнаагѣ житиѣ сегѣ, и сегѣ ради по-  
тъщахъ се приложити мѣсто еже ми бѣху рѣдителие обновили оу чичавици  
оу стрѣлцоу црѣквоу светагѣ николи с кѣлипани и с лозиемъ и съ овоциемъ  
и съ инии правинами и мѣгтами елика оу мѣста тогѣ мншастироу светагѣ  
5 павла еже въ светѣи гѣрѣ аѣона прѣчистие богоматере въ помень господина  
ми и рѣдителя мнша исане и матере ми и нашъ (sic!), и сиѣ мое малое  
приношение кто кѣ шѣети и разврити, таковаагѣ да разври господѣ богѣ  
и да моу ѣ соуприца прѣчистаа на страшномоу соудниши христовѣ, амин.

1. А. Лома, *Топонимија Бањске хрисовуље. Ка осмишљењу старосрпског топономастичног речника и бољем познавању опитесловенских именованих образаца*, Belgrade 2013, 231-232.

2. Пурковић, *Попис села*, 144.

## Act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7

ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ CONFIRMING  
THE DONATION OF THE VILLAGE OF GORNJA PEŠČANICA  
NEAR BRANIČEVO WHICH THE ČELNIK RADIČ HAD MADE  
TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

After July 1429

**Type of the document:** записаније (l. 25 and 27)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 32. It is written with brown, sometimes greenish ink on **parchment** with dimensions 260 x 440 mm. A red wax seal with diameter 9 mm is hanging on a silken cord from the bottom margin of the document. Its inscription reads: † в хрѣста бѣга бѣлговѣрни и хрѣстолюбиви господин сръбьлем и подѣшавику гюрьгь. This seal is very similar to a seal preserved in a charter which George Branković issued on September 17, 1445<sup>1</sup> (see **plates nos. 28, 29, 30**).

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. The grand *čelnik* Radič had visited the Despot George Branković and had requested him to confirm a donation which he had made to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul. Radič had bequeathed to this foundation the village of Gornja (Upper) Peščanica near Braničevo. Branković satisfied Radič's request and corroborated his donation with the present charter. Final confirmative clauses.

**Signatures:** The signature of the Despot George Branković is a monogram (*monokondylia* or *ligaturschrift*) written with cinnabar.

**Note on the rear:** † в браничевѣ село пешчаница.

**Dating:** The act contains no date. D. Sindik dated it to 1430<sup>2</sup>, while according to M. Živojinović the only certain thing about it was that it was promulgated after July 1429, when George Branković was promoted to the rank of a despot<sup>3</sup>.

**Prosopography:**

1. The grand *čelnik* **Radič** is a well known person. The basic studies pertaining to his career are those of S. Novaković, G. Škrivanić, V. Tošić, N. Oikonomidis, E. Zachariadou, M. Živojinović, Đ. Bubalo, C. Pavlikianov and M. Ivanović. In his capacity of *čelnik*, a military rank which was equivalent to the Byzantine *protostrator*, Radič served as a

1. А. Ивић, *Стари српски печати и грбови. Прилог српској сфрагистици и хералдици*, Novi Sad 1910, 35, no. 56 and pl. IX.

2. Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 195.

3. Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 389-390 (note 20) and 399 (note 73).

commander in the armies of the Serbian Despots Stephen Lazarević and George Branković. Our act makes it clear that he was a very wealthy person who possessed considerable fiefs granted to him by his masters, the Serbian despots and the King of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg. Radič is first mentioned in 1413, when the Slavic scholar Constantine of Kosteneč (also known as Constantine the Philosopher) described him in his biography of the Despot Stephen Lazarević as a wise, brave and efficient warrior: ... *ѡгоже въ рѣцѣ искрѣ ѡмьше прѣломивьше оудавише. множество же много побиено бысть и тоу воиньствомъ тьзонменитадо. бѣше же надъ деспотовѣми вон начельникъ радичъ чельникъ, моужь храбрѣишии и моудрѣишии, и малыими глаголы многога съвршаше бѣше, ѡште же съ нимь два воеводы, шанинъ и миханль*<sup>1</sup>. In 1435 Radič was in Smederevo when a treaty was signed between George Branković and Venice. The correlated document described the Serbian envoy as *Radich Celnik, comes palatinus*<sup>2</sup>. Radič was last mentioned as a legal representative of the Serbian ruler on October 24, 1446, when he withdrew a deposit which G. Branković had left in Ragusa in 1441. Radič's ancestry is obscure and his family name was never mentioned, either in his own documents or in those of George Branković. An inscription in a church dedicated to St. George which Radič built in 1431 in the village of Vračevštica, in central Serbia, indicates that the two final syllables of his surname were -*повікъ*, but this detail is to no avail as it offers nothing essential. In the Serbian folklore Radič's surname is Postupović, but this is undoubtedly nothing but a legend. In 1880 S. Novaković's suggested that his full name was Rade Oblačić, but this suggestion is equally unsubstantiated. Based on documents of the Ottoman court at Serrhai, in about 1433 Radič had already retreated to Mount Athos where he became a monk in the Monastery of Kastamonitou, adopting the monastic name Roman. Some of his descendants certainly followed his example as in 1459 a monk named Misail ibn Radič, i.e. Misail the son of Radič, appeared as a witness of Kastamonitou in a Turkish lawcourt<sup>3</sup>.

1. Константин Филозоф и ѡегов живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског. По двјема српско-словенским рукописима издао В. Јагић, ed. V. Јагић, *Гласник Српског ученог друштва* 42 (Belgrade 1875), 308.

2. J. Šafarik, *Acta archivi veneti, spectantia ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium*, II, Belgrade 1862, 299; S. Ljubić, *Listine o одношajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Metlačke republike. Knjiga IX, od godine 1423. do 1452.* (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium XXI), Zagreb 1890, 84; J. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, vol. XV, Munich 1972, 154, no. 3681.

3. Новаковић, *Велики челник Радич*, 154-159; М. Динић, Југозападна Србија у средњем веку, *Зборник Филозофског факултета XI-1. Спомени-*

By 1429 the grand *čelnik* Radič possessed 62 villages scattered in various districts of medieval Serbia and more specifically around 8 main locations: Braničevo, Kučevo, Nekudim, Kruševac, Rudnik, the Upper Morava River, the district of Mačva, and in the region to the north of the Sava River, i.e. in a territory then controlled by the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg<sup>1</sup>.

2. On George Branković, see the prosopography of our act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.

**Topography:** The village of Peščanica is still extant. Today this is the name of a settlement situated near Veliko Gradište, about 7 km to the southwest of the town of Braničevo and close to the Danubian border of modern Serbia<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 5, no. 4; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 531-532; Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 186-187, Appendix III; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 173-175, no. 6.

**Bibliography:** Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 11. K. Dmitriev-Petković described the document in the following way: *Деспота Гюрга на пергаментъ, писанъ зелеными чернилами, потврждаєтъ желаніє властелина великаго Челника Радича приложитъ монастырю св. Павла село Пешчаницу въ Верхнемъ Браничевѣ.*

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*џа Јорџа Тадића*, Belgrade 1970, 243; Г. Шкриванић, *Властелинство великог челника Радича Поступовића*, *ИЧ* 20 (Belgrade 1973), 125-138; В. Тошић, *Велики челник Радич*, *Зборник Матице српске за историју* 13 (Belgrade 1976), 7-21; Kastamonitou, 4-8; Zachariadou, *The Worrisome Wealth*, 383-397; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, 78-80 and 148-149; Παυλικιάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοί*, 49-57; Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 387-402; А. Крстић, *Град Некудим и некудимска власт*, *ИЧ* 55 (Belgrade 2007), 99-111; С. Божанић, *Раваничка села и села великог челника Радича Поступовића „у Мачви“*, *Споменица Историјског архива Срем* 7 (Sremska Mitrovica 2008), 34-45; Бубало, *Прилози српској дипломатици*, 75- 77; Бубало, *Писана реч*, 134, 136, 144 and 170; М. Живојиновић, *Света Гора у светлости аката великог челника Радича манастирима Кастамониту и Ватопеду*, *Пад Српске деспотовине 1459. године* (Научни скупови САНУ 134, Одељење историјских наука 32), Belgrade 2011, 57-62; Павликијанов, *Монаси от славјанско потекло в Кастамонит*, 428-436; М. Ивановић, *Властела државе српских деспота* (doctoral dissertation), Belgrade 2013, 105-106, 129, 163-166 and 171; М. Ивановић, *Средњовековни властелоски поседи у Крушевачком крају*, *Жупски зборник* 8 (Belgrade 2013), 7-221; Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 160-171.

1. Cf. Pavlikianov, *The Post-Byzantine Greek and Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 45-72.

2. 8. Пурковић, *Понис села*, 126; Шкриванић, *Властелинство*, 127 and 133; Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 393 and 395.

*Внизу привѣшена большая восковая печать.* See also G. Čremošnik, *Studije za srednovekovnu diplomatiku i sigilografiju južnih Slovena, Grada Akademije nauka Bosne i Hercegovine* 22, Sarajevo 1976, 140-141, pl. VII; Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 195-196, act no. 7; Ταχιάος, *Σλαβικά ἔγγραφα*, 557, no. 15.2; Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 389-390 and 399; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η ἀθωνική μονή Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 55; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 173-175.

## Text:

† понеже въсакомоу словѣсномоу ѣствоу желателно ѣ привліжити се бѣѣ, и ѿ  
 †8 ||<sup>2</sup> ѣлико възможно ѡсїавати се бжтвннѣ свѣтѡ, вѣроу, доврѡдѣтелини,  
 ||<sup>3</sup> мѣтвннѣ, ѣлика къ бжїю оу҃гожѣнїю възвѡдѣ члѣка, ѣлиже възмѡжно ѣ  
 ||<sup>4</sup> полоу҃чїти вѣчннѣ бл҃гъ наслажѣнїе, да не всѧ іаже здѣ плѣти ѡстаѡвї, ||<sup>5</sup>  
 нь въ вѣчнѡ житїи скрѡбище сеѡе състаѡвїмъ, іакоже и и пр҃жде нѧ вѣвшїи ||<sup>6</sup>  
 цр҃їе и господа, ѡ се тьцѡнїе имоу҃ще и зѣ бл҃гочтнѡ пожївше, и тамѡ-||<sup>7</sup>шнїѣ  
 бл҃гъ наслаждаѡт се. тѣмже и ѧзь въ хѧ бѧ бл҃говѣрннѣ и хрїсто-||<sup>8</sup>любѣвннѣ  
 гнѣ срѡблѣ деспѡ гю҃р, всеср҃чное желанїе и тьцѡнїе ѡ се и-||<sup>9</sup>мѣѣ, ѣже цр҃квы  
 бжтвннѣ кр҃пїти и почтѣ ѣмъ възѡвати, въ ||<sup>10</sup> прѡсѣнїе и ползѡу дѣши  
 своѣи, и въ оутѡржѣнїе и почтѣ б҃годарѡвѡн-||<sup>11</sup>ннѣ дръжавїи госпѡства ми.  
 и се радї прїїде госпѡствоу ми по-||<sup>12</sup>чтѣнннѣ и вѣрннѣ властелїннѣ гпѡ  
 ми чѣлнѣ велїкннѣ радї, и въ-||<sup>13</sup>спомену мѡлѡбнѣ госпѡствоу ми, да си  
 приложїи ѡ своїхъ сѣлѣ ||<sup>14</sup> ѡ бѡщїнскнѣ цю моу и госпѡство ми записѡли и  
 оутѡрждїло пр҃же ||<sup>15</sup> и ѡд онѣхзи сѣлѣ ѣдно оу бранїчевоу гѡрнѡ пешчѡнїцоу  
 ѣ стѡи гѡ-||<sup>16</sup>рѣ стѡпѡвлїанѡ. и бл҃говолїи госпѡство ми прѡсїмѡе томоу и-  
 ||<sup>17</sup>сплѣнїти. и тѡ радї дѡѡѡ знѡти госпѡство ми всакомоу члѣкѣ (sic!) ||<sup>18</sup>  
 въ свѣнїе како бл҃гослѡвї чѣлнїкоу велїкомоу радїчоу, да си ѡнѡ-||<sup>19</sup>зи сѣлѡ  
 вѣше рѣченно пешчѡнїцоу гѡрнѡ оу бранїчевоу приложїи ||<sup>20</sup> стѡпѡвлїанѡ оу стѡи  
 гѡрѣ, съ всѣмннѣ мѣгїамннѣ и прѡвїнамннѣ ||<sup>21</sup> сѣлѡ тѡ, и да га и мѡю стѡпѡвлїанѣ  
 въ вѣкы нїкнѣ нѡѡѡмѡ-||<sup>22</sup>мо, оу живѡтоу госпѡства ми и снѡвѣ госпѡства  
 ми. и мѡю ||<sup>23</sup> і҃гоже бл҃гоизволї бѣ по мнѣ сьдр҃жати госпѡство прѣстѡ-  
 ||<sup>24</sup>ла мѡѡго, илн ѡ снѡвѣ госпѡства ми илн ѡ сьрѡннѣ, илн ||<sup>25</sup> илн кѡ  
 люѡ ѡ бл҃гочтївннѣ, сїемоу мѡѡмоу записѡнїю непо-||<sup>26</sup>творенноу быти нь  
 паче потѡрждѣнноу. аще ли ктѡ дръ-||<sup>27</sup>ражѣг (sic!) се завїстїю дѡѡволюю,  
 сїе запнїїе госпѡства ми разѡ-||<sup>28</sup>рѡти, такоѡѡго да разѡрї и поразї гѣ бѣ и  
 прѣчѡдѡ б҃гомлїи ||<sup>29</sup> здѣ и въ воудѡу҃щїе вѣцѣ, и да ѣ прѡклѣ ѡ силы чт[н]ѡѡго и  
 жи-||<sup>30</sup>вѡтворѣѡѡго крѣта гнѡ, и ѡ четѡре ѡвлїсте, и ѡ вї ||<sup>31</sup> вѡрхшѡвннѣ аплѣ,  
 и ѡ сѣдѣ десѣ избѡрннѣ хѡѡѡхъ зчени[кѣ] ||<sup>32</sup> и ѡ тѣ илн стїї б҃гонѡсннѣ ѡцѣ  
 нїкїѣнскнѣ, и ѡ всѣ ||<sup>33</sup> стїї иже ѡ вѣка ѡс оу҃гожѣшннѣ. ѡмннѣ].

||<sup>34</sup> † мнѡлїю бжїею гнѣ срѡблѣм деспѡтѣ гю҃рѣ.

## Act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8

SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A *HORISMOS* PROMULGATED BY THE EMPEROR JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS FOR THE LAND OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS

6938 (September 1, 1429 - August 31, 1430)

**Type of the document:** *ωρισμο* (l. 15) and *повелѣніє* (l. 23)

**Description:** 15th century Serbian translation of a lost Greek original. It is kept in archival folder no. 56 as act no. 9 and is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 190 x 220 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor and large pieces of the margins are missing. The translated signature of the emperor is written with cinnabar<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 31**).

**Analysis:** The brother of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Demetrios Palaiologos, had taken from the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul a loan of 300 Venetian florins and, in return, had ceded to it royal land totalling 4 *zeugaria* in the abandoned village of Vounadi in the island of Lemnos. He had also given St. Paul the sheepfold of St. Theodore at the locality Phakos in the same island. The monastery was entitled to exploit these properties free of all taxes and charges. Moreover, it was authorized to use various pastures in the island of Lemnos for grazing 500 sheep which had to be transported there every year. If Demetrios Palaiologos returned to the monastery the aforementioned sum of 300 Venetian florins, the privileges and the usufruct described above had to be cancelled. Nevertheless, in the meanwhile the monks of St. Paul were allowed to sell freely everything they were going to build on the land which they had received. Demetrios thereby requested his brother to corroborate his arrangement with the Monastery of St. Paul by issuing an official document. For this reason the emperor promulgated the present *povelenie* (= *horismos* or *prostagma*), according to which the monks of St. Paul were allowed to exploit the land of 4 *zeugaria* and the sheepfold of St. Theodore in the island of Lemnos, without paying taxes and charges, until the moment when Demetrios would return to them the 300 Venetian florins. However, all the buildings which they would have erected until that moment on the land in question were supposed to remain their unquestionable property. Final confirmative clauses. Date: 6938.

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1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 75.

**Note in the margin:** In the left margin, next to the beginning of l. 6, one can see the numeral ϕ (500) written by the hand of the scribe who had copied the Slavic translation. This numeral seems to refer to the number of the sheep which the monks of St. Paul were allowed to pasture in the island of Lemnos.

**Prosopography:** John VIII's brother, Demetrios Palaiologos (1406 or 1407 – 1470 or 1471), was the fifth son of the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and Helena Palaiologina. In 1422 he received from his father the island of Lemnos, but refused to stay there and in 1423 fled to the court of King Sigismund of Hungary, asking for protection against his brothers. He returned to Constantinople in 1427 and in 1429 received the title of despot. In 1429-1430 he was the official governor of Lemnos and it was then when the Greek prototype of our act was issued. In November 1437 he accompanied his brother, John VIII, to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, although he was a declared enemy of the union of the churches. He returned to Constantinople in January 1440 and was soon compelled to abandon Lemnos as a penalty for having returned to Constantinople without the emperor's consent. In 1441 Demetrios was appointed governor of the city Mesembria on the west coast of the Black Sea. In April 1442 he launched an attack on Constantinople with the support of the Ottomans, but failed and was briefly imprisoned. In 1447-1448 he was once again governor of Lemnos. When John VIII died in October 1448, Demetrios tried to secure the Byzantine throne for himself, but his attempt failed due to the intervention of his mother, Helena Dragaš. In 1449, the new emperor, Constantine XI, ceded to him part of the Peloponnese (Morea) in order to keep him away from Constantinople. As a lord of Mystras in 1449-1460 Demetrios had frequent conflicts with his brother, Thomas Palaiologos, who was ruling parts of the Peloponnese since 1428. Facilitated by the two brothers' petty quarrels, in 1460 Mehmed II Fatih arrived in Morea and Demetrios surrendered to him his capital city of Mystras. In return, he received from Mehmed II the town of Ainos near the mouth of the Hebros (Maritsa) River in Thrace, and parts of the nearby islands of Thasos and Samothrake. Demetrios lived in Ainos for seven years, but in 1467 he was suddenly dispossessed by Mehmed II and died as a monk in Adrianople in 1470 or 1471<sup>1</sup>.

1. See PLP, no. 21454. Cf. also 'A. Σιγάλας, 'Ορισμός Δημητρίου δεσπότη, *Ἑλληνικά* 3 (1930), 345; G. Papazoglou, Horismos du Despote Dēmētrios Paléologue, un acte du couvent Dionysiou du Mont Athos, *Byz* 58 (1988), 180; Ταχιάος, *Σλαβικά ἔγγραφα*, 558, no. 15.4; S. Runciman, *Lost Capital of Byzantium: The History of Mistra and the Peloponnese*, London-New York, 2010, 82-83.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 3**): The late medieval topography and toponymy of Lemnos had been studied by H. Lowry<sup>1</sup>, J. Haldon<sup>2</sup>, Ph. Kotzageorgis<sup>3</sup>, and A. Goumatianos<sup>4</sup>.

1. The place name **Vounadi** can be also spelt as **Vouneada**. This was the name of a village situated in the northern part of the island, to the north of the Gulf of Moudros. Our document is the first source that speaks of a property of St. Paul situated at that location, and it seems that this property was first granted to St. Paul with the lost Greek prototype of our charter. The passage **въ мѣстѣ селища вѣснад'скаго** (l. 4) describes Vounadi with the word *selište*. It corresponds verbatim to the Greek fiscal term *palaiochorion*, which means *abandoned, unprofitable settlement*. This detail indicates that by 1429 Vounadi or Vouneada must have already been depopulated to a certain degree. However, to the south Vounadi's domain neighboured the medieval village of Kontovraki (today the village of Hagia Eirene), to the west the settlements of Sardes (this name has remained unchanged through the centuries) and Sverdia (today Daphne), while to the east it abutted the village of Atsiki (its name has also remained unchanged). The

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1. H. Lowry, A Corpus of extant Kanunnames for the Island of Limnos as Contained in the Tapu Tahrir Defter Collection of the Başbakanlık Archives, *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 1 (1980), 41-60; H. Lowry, The Island of Limnos: a Case Study on the Continuity of Byzantine forms Under Ottoman Rule, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Papers of the 1982 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, ed. A. Bryer-H. Lowry), Birmingham-Washington D.C. 1986, 235-259; H. Lowry, The fate of Byzantine Monastic Properties Under the Ottomans: examples from Mount Athos, Limnos and Trabzon, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1990), 275-311; H. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities. Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, Istanbul 2002.

2. J. Haldon, Limnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: ca. 1261-1453, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (papers of the 1982 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, ed. A. Bryer-H. Lowry), Birmingham-Washington D.C. 1986, 171 and the map after p. 188.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Λήμνο*, 125-164; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 121-130; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὰ ἀγιορειτικὰ μετόχια στὴ Λῆμνο, Λῆμνος. Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κληρονομιά* (ed. G. Konstantellis), Athens 2010, 107-129.

4. Ἀ. Γουματιανός, Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν κτηριακὴ διάταξη τῶν ἀγιορειτικῶν μετοχιακῶν συγκροτημάτων στὴν ὑστεροβυζαντινὴ Λῆμνο, *Βυζαντινά* 33 (2014), 345-366. Cf. also Ἀ. Μοσχίδης, *Ἡ Λῆμνος ἦτοι ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς νήσου ταύτης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς δύο τεύχη. Τεύχος Α'. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1770*, Alexandria 1907, 158-164; Β. Τουρπτοσόγλου-Στεφανίδου, *Ταξιδιωτικὰ καὶ γεωγραφικὰ κείμενα γιὰ τὴν νῆσον Λῆμνο (15ος-20ὸς αἰῶνας)*, Thessalonica 1986, 443.

property which St. Paul acquired at Vounadi in 1429-1430 was soon transformed into a dependency which the monastery kept on controlling until 1590, when it sold it to its Athonite neighbour, the Monastery of Dionysiou<sup>1</sup>.

2. The locality **Phakos** (l. 4-5), which in 1429-1430 sheltered the sheepfold of St. Theodore, is well known and its name is still in use today. In fact, Phakos is the name of the peninsula that closes the Gulf of Moudros from the southwest<sup>2</sup>. As we shall see further, in 1431 St. Paul acquired at that locality two new agricultural estates<sup>3</sup>.

**Editions:** Синдик, *Простаγμα цара Јована VIII*, 209-210; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 175-178, no. 7.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Простаγμα цара Јована VIII*, 205-212; Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 196-197, act no. 8; Ταχιάος, *Σλαβικά έγγραφα*, 558, no. 15.4; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η άθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 122; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τò τουρκικό άρχείο τής Τεράς Μονής Αγίου Παύλου για τή Αήμνο*, 126; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Επιτομής Αγίου Παύλου*, 75, no. 28; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 175-178.

#### Text:

† понѣже възлюблѣнныи самобратныи црѣтвѣ ми кѣ димітріе палеологъ ||<sup>2</sup> възеть ѿ ѿже въ стѣи гѣрѣ аѣона чѣныи ѡбѣтѣли стѣго павла флоринны ||<sup>3</sup> венѣтѣны тѣ, іако да да тѣи ѡбѣтѣли въ бѣгоспсѣи нисѣи лимноса землю ||<sup>4</sup> црѣвѣ зевгарѣ четырьемъ, въ мѣстѣ сѣлица вѣнадѣскаго, ѿ съ ѿже въ факѣ ||<sup>5</sup> тѣромъ, ѿже стѣи ѡѣрѣ, іако да ѿма сѣа тѣ ѡбѣтѣль свѣодна съврѣшеѣ, ||<sup>6</sup> пѣвѣ ѿ да ѡсвѣодитѣ тѣи ѡбѣтѣли въ тѣи нисѣи пѣшице (sic!) ѡвцамъ [...] ||<sup>7</sup> на всако лѣто, ѣже аще прѣвѣзѣ ѿноци ѿ надвора, ѿ таковоѣ свѣодѣ, землѣ ||<sup>8</sup> ѿ тѣра. ѿ рѣнны ф ѡвѣць, да ѿма тѣ ѡбѣтѣль неѡскѣдно ѿ непрѣрѣкаемо ||<sup>9</sup> развѣ аще възвратитѣ тѣи ѡбѣтѣли рѣнны възлюблѣнныи братѣ црѣтва мѣ ||<sup>10</sup> рѣнны тѣ флоринѣ венѣтѣнѣ, да прѣстанѣтѣ ѿ рѣннаа свѣода землѣ [...] 5-7 ... ||<sup>11</sup> да ѿмѣтѣ же тѣчѣю свѣодѣ ѿноци ѣже а[ще ...] радѣтѣ ѿ съзѣжѣ[т...10- 15 ...] ||<sup>12</sup> сътѣворѣтѣ, да си възмѣтѣ ѿли продадѣтѣ іакоже хѣтѣтѣ, въ [...] 10- 15 ... ||<sup>13</sup> моли црѣтво ми рѣнныи възлюблѣнныи братѣ мои, да ѣтвердѣтѣ сѣѣ и ѣста- ||<sup>14</sup> менитѣ црѣтво ми по достоинѣствѣ ѿ молиѣнѣю ѣгѣ, ѣже настоѣще тѣмъ по- ||<sup>15</sup> дати ѡризмо, тѣмъже ѿ повелѣваемо іако да рѣннаа чѣнаа ѡбѣтѣль стѣго ||<sup>16</sup> павла прѣимѣтѣ ѿ да ѿма въ лимнѣ рѣннѣю землю четырьемъ зевгарѣмъ ѿ съ ||<sup>17</sup> тѣромъ, безѣ въсако дѣнка, пѣвѣ да

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 122-130.

2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 125.

3. See our act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9.

имать свободу ѿ ѡвцамы ꙗко сътъ ||<sup>18</sup> и хже прѣвеззѣтъ и нѡци ѡ надвора на  
 всако лѣто, развѣ аще възвращена ||<sup>19</sup> вѣдѣтъ тѡи ѡвитѣли рѣнныхъ трѣста  
 флѡринь. тогда да нѣ сѣтъ [ь] ||<sup>20</sup> волни ни ѡвцами, ни землюю, ни [тѡ]ромь,  
 и да ѡтимишт се сѣа ѡ ни х[ь] ||<sup>21</sup> аще же сътвореть съграждѣнѣа нѣкаа и  
 зданѣа, да имь ѣсть свобода ||<sup>22</sup> ѡнѣсти сѣа или продати. и сѣ ради ѡвленѣа  
 и ѡтворѣженѣа, въ сѣе ||<sup>23</sup> настоѣщее написано повелѣнѣе цѡртва ми, в лѣтѣ сѣа  
 и ѡсмо.

||<sup>24</sup> † ЦѡРЬ ДОБРО ІО

### Act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9

SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF AN ACT WHICH THE  
 DESPOT DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS HAD ISSUED IN ORDER  
 TO CONFIRM THE CESSION OF TWO SHEEPFOLDS IN THE  
 ISLAND OF LEMNOS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

February 6939 (1431), *indiction* 9th

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the surviving text.

**Description:** 15th century Serbian translation of a lost Greek original. It is kept in archival folder no. 52 as act no. 7 and is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 210 x 180 mm. The back of the charter is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as parts of the right and the bottom margins, including the translation of the despot's signature, are missing (see **plate no. 32**)<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The monks of St. Paul had received a charter (*povelenie*) promulgated by the brother of the Despot of Lemnos Demetrios Palaiologos, the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. It confirmed as their possession the sheepfold of St. Theodore, which was situated at the locality Phakos in the island of Lemnos. However, there were also two neighbouring sheepfolds, that of Apelmele and one which belonged to a dependency of the Athonite Monastery of Pantocrator. The monks of St. Paul requested Demetrios to give these sheepfolds to their monastery together with the district which was adjacent to them. Demetrios agreed but decided that for using the grazing land of these sheepfolds

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 75.

the monks of St. Paul had to pay to his *vistiari* the sum of 70 Venetian florins. The monks had already delivered this sum and with the present document they were authorized to profit from the sheepfolds of Apelmele, St. Theodore and Pantocrator until the moment when they would get back 370 Venetian florins from the despot's treasury. When they would receive this sum, the land of 4 *zeugaria* described in John VIII's *horismos*<sup>1</sup> and the three sheepfolds had to be returned to the Despot Demetrios. Date: February 6939, *indiction* 9th.

**Mentioned document:** St. Paul is said to have already received a charter labelled *horismos*, which pertained to a terrain of 4 *zeugaria* (оризмо четириемь зеугаромь, l. 19) and was signed by the brother of Demetrios Palaiologos, the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. This must have been the lost Greek prototype of our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8.**

**Remarks:** *Vistiari* (l. 9). The Byzantine administrative term *vestiarios* is of Latin origin. Based on the 14th century ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos, the *vestiarios* was a special treasurer who, in a case that the emperor embarked on a naval expedition, followed him on a ship which carried the necessary fiscal reserve known as *vestiarion*. In Pseudo-Kodinos's list of the Byzantine offices and ranks, the *vestiarios* was registered immediately after the *prokathemenos of the vestiaron* and was probably his assistant<sup>2</sup>.

**Prosopography:** On the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos see the prosopography of our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8.**

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 3**): The text mentions three place names:

1. According to our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8**, the sheepfold of **St. Theodore** (l. 3-4) was situated in the peninsula of Phakos.

2. As far as the sheepfold of **Apelmele** and that of the Athonite Monastery of Pantocrator are concerned (l. 5-6), some years later, in 1436-1437, St. Paul was already known to possess three sheepfolds in Lemnos – that of St. Theodore and those at Phakos and Rhodakinaia: τῆς τε τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων, τῆς εἰς τὸν Φακὸν καὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ῥοδακιναίας<sup>3</sup>. According to Ph. Kotzageorgis, it was the sheepfold of Pantocrator that was situated at the locality Rhodakinea, i.e. in the northeastern section of the peninsula of Phakos<sup>4</sup>. On the contrary, the

1. For the 300 florins, see our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8.**

2. Cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 186, l. 18-23. See also ODB, III, 2163.

3. See our **act no. 35**, l. 12-14.

4. Cf. Κοτζαγεωργής, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Παύλου γιὰ τῆ*

precise location of the sheepfold of Apelmele is unknown.

**Editions:** Синдик, *Простаγμα цара Јована VIII*, 210-211; Pavliki-anov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 179-181, no. 8.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Простаγμα цара Јована VIII*, 205-212; Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 197, act no. 9; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 122; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Ἀἴμνο*, 126 and 130-131; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 75-76, no. 29; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 179-181.

### Text:

† понеже чѣнаа и сѣнна ѡбѣтѣль црѣтва ми, иже въ ѡвонѣ лежещи ||<sup>2</sup> и глѣмаа стго павла и ма ѣже къ себѣ вѣвшее написано повелѣнїе ѡ гна ||<sup>3</sup> ми цра брата црѣтва ми, и іакоже въ немъ пишѣ, тврь иже въ факѣ, иже ||<sup>4</sup> глѣт се сткѣ феѡдоръ, ѣсть же тѣи тврь ѡбѣл'нь и довол'нь къ оупокое- ||<sup>5</sup>нїю овцамя ихъ. соут' же тоу' и дрѡга двѣ твѡра. и оубо ѣдинъ ѡ нїхъ при- ||<sup>6</sup>лѣжит метохѣ пантокрѡтор'скома неѡблѡдаемъ, дрѡга же аплимѣлева. ||<sup>7</sup> и помолїше иноци стго павла да имъ дарѡено и тѣ двѣ твѡра, и прилѡжино къ ||<sup>8</sup> ѡномъ прѣжѣ данномъ имъ твѡрѣ и ѡкрѣстнымъ ихъ, и да дадець сед'мьдѣть ||<sup>9</sup> флѡринъ венетїискѣ къ нашема вистїарѣ. и да имѣть и пасстѡють (sic!) сїхъ, донде ||<sup>10</sup> вѣзмѣть триста и сед'мьдесець флоринъ венетїискѣ ѡ нашего вистїара. и тѣ ||<sup>11</sup> прѡшенїе приѣ црѣтво ми, и повелѣваю съ настоещимъ симъ пѡписанїемъ моимъ ||<sup>12</sup> іако понѣ дѡдоше рѣнны ѡ флѡринъ венетїикъ нїа къ нашема вистїарѣ, да има- ||<sup>13</sup>ють и ѡнї, тврь сткѣ феѡдоръ съ всѣми пашици, и ѡкрѣстными ѣгѡ, и съдрѣж[анїе] ||<sup>14</sup>мъ неѡблѡдатеаѣ ѡ мѣтоха пантокрѡтор'скаго твѡрѣ и іако имѣахѣ тѣ[.....] ||<sup>15</sup> и пасѣхѣ, тако да имѣть и сї. и ѣще данни тѣмъ съ пѡписанїемъ твѡрѣ [аплиме-] ||<sup>16</sup>мѡвъ въ доволство ѡвцамя и, и да имѣть и съдрѣжець сїѡ кромѣ всѡкого [.....] ||<sup>17</sup> рѣн'нїи иноци стго павла, дондеже паки въспрїимѣ триста и сед'мьдесе[ть] ||<sup>18</sup> флоринъ венетїискѣ ѡ наше рїзнице. и по вьнегда вѣзети имъ сїхъ, да боу- ||<sup>19</sup>дѣть паки црѣтва ми и землѡ писаннаа въ ѡризмѣ четиремъ зевгаромъ ||<sup>20</sup> и твѡровѣ всї, и петъ сътъ ѡвцамя пашице, іакож[е ... 20-25 ...] ||<sup>21</sup> писано ѣсть. сего бо ради свѣдѣтелства бѣ настоѣще [... 20-25...] ||<sup>22</sup> [..... м]ца феврѡрїа, индіктивѡ ѡ, въ лѣто ꙗѡца и де[вето .....].

*Аἴμνο*, 130-131; V. Kravari, *Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou*, *TM* 10 (1987), 327, fig. 4 (map).

**Act no. 34. Serbian act no. 10****ACT OF THE MONK SAVATIE WHO ADOPTED A PRIEST  
NAMED BOGDAN AND DECLARED HIM HIS HEIR**

September 4, 6943 (1434)

**Type of the document:** записанїѣ (l. 16)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 32. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 300 x 180 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper. The preservation of the act is poor. There are abundant traces of moisture and the whole right margin is missing together with parts of the text (see **plate no. 33**).

**Analysis:** The monk Savatie declared that he was adopting as his legal heir the priest Bogdan and was bequeathing to him half of the church and half of the house which he himself had inherited from his father in a suburb of the Serbian town of Novo Brdo. Bogdan was thereby entitled to transfer this property to his children and grandchildren in accordance with the law of Novo Brdo and without being disturbed by anyone. In return, Bogdan was obliged to take care of Savatie's burial and to commemorate his name during the liturgy. Religious damnation against any potential abuser of this arrangement. After Savatie's death, the remaining half of the house and the church, together with all the income deriving from them, were supposed to become Bogdan's property too. Witnesses from the clergy were the priests Radovan Pitiković, Desislav, Ivanko, Damian, Stojko, Iživ, Jacob and Vladislav (son-in-law of Lasica). Witnesses from the laity were Dabiživ Poždrikobila, Branko Leočić, Bogdan's nephew Nikašin, and John (son-in-law of Pejo). The document was composed in the town of Novo Brdo by a notary public (*nomik*) named Stephen. Witnesses who represented the local authorities were the *voevoda* Hrnjko, the *protopop* Cagrič, and the *knez* Stephen. Date: September 4, 6943. Anyone who might attempt to nullify the arrangement described above must pay a fine of 500 *perperi*.

**Note in the upper margin:** Σαββατίου μοναχοῦ ... ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὴν Σερβίαν (late 19th or early 20th century handwriting).

**Prosopography:**

1. In 1437 the priest **Bogdan** (l. 3) appeared as a witness in a cadaster of the notary Michael Lukarević which is kept in the archives of Ragusa (Dubrovnik): *Bogdan pop in gexia de pop Zesibixo e Vladissau piegi*

per *Radiuoi Pruxaz*<sup>1</sup>.

2. According to Đ. Bubalo, the priest **Vladislav** (*Vladissau*) who in 1437 was mentioned together with the priest Bogdan in Lukarević's cadaster (see the Italian text in the entry above), was probably identical with the priest Vladislav of our document (l. 21)<sup>2</sup>. However, this cannot be proved for sure.

3. In 1433 the *voevoda* **Hrnjko** (l. 24) was mentioned in an act of the Despot George Branković concerning the debts of the Serbs from Novo Brdo and the debts of the merchants from Ragusa<sup>3</sup>. Before 1438 he was replaced as a *voevoda* of Novo Brdo by a certain Priezda<sup>4</sup>.

4. In 1438 the *knez* **Stephen** (l. 25) was mentioned in Lukarević's cadaster as *Stepan conte*, i.e. his title of *knez* was interpreted as equal to the Italian title of count (*conte*). In 1439 he replaced the aforementioned Priezda as a *voevoda* of Novo Brdo<sup>5</sup>.

5. In 1435-1438 the resident of Novo Brdo, **Branko Leočić** (l. 22), was mentioned in Lukarević's cadaster as *Brancho Lechich furnich*<sup>6</sup>. The term *furnich* derives from the Latin *furnus* (oven) and indicates that his profession was probably connected with the local metallurgy.

#### Topography (cf. map no. 2):

The mediaeval fortress of **Novo Brdo** was situated in the district of Kosovo, about 40 km to the east of Priština and about 35 km to the north of Gnjilane. During the first half of the 15th century it was an important mining centre producing approximately 6 tons of silver per year<sup>7</sup>. It was first taken by the Turks in 1441, restored to the Serbs in 1443 and finally reconquered by the Ottomans in 1455<sup>8</sup>.

1. Динић, *Из Дубровачког архива I*, 56.

2. Бубало, *Српски номици*, 185.

3. М. Динић, *За историју рударства*, 66 and 73-75; Спремић, *Деспот Бугарађ Бранковић*, 685; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 185.

4. Динић, *За историју рударства*, 74 and 97-99; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 186. On the title *voevoda* see Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 67, no. 219.

5. Динић, *Из Дубровачког архива I*, 59 and 72; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 186. On the title *knez* see Новаковић, *Законик Стефана Душана*, 48, no. 154.

6. Динић, *Из Дубровачког архива I*, 37, 46, 63, 76 and 80; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 186.

7. Динић, *За историју рударства*, 22, 48 and 72; Н. Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, Belgrade 1962, passim.

8. М. Динић, *Ново Брдо, Старинар 5-6* (Belgrade 1956), 247-294; И. Здравковић, *Археолошко-конзерваторски радови на Новом Брду од 1952-1956. године, Гласник Музеја Косова и Метохије 1* (Приштина 1956), 329-342; Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 174-175; Pavlikianov, *The Post-*

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 51; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 88; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 258-259, Appendix V; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 181-183, no. 9.

**Bibliography:** Дмитријевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 14. In 1865 K. Dmitriev-Petkovič described the document in the following way: *Деспота Гурга ... его же 6943 (1435), на пергаментъ съ большою восковою печатію. Имъ монахъ Саватіи усыновляетъ попа Богдана и даетъ ему половину церкви отцовской и имѣнія въ Новомъ Бръду. Между свидѣтелями подписался воевода Хр'н'ко*<sup>1</sup>. See also Синдик, *Српске повеле*, 197-198, act no. 10; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μουή Αγίου Παύλου*, 56; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 176-186; Бубало, *Писана реч*, 178; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 181-183.

**Text** (we restored the missing text using the old edition of Lj. Stojanović<sup>2</sup>, enclosing the restored passages in square brackets):

† въ ѿме ѡца и сѣна и стѣг[о доуха] ||<sup>2</sup> да ѿ въ свѣнїе въсаком[с чловѣкоу ово, како га] ||<sup>3</sup> мона саватїе, приим[къ себе попа богдана] ||<sup>4</sup> оу снѡв'нѣ имѣ, и дад[охъ моу и записахъ половиноу] ||<sup>5</sup> црѣке мое бащине [и половиноу коуче мое ба-] ||<sup>6</sup> щин'не ѡ поградїю, и [такои дадохъ га саватїе] ||<sup>7</sup> и бгослови половиѣ [више реченне црѣке и коу-] ||<sup>8</sup> че да ю ѡнъ ѿ ма и негѡ [дете и оуноуче и родъ] ||<sup>9</sup> по родѣ ѡ бащинѣ до [века по законуу града ново-] ||<sup>10</sup> га бръда никѣ неѡе[млѣмо, или ѿ кога гро-] ||<sup>11</sup> бнина или ѿ кои доход[ькъ, все богуу и немоу, тьчї-] ||<sup>12</sup> да ми ѿ помень, и да [ме оупокон колико га] ||<sup>13</sup> бѣ наоучи како то снѣ [родителѣ. и що бешѣ] ||<sup>14</sup> црква д[оужна п]ла[тити и ..... црѣк-] ||<sup>15</sup> вѣ кзплени[цоу]. и да ѿ [проклетѣ ѡ ба и ѡ] ||<sup>16</sup> пречѣте, тко че ѡвои [потворити що га дадохъ] ||<sup>17</sup> и записа поплѣ боганѣ [прѣдѣ сведоци] ||<sup>18</sup> [до мое сьмрѣти] половиноу, а по м[оеи сьмрѣти бжїе] ||<sup>19</sup> и негѡ все. и томѣ и свед[оци по радѡвѣ] ||<sup>20</sup> питиковѣ, и по дѣс[иславъ и по иванко] ||<sup>21</sup> и по дамїанъ, и по стоїко, и по [иживъ (sic!) и по] ||<sup>22</sup> владиславъ ласинъ зетъ, и по ѿакѡ [и дабиживъ] ||<sup>23</sup> пожрїковила, и брѣнко [левчи и никашинъ,] ||<sup>24</sup> поплѣ боганѣ брата[нъць, иванъ пейнъ зетъ] ||<sup>25</sup> и ѡ градѣ ѡ ново бръдѣ [воевода хрѣнко] ||<sup>26</sup> и протопопа [ц]агр[ичъ и кнезь] стѣпанъ ||<sup>27</sup> въ лето 6943 и ц [и мѣ мѣца се] ||<sup>28</sup> ктѣмрїа (sic!) д днѣ. ||<sup>29</sup> [писа номикъ стѣпанъ] ||<sup>30</sup> [.....] потвори, да плати за [.....] граѣ ф перперъ.

*Byzantine Greek and Slavic Archives of Kastamonitou*, 63-64.

1. Дмитријевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39.

2. Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 51.

## Act no. 35

CHRYSOBULL GRANTED TO THE MONASTERY OF ST.  
PAUL BY THE EMPEROR JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS FOR ITS  
PROPERTY IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS

6945 (1436-1437), *indiction* 15th

**Type of the document:** χρυσόβουλλος λόγος (l. 21, 31 and 41-42)

**Description:** The document is presently not available in the monastery. Its text is known from a 17th century copy which was published in 1893 by Karl Eduard Zachariä von Lingenthal. His edition, however, was based on a photograph made in the 1860s and kept in St. Petersburg. Today the Monastery of St. Paul has only a typewritten copy of the act which was authenticated by the authorities of Mount Athos (*Hiera Koinotes*) on February 10, 1943<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The Emperor John VIII Palaiologos stated that some years earlier the monasteries of Mount Athos were receiving sufficient income from their dependencies and properties outside the Holy Mountain. However, the situation recently deteriorated because of the incursions of the barbarians (i.e. the Turks) who were taking over the monastic properties and were constantly troubling and pauperizing the monasteries. It was the poverty that compelled the monks of the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul to send their representatives to Constantinople. These representatives asked the emperor to give them royal land of four *zeugaria* in the island of Lemnos, in the village of Vouneades. They also asked him to give them three sheepfolds in the same island – those of St. Theodore and Rhodakinaia, and one which was situated at the locality Phakos. Moreover, they requested the emperor to grant them the land of the serf (*paroikos*) Rodampelos and to declare all the aforementioned estates exempt from all taxes and mainly from the *ennomion* tax. They also asked for a permission to pasture in Lemnos 500 sheep without paying fees and charges. With the present chrysobull the emperor officially authorized the Monastery of St. Paul to possess in the island of Lemnos land of four *zeugaria* near the village of Vouneades, the sheepfold at Phakos, the sheepfolds of St. Theodore and Rhodakinaia, and the land of the serf Rodampelos. John VIII also allowed the monks to pasture in Lemnos 500 sheep without paying the tax *ennomion*. Final

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ μονή Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 15-16.

confirmative clauses. Date: 6945, *indiction* 15th. The text of the copy states that the original had a golden seal with an image of the emperor holding a cross. This image was encircled by the inscription *John in Christ Emperor of the Rhomaioi, Palaiologos*.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 3**): On the localities **St. Theodore** (l. 12) and **Rhodakinaia** (l. 13) see the topography of our **act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9**. For the localities **Phakos** (l. 12) and **Vouneades** (l. 11 and 22), see the topography of our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8**.

**Editions**: K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Einige ungedruckte Chrysobullen*, *Mémoires de l'Académie imperiale des sciences de St. Petersbourg*, VII series, XLI/4 (1893), 19-20.

**Bibliography**: Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Einige ungedruckte Chrysobullen*, 19; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 16.

**Text** (as published by Zachariä von Ligenthal in 1893):

- 1 Ἴσον ἀπαράλλακτον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου εὐεργετηρίου χρυσοβούλλου  
τοῦ αἰοιδίου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων Ἰωάννου τοῦ  
Παλαιολόγου περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ τεσσάρων ζευγαρίων γῆς  
τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου εὐεργετηθέντων τῇ κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος μονῇ τοῦ  
Ἁγίου Παύλου.
- 5 Αἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος τὸν Ἄθω σεβάσμαιι μοναὶ τῆς βασιλείας  
μου πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τόπων καὶ μετοχίων αὐτῶν πολλὰς καὶ  
παντοίας ἀπεφέροντο προσόδους, ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ  
τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν θεραπεύοντες χρείας εἰρηρικῶς τὸν ἀξίεπαινον  
ἑαυτῶν διήνυσον βίον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείᾳ προσέχοντες. Πρὸ χρόνων δέ  
10 τινων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς παρόντας μάλιστα καιροὺς τὰ πλεῖστα μὲν ἐκείνων  
ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι, ἃ δὲ ἔχειν δοκοῦσι καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ  
πολλῆς ἐνοχλήσεως καὶ ἐπηρείας καρπούμεναι βαρβαρικῆς, εἰς ἔνδειαν  
τε καὶ στένωσιν κατέστησαν οὐ μετρίαν. Ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ ἡ  
ἐκεῖσε μονῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου συναλαθεῖσα, ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
15 μού τινας τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μοναχῶν, δι' ὧν ἐδεήθη καὶ παρεκάλεσεν, ἵνα  
εὐεργετήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θεοσώστῳ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ γῆν ἡμετέραν  
ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν τοῦ χωρίου τῶν Βουνεάδων,  
μετὰ καὶ τῶν μαυρῶν, τῆς τε τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων, τῆς εἰς τὸν Φακὸν  
καὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ῥοδακιναίας, ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν γῆν παροίκου τοῦ  
20 Ῥοδαμπέλου, ὡς ἂν ἔχη ταύτας ἢ τοιαύτη μονὴ ἐλευθέρως τέλους,  
ὁμοίως ἵνα ἐλευθεροῖ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Λήμνῳ κατ' ἔτος ἐνόμιον προβάτων  
πεντακοσίων, καὶ ἔχη τὰς εἰρημένας εὐεργεσίας τῆς βασιλείας μου ἢ  
προειρημένη μονὴ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνου ἀκωλύτως πάντη καὶ

25 ἀνενοχλήτως. Ἡ βασιλεία μου τοίνυν ἀπιδοῦσα πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ  
 τὴν χρεῖαν τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς, καὶ ἐπινεύσασα τῇ ταύτης ζητήσει, τὸν  
 παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον λόγον ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπιβράβευει αὐτῇ, δι' οὗ  
 εὐδοκεῖ, προστάσσει, θεσπίζει καὶ διορίζεται, ἵνα ἡ διαληφθεῖσα μονῆ  
 τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἔχῃ ἐν τῇ θεοσώστῳ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ γῆν ζευγαρίων  
 30 τεσσάρων περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν τοῦ χωρίου τῶν Βουνεάδων, μετὰ καὶ  
 τῶν μανδρῶν, τῆς τε τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων, τῆς εἰς τὸν Φακὸν καὶ τῆς  
 καλουμένης Ῥοδακιναίας, ἔτι τε καὶ τῇ γῆν παροίκου τοῦ Ῥοδαμπέλου,  
 ὡς ἂν ἔχῃ ταύτας ἢ τοιαύτη μονὴ ἐλευθέρας τέλους, ὁμοίως ἵνα ἐλευθεροῖ  
 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Λήμνῳ κατ' ἔτος εὐνόμιον προβάτων πεντακοσίων, καὶ ἔχῃ  
 τὰς εἰρημένας εὐεργεσίας τῆς βασιλείας μου ἢ προειρημένη μονὴ εἰς  
 35 τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀκωλύτως πάντῃ καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως. Τῇ γοῦν  
 ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος χρυσοβούλλου λόγου τῆς βασιλείας μου  
 καθέξει καὶ νεμηθήσεται ἡ προειρημένη μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἐν τῇ  
 θεοσώστῳ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ γῆν ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν  
 τοῦ χωρίου τῶν Βουνεάδων, μετὰ καὶ τῶν μανδρῶν, τῆς τε τῶν Ἁγίων  
 40 Θεοδώρων, τῆς εἰς τὸν Φακὸν καὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ῥοδακιναίας, ἔτι τε  
 καὶ τὴν γῆν παροίκου τοῦ Ῥοδαμπέλου, ὡς ἂν ἔχῃ ταύτας ἢ τοιαύτη  
 μονὴ ἐλευθέρας τέλους, ὁμοίως ἵνα ἐλευθεροῖ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Λήμνῳ κατ'  
 ἔτος εὐνόμιον προβάτων πεντακοσίων, καὶ ἔχῃ τὰς εἰρημένας εὐεργεσίας  
 τῆς βασιλείας μου ἢ προειρημένη μονὴ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον  
 45 ἀκωλύτως πάντῃ καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως. Καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτων δήλωσιν καὶ  
 ἀσφάλειαν ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην μονὴν καὶ ὁ παρὼν χρυσόβουλλος  
 λόγος τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον τῆς νῦν  
 50 τρεχούσης καὶ ἐνισταμένης πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ἐξάκισ  
 χιλιοστοῦ ἑννακισιοστοῦ τεσσαρακοστοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ  
 ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο κράτος.

† Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων  
 ὁ Παλαιολόγος. †

Ἡ σφραγὶς μαλαγματηρᾶ, ἔχουσα ἐξ ἑνὸς μέρους τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ  
 55 βασιλέως μετ' ἐπιγραφῆς τοιαύτης: Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκράτωρ  
 Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος, ἐνδεδυμένου μετὰ βασιλικῆς στολῆς καὶ  
 κρατοῦντος ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σταυρόν.

**Act no. 36. Serbian act no. 11**

DEED SIGNED BY RADOSAVA, WIFE OF  
RADONJA MIRKOVIĆ, WHO IS SELLING TO THE ATHONITE  
MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL HER HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF  
TREPČA

January 9, 6946 (1438)

**Type of the document:** *записаније* (l. 10-11)

**Description:** 15th century Serbian original kept in archival folder no. 52 as act no. 6. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 220 x 230 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is relevantly good but, due to a damaged fold of the paper, the end of l. 6 is not readable (see **plate no. 34**).

**Analysis:** The wife of Radonja Mirković, Radosava, sold to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul her house in the village of Trepča, but retained the right to live until the end of her life in one of its rooms together with her sister. After the death of the two sisters all the house was supposed to become unquestionable property of St. Paul. Witnesses were the *protopop* Nicholas, Božiko Milénović, Ivan the *urbarar*, and Priezda Milmanović. Date: January 9, 6946. The act was composed by a notary (*nomik*) named Gunjan.

**Remarks:**

The term *urbarar* (l. 10) referred to a Serbian state official who was in charge of the mining activity. The word derived from the Latin *urbararius* and designated a person who controlled the exploitation of ore deposits, approved the mining concessions and was responsible for maintaining the mines in good condition. He was obliged to list in a special book all the legal issues connected with the mines and was authorized to collect the taxes levied on mining<sup>1</sup>.

**Prosopography:**

1. In 1430-1440 **Božićko Milenović** (l. 9) and his brothers, Bogdan and Vlahota, were actively trading across Serbia. They were authorized to collect customs duties (*царина*) and were also running a silver work-

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1. Б. Марковић, Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића (превод и правноисторијска студија), *Споменик Српске Академије наука и уметности* CXXVI, Belgrade 1985, 55-56; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 193.

shop in the town of Priština<sup>1</sup>.

2. **Priezda Milmanović** (l. 10). According to Đ. Bubalo, this person probably belonged to the Ragusan branch of the clan Milmanović or Miomanović<sup>2</sup>. An earlier representative of the same clan named Nikša Milmanović was acting in 1383 as a merchant from Ulcinj (Dulcigno) who had acquired Ragusan citizenship<sup>3</sup>.

3. The *nomik* **Gunian** (l. 12) is known only from this document. The Serbian term *nomik* means a notary public and is a loan from Greek. Its prototype is the Greek word *nomikos* (νομικός), which, however, is only one of the several Byzantine terms referring to this profession - *notarios* (νοτάριος), *tabellion* (ταβελλίων), *taboullarios* (ταβουλλάριος), and *symbol(ai)ographos* (συμβολ(αι)ογράφος)<sup>4</sup>. Gunian's activity as a notary public was detailedly commented in 2004 by Đ. Bubalo, who assumed that his name, which is unique and does not appear in other sources, was related to the Serbian word *gunja*, which means "rough woolen fabric"<sup>5</sup>. If so, it was not a personal name, but a nickname transformed into a sobriquet. Regardless that no personal data about Gunjan and his exotic name are preserved, one may speculate that his name could also be a phonetic variant of the common Balkan Slavic name Ognjan or Ognjen which is known to have been in use ever since the late 14th century<sup>6</sup>.

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1. Динић, *Из Дубровачког архива III*, 183, no. 5. See also Бубало, *Српски номици*, 193.

2. See Бубало, *Српски номици*, 194.

3. Cf. Р. Ђук, *Србија и Венеција у XIII и XIV веку*, Belgrade 1986, 75; L. Čoralić, *Iz prošlosti istočnoga Jadrana - tragom iseljenika iz grada Ulcinja u Mlecima, Povijesni prilozi (Historical Contributions)* 27 (Zagreb 2004), 37-55.

4. Cf. ODB, II, 1495; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 49-64. On the term *taboullarios* cf. also М. Сюзюмов, *Византийская книга епарха*, Moscow 1962, 45-50, 72-76 and 107-111. The term *symbolaiographos* is typical of Modern Greek. The Byzantine terms were *symbolographos* (συμβολογράφος), *taboullarios* (ταβουλλάριος) and *tabellion* (ταβελλίων). Cf. *Κωνσταντινίου Ἀρμενόπουλου Πρόχειρον νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος*, ed. K. Pitsakis, Athens 1971, 53; H. Saradi, *Le notariat byzantine du IXe au XVe siècles*, Athens 1991, 141-161.

5. See Бубало, *Српски номици*, 122-123 and 186-191.

6. There is a late 14th century rock inscription commissioned by a *sevast* named Ognjan which in 1919 was found in northwestern Bulgaria, near the village of Voženica. On its text see П. Мутафчиевъ, Боженишкият надписъ, *Списание на Българската Академия на науките* XXII (Sofia 1922), 88-114 (= П. Мутафчиевъ, Боженишкият надпис, *Избрани произведения* I, Sofia 1973, 493-495); Б. Цоневъ, Каменният надпис надъ с. Боженица, *Списание на Българската*

**Topography** (cf. map no. 2): Even today the town of Trepča, or Rudnik Trepča (Trepča Mines), is the centre of a large scale mining activity producing lead, zinc, silver, and gold. It is situated in the district of Kosovo, to the northeast of the city of Kosovska Mitrovica<sup>1</sup>.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 52, no. 7; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 260, Appendix VI; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 184-186, no. 10.

**Bibliography:** Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 40, act no. 22. In 1865 K. Dmitriev-Petkovič erroneously dated the document to 1402 describing it in the following way: *Купчая на бумагъ по сербски 6910 (1402). Радосава жена Радоніе Мирковикта продаетъ монастырю св. Павла свой домъ*. See also Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 198, act no. 11; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 56; Бубало, *Српски номици*, 186-194; Бубало, *Писана реч*, 178; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 184-186.

### Text:

† въ ѿме ѿца и сѣна и сѣго дѣха, ѿм(инь), ꙗ радосава радоніе мир-||<sup>2</sup>ковикта жена, продадѣ кѣкю мою ѿ градѣ ѿ трепче чѣтно<sup>м</sup> ||<sup>3</sup> монастырѣ сѣтопавльскомѣ, да имь е ѿ бащинѣ вѣчнѣ никѣ ||<sup>4</sup> неѡемимѣ, а за мога живота ако бѣ кѣ бѣзи да имамь ||<sup>5</sup> ѡ кѣкѣ ѣдѣнь кѣларѣ гдѣ кю привѣгнѣ с сестрѣ, а по сѣмьрѣти ||<sup>6</sup> нашои вѣсе да е бѣжѣ и монастырско, и ино цю [бѣ... 10-15 ... ако] ||<sup>7</sup> ли бих се ꙗ радосава расказаши, или кто ѡъ моихѣ дръзнѣвши ||<sup>8</sup> цю поискати, да мѣ не вѣрванно ни на еднѣи правде. а то-||<sup>9</sup>мѣ и свѣдоци: прѣпопа никѣла, и божикко (sic!) мил[ѣновѣ], ||<sup>10</sup> ѡванѣ ѣрбарарѣ, и приѣзда милмановѣ. а овози се запи-||<sup>11</sup>са мѣца гѣнара, ѿ дѣнь, а въ лѣтѣ сѣцѣ сѣтно мѣ лѣтѣ. ||<sup>12</sup> ꙗ ѿмѣ говниан писѣ и свѣдокѣ.

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*Академия на наукитѣ XXII* (Sofia 1922), 117-121.

1. М. Динић, Трѣпча у средњем веку, *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор* 33/1-2 (Belgrade 1967), 3-10; Б. Храбак, Дмитровица, Трѣпча и рудници на Рогозни (до 1600. године), *Звѣчан* 1, Kosovska Mitrovica 1996, 55-83.

**Act no. 37**

DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE LEASE OF A DEPENDENCY  
WHICH THE MONASTERY OF XENOPHONTOS POSSESSED  
IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS TO THE  
MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

October 13, 6952 (1443), *indiction* 7

**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 9)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 51. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 140 x 230 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as there are abundant traces of moisture and numerous ruptures and holes all over the folds. Moreover, large parts of the document's left part are missing (see **plate no. 35**)<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The monks of St. Paul declared that the Athonite Monastery of Xenophontos had rented to them for 20 years the dependency which it possessed in the island of Lemnos. The agreement included all the agricultural terrains, vegetable gardens and vineyards which Xenophontos owned in Lemnos. The monks of St. Paul agreed to pay a rent of 200 *aspra* (*akçe*) per year and the tax which was due to the state authorities (*telos tou demosiou*). After 20 years, the monks of Xenophontos would have, once again, the legal right to get back their dependency and all its property. Date: October 13, 6952, *indiction* 7.

**Signatures:** 1. Methodios, ex-abbot; 2. Gabriel, priest monk; 3. Nestor, priest-monk; 4. Ioakeim, priest-monk; 5. Unreadable signature; 6. Dositheos, monk; 7. Theophanes, monk; 8. Unreadable signature; 9. Gerasimos, metropolitan of Lemnos.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 3**): On the properties of St. Paul in the island of Lemnos, see our **act no. 32**. **Serbian act no. 8**, **act no. 33**. **Serbian act no. 9**, and **act no. 35**.

**Editions:** *unpublished*

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 28; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Αγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Ἀἴμνο*, 127; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Αγίου Παύλου*, 122; V. Kravari, *Les biens de Xénophon à Lemnos au 15e siècle*, *REB* 66 (2008), 248-251; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 76-77, no. 30.

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 76.

**Text:**

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ Υἱοῦ (καὶ) τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τ(ῆ)ς ἀγί(ας) καὶ ἀληθοῦς ὑπερευλογη(μένη)ς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θ(εοτό)κου καὶ ἀεὶ παρθένου ||<sup>2</sup> [Μαρίας ... 10-12 ...] ὁ Ἅγιος Παῦλος παρελάβαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦς Ξενοφωντινοῦς τὸ μετόχιον τῆς Λήμνου ||<sup>3</sup> [...10-15 ...] καὶ χωραφίων [..]ατ[..]ίον καὶ κύπον, καὶ ὅσα εὕρισκοντ(αι) ἐκεῖσαι, ξενω-||<sup>4</sup>[... 12-15 ...] δίδουν πρ(ὸ)ς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος [ἄσπρα] διακόσια κατ' ἔτος καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ δημοσίου ||<sup>5</sup> [... 15-20 ...] εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Παῦλον ἰ[.] ἔναι ἀπὸ [..]νῶν νὰ ἔναι εἰς [... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>6</sup> [....] ζημίαν νὰ πα[...]λάβετ(ε) αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τ(ῆ)ν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἀνενόχλητα, νὰ ἔχετ(ε) αὐτὸ [... 10-15 ...] ||<sup>7</sup> [...] πληρωμένον τὸν οἶκοςι χρόνον, νὰ ἔχει ἄδιαν οἱ μονὴ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος τὸ αὐτὸ μετόχιον. ||<sup>8</sup> [...] Ἐγένετο καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν γράμμα ἐν μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ιγ', (ἰνδικτῶνος) ζ' τοῦ ξ'νβ'.

||<sup>9</sup> [Ἐγ]ράφην καὶ τὸ π(α)ρὸν ἡμῶν γράμμα, Μεθόδιος κ(αὶ) προηγούμεν(ος).

||<sup>10</sup> [Γα]βρυῆλ ἱερέμο(να)χα (sic).

Νέστορος ἱερομονάχου.

† Ἰωακῆμ ἱερομόναχος στέργον ὑπ(έ)γραψα).

||<sup>11</sup> [.....]του μοναχοῦ.

Δοσιθέου μοναχοῦ.

[Θεο]φανοῦ μοναχοῦ (sic).

[.....] ἱερομονάχου ||<sup>14</sup> [...] καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν.

||<sup>13</sup> [... 20-25 ...] † μ(ητ)ροπολίτης Λήμνου Γεράσιμος.

**Act no. 38**

DELIMITATION OF THE DEPENDENCY WHICH THE  
ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL POSSESSED IN THE  
PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA

April 23, 6953 (1445)

**Type of the document:** περιορισμός (l. 1)

**Description:** No original is available. The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variante no. 1.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 43. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 260 x 280 mm. Its preservation is poor and there are numerous ruptures and holes all over the folds (see **plates nos. 36-37**).

**Variante no. 2.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 43. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 340 x 250 mm. Its preservation is very good.

**Variante no. 3.** 19th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17, section *Collective copy of Byzantine documents*. It is written with black ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 450 x 310 mm. Its preservation is good and there are only few ruptures along the folds.

**Variante no. 4.** 20th century copy kept in archival folder no. 43. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 280 x 215 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>.

**Dating:** After the phrase *μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ* at the end of line 15 of **Variante no. 1** one could see the unreadable remains of several letters which undoubtedly referred to a year. However, this year has been copied in **Variante 3** whose text reads: *ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἑξακίς χιλιοστῶ ἐννεακοσιοστῶ πεντηκοστῶ τρίτῳ*, i.e. in 6953. For this reason, in 1981 K. Chrysochoidis reasonably dated the delimitation to 1445. The dating of the document to 1419, which was proposed by Ph. Kotzageorgis in 2008, is unsubstantiated<sup>2</sup>.

#### **Analysis:**

The border line of the dependency which the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul possessed the peninsula of Kassandra started from the sea shore, near a locality called Daphnion where there was a border mark engraved on a rock. Further it followed the riverbed of a large stream to the south. The property of St. Paul was to the right of this stream, while the property of the village of Aphetos was to its left. The border line then passed through a precipitous place in which another border mark was placed, and reached the public trail that connected the castle of Kassandra with the village of Hagios Demetrios. At that place there was a border mark after which the boundary turned to the west, followed the aforementioned trail for a while and crossed a small stream called Stauros. At that point the border line was marked with a large piece of round white marble. From its beginning up to this place its length totalled 182 *schoinia*. After the stream of Stauros, the boundary turned to the north leaving the property of St. Paul to its right and the royal terrains to its left. It crossed a forested slope where another large round piece of marble was placed. The border then descended steeply to the sea, turned to the east following the coast, passed along a

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 69.

2. Χρυσόχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 262; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 69-71.

newly built defensive tower, and finally ended at its starting point near Daphnion. The length of the last three sections of the demarcation was not measured with *schoinia*, because the relief was difficult and very steep. Date: April 23, 6953.

**Topography** (cf. map no. 6):

1. For the village of **Hagios Demetrios** (l. 4) in the peninsula of Kassandra, see the topography of our **act no. 20**.

2. The village of **Aphetos** (today it is spelt as Aphytos or Athytos) is still extant in the northern part of the peninsula of Kassandra, about 5 km to the south of the village of Nea Phokaia and its well preserved 15th century tower, which was constructed after 1407 for the defense of the dependency of St. Paul (see the topography of our **act no. 19**). Evidently, St. Paul's *metochion* in Kassandra included various agricultural terrains located near the east coast of the peninsula, between the village of Aphetos and what is today the settlement of Nea Phokaia.

3. In 1319 the place name **Daphne or Daphnion** (l. 1) was mentioned as a toponym adjacent to the village of Aphetos in a description of the properties of the Monastery of Chilandar<sup>1</sup>. This toponym is still in use today.

**Editions:** Dionysiou, terrain terrain 118, no. 20 (only a minor fragment of the text).

**Bibliography:** Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 130, no. 45/46, VI; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 10; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 114-115; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 69-71, no. 24.

**Text:**

Ὁ περιορισμὸς τῆς γῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἔχει οὕτως·

† Ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς παραλίου, καὶ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτῆς τόπου, τοῦ οὕτως ὀνομαζομένου Δαφνίου, ἔνθα καὶ λίθινον ἐτέθη παρ' ἡμῶν σύνορον, ||<sup>2</sup> ὀρθοῖ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἰσέρχεται τὸν αὐτόθι μέγαν ῥύακα, καὶ πορεύεται μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιμίκων, δεξιὰ τὸ περιοριζόμενον, ||<sup>3</sup> ἀριστερὰ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Ἀφέτου, ἀφήσει τὸν ῥύακα περικόπτων τινὰ ἀπελθεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καὶ σύνορον ὅμοιον τῷ τοῦ προτέρου, ||<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τό γε ἀπέρχεται καὶ ἀκουμβίζει εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἀμάξηγῆν, τ(ήν) ἀπὸ τοῦ κάστρου Κασανδρείας πορευομένην εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτριον, ||<sup>5</sup> ἐν ᾗ ὁμοίως ἐτέθη παρ' ἡμῶν σύνορον, κλίνει πρὸς δύσιν μετὰ τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) ὁδοῦ (καὶ) πορεύεται μετ' αὐτῆς καθῶς κυκλεύει περι-||<sup>6</sup>κόπτων

1. *Actes de Chilandar (actes grecs)*, 97, no. 40, l. 50-65. See also Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 364.

μικρὸν ῥυακίτζιον, ὄπ(ερ) ἐγγωρίως Σ(ταυρ(ὸ)ς ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ διαφόρ(ων) ὁδῶν περιτέμεσθαι, καὶ καταντᾶ εἰς τὸ ||<sup>7</sup> τεθὲν πλησίον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀρκτηκώτερον στρογγυλοειδὲς λευκὸν μαρμάρινον σύνορον, σχοιν(ία) ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα δύο, ἐντεῦ(θεν) ||<sup>8</sup> νεύει πρὸς ἄρκτον, δεξιὰ τὸ περιοριζόμενον ἀριστερὰ τὰ βασιλικά τόπια, διέρχεται τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἀνάπλαγα, (καὶ) τὰ δενδρού-||<sup>9</sup>μενα τρία ἡνωμ(ένα) πετζιάκια, ἔνθα καὶ ἕτερον μαρμάρινον στρογγυλὸν ἐτέθη. Ἀπὸ τούτου κατωφορεῖ κατ(ὰ) πολὺ, καὶ τὰ ἐνορ-||<sup>10</sup>δίνως [... 8-10 ...] διερχόμενος ἐμπίπτει εἰς τ(ὴν) θάλασσαν [...]φὸς ἕως [... 8-10 ...] βρόχων ἀλήξ[.] καὶ πολλῶ τῶ ἰδρώτι περιρε-||<sup>11</sup>όμ(ενος), κάντεῦθεν τῆ ἄλμη γλιχόμενος, στρέφεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῆς παραλί(ου) διελθὼν, αἶ συνέχουσι ||<sup>12</sup> τὸν νεωστὶ οἰκοδομηθέντα πύργον, ἔρχεται καὶ ἀποδίδωσιν ὅθεν (καὶ) ἤρξατο, ἦτοι εἰς τὸν διαληφθέντα τόπον τοῦ Δαφνίου. ||<sup>13</sup> Σχοινοσμός δὲ οὐ γέγονε, κ(αὶ) ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ πλευραῖς διὰ τὸ δύσβατον (καὶ) τραχὺ τοῦ τόπου, τὸ γὰρ πλείωνι μέρει ὁ περιορισθεὶς ||<sup>14</sup> ὀρᾶτ(αι) τόπος καὶ λοχμώδης, καὶ τραχὺς λίαν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν γέγονε τὸ ἐμποδὼν τ(ῆς) ἀναμετρήσεως. Καὶ δι' ἀσφάλειαν ||<sup>15</sup> ἐσημειώθη ἐνταῦθα παρ' ἐμοῦ μὴνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ κγ', [... 10-15 ...]

**Date available at the end of Variant 3:** ἐν τῶ ἔτει ἑξάκις χιλιοστῶ ἐννεακοσιοστῶ πενητηκοστῶ τρίτῳ.

### Act no. 39

#### HORISMOS OF THE OTTOMAN SULTAN MEHMED II FATIH FOR THE LAND OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL

September 25, *indiction* 15th [1451]

**Type of the document:** ὀρισμός (l. 24)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 44. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 280 x 145 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper on which there is a modern transcription of the text. The preservation of the charter is good as there are only minor ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 38**).

**Analysis:** The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II sent the present *horismos* to the *protos* of Mount Athos, to the abbots of the Athonite monasteries and to all the Athonite monks, in order to inform them that the monks

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 78.

of St. Paul appeared in his royal court complaining that the other Athonite monks had taken over a terrain in which they were pasturing their buffaloes. The monks of St. Paul also claimed that they had been authorized to exploit the terrain in question during the reign of Mehmed's father, Murad II, when a general delimitation of the Athonite properties had been carried out. However, at a later date the *protos* and the other Athonite elders usurped the said terrain and the result was that the monks of St. Paul had already no place to pasture their buffaloes. The sultan thereby ordered the *protos* and the abbots of the monasteries to respect and keep unchanged the delimitations of their properties, as they had been demarcated during the reign of his father. The borders of the Monastery of St. Paul had to remain exactly the same as they had been determined during the reign of Murad II and nobody was allowed to trespass on them. Date: September 25, *indiction* 15th. The document was composed in Adrianople.

**Dating:** The charter does not refer to a year. During the reign of Mehmed II (February 3, 1451 – May 3, 1481) September of the 15th *indiction* corresponds to the years 1451 and 1466. Having compared the structure of Mehmed II's monogram (*tuğra*) above the text with other Turkish document kept in the archives of St. Paul, in 2008 Ph. Kotzageorgis concluded that the correct date is 1451<sup>1</sup>.

**Remarks:** It seems that Mehmed II's *horismos* did not refer to a property of St. Paul located inside Mount Athos, but to an agricultural terrain situated in the peninsula of Sithonia, which was also known as Longos<sup>2</sup>. The overall delimitation of the Athonite properties, which is mentioned in our charter as having taken place during the reign of Sultan Murad II, was, in fact, part of a general Ottoman census conducted in the districts adjacent to the Holy Mountain after their final submission to the Turks in 1423-1424<sup>3</sup>.

**Editions:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 295-298, no. 29.

**Bibliography:** Βλάχος, *Ἡ χειρσόνησος τοῦ Ἁθῶ*, 272; Κτενᾶς, *Ἄπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει*, 573; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont*

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 78, no. 31.

2. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 109-110.

3. See V. Demetriades, *Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation, Ὁ Ἁθῶς στοὺς 14ο-16ο αἰῶνες (Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεκτα 4)*, Athens 1997, 46-48; Ἡ. Κολοβός, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος καὶ ἡ συγκρότησις τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας, 1453. Ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης καὶ ἡ μετάβασις ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ στοὺς νεώτερους χρόνους* (ed. T. Κιουσοπούλου), Herakleion (Crete) 2005, 113-114; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 74.

*Athos*, 186; Χρυσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, 279, no. 32; Οικονομίδης, *Ἑλληνικά ἔγγραφα*, 523, no. 13.29; Εὐ. Λίτσας, *Παλαιογραφία τῶν ἐγγράφων. Πίνακες μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων μὲ σχόλια*, Thessalonica 2006, 21, no. 17 and pl. 22; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 78-79, no. 31.

### Text:

Tuğra of Sultan Mehmed II written with Arabic script.

Τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθ(έν)το(ς) καὶ μεγάλου ἀμηρὰ ||<sup>2</sup> σουλτάνου τοῦ Μεχεμέτ πέγη εἰς τὸν πρῶτ(ον) ||<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὄλλους ||<sup>4</sup> τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἱερῆς καὶ γέρον||<sup>5</sup>τας καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς καλογέρους τοῦ Ἁγί(ου) ||<sup>6</sup> Ὁρους ἀπὸ μυκροῦ ἔως μεγάλου, ἃς ἐγνωρῆ-||<sup>7</sup>σε(τε), ἐδῶ ἦρθαν καλόγεροι ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριν τὸν ||<sup>8</sup> Ἁγιον Παῦλον, καὶ ἐλάλ(η)σαν εἰς τ(ήν) πόρταν τῆς ||<sup>9</sup> αὐθ(εν) τί(ας) μου, λέ(γον)τας τὸ πὸς τοὺς ἀδικήτε καὶ ||<sup>10</sup> ἐπέρνε(τε) τὸν τό(πον) τοὺς ὅπου βόσκουσιν τὰ βου||<sup>11</sup>βάλ(ι)ά τον. Εἶπαν καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ πὸς ἀφοῦ ἡμῆ||<sup>12</sup>ρασαν τὰ σίνορα εἰς τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς μου τοῦ μακαρισ||<sup>13</sup>μένου τὴν ἡμέραν, τότε συνἐχώρισαν καὶ τὸ ||<sup>14</sup> ἐδικόν [μας τόπον] ἤγαμέν το μέχρι καὶ τ(ήν) ||<sup>15</sup> σίμερον. Τώρα μᾶς ἀδικὰ ὁ πρότος τοῦ Ἁγίου ||<sup>16</sup> Ὁρους, καὶ ἡ γέροντες ἡ ὄλλοι, καὶ ἐπήραν τὸ ||<sup>17</sup> σίνορόν μας καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ νὰ βόσκουν ||<sup>18</sup> τὰ χτηνά μας. Ληπὸν ἐπιδ(ή) ἔγινεν εἰς τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς μου ||<sup>19</sup> τὸν κερὸν καὶ ἐχωρήστικαν τὰ σίνορα τὸν μοναστη- ||<sup>20</sup>ρί(ων), νὰ ἔχει τὸ καθ(έν) μοναστήριν το σίνορόν του, δια-||<sup>21</sup>τί οὐδὲν ἐστέκεστε εἰς αὐτό. Τὸ ληπὸν ἔτζη ἔναι ὀρισ-||<sup>22</sup>μὸς τῆς αὐθ(εν)τί(ας) μου· ὅσον σίνωρον ἐχωρήστην εἰς ||<sup>23</sup> τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς μου τ(ὸν) κερὸν τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου ||<sup>24</sup> Παύλου, ἔνε ὀρισμὸς τῆς αὐθ(εν)τί(ας) μου νὰ τὸ ἔχει καὶ ||<sup>25</sup> τ(ήν) σίμερον, καὶ τινὰς ἀπὸ ἐσὰς μὴ τοὺς ἐμποδῆ- ||<sup>26</sup>σι, ἢ μὴ ἃς ἔχουν τὸ σίνωρον, καθὸς τὸ ἐχώρισαν. ||<sup>27</sup> Ἐτζη ποιήσετε νὰ ἔχει ὁ κάθε εἷς τὸ ἐδικόν του, κα-||<sup>28</sup>θὸς ἐχωρήσει εἰς τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς μου τὸν κερὸν· νὰ μη-||<sup>29</sup>δὲν ἔρθουν πλέ(ον) νὰ λαλήσουν εἰς τ(ήν) πόρταν τῆς ||<sup>30</sup> αὐθεντί(ας) μου.

||<sup>31</sup> Μηνὶ Σεπτε{μ}βρίῳ κε' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε',

||<sup>32</sup> Εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανούπ(ο)λ(ιν).

## Act no. 40. Serbian act no. 12

ACT OF NOVAK AND HIS WIFE JELA WHO ARE  
DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL ONE HALF OF  
A HOUSE WHICH THEY POSSESSED IN AN UNSPECIFIED  
SETTLEMENT

April 7, 6961 (1453)

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.**Description:** 15th century Serbian original kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 15. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 220 x 260 mm. There are no signatures or traces of a seal beneath the text. The word **дѣнь** at the end of l. 11 is written on a small rectangular piece of paper which had been additionally glued to the recto of the act (see **plate no. 39**).**Analysis:** A person named Novak and his wife Jela bestowed on the Monastery of St. Paul one half of a house which they possessed near the marketplace of an unspecified settlement. Neighbours of the house were Theodore Bojčinović and Stephen Ostoić. Novak retained the usufruct of the house until the end of his life, so the monastery was entitled to receive its half of the house only after Novak's death. Witnesses were the *protopop* Stephen, the *sevast* Raaš, the priests Dorothei and Theodosie, as well as the laymen Boruj, Bogosav Nikoletić, his son Božidar from Bnetkovci, Dimitr Žikić from Štimle, Radič Ponušević, and Dobrašin Hranić. The document was composed by the *protopop* Stephen under the supervision of the *sevast* Raaš. Date: April 7, 6961.**Remarks:** The title *sevast* was of Byzantine origin (σεβαστός), but had a specific development which was different in medieval Bulgaria<sup>1</sup> and in medieval Serbia. In Serbia the *sevast* often had judiciary functions and usually acted as a judge, tax collector, and keeper of public records<sup>2</sup>.**Topography:** The two settlements mentioned in our text - Bnetkovci (l. 9), and Štiml (l. 10) - were not listed in the comprehensive catalogue of the villages in medieval Serbia which M. Purković published in 1940<sup>3</sup>.

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1. See П. Петров, О титулах „севаст“ и „протосеваст“ в средневековном болгарском государстве, *ВВр* 16 (1959), 52-64.

2. С. Новаковић, Византијски чиновни и титуле у српским земљама од XI до XV века, *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 78 (Belgrade 1908), 257; Љ. Максимовић, Севасти у средњовековној Србији, *ЗРВИ* 32 (1993), 137-147; Љ. Максимовић, *Византијски свет и Срби*, Belgrade 2008, 264.

3. Cf. Пурковић, *Потис села*, 60-65 and 158-160.



## Act no. 41

DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* SERAPION PERTAINING TO  
THE *KELLION* OF PHILOGONIOU IN KARYAI

July 6964 (1456)

**Type of the document:** γράμμα (l. 23)**Description:** The act is preserved in the following variants:**Variant no. 1.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17. It is written with brown ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 300 x 220 mm. Its preservation is poor as there are abundant traces of moisture and ruptures along the folds (see **plate no. 40**).**Variant no. 2.** 20th century typewritten copy kept in archival folder no. 17. It is typed on **paper** with dimensions 295 x 195 mm<sup>1</sup>.**Analysis:** Over a long period of time the usufruct of the monastic cell (*kellion*) of Symeon Theodochos, also known as the *kellion* of Philogoniou, belonged to the monk Euthymios and his congregation. However, after Euthymios's death the monks of Philogoniou bequeathed their *kellion* to the Monastery of St. Paul. This was unlawful because the *kellion* was built on land owned by the Protaton and it was for this reason that the monks of St. Paul decided to return the *kellion* to the Protaton. They found a priest-monk and spiritual instructor named Jacob who was ready to take up residence in the *kellion* of Philogoniou. The *protos* and the Synaxis of Karyai agreed with this solution of the problem and took the *kellion* under their own authority. They installed Jacob in the *kellion* together with the priest-monk Dometianos and an escort consisting of 4 monks. The new residents were given the usufruct of Philogoniou and were allowed to cultivate all the area which was adjacent to it. They were also obliged to maintain its buildings, to deliver every year to the Protaton 5 measures of wine, and to participate in the *corvées* which were common for all the monks residing in *kellia* in and around Karyai. The six new tenants were supposed to retain the control of Philogoniou until the last of them died. Then the *kellion* had to return under the jurisdiction of the Protaton. Date: July 6964.Signatures: 1. Serapion, *protos* of Mount Athos (Slavic signature); 2. Manasses, *ekklesiarches* of Karyai; 3. Gerasimos, priest-monk and spiritual instructor of Chouliaras; 4. Kallinikos, priest-monk of Makri (Slavic signature); 5. Theophilos, monk; 6. Joseph Koža, priest-

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 80.

monk (Slavic signature); 7. Niphon Makrygenis (Slavic signature); 8. Ioannikios, monk; 9. Neophytos, monk; 10. Jacob, priest-monk (Slavic signature); 11. Gabriel of Xistri (Slavic signature); 12. Barlaam, scribe who had composed the document.

**Remarks:** The events described in the document are analysed in the prosopographical entry of our act no. 29.

**Editions:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Συμπληρώσεις*, 441-442.

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Συμπληρώσεις*, 436-441; Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 21 και 21α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 39; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 80-81, no. 32.

**Text:**

† Τοῦ αγίου καὶ δικεου Θε(ε)ωδοχου Συμεῶν ναῶς καὶ κελι(ον) λεγόμενον Φυλογονίου ἐνέμετο δὲ ||<sup>2</sup> προ χρόνων ὑπο τῶν καλογερων τοῦ πνευματικοῦ κυρ Εὐθυμίου· μετα κερὸν ἐπροσου-||<sup>3</sup>λόσαν τὸ κελι(ον) εἰς τον Ἅγιον Πάβλον, ἐγένοντο δὲ πολλοὶ λόγοι καὶ γογγισμοί· ἰδοντ(ες) ||<sup>4</sup> οὐν ἡ Ἁγιοπαβλύτε τὸ ἄδικον τὸ γεγονὸς ἦνα καταπατεῖτε ἢ σεβασμία μονή τῶν ||<sup>5</sup> Καρεω(ν), παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες, μάλλον δὲ καὶ ἀφορισμοῦς ἐξεθεμένους υπο τῶν ἀγίω(ν) ||<sup>6</sup> κτητόρων καὶ ἡκουμενηκῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ ὁσιῶν π(ατέ)ρων τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους καὶ ὅς καλοὶ ||<sup>7</sup> ἀνθρώποι ἐκατέλησαν τὸ ἄδικον τὸ πρᾶγμα. Εὐρόντες δὲ τὸν τιμιστάτον ἐν ἱερομο-||<sup>8</sup>νάχοις καὶ πν(ευμα)τικοῖς Ἰᾶκωβον, ἦτα ἐλθόντ(ες) εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτέλιαν ἀναγγίλαντ(ες) τὰ ||<sup>9</sup> περι τοῦ πρᾶγματος· ἰδὸν δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ προτέβον ὅσιον καὶ δίκεω(ν) πρᾶγμα ἵνα ἐπι-||<sup>10</sup>στραφῆ τὸ κελι(ον) εἰς τ(ὴν) δεσποτίαν τοῦ Προτάτου μετα τῶν ὁσιῶν γερώντων τοῦ καθουσατος ||<sup>11</sup> καὶ αὐτῶν ὁσι{ω}τάτων καὶ καλῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων, ὕδι ἀπο την σύμερον παραδίδομεν τὸ ||<sup>12</sup> κελι(ον) τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ δικέου Συμε(ῶν) τοῦ Φυλογόνη τὸ πν(ευμα)τικὸ ἐν ἱερόμονάχοις κυρ Ἰᾶκωβον ||<sup>13</sup> καὶ τοῦς ἀδελφοῦς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυρ Δομετιανὸν vacat ||<sup>14</sup> vacat ||<sup>15</sup> ἴον εἰς πρόσσοπα πέντ(ε)· οἱ καὶ ὀφύλουσιν κατέχιν καὶ νέμεσθαι τὸ ὕριμένον κελί(ον) ||<sup>16</sup> μετα πάσις περιόχῃς καὶ νομῖν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελούμενύ τε παντία συστάσεος ||<sup>17</sup> καὶ βελτιόσεος καὶ οὔτος ἀποφέρεσθαι καὶ τ(ὴν) ἐξ αὐτ(ὴν) πάσαν πρόσσοδον μονομερὸς καὶ ||<sup>18</sup> ἀνακροτυράστος, πλὴν τὸν ἀποτεταγμένων κατ' ἔτος δίδοστε εἰς τὸ Πρωτάτο ||<sup>19</sup> ἦτε ἡνου μέτρα πέντε, ἐκδουλεύειν δὲ καὶ τας δουλίας τοῦ Πρωτ(ά)τ(ου) ὃς καὶ οἱ λυποὶ ||<sup>20</sup> καθισματάροι· ταῦτα πιούντες κατέξουσιν τὸ κελὶν ἀνενοχλύτος καὶ ἀδιασύστος ||<sup>21</sup> παρα ὄλην αὐτ(ῶν) τ(ὴν) ζοήν, ἰνύκα δὲ ἀποθάνουσιν τὰ πέντε πρόσσωπ(α) να ἐπανέρχεται τὸ κελί(ον) ||<sup>22</sup> πάλιν εἰς τ(ὴν) δεσποτίαν τοῦ Πρωτ(ά)τ(ου). Καὶ εἰς δίλοσιν καὶ ἀσφάλιαν τῆς παρούσις

πράξεος ||<sup>23</sup> ἐνεκ(εν) τούτο ἐγεγόνη καὶ τὸ παρῶν γράμμα ἐν μηνὴ Ἰουλίῳ ἐν ἔτι ,ς<sup>ω</sup>π<sup>ω</sup>ξδ’.

||<sup>24</sup> † прѡ сѣмѣ горыセラπιῶ ἱερομονᾶ.

† Ὁ ἐκκλησιαρχοῦς τὸν Καρέω(ν) ||<sup>25</sup> Μανασῆς ἱερομόναχος.

† Γεράσημος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πν(ευματ)ικὸς Χουλιαρᾶς. †

||<sup>26</sup> † макриа ιερομονᾶ калинникъ.

Θεόφυλος ἱερῶμόναχος.

||<sup>27</sup> † кожа пѡ иѡсифъ.

† нифѡ макригѣнь.

† Ἰωανύκιος μοναχός.

||<sup>28</sup> † Νεόφυτος μοναχός.

† пѡ іакѡвѣ.

† гавриілъ жнѣтро.

||<sup>29</sup> † Βαρλαάμ μοναχός ὁ καὶ γράψας.

#### Act no. 42. Serbian act no. 13

ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ AND HIS SON LAZAR DONATING TO THE METROPOLITAN OF GRAČANICA BENEDICT THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE AT THE VILLAGE OF VRAČEVŠTICA IN CENTRAL SERBIA

September 6, 6965 (1456)

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.

**Description:** Serbian original kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 3. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 250 x 250 mm. There are no signatures beneath the text. The seal which was once attached to the bottom margin is missing, but the remains of the red cord (*merinthos*) which connected it with the document are still visible (see **plate no. 41**).

**Analysis:** The Serbian Despot George Branković and his son Lazar donated to the metropolitan of Gračanica, Benedict, the church of St. George at the village of Vračevštica together with all its immovable properties, which consisted of the following settlements:

1. In the district of Ostrovica – the villages of Vračevštica, Belukja and Sijaci.

2. In the district of Borac – a second village named Vračevštica and the settlements of Grahovac and Konjuša.

3. In the village of Rudnik and the district adjacent to it (*rudnički metoh*) – a pub and shares of some properties located in the nearby area.

Benedict was authorized to possess and exploit these estates until the end of his life, even in a case that he would regain the control of his lost metropolitanate. His new properties were declared exempt from all the corvées and their residents were obliged to obey only Benedict. The act was composed by Stephen Ratković in Smederevo. Date: September 6, 6965.

**Remarks:** In the medieval Serbian language the Greek word *metochion* (it is spelled *metoh* and appears in the phrase *rudnički metoh* on l. 9 of our document) developed an additional meaning which was unknown in Greek. In Greek *metochion* (μετόχιον) means only “*monastic dependency*”, while in Serbian *metoh* can also denote the district around a town which was subordinated to the town’s authorities. In our document the word *metoh* has exactly this meaning<sup>1</sup>.

#### **Prosopography:**

1. On George Branković see our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4.**

2. The Despot **Lazar Branković Kantakuzin** was born around 1421. He was the third son of George Branković and Eirene Kantakouzene (for her see the prosopography of our **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5**), but as in 1441 Sultan Murad II blinded his older brothers, Gregory and Stephen, Lazar remained the only un mutilated heir to his father. In 1446 he married Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Byzantine Despot Thomas Palaiologos<sup>2</sup>, and on this occasion he received the Byzantine title of despot. He succeeded to his father as a ruler of Serbia in December 1456 and in January 1457 managed to make a deal with Mehmed II. According to this deal, he was given back some of his father’s territories and received from the sultan a promise that Serbia would not be disturbed by the Ottomans until Lazar’s death. In return, Lazar was obliged to pay a tribute which was significantly reduced because he was no longer controlling the silver mines of Novo Brdo. Having secured his south flank, Lazar intervened in the internal conflicts of Hungary capturing several towns on the north bank of the Danube.

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1. В. Петровић, Градски метох, *Споменица академика Милоша Благојевића (1930-2012)*, ed. S. Mišić, Belgrade 2015, 139-150.

2. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, Cambridge 2000, 182.

His brief reign was harassed by constant quarrels with his mother and his blind brothers. The death of Eirene Kantakouzene in May 1457 triggered a new conflict in the Branković family. Gregory Branković fled to the Ottoman Empire, while Stephen supported Lazar and kept on residing in Serbia. However, in January 1458 Lazar Branković died unexpectedly and Stephen assumed the duties of a regent<sup>1</sup>.

3. The metropolitan of Gračanica, whose full name was **Benedict Crepović**, was the son of a Serbian military commander (*voevoda*) and was born around 1380. He received the donation described in our document as a compensation for the loss of his diocese. The town of Novo Brdo was conquered by the Turks in June 1455, and Benedict was obviously compelled to abandon his metropolitanate, whose centre, Gračanica, was situated in the same district. Initially he took refuge in Smederevo under the protection of George Branković, but after the final collapse of the Serbian state in 1459 he evidently retreated to the Monastery of St. Paul, taking with him the charter of George and Lazar Branković<sup>2</sup>.

**Topography (cf. map no. 4):**

1. The village of **Vrakjevštica** (l. 4 and 6) is still extant and is located in central Serbia, near the highway leading from Gornji Milanovac to Kragujevac<sup>3</sup>. In 1429-1431 the well known military commander of George Branković, the *čelnik* Radič<sup>4</sup>, built in Vrakjevštica a church dedicated to St. George. This church has survived through the centuries and today is the centre of a small monastery<sup>5</sup>.

2. The village of **Rudnik** (l. 4-5). This place name has remained un-

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1. В. Ђоровић, Женидба деспота Лазара, *Глас Српске Краљевске академије* 156 (Belgrade 1933), 145-159; PLP, no. 14354; Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, 571-575; М. Спремић, Деспот Лазар Бранковић, *ЗРВИ* 50 (Belgrade 2013), 899-911.

2. Ђ. Радоичић, Креповић, Венедикт (око 1381- после 1453), *Лексикон писца Југославије*, I, Belgrade 1972, 453; М. Јанковић, Липљанска епископија и Грачаничка митрополија, *ИЧ* 29-30 (Belgrade 1982-1983), 31; Д. Грбовић, Духовна делатност Венедикта Креповића - прилог историји културе средњег Поморавља у средњем веку, *Корени* 3 (Историјски архив Јагодина - Завичајни музеј Јагодина (Regional Museum Jagodina) 2005), 29-35.

3. Пурковић, Попис села, 75; Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 393 and 396.

4. On Radič see our **act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7.**

5. М. Милојевић, *Наши манастири и калуђерство*, Belgrade 1881 (reprint 1997), 35; В. Петковић, *Преглед црквених споменика кроз повесницу српског народа*, Belgrade 1950, 33 and 62; Т. Поповић, *Водич до манастира у Србији*, Belgrade 2008, 130-131.

changed and today Rudnik is a village near the Jasenica River, to the north of Gornji Milanovac and to the northwest of Kragujevac<sup>1</sup>.

3. The administrative districts (*vlast*) of **Ostrovica** (l. 4-5) comprised the area around the fortress of Ostrovica, which was located about 5 km to the northwest of the modern Serbian village of Rudnik. It was first mentioned in the sources in 1323 and in 1454 was conquered by the Turks who demolished its ramparts. Today the only extant trace of the stronghold Ostrovica are the remains of a large tower which most probably served as a keep<sup>2</sup>.

4. The districts (*vlast*) of **Borač** (l. 6) was the area around the fortified medieval town of Borač which was situated on a steep rock above the modern village of Borač, about 30 km west of Kragujevac. Its was first mentioned in 1389 and today its only surviving monument is a church dedicated to the Archangel Michael which was founded before 1433 and was restored in 1533 and 1815<sup>3</sup>.

5. The settlement of **Sijaci** or **Osjaci** (l. 5) seems to have disappeared. However, today Osjački Potok, i.e. the Osjaci Creek, is the local name of the Vračevštica River from its source to the village of Vračevštica<sup>4</sup>.

6. According to M. Purković, the medieval village of **Belukja**, whose name means “the white one”, was identical with the modern village of Crnuća, whose name means exactly the opposite - “the black one”. Today Crnuća consists of two settlements, Upper and Lower (Gornja and Donja) Crnuća, which are situated at a distance of about 6 km to the north of Gornji Milanovac. An inscription preserved in the nearby village of Vrakjevštica makes it clear that in 1420-1430 Beluća was the main residence of the Serbian military commander (*čelnik*) Radič whom we already commented above<sup>5</sup>.

7. As far as the settlements of **Grahovac** and **Konjuša** are concerned, M. Živojinović identified Grahovac with the modern village of Krasojevi which is located about 8 km to the northwest of Vračevštica<sup>6</sup>.

**Editions:** Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовуљи*, 5-6, no. 4; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 531-532 and 755-756; Pavlikianov,

1. Cf. Б. Марковић, *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића. Превод и правноисторијска студија* (Споменик Српске Академије наука и уметности 126), Belgrade 1985.

2. *Културна ризница Србије*, ed. J. Janićijević, Belgrade 2005<sup>3</sup>, 339.

3. *Културна ризница Србије*, 335.

4. Пурковић, *Попис села*, 124.

5. See our **act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7.**

6. Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik*, 393 and 396.

*Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 188-191, no. 12.

**Bibliography:** Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 12. In 1865 K. Dmitriev-Petkovič described the document, which he had seen in 1852, in the following way: [*Деспота Гюрга*] *Его же съ сыномъ Лазаремъ - даеть митрополиту Градчанскому Венедикту церковь св. Георгія въ Вракіевциуцъ и села: 1) Вракіевциуца, Белужіа, Осіиуца со встѣми окрестностями въ провинціи Остръвичкой и 2) Вракіевциуца, Граховецъ, Конюша - въ провинціи Боричкой. На пергаментъ съ восковою печатью, писанъ в Смедеревъ, сѣже (6965 - т. е. 1457)*. See also Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 200, act no. 13; Κοτζαχewóρρης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονή Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 56; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 188-191.

**Text** (in the beginning there is a cross decorated with the abbreviated Greek phrase Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, which is written with Cyrillic letters as ѿс ѿс ника):

† мѡтїю бжїю гнѣ срѣблѣ деспѡ гюргъ и снѣ ми деспѡ лазарь сътѣв-||<sup>2</sup>ри мѡтѣ гпѣство ни прѣвѡсцѣенномѣ митрополитѣ градчанкомѣ ||<sup>3</sup> кїр венедиктѣ, дадосмо моу црѣквѣ ст҃го гїеуор҃гїа оу вракїевѣши-||<sup>4</sup>цѣ, и сѣла цо и приложло гпѣство ни пѡ ѡвѣи црѣквѣ, оу власти ѡсрѣ-||<sup>5</sup>вичкой сѣло вракїевциуцѣ, и сѣло вѣлѣкю, и сїтаци съ всеми мег҃гами ||<sup>6</sup> и прѣвинами сѣ те, и оу власти боричкой сѣло друуга вракїевциуца, и сѣло гра-||<sup>7</sup>ховьць, и сѣло конюша, съ всеми мег҃гами и прѣвинами сѣ те, и оу мѣстѣ ||<sup>8</sup> гпѣства ни роудникоу пивнище, и инѡ ако се бы цо нашло ѣ рѣдникѣ, или ||<sup>9</sup> оу рѣдничкомѣ метохоу, цо іе приложило гпѣство ни, пѡ ѡноуи црѣквѣ, или ||<sup>10</sup> делове, или сѣло или инѡ цѡ. мѡтѣ моу (sic!) гпѣства ни да си ѡвѣи црѣквѣ ||<sup>11</sup> и сѣла митрополи венедиктѣ дрѣжи до свога живота, и кѣ оу своуи ||<sup>12</sup> митрополие боуде митрополитѣ венедиктѣ да си дрѣжи ѡвойзи дѡ ||<sup>13</sup> свога живота, инѣде ако бы бї митрополи доклѣ прили свою митроп-||<sup>14</sup>лїю да си ѡвойзы дрѣжи до свога живота, и ѡвайзы сѣла црѣквѣ ст҃го ||<sup>15</sup> гїеуор҃гїа ѡсвободи гпѣство ну митрополитѣ кр венедиктѣ вѡ свѣ ||<sup>16</sup> рабѡтѣ гпѣства ни мали и големи, да сѣ свободни доклѣ и живѣ мирѡ-||<sup>17</sup>поли, да слоушаю и покое митрополита до негово живота. повѣ||<sup>18</sup>лїемѣ г҃на деспѡта гюрга, и г҃на деспѡта лазара, пїса стѣпанъ ||<sup>19</sup> ратковї вѣ лѣ сцѣе, мѣа сѣтѣврїа (sic!) ѣ днѣ ѣ смедеревѣ.

## Act no. 43

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTIES OF THE MONASTERY  
OF ST. PAUL IN THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS COMPOSED BY A  
TAX OFFICIAL NAMED KANTAKOUZENOS

January 11, 6971 (1463)

**Type of the document:** ἀπογραφικὸν γράμμα (l. 91)**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:**Variant no. 1** Original kept in archival folder no. 40. It is written in a **paper** booklet comprising 6 folia with dimensions 220 x 150 mm. The text is written with brown ink, while the signature is red. The text occupies folia 1v-3v. The preservation of the document is relevantly good but there are abundant traces of moisture, mainly on f. 1v (see **plate no. 42**).**Variant no. 2.** Copy made in 1913 by the monk Eulogios Agiopavlitis. It is kept in archival folder no. 40 and is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 340 x 210 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>.**Analysis:**

In the beginning of the text there is a validating signature of the metropolitan of Lemnos Dionysios.

The tax official of the island of Lemnos, Kantakouzenos, had received a *horismos* signed by the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos and an order of Demetrios's brother-in-law, Matthew Asanis Palaiologos, to conduct a census of all properties in Lemnos. For this reason he also composed a description of all the properties which the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul possessed in the island. These properties were the following:

1. The church of St. George in the village of Vounaiades and all the buildings around its courtyard.

2. The land of the late Michael Phokas in the same village. Delimitation of Phokas's land: its border line started from the middle of the village of Vounaiades, followed a stream up to the mountain of Koutzouros, crossed the mountain, descended to the south, touched the land of Theologitis, followed its border to the east, reached the land of Kontovraki, followed its border to the agricultural terrains of Mavroulianos at Kotanitha, and returned to the village where it had started. The demarcated area totalled 1150 *modioi*.3. The agricultural terrain of Vouzmas near the land of Katapotamos and Myrmigis. It totalled 100 *modioi* and there were also 30 more *mo-*1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 81.

*dioi* in the village of Vounaiades, in toto 1280 *modioi* of land.

4. The estate of John Rodampelos which was formerly owned by Nicholas Myrmigis and which consisted of buildings with a courtyard, a garden of 2 *modioi* in front of the buildings, and another garden of 3 *modioi* behind the buildings of Dromorytos.

5. A field of 170 *modioi* in the village of Vounaiades, next to the land of Phokas, and the land which was given to Meizommatis from the terrains of Vouzmas in the vicinity of the chapel of St. George. A field of 40 *modioi* at the locality Choumelades, between the land of Phokas and that of Dromorytos. A field of 24 *modioi* at Katonychion near the river and the land of Dromorytos. A field of 12 *modioi* between the properties of Phokas and the priest Eustathios. A field of 65 *modioi* between the mountains of Koutzouros and Melissa, near the border of the Monastery of Xenophontos. A field of 100 *modioi* on the southern slope of Melissa next to the terrains of Chatzilalis and Langadiotis, in the vicinity of Tymnopoulos. The fields listed above had a total surface of 400 *modioi*. The estate to which they belonged included also an abandoned vineyard of  $7\frac{1}{3}$  *modioi* near the land of Phokas.

6. A ruined house and a garden which once belonged to a certain Langadiotis.

7. The sheepfolds of St. Theodore and Rhodakinea in the peninsula of Phakos. The border of St. Theodore started from the sea shore near the mountain of Mikron Kavouritsion, passed near properties belonging to the Athonite Monastery of Pantocrator and to its sheepfold at Rhodakinea, followed the beach to the north enclosing in this way the cape of St. Theodore, and finally returned to its starting point near the mountain of Mikron Kavouritsion. The border of Rhodakinea started from a small stream near the coast, passed along the sheepfold of Petris, crossed the mountain of Machairomenos, touched the mountain of Tatavros, and finally returned to its starting point on the beach.

8. Based on an imperial chrysobull, the Monastery of St. Paul also had the right to pasture in Lemnos 500 sheep which were exempted from the tax *ennomion*.

9. Based on a *horismos* of the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, St. Paul also possessed land of 2 zeugaria at the locality Kontovraki. This estate was not yet listed in the tax catalogues, and for this reason it was complemented with the estate of Kotavos.

All the aforementioned immovable properties had been granted to the Monastery of St. Paul with a full tax exemption described in a correlated chrysobull.

Signatures: 1. Kantakouzenos, servant (*doulos*) of the Despot John Palaiologos; 2. Authenticating signature of the metropolitan of Lemnos Dionysios.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. Kantakouzenos states that there was an imperial chrysobull affirming the right of St. Paul to pasture in Lemnos 500 sheep which were exempted from the tax *ennomion*. The chrysobull in question is our **act no. 35** of 1436-1437.

2. Our act mentions a *horismos* of the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, according to which St. Paul had been granted 2 *zeugaria* of land at the locality Kontovrakion. In 1942 St. Binon described this document as issued in July 6970 (1462)<sup>1</sup>, but today it is not available in the archives of the monastery.

**Remarks:** On the tax *ennomion*, see the remarks to our **act no. 5**.

**Topography** (cf. **map no. 3**):

1. On the localities **St. Theodore** (l. 52-53 and 68) and **Rhodakinea** (l. 52) see the topography of our **act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9**.

2. For the localities **Phakos** (l. 51) and **Vouneades** (l. 24 and 32), see the topography of our **act no. 32. Serbian act no. 8**.

**Editions:** Εὐλόγιος, *Αὐτοκρατορικά χρυσόβουλλα*, 765-766. *Χρονογραφικὴ ἱστορία*, 10 (1959), 10-13.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 299-301, no. 31; Χρυσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 9 and 9a; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Τὸ τουρκικὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Παύλου γιὰ τὴν Ἀἴμνο*, 127-129; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 122; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 81-84, no. 33.

**Text:**

† Ὁ Λήμνου Διονύσιος. †

† Θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν ὄρισμὸν δεξιόμενοι, τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντ(ου) ||<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πανευτυχεστ(ά)του δεσπότη, προστάξει καὶ ἐνδώσει καὶ τοῦ περι-||<sup>3</sup>ποθήτου γυναικαδέλφου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν κυρίου, τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ||<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐλαμπροτ(ά)του κ(ὸρ) Ματθαίου Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Ἀσάνη, ὡσάν ||<sup>5</sup> ποιήσωμ(εν) πάντ(ων) τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ τὴν ἀπογραφικ(ήν) ||<sup>6</sup> ἐξίσωσιν καὶ ἀπ(ο)κατάστασιν, καὶ ἤδη ποιῶντες αὐτὴν εὐρο-||<sup>7</sup>μ(εν) μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ων) καὶ τὴν κ(α)τ(ά) τὸ Ἁγι(ον) Ὅρος τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμ(ένην) ||<sup>8</sup> σεβασμί(αν) βασιλ(ικὴν) μον(ήν) τὴν εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμέν(ην) τοῦ Ἁγίου ||<sup>9</sup> Παύλου, ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ, περὶ τὸ χωρίον τ(ὰς) ||<sup>10</sup> Βουναιάδας ναὸν τοῦ μ(ε)γ(α)

1. Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 298-299, no. 30.

λ(ομάρτυρος) Γεωργί(ου) και οικήμ(α)τ(α) μετ' αὐλ(ῆς), κ(αι) γῆν ||<sup>11</sup>  
 περὶ τὸ αὐτ(ὸ) χωρίον κυροῦ Μ(ι)χ(αή)λ τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἐκεῖνου, ἥτις ἄρ-  
 ||<sup>12</sup>χεται ἀπὸ μέσ(ον) τοῦ χωρίου, ἐξέρχεται εἰς τ(ὸν) ρύακα, κρατεῖ  
 ||<sup>13</sup> τούτον, ἀνατρέχει δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ρύακος ἕ(ως) τοῦ βουνοῦ ||<sup>14</sup> τοῦ  
 Κουτζούρου, ἀνέρχεται εἰς τ(ὸν) ἄνω βουν(όν), κατέρ-||<sup>15</sup>χεται πρ(ὸς)  
 μεσημβρί(αν) διὰ τ(ῆς) ῥάχης, εὐρίσκει τὸ σύνορον ||<sup>16</sup> τ(ῆς) γῆς τοῦ  
 Θεολογίτου, κρατεῖ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τούτ(ο), ||<sup>17</sup> συμπεριλαμβάνει ἐντὸς  
 μάνδρας και διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συνόρου, ||<sup>18</sup> ἐξέρχεται ἕως τῆς Κοντοβρακινῆς  
 γῆς, λαμβάνει τὸ σύνορον ταύτης ||<sup>19</sup> και ἐξέρχεται ἕως τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὅπου  
 τὰ χωράφια τοῦ Μαυρουλιάνου εἰς ||<sup>20</sup> τὰ Κοτάνιθα, λαμβάνει τὴν ὁδὸν  
 και ἀκουμίζει ||<sup>21</sup> εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου, ὅθεν και ἤρξατο, και ἔστι  
 γῆ ||<sup>22</sup> μοδίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα. Καὶ πλησίον τῆς γῆς τοῦ  
 Καταποτάμου ||<sup>23</sup> και τοῦ Μυρμίγκη και τῆς ὁδοῦ, χωράφιον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Βουσμᾶ λεγόμενον, ||<sup>24</sup> μόδια ἑκατὸν και ὃ εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 χωρίον Βουναιάδες ||<sup>25</sup> ἔσωθεν μόδια τριάκοντα, τὸ ὄλον γῆν μόδια χίλια  
 διακόσια ||<sup>26</sup> πενήκοντα και ἔσωθεν μόδια τριάκοντα, ὁμοίως παρεδόθη  
 εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ||<sup>27</sup> μονὴν και ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ῥοδαμπέλου,  
 ἦν κατεῖχε ||<sup>28</sup> ποτε Νικόλαος ὁ Μυρμίγκης, ἥτις και κατὰ μέρος ἔχει  
 οὕτω· ||<sup>29</sup> οἰκήματα μετὰ προαυλίου, ἔσωθύριον ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ τῶν  
 ||<sup>30</sup> οἰκημάτων μόδια δύο, και ἔμπροσθεν τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔσωθεν, ||<sup>31</sup>  
 ἕτερον ὀπισθεν τῶν οἰκημάτων τοῦ Δρομορύτου τὸ ἥμισυ ἕως ||<sup>32</sup> τοῦ  
 ρύακος μόδια τρία, και εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὴν Βουναιάδα χωράφιον ||<sup>33</sup>  
 πλησίον τῆς γῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φωκᾶ τοῦ συνόρου τῆς γῆς τῆς δοθείσης  
 ||<sup>33</sup> τῷ Μειζομμάτη τῶν συνόρων τῶν χωραφίων τοῦ Βουσμᾶ, ἅπερ ||<sup>34</sup>  
 τέμνουσι μέσον τὰ βουνάρια και ἐξέρχονται και ἀκουμίζουν εἰς ||<sup>35</sup> τὸ  
 παλαιοκκλήσιον τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου, μόδια ἑκατὸν ||<sup>36</sup> ἑβδομήκοντα.  
 Ἔτερον χωράφιον εἰς τὰ τρόχαλα τῶν Χουμελάδων ||<sup>37</sup> μεταξὺ τῆς γῆς  
 τοῦ κυροῦ Φωκᾶ και τῆς γῆς τοῦ Δρομορύτου, μόδια ||<sup>38</sup> τεσσαράκοντα,  
 εἰς τὴν Κατωνύχιν πλησίον τοῦ ποταμίου και ||<sup>39</sup> τῆς γῆς Δρομορύτου,  
 ἕως τοῦ μονοπατίου μόδια εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, ||<sup>40</sup> ἕτερον ἐντὸς τοῦ  
 χωραφίου τοῦ κυροῦ Φωκᾶ εἰς τοῦ παπᾶ Εὐστρατίου, μόδια ||<sup>41</sup> δώδεκα,  
 εἰς τὸ βουνὸν τοῦ Κούτζουρου εἰς τὴν λαγκάδα μεθ' οὗ ἔχει εἰς ||<sup>42</sup> τοὺς  
 πρόποδας τῆς Μελίσης κάτωθεν και ἄνωθεν τοῦ δρόμου, πλησίον ||<sup>43</sup>  
 τοῦ συνόρου τῆς μονῆς Ξενοφώντος μέχρι και τοῦ ρύακος μόδια ἐξήκοντα  
 ||<sup>44</sup> πέντε και ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὸ νότιον πλάγιον τῆς Μελίσης πλησίον τῆς  
 ||<sup>45</sup> δοθείσης γῆς τῷ χατζῆ Λάλη και τῷ Λαγκαδιώτη, κάτωθεν τοῦ ||<sup>46</sup>  
 Τυμβοπούλου, και εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πλάγιον μόδια ἑκατὸν, χωράφια μοδίων  
 ||<sup>47</sup> τετρακοσίων. Ἔχει ἡ αὐτὴ ὑπόστασις και ἄμπελον ἄπορον μόδια  
 ἑπτὰ ||<sup>48</sup> τρίτον πλησίον τῆς γῆς τοῦ κυροῦ Φωκᾶ, ὁμοίως ὀφείλει ἔχειν  
 και ||<sup>49</sup> τὸ οἰκογάλασμα και τὸ ἔσωθεν μόδια δύο ἥμισυ, τὰ ἠνωμένα

τοῖς ||<sup>50</sup> οἰκήμασι τῆς μονῆς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Λαγκαδιώτη ἐκείνου. ||<sup>51</sup> Ἔτι παρεδόθη τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγία μονῇ καὶ αἱ εἰς τὸν Φακὸν μάνδρα, ἤγουν ||<sup>52</sup> τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων καὶ τῆς Ῥοδακινέας, ὧν ὁ περιορισμὸς ἔχει οὕτως· ||<sup>53</sup> ἡ τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ βουνάριον ||<sup>54</sup> τοῦ μικροῦ Καβουρίτζη, κρατῶν τὴν ῥάχην τούτου εὐρίσκει τὴν ||<sup>55</sup> ἐκεῖσε συκίαν, δεξιὰ τὸ περιοριζόμενον ἀριστερὰ τὰ δίκαια τῆς ||<sup>56</sup> μάνδρας τοῦ Παντοκράτορος, κρατῶν πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ῥάχην διέρχεται ||<sup>57</sup> κατ' ἰσότητα πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ εὐρίσκει μονοπάτιον τὸ τοῦ πετρωστίχου ||<sup>58</sup> ὃ δὴ μονοπάτιον κρατῶν δι' ὄλου εὐρίσκει τὸν πετρώστιχον πρὸς ||<sup>59</sup> ἄρκτον, ἀνέρχεται τὸ πλάγιον τοῦ τοιοῦτου πετρωστίχου καὶ ||<sup>60</sup> εὐρίσκει ἕτερον πετρώστιχον, ὡς ὧν διαιρέτης μάνδρας τῆς ||<sup>61</sup> Ῥοδακινέας, ἣν ἐκράτει ἡ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος Χριστοῦ, ||<sup>62</sup> κατέρχεται κατ' ἰσότητα πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ εὐρίσκει λιμνοπούλας ||<sup>63</sup> ἐκεῖ καὶ βουρλαίας καὶ παλαιοκκλησίον, δεξιὰ δι' ὄλον τὸ ||<sup>64</sup> περιοριζόμενον ἀριστερὰ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Ῥοδακινέας. Εἶτα λαμβάνει ||<sup>65</sup> τὴν ἐκεῖσε νερογλυμὴν, κατέρχεται κατ' ἰσότητα μέχρι καὶ τοῦ ||<sup>66</sup> αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθα μικρὸν ῥυάκιον ἔχει ὕδωρ, καὶ κρατῶν δι' ὄλου τὸν ||<sup>67</sup> τοιοῦτον αἰγιαλὸν διέρχεται πρὸς βορρᾶν συμπεριλαμβάνων ||<sup>68</sup> τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἅπαν τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων, καὶ ἔρχεται πάλιν ||<sup>69</sup> ἕως τοῦ βουναρίου τοῦ μικροῦ Καβουρίτζη, ἔνθα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ||<sup>70</sup> εἴληφεν. Ἡ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδακινέας ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ||<sup>71</sup> μικρὸν ῥυάκιον ἔχον ὕδωρ, λαμβάνει τὴν νερογλυμὴν, ἀνέρχεται ταύτην ||<sup>72</sup> δι' ὄλου ἕως αὐτὴν, ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὸν πετρώστιχον κατ' ἰσότητα μέχρι ||<sup>73</sup> καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ βουνοῦ, εἶτα κατέρχεται εἰς τὸ παλαιόμανδρον ||<sup>74</sup> τῶν ἐκτὸς τὰ δίκαια τῆς μάνδρας τοῦ Πετρῆ, περὶ κατ' ἰσότητα ||<sup>75</sup> εἰς τὸ βουνάριον τοῦ Μαχαιρομένου καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε τροχάλων ||<sup>76</sup> εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν λαβὼν κατέρχεται καὶ εὐρίσκει νερογλυμένα, τῶν ||<sup>77</sup> ἐκτὸς τὸ βουνάριον τοῦ Ταταύρου, καὶ διὰ τῆς νερογλυμῆς κατέρχεται ||<sup>78</sup> κατ' ἰσότητα μέχρι τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατέρχεται ||<sup>79</sup> εἰς τὸ ἀρχικὸν ῥυάκιον ἔνθα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἴληφεν. Ἔτι ||<sup>80</sup> εὐεργετεῖται ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονὴ διὰ θείου καὶ σεπτοῦ ||<sup>81</sup> χρυσοβούλλου πρόβατα πεντακόσια ἐλεύθερα τοῦ ἐνομίου, καὶ διὰ ||<sup>82</sup> θείου ὀρισμοῦ τοῦ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν πανευτυχεστάτου δεσπότη, ||<sup>83</sup> γῆν ζευγαρίων δύο, ὑπὲρ ἧς δεδώκαμεν ἀρτίαν περὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦ ||<sup>84</sup> Κοντοδράκη τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κοταρίου ἐκείνου, μέχρις ἂν ||<sup>85</sup> ἐξελθόντες ἴδωμεν λεπτομερῶς τὴν ποσότητα τῶν μοδίων τῆς ||<sup>86</sup> γῆς. Ταῦτα πάντα ὀφείλουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγία σεβασμία μονῇ ἐνασκούμενοι ||<sup>87</sup> τιμιώτατοι μοναχοὶ κατέχειν καὶ νέμεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕξῃς ||<sup>88</sup> ἀνωτέρα παντὸς τέλους καὶ βάρους, κατὰ τὴν περιλήψιν τοῦ παρόντος ||<sup>89</sup> αὐτῇ θείου καὶ σεπτοῦ χρυσοβούλλου, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν καὶ ||<sup>90</sup> παντοίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι

πρόσοδον. Καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἐγένετο καὶ ||<sup>91</sup> τὸ παρὸν ἡμέτερον ἀπογραφικὸν γράμμα καὶ ἐπεδόθη τῇ εἰρημένῃ ||<sup>92</sup> σεβασμῖα βασιλικῆ καὶ ἁγία μονῆ τῇ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τιμωμένῃ καὶ ||<sup>93</sup> ἐπικαλουμένῃ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου. Ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ ἰα' ||<sup>94</sup> τοῦ ζ' ἔτους, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ ,αυξγ'.

||<sup>95</sup> † Ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου ἁγίου δεσπότη ||<sup>96</sup> Ἰωάννου Παλαιολόγου ὁ Καντακουζηνός.

||<sup>97</sup> † Ὁ Λήμνου Διονύσιος.

#### Act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14

ACT OF MARA BRANKOVIĆ GRANTING THE INCOME WHICH SHE WAS ENTITLED TO RECEIVE FROM THE VILLAGES OF EŽEVO AND MRAVINCE TO THE MONASTERIES OF CHILANDAR AND ST. PAUL

May 21, 6974 (1466)

**Type of the document:** книга (l. 38)

**Description:** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 14. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 290 x 470 mm. Its back is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is good. There are no signatures or traces of a seal (see **plate no. 43**). However, the original must have had a seal, because this seal has been described in the last paragraph of our copy: *запечаџиџ мџџм печатію, на печатіе б'џлеџ свџџи г'џџџџџ на коню проџџџ зм'іџ* (l. 39). According to this description, the seal attached to the lost prototype contained an image of St. George killing the dragon. A seal with a similar iconography is attached to our **act no. 46. Serbian act no. 15**.

**Analysis:** Due the mercy of the Great King, (the Ottoman Sultan), Mara Branković had received as her personal property the villages of Eževo and Mravince. However, she decided to grant the income from these two settlements to the Athonite monasteries of Chilandar and St. Paul. This income was deriving from the taxes *telos*, *glavina*, *desetak*, *orasi* and *ovoštie*. The charges paid by the two villages were thereby divided into five shares. Three of them were delivered to Chilandar and the other two to St. Paul. The two monasteries were also given arable land in the vicinity of Ežova and Mravinci and were warned to abstain

from quarrelling about it. Some vineyards and a water mill situated in Mravinci were also divided in five shares, three of them for Chilandar and two for St. Paul. After Mara's death, the two monasteries had to commemorate with special liturgies her grandmother Marina (on April 14), her father George (on December 24), her mother Eirene (on May 3), her brother German (on October 17), her brother Lazar (on January 20), her uncle Thomas (on June 25), her sister Kantakuzina and herself in person. There were also six documents of the type known as *berāt* that pertained to the aforesaid villages. Three of them were promulgated by the sultan, while the fourth was issued by Mara and arranged the delivery of the two villages to Chilandar and St. Paul after her death. Mara's *berāt* was corroborated by a *berāt* issued by the sultan (Mehmed II). All these documents were delivered to the monasteries along with two more *berāts* relating to the same deed and signed by an Ottoman judge (*kadi*). Moreover, Mara gave the monasteries the tax catalogues of the two villages (*tetrage*), which listed the persons who were obliged to pay the taxes *telos* and *glavnina*. In the two settlements there were also persons with a special status who enjoyed the protection of Mara. They and their children were entitled to buy and possess land, vineyards and water mills without paying the taxes *oranje*, *telos*, *glavnina*, and *desetak*. They were also exempted from all corvées and charges which had to be paid to the monasteries. However, if any of them decided to sell his property, the sale was expected to take place within the frames of the local rural community. If any peasant decided to donate an estate to a monastery, he was allowed to perform donations only to Chilandar and St. Paul. The charter was signed by Mara in front of the bishop of Smederevo Jacob, the elder Makarije, the priest Basil, the priest of Kastamonitou Basil, and George Golemović. Representatives of Chilandar were the elder Sofronije, the elder Paul, and Job Simonović, while from the part of St. Paul were present the ex-superior Theophanes, the elder Symeon and the elder Theodosios. Final confirmative clauses. The charter was composed in two copies, one for each monastery. Both copies were sealed with Mara Branković's personal seal, on which there was an image of St. George killing the dragon. Date: May 21, 6974. The present copy was made in Ežovo by an *ekkleziarches* named Simon.

**Note on the rear:** маѣѣ ѣѣѣѣ за с[ел]а на стѣѣѣѣ.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. Seven Ottoman documents of the type known as *berāts* (l. 14-15) pertaining to the villages of Ežova and Mravintsi. Three of them were

signed by Mehmed II, while the forth was issued by Mara and was corroborated by another *berāt* of Mehmed II. Two more *berāts* were signed by an Ottoman judge. The Ottoman documents of the category *berāt* were probably the closest to what in medieval Europe was described with the Latin terms *charta* and *diploma*, as they confirmed donations or appointments to a specific position<sup>1</sup>. According to Ph. Kotzageorgis, none of these Turkish documents is presently kept in the monastery<sup>2</sup>.

2. Tax catalogue (*tetraga*, l. 20) pertaining to the villages of Ežova and Mravintsi. It was written in Turkish and, according to Ph. Kotzageorgis, it could not have been based on the surviving Ottoman tax assessment of the district around Serrhai which was made in 1454-1455, because this assessment did not mention properties of Mara Branković at all. The next surviving Turkish tax catalogue for the same region was composed ten years after our document, in 1477-1478, so it too could not have been the prototype of Mara's *tetraga* of 1466<sup>3</sup>.

**Remarks:** The document of Mara Branković for the monasteries of Chilandar and St. Paul lacks a theological introduction, and this was probably due to the influence of the Turkish chancery practices. On l. 38-39 the text explicitly states that the act was composed in two copies, one for each monastery. The copy delivered to Chilandar is not preserved, while in the archives of St. Paul there is an Ottoman *hüccet* issued in 1469, which must be a translation of a lost Serbian prototype because one of the witnesses, a certain İsa, is mentioned as a translator (*el-mütercim*). With this act Mara donated to the two monasteries all her movable property, which consisted of *golden and silver objects, beds and garments*, in the same proportion which was established in our document, i.e. 3/5 for Chilandar and 2/5 for St. Paul<sup>4</sup>. Of course, this was scheduled to take place after Mara's death, exactly as our act planned for the villages of Ežova and Mravinci. However, it is dubious if Mara's immovable property was ever transferred to Chilandar and St. Paul, since by 1478 all her possessions (*mülk*) in Ežova, which totalled 26 Christian households and a revenue of 4475 *aspra* (*akce*), had already been transformed into a property of the sultan (*has*)<sup>5</sup>.

1. Cf. Стоянов, *Дипломатика на средновековните извори (владетелски документи)*, Sofia 1991, 153-155.

2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 130-140. Cf. also В. Бошков -Д. Бојанић, Султанске повеље из манастира Хилендара. Регеста и коментар за период 1512-1601, ХЗ 8 (Belgrade 1991), 167-212.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 132 and note 219.

4. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 132 and 227-228.

5. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 134.

Mara's document of 1466 seems to be related to two false acts kept in Chilandar which "corroborated" another donation made to both Chilandar and St. Paul. These fakes described the cession of an income of 1000 ducats which had to be paid by the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to the aforementioned monasteries - 500 ducats to St. Paul and 500 to Chilandar. The two counterfeits were attributed to the Serbian Czar Stephen Uroš (1358) and to Mara Branković (1479)<sup>1</sup>. In 1977 and 1994 R. Ćuk and D. Nicol assumed that Mara's charter of 1479 was authentic<sup>2</sup>, but in 2003 Đ. Bubalo explicitly proved that both charters were falsified<sup>3</sup>. Regardless that the documents of 1358 and 1479 were forgeries, the revenue which they described really existed. This was the widely discussed in the Serbian bibliography "Revenue from Ston" (*stonski dohodak*), a sum which Ragusa started paying to the Serbian Czar Stephen Dušan circa 1350<sup>4</sup>, after it received from him the control over the district of Ston in the Croatian peninsula of Pelješac<sup>5</sup>. Initially the sum was sent directly to the Serbian monks who resided in the Monastery of the Holy Archangel Michael in Jerusalem, but was later redirected to the Athonite foundations of St. Paul and Chilandar. St. Paul kept on receiving this revenue until the 17th century, when it amounted to only 52.5 *grossi*<sup>6</sup>.

It is also evident that in 1466 Mara Branković donated to Chilandar and St. Paul two distinct groups of peasant. The first one was producing

1. 5. *Actes de Chilandar (actes slaves)*, 521-523, act no. 49 and 566-568, act no. 85. See also Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, 520-522, act no. CDXLV; Архимандритъ Леонидъ [Кавелинъ], *Историческое описаніе сербской царской лавры Хиландаря и ея отношенія къ царствамъ сербскому и русскому*, Moscow 1868, 91-93.

2. Тук, *Повеља царице Маре*, 103; Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 116-118.

3. Ђ. Бубало, Фалсификована повеља цара Стефана на Уроша о Стонском доходу (јун 2, 1358), *ССА* 2 (Belgrade 2003), 99-142; Ђ. Бубало, Хиландар и Стонски доходак у XIX веку, *ХЗ* 13 (Belgrade 2011), 84-85.

4. В. Мошин, Повеље цара Стефана Душана о Арханђеловом манастиру у Јерусалиму и о манастиру Св. Николе на скадарском острву Врањини, *Folia Slavica. Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt* (Columbus, Ohio 1979), III, 175-200, nos. 1-2.

5. К. Jireček, *Dohodak stonski, koji su Dubrovčani davali srpskome manastiru sv. Arhangjela Mihajla u Jerusalemu i povelje o njemu cara Uroša (1358) i carice Mare (1479)*, *Zbornik u slavu Vatroslava Jagića*, Berlin 1908, 536-538; Живојиновић, *Светогорци и стонски доходак*, 165-206; А. Фотић, *Света Гора и Хиландар у Османском царству (XV-XVII век)*, Belgrade, 189-191; С. Бојанин, Писмо Вука Бранковића Дубровчанима о исплати Стонског дохотка јерусалимским калуђерима (август 1388. године), *ССА* 11 (Belgrade 2012), 107-113.

6. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 57-58.

the income which Mara granted to the monasteries, while the second one consisted of persons enjoying her personal protection. The second group and its offsprings were explicitly declared exempt from all taxes. The taxes mentioned in the act were the following:

1. *Telos* (ΤΕΛΟΣЬ, l. 3, 20 and 24). On this tax see our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4**, entry 6.

2. *Glavnina* (ГЛАВНИНА, l. 3, 20 and 24). The word is a derivative of the Slavic word for “head” (*glava*). This tax does not appear in the medieval Serbian sources and is first mentioned in the present document. R. Ćuk suggested that it might have been a variant of the Byzantine *kephaliatikon*, a term deriving from the Greek word for “head” (*kephale*). However, *kephaliatikon* was a charge which rarely appeared in the Byzantine fiscal documents. For this reason Ćuk assumed that *glavnina* might have been a Slavic name for the Ottoman tax *ispence*. This conjecture was also supported by Ph. Kotzageorgis<sup>1</sup> and in our opinion it is the only correct interpretation of the term.

3. *Desetak* (ДЕСЕТАЦИ, l. 3 and 25). The term *desetak* means one tenth part, i.e. tithe, but our act does not make it clear which form of *desetak* Mara had in mind. There were various forms of tithing in medieval Serbia and they were very important in the southern part of the country, where almost every type of agricultural product was tithed - wheat, wine, wax, honey, pigs and sheep<sup>2</sup>. There was also a tithe paid to the church. However, Ćuk and Kotzageorgis agree that *desetak* is the Slavic equivalent of the Ottoman tax *öşür*, a tithe collected from almost all the agricultural products<sup>3</sup>.

4. *Orasi* and *drugo ovoštje* (ОРАСИ И ДРУГО ОВОШЋИЕ, l. 3). These phrase literally means “walnuts and other fruit bearing trees”. According to R. Ćuk, in the Serbian charters granted to monasteries these taxes appeared only when the trees were cultivated in orchards or in groves. However, according to the Ottoman tax cadasters, the *öşür* tax was regularly levied on all the production deriving from trees<sup>4</sup>.

6. On the charge *pobirice* (l. 4) see our **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5**.

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1. Ђук, *Повеља царице Марје*, 108-109; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 131.

2. See И. Божић, *Доходак царски*, Belgrade 1956, 51-74; М. Благојевић, *Земљорадња у средњовековној Србији*, Belgrade 1973, 338-340 and 382-383.

3. Ђук, *Повеља царице Марје*, 109; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 131.

4. Ђук, *Повеља царице Марје*, 110.

**Prosopography:**

1. **Mara Branković** is a well studied person. She was the daughter of Serbian Despot George Branković and was born around 1416 in Vučitrn. She married Murad II in September 1435, but remained childless until Murad's death in February 1451. George Branković then requested Mehmed II to allow his daughter to return to Serbia and the sultan consented. It was then when the Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI, who was childless and widower, offered her a marriage. The Serbian despot met his proposal with enthusiasm, but Mara rejected the opportunity to become an empress of Constantinople and, after George Branković's death in December 1456, she joined the court of her stepson, Mehmed II. After Serbia collapsed in 1459, Mehmed II gave her the village of Eževo and the district adjacent to it. Mara played an important role in the election of several Constantinopolitan patriarchs - Symeon I, Dionysios I, and especially in the election of Raphael I, who was of Serbian origin<sup>1</sup>. She died in Eževo in September 1487 and was buried in the nearby Monastery of Kosinitza (today Eikosiphoinissa)<sup>2</sup>.

2. The bishop of Smederevo, **Jacob** (l. 32), seems to be mentioned only in the present document<sup>3</sup>.

**Topography:**

1. The medieval settlement of **Ežovo** or **Ežova** (l. 1: **εζεβο**, in Greek **Ἐζιτοβᾶ**, **Ἐζιτᾶ** and **Ἐζετᾶ**) was situated to the southeast of what is today the town of Nigrita south of Serrhai. The village is still extant and was renamed Neroplatana in 1927 and Daphne in 1928. The only surviving medieval construction in the modern village are the remains of a large defensive tower which is known as the "Tower of Queen Mara"<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Cf. Runciman, *The Great Church*, 193-195.

2. F. Babinger, Eine Freibrief Mehmeds II, des Eroberers, für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki, Eigentum der Sultanin Mara (1459), *BZ* 44 (1951), 11-20, F. Babinger, Witwensitz und Sterbeplatz der Sultanin Mara, *ΕΕΒΣ* 23 (Athens 1953), 240-244; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, Princeton, N.J. 1978, 11-12; M. Спремић, Два податка Мари Бранковић, *Историјски гласник* 1-2 (Belgrade 1977), 71-80; PLP, no. 17210; Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 116-118; M. Popović, *Mara Branković: eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert*, Mainz 2010, 122-127.

3. Cf. M. Јанковић, *Епископије и митрополије Српске цркве у средњем веку*, Belgrade 1985.

4. В. Кљнчов, *Избрани произведения. II. Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, Sofia 1970<sup>2</sup>, 480; И. Дуйчев, Ежово, *Studia historico-philologica Serdicensia* 1 (Sofia 1938), 224; *Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век. II. Архив на Македонија*, Skorje 1973, 122; Θεοδωρίδης, *Πίνακας τοπογραφίας*, 367;

2. The medieval village of **Mravinci** (l. 1: **мравинци**, in Turkish Mravinç, Moravinça and Maravinça, in Greek **Μαραβίντζι**, **Μαροβίτζιν** and **Μαροβίτσα**) has vanished. However, based on a Byzantine *praktikon* (catalogue of properties) signed in 1318 by Michael Neokaisaritis and kept in Chilandar, Mravinci was adjacent to the modern villages of Eukarpia (until the 15th century Chandax<sup>1</sup>, during the Ottoman period Koutsos) and Maurothalassa (during the Byzantine and the Ottoman period Eunouchou, Mounouchou or Minocho). Mravinci was thereby situated at a short distance to the south from the shallow and marshy Lake Achinos (Tachinos), which until the 1930s covered a large part of the riverbed of the Strymon (Struma) River south of Serrhai and north of Amphipolis<sup>2</sup>. St. Paul is known to have possessed a dependency in Marovitsa from the late 15th to the late 18th century, and in the monastery's archives there are 21 Ottoman documents of the period 1469-1580 pertaining to this dependency. The *metochion* at Marovitsa was studied and commented by Ph. Kotzageorgis in 2002<sup>3</sup>. According to him, due to the transformation of Mara's properties around Ežova, which in 1466 amounted to 1600 hectares of arable land, into a property belonging to the sultan (*has*) shortly before 1478, her donation to St. Paul must have lost its legal validity long before her death in 1487<sup>4</sup>.

**Editions:** Ђук, *Повеља царице Маре*, 112-114; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 192-199, no. 13.

**Bibliography:** Ђук, *Повеља царице Маре*, 103-111; Р. Ђук, Царица Мара. Породица Ђурђа Бранковића и Марино рођење, *ИЧ* 26-27 (1978-1979), 53-97; Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 200-201, act no. 14; В. Бошков, Мара Бранковић у турским документима из Све-

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N. Μουτσόπουλος, Ο πύργος της τσαρίτσας Μάρας στην Έξιοβα (Δάφνη), *Зборник посветен на Бошко Бабиќ*, Prilep 1986, 161-163; Α. Γλαβίνας, Η έπισκοπή Έζεβών, *Ιστοριογεωγραφικά* 5 (Thessalonica 1995), 57-671; N. Ζήκος, Έζεβαί: ένας βυζαντινός οικισμός στο κάτω τμήμα τής κοιλάδας του Στρυμόνα, *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου* (Thessalonica 1997), 77-104.

1. Pavlikianov, *Greek and Bulgarian Documents of Zographou*, 87-88, 317-319, 325-328, 357-359, 363-364, 392-401, 407-416, 533-535, 537-538, 542-543, 548-550, and 553-554.

2. Chilandar I, 66-67 and 254-260, act no. 40, l. 9, 13, 14-15, 99 and 102-103. See also Θεοχαρίδης, *Κατεπανίκια τής Μακεδονίας*, 23 and 84.

3. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 130-140.

4. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 130 and 134; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Les illusions d'une princesse. Le sort des biens de Mara Branković, *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer* (ed. S. Prätör and Ch. Neumann), Istanbul 2002, 43-60.

те Pope, XЗ 5 (1983), 189-214; V. Demetriades - E. Zachariadou, Serbian Ladies and Athonite Monks, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (Vienna 1994), 35-55; A. Fotić, Despina Mara Branković and Chilandar: Between the Desired and the Possible, *Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура* (Научни скупови Српске академије наука и уметности, vol. XCV, Одељење историјских наука 27), Belgrade 2000, 93-99; Ph. Kotzageorgis, Two *vakfiyyes* of Mara Branković, XЗ 11 (2004), 307-318; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 192-199.

## Text:

† по мѣти гна цѣра великога ѿ ме е помиловѣ гнѣ царѣ ѿ ми даде села  
 ѿ баѣи село ѣво, ѿ село мравѣце. таи села ||<sup>2</sup> [... 20-25 ...] мѣ дадѣ ѿ мнастирь  
 хиландарѣ ѿ мнастирь стѣмѣ пѣлѣ [... 35-40 ...] ||<sup>3</sup> коѣ ѿчѣни ѿ годѣ дѣди  
 дохока ѿ ѿвѣ више рѣннѣ сѣлѣ. телѣ, глаина, дѣтци, ѿраси ѿ дрѣго ѿвоцѣе цю  
 ||<sup>4</sup> ѿмають и ѿвѣ сѣла. ѿ дрѣго ѿстале повѣрице ѿ е на сѣлѣ ѿ ѿ дѣди ѿ нѣ  
 свѣ мѣло много, раздѣли на пѣ дѣлѣ ||<sup>5</sup> да ѿма ѿ да ѿзима ѿ тоган мнастирь  
 хиландѣ трѣ дѣлѣ, ѿ стѣ павѣ двѣ дѣла, да ѿма ѿ да ѿзима ѿ тоган, ѿ [...] ||<sup>6</sup>  
 ѿвѣю сѣлѣ ѿ си ѿзѣхоте мнастири ѿрати землю своѣми рѣли, такогѣр да  
 ѿзѣмаю землю на пѣ[тъ] дѣ[лѣ] ||<sup>7</sup> хиландѣ трѣ дѣлѣ, ѿ стѣ павѣ двѣ дѣла.  
 ѿ хиландѣ да ѿре землю на мравѣцѣ, ѿ на ѣжевѣ, такогѣр ѿ стѣ па[вѣ] ||<sup>8</sup> [...]  
 ѿ землю на ѣжевѣ ѿ на мравѣцѣ тако и да чѣне ѿба мнастира како да не бѣде  
 нѣкога рѣ мегѣ ни [...] ||<sup>9</sup> [the whole line is unreadable because  
 the paper is damaged] ||<sup>10</sup> [three thirds of the line are not readable] да  
 по [...] ѿ [...] ѿ дѣ [...] лихо да ѿмаю ѿ [...] ||<sup>11</sup> виноградѣ ѿ мравѣцѣ [...] и  
 [...] 15-18 [...], виноградѣ прѣко рѣке, теи да дѣле на пѣ дѣлѣ како [...] ||<sup>12</sup> дрѣго  
 свѣ. ѿ воденицѣ ѿ сѣ гѣоскѣ ѿ нѣ да дѣле на пѣ дѣлѣ. ѿ ѿ гѣде е дрѣго свѣ  
 мало много ѿ гѣде дѣди ||<sup>13</sup> ѿ тѣ сѣ више рѣннѣ, свѣ да деле ѿба мнастира на  
 пѣ дѣлѣ, да бѣде мнастирь хиландарѣ трѣ дѣлѣ, ѿ мо ||<sup>14</sup> мнастирь стѣмѣ пѣлѣ  
 двѣ дѣла, како е ѿ више рѣно. ѿ по мѣши сѣмрѣти да чѣне полѣѣ ѿ гѣди ѿ ѿба  
 мнастира, ||<sup>15</sup> гѣгѣ ми бавѣ кѣра маринѣ. ѿ. дѣ. ѿ рѣдителю ми гнѣ дѣпотѣ  
 гюргю. дѣ, кѣ. ѿ гѣгѣ ѿ маице ми ѣрѣне, ||<sup>16</sup> мѣла. гѣ. ѿ брацѣ ми гнѣ гѣрѣмѣ.  
 ѿ. зѣ. ѿ лѣрѣ, гѣ. кѣ. ѿ ѿнѣ ми ѣмѣ, ѿ. кѣ. ѿ сестрѣ ми кѣѣзинѣ. ѿ ме[не]  
 ||<sup>17</sup> маарѣ. ѿ да сѣ книге барѣти царѣви за таи сѣла ѿчѣни с[е] пѣ барѣ. трѣ сѣ  
 ѿ нѣ царѣви барѣти, а чѣвѣрт[и] е ||<sup>18</sup> ми ѿ сѣ гѣ записала како да вѣ ѿван  
 сѣла мнастирь по мѣши сѣмрѣти, тѣи ми барѣ царѣ потвѣрѣди. ѿ тѣи барѣ ||<sup>19</sup>  
 прѣдѣдѣ ѿ петѣ барѣ ѿ е кадѣта писѣ за мегѣ сѣлѣ. ѿ шестѣи ѿ е кадѣте писѣно ѿ  
 теи барѣте прѣдѣдѣ на мѣ ||<sup>20</sup> живѣт, да си ѿ дрѣже ѿ мнастирь. ѿ тетраге

и прѣдадѡ ѡ село ѡ цѣ сѡ исписани людыѣ за телѡ, и за гла̀нинѡ. ||<sup>21</sup> и па̀ ѡ сѡ людыѣ мои кои сѡ двѡрили (sic!) цю сѣ ꙗа хранила. тко годѣ си ѡ ни ѡма ѡ ѡвѣ ѡвѣю селѣ, и ли виноград и ли ||<sup>22</sup> воденицѡ, и ли коѣ дрѡго наместїѣ и ли тко кѡпи кою башинѡ. ниѣ и ли винограде, и ли воденицѣ, и ѡ кѡ ||<sup>23</sup> дадѡ мнастири земли ѡ се и тко ѡ ни ѡрати, и ли инако како тко ѡзвима ѡ ни кою [... 17-20 ...] ||<sup>24</sup> селѣ. ѡ свега ѡ тогаи ѡ все више рѣно. да и не бѡдѡ ни ни ѡ децѡ по ни ни телоса, ни гла̀[нинѣ] ||<sup>25</sup> ни дѣтка, ни дрѡге плате коѣ ни малѣ ни голѣме, ни да и бѡде коѡа работа ни мала ни голѣма. ни ||<sup>26</sup> да и бѡде коѡа досада ѡ мнастирѣ, лихо да си сѡ слѡдни ѡ све платѣ и работѣ, докле сѡ сѣла и докле и дрѣже мѡна||<sup>27</sup>стири и да си живѡ ѡ свѡ слѡдно тко си ѡ ѡма, тко ли па̀ ѡ ни ѡхокѣ прода ѡ тѣ башнѣ ѡ годѣ, да не волѣ ||<sup>28</sup> прода ницо ѡ дрѡго село, лихо да си прода ѡпет ѡ село. тко ли па̀ ѡхокѣ ѡ ни кою башинѣ мнастирѡ приложнѣ ||<sup>29</sup> да не волѣ дрѡгомѡ мнастирѡ приложнѣ, лихо ѡ ѡвѣ ѡвѣю мнастирь комѡ мѡ драго да приложнѣ. и ѡ сѡ челѡ [... ] ||<sup>30</sup> ко мѣ ѡ сѣ ꙗа хранила коѡа ѡстане ѡ ни по мѡнѣ сѣмрѣти, прѡдаѡ и на мнастире да и чѡваю и да и [... 10-12 ...] ||<sup>31</sup> [по]милѡю, да и даваю хлѣбѣ ѡ тѣ сѣль и да сѡ сестре мнастирке. и тои ѡчиннѣ и прѡдадѡ ѡвѣ[ю ... 17-20 ...] ||<sup>32</sup> мнастирѡ прѣ иепѡпѡ сѣверѣскнѣ кѡ ꙗковѡ и прѣ старцѣ кѡ макаритѣ и прѣ попѡ кѡ ва[.....] ||<sup>33</sup> гѡргнѣ голѣмовикнѣ и прѣ попѡ гпгннѣ вѡсилїѣ ѡ кастамонита, и ни ѡчиннѣ за тои сѣѣтелнѣ [... 10-12 ...] ||<sup>34</sup> и прѣдадѡ. тѡи вѣ ѡ мнастира хилѡдара. старцѣ кѡ софронїѣ. и старцѣ кѡ павѣ. и иѡвѣ сѣмоновнѣ. и ѡ мна||<sup>35</sup>стира стѣго пѡла бнѣ дан (sic!), проиѡмѣ пѡ ѡеѡфѡ и старцѣ кѡ сѣмѡ. и старцѣ кѡ ѡеѡсїѣ. и мѡ дѡш прѣ бгѡ м[.] ||<sup>36</sup> ѡтави на стѣ мнастире. тко ли дрѣзне ѡвои рѡзорити по мѡнѣ сѣмрѣти. и ли ѡ нечѣ потѡорнѣ ѡ малѡ ѡ многѡ. да ѡма ||<sup>37</sup> клетвѡ ѡ га ба вѣсѣдрѣжителнѣ. и ѡ прѣтїѣ бгѡмѣре. и ѡ стѣ. бнѣ. врѣховннѣ аплѣ. и ѡ. тннѣ. стѣ ѡцнѣ и вѣ нн||<sup>38</sup>кнѣ и ѡ стѣ хѣтигорѣ. и ѡ гпѡде ѡ моѣ рѡдитѣ. и ѡ мѣ ѡко сѣ и грѡшна. и ѡвои ѡчиннѣ двѣ книге да дрѣжи свѡки ||<sup>39</sup> мнастирь свою книгу. и запечатнѣ моѡ печатнѣю, на печатнѣ бѣлѣ стн гнѡгнѣ на конѡ прѡѡ змѡа. писѡ, вѣ ||<sup>40</sup> лѣ сѡѡд. мѡа маїа. кѡ. писѡ снмѡ иеклнѡрѣ ѡ ежеѡ.

Act no. 45

ACT OF DONATION SIGNED BY MARO BRANKOVIĆ WHO  
BOUGHT AND BESTOWED ON THE MONASTERY OF ST.  
PAUL A TOWER IN THE ISTHMUS OF PROVLAKAS

March 1, 6977 (1469)

**Type of the document:** *πράσις καὶ ἀγορά* (l. 26-27)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant 1.** 15th century copy kept in archival folder no. 31. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 365 x 270 mm. The back of the act is glued to a piece of paper. Its preservation is poor as there are abundant traces of moisture and ruptures along the folds (see **plate no. 44**).

**Variant 2.** 20th century copy made in 1913 by the monk Eulogios Agiopavlitis. It is kept in archival folder no. 31, and is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 340 x 210. Its preservation is relevantly good.

**Variant 3.** 20th century copy signed by the abbot of St. Paul, Serapheim, on September 6, 1928. It is kept in archival folder no. 31 and is written with blue ink on a double sheet of **paper** with dimensions 340 x 210. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** Lady Maro who resided in the village Ezova decided to buy a tower and an old mill in the district of Provlakas. This tower was a dependency of the Athonite Monastery of Esphigmenou and was located near a stream and next to a *metochion* belonging to the Monastery of Iviron. The monks of Esphigmenou Ignatios, Thomas, Germanos, Damianos and Galaktion, their ex-abbot Merkourios, and the warehouse keeper (*docheiaritis*) John agreed to sell their dependency to Maro for 30000 *aspra* (*akçe*). Witnesses were: the bishop of Hierissos Raphael, the abbot of Chilandar Vikentios, the metropolitan of Mytilene Paul, the ex-abbot Athanasios, the ex-abbot Dionysios, the *oikonomos* Anthony, and the monks Sabbas, Paisios, Basil, Dionysios, and Gregory; from the Monastery of Zographou the monks Joasaph and Neophytos; from Vatopedi its *oikonomos*; from the village of Eladiava the monks Gennadios and Cyril; from the settlement of Komitissa George and his son Demetrios, Philip and his son Theodore, Stylianos, John Kako-

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 84.

trichis and his son Stamatis; from the village of Eladiava Theologos and his son John, Demetrios and his son Theodore, Kamnomatis Demetrios and his son Mark, Demetrios Zagorinos, his son George Kontakis and his second son John, George Xantovykis and his brother Stamatis, Theodore Kostas and his son Chrysaphis; from the tower of Chilandar Pagoukis and his son Demetrios, Theodore, Manolis, John, Kraios and his son Nicholas, and Nicholas Damianou. The persons listed above unanimously approved the deal and confirmed the validity of the sale. Date: March 1, 6977. Lady Maro from Ezova then declared that she was donating what she had just bought from Esphigmenou to the Monastery of St. Paul, for the commemoration of her parents and of herself during the liturgy.

**Prosopography:** For the Serbian princess **Maro Branković** who resided in the village Ezova near the Strymon River, see our **act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14.**

**Topography:** On the locality **Provlakas** (l. 2), see the topography of our **act no. 5.**

**Editions:** *Χρονογραφική ιστορία* 10 (1959), 45-47.

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 301-303 (no. 32); Χρυσσοχοϊδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 29, 29α, 29β; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 84-86, no. 34.

**Text:**

† Ἐγὼ ἡ Μάρο, ἡ κυρὰ ἀπὸ τ(ήν) Ἐζωβ(ά), ἐγύρευσα ἵνα ἀγωράσω τὸν ἄπορον τὸν πύργον τὸ μετόχην ||<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) εἰς τὸν Πρόβλακα ἀντάμα μὲ τὸν παλαιόμυλον ὅπου ἵναι εἰς τ(ὸν) ποταμὸν πλησί(ον) ||<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸ μετόχην τῶν Ἰδῆρων. Κ(αὶ) ἡμεῖς οἱ καλόγ(ε)ροι οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι εἰς τὸ μονασ(τήριον) τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) ὁ ||<sup>4</sup> προηγούμε(ενος) κ(ὺρ) Μερκούριος κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έ)ροντ(α)ς Ἰγνάτιος καὶ ὁ γ(έρων) Θωμᾶς καὶ ὁ γ(έ)ροντ(α)ς Γ(ε)ρμανὸς κ(αὶ) ὁ ||<sup>5</sup> γ(έρων) Δαμιανὸς κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έρων) Γαλακτίων κ(αὶ) ὁ Ἰωβάννης ὁ δοχειαρίτης κ(αὶ) ὅλοι οἱ ἀδελφοί, δι' αὐ- ||<sup>6</sup> τῶ ἐβουληθήκαμ(εν) κ(αὶ) ἐπουλήσαμ(εν) τ(ὸν) πύργον ἄπορον εἰς τὸν Πρόβλακα μὲ τὸ μετό[χιον] ||<sup>7</sup> κ(αὶ) μὲ τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἴσθαιται ὁ μῦλος, ἵνα τὸ ἔχει σωννηκῶς (sic) ἔως νὰ ἔνε ὁ κόσμος, [μετόχιον] ||<sup>8</sup> [... 10-12 ...] ἀν αὐτῆς, ἢ ἂν θέλει νὰ τὸ πουλήσοι, ἐμεῖς γοῦν οἱ καλόγ(ε)ροι τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) μηδ[... ] ||<sup>9</sup> [... 20-25 ...] ἢ ὀλήγον ἢ [πολύ, ν] ἀ υποῦμ(εν) ὃν ἐπράξαμ(εν) [... 10-12 ...] καὶ ἔδωσέ μ(ας) εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν πύρ- ||<sup>10</sup> γον μὲ τὸν παλαιόμυλον τ(ε)λείαν πράσιν, ἄσπρ(α) χιλιάδες λ'. Εἰς αὐτὴν τ(ήν) δουλείαν κ(αὶ) τὴν ἀ- ||<sup>11</sup> γωρὰν ἔστιν μάρτυρες· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ

Ἰερισσοῦ κ(ὐρ) Ῥαφαήλ, ὁ ἡγού(μενος) Χιλιταρίου κ(ὐρ) Βυκέν-||<sup>12</sup>τιος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ μ(ητ)ροπολί(της) Μυτηλίν(ης) κ(ὐρ) Παῦλ(ος), ὁ προηγού(μενος) Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ προηγού(μενος) κ(ὐρ) Διονύσι-||<sup>13</sup>ος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ οἰκονόμος ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος, κ(αι) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Σάββας, κ(αι) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Παΐσιος, κ(αι) ὁ ||<sup>14</sup> γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Βασίλειος, κ(αι) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Διονύσιος κ(αι) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Γρηγόριος, κ(αι) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωγράφου ||<sup>15</sup> ὁ γ(έ)ροντας κ(ὐρ) Ἰωάσαφ κ(αι) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας κ(ὐρ) Νεόφυτος, κ(αι) ἀπὸ τὸ Βατοπαίδην ὁ οἰκονόμος, ἀπὸ τὸ ||<sup>16</sup> Ἀλλαδιάβα ὁ κ(ὐρ) Γενάδιος μο(ναχός) κ(αι) ὁ Κύριλλος μο(ναχός), καὶ ἀπὸ τ(ήν) Κομήτησα Γεώργιος κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ||<sup>17</sup> Δημήτ(ριος), κ(αι) ὁ Φύλιππος κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος, καὶ ὁ Στελιανός κ(αι) ὁ Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Κακοτρίχης κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ||<sup>18</sup> Σταμάτης, κ(αι) ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀλλαδιάβα Θεόλογος κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰω(άννης), κ(αι) ὁ Δημήτρ(ιος) κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος, ||<sup>19</sup> Καμνομάτις ὁ Δημήτ(ριος) κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκος, ὁ Δημήτ(ριος) ὁ Ζαγωρινός κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Γεώργιος ὁ Κοντάκις ||<sup>20</sup> καὶ ὁ δεύτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰω(άννης) κ(αι) Γεώργιος ὁ Ξαντοβούκης κ(αι) ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σταμάτις κ(αι) Θεόδωρος ὁ Κώστας ||<sup>21</sup> κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Χρυσάφης, κ(αι) ἀπὸ τὸν Χιλιανταρινὸ πύργον τὸν Παγκούκη κ(αι) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Δημήτ(ριος), καὶ ὁ Θεό-||<sup>22</sup>δωρος κ(αι) ὁ Μανώλης, καὶ ὁ Ἰω(άννης) καὶ ὁ Κράϊος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Νικόλ(αος), καὶ ὁ Νικόλας τοῦ Δαμιανοῦ εἰς αὐτ(ήν) γοῦν ||<sup>23</sup> τ(ήν) δουλείαν καὶ τὴν ἀγωρὰν ἐποιήσαμ(εν) τέλειον ἀφορεσμὸν [... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>24</sup> [... 10-15 ...]θεν κ(αι) ἀντιβολήση τὴν πράσιν καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν ὡς ἐποιήσαμ(εν) ὁμο-||<sup>25</sup>θυμαδόν. Ἔτος ,ξῆοζ' μηνὶ Μ(αρτίῳ) α'.

||<sup>26</sup> † Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἡ Μάρω, ἡ κυρὰ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐζωβά ἐπροσῆλωσα αὐτὴν τὴν πράσιν κ(αι) τὴν ἀγωρ-||<sup>27</sup>ὰν εἰς τὴν μονὴν τὴν λεγωμένην Ἅγιος Παῦλ(ος) ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὅρει τῷ Ἄθῳ, ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἕως τέλ(ους) ζωῆς ||<sup>28</sup> αὐτῶν, εἰς μνημόσυνον ἐμῆ κ(αι) τῶν γοναί(ων) ἐμῆ, ἀπαρετήτως, ἀνενοχλήτως.

## Act no. 46. Serbian act no. 15

ACT OF THE SERBIAN *DESPOTICA* ANGELINA AND HER  
SONS, THE DESPOTS GEORGE AND JOHN, GRANTING TO  
THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL A YEARLY SUBSIDY OF 500  
GOLDEN COINS

November 3 (1495)

**Type of the document:** книга (l. 31)

**Description:** Original preserved in a booklet with a green binding which contains 6 collated **parchment** folia. Our charter is glued to f. 4v and its dimensions are 250 x 380 mm. The booklet is kept in archival folder no. 31 as act no. 4. The Cyrillic script is semiuncial with some cursive elements. The large red signatures are written with *Ligaturschrift*<sup>1</sup> in the form of monograms. Some of the initial letters and all the wide rectangular frame surrounding the text are yellow. The inner and outer edges of the yellow rectangular frame are contoured with a crimson line (see **plates nos. 45-46**). A red cord (*merinthos*) is attached to the bottom margin, and at its end there is a golden seal, with a diameter 40 mm and 4 mm thick. On the obverse there are three crowned figures. The inscription around these figures reads: **госпога деспотица аггеліна, господињ деспот гїѡвргїѣ, господињ деспотъ иванъ.** On the reverse one can see St. George killing the dragon. The correlated inscription reads: **† свѣтї великомучениче гїѡвргїѣ помилши раби свое.**

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. The grandfather of Despotica Angelina, the Serbian Despot George, emulating the pious donations of his predecessors, had renovated the Athonite monasteries of Chilandar and St. Paul. Angelina decided to follow suit and after a conversation with the abbot of St. Paul, the priest-monk Nikon, who was a nobleman from the entourage of her father-in-law, the Despot Stephen, Angelina decided to become a donor (*ktitor*) of St. Paul. She thereby granted to this monastery a yearly subsidy of 500 golden coins. In return, the monks were obliged to commemorate her every Thursday during the liturgy. Final confirmative clauses. The charter was issued in the town

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1. On the *Ligaturschrift* or *vjaz* script see W. Stschepkin, *Cyrillische Ligaturschrift*, Archiv für slavische philologie 25, Berlin 1903, 109-160; A. Соболевскій, *Славяно-русская палеографія*, Sankt Petersburg 1908, 73-74 and 109; E. Карский, *Славянская кирилловская палеографія*, Leningrad 1928, 238-242.

of Kupinnij. Date: November 3, 7004. Signatures: Despotica Angelina, Despot George and Despot John.

**Prosopography:**

The full name of **Despotica Angelina** was Angelina Arianiti-Branković. She was born around 1440 and is also known as St. Angelina of Serbia. She was the sixth daughter of the Albanian nobleman George Arianiti (ca 1400-1463)<sup>1</sup>, and wife of the blinded in 1441 Serbian nobleman Stephen Branković, son of the Despot George Branković. After the Ottoman conquest of Serbia in 1459, Angelina and her husband fled to Italy. Stephen Branković died in Friuli in October 1476 when their sons, **George** and **John**, were only 14 and 15 years old. For this reason, in 1478 Angelina turned for help to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, who granted to her and her sons the town of Weitersfeld in what is today Lower Austria. In 1485 Angelina and her sons arrived in the Hungarian royal court where the King Matthias Corvinus nominated George titular Serbian despot in exile, and ceded to his family the towns of Kupinovo and Slankamen in the district of Srem. However, few years later George became a monk and adopted the monastic name Maxim. After his younger brother John died in 1502, Angelina and Maxim travelled to Wallachia, where the latter was promoted to the rank of a metropolitan. In 1508 they returned to the district of Srem and founded the Monastery of Krušedol at Mount Fruška Gora. Angelina died there in 1516, while Maxim continued his ecclesiastical career as a metropolitan of Belgrade<sup>2</sup>.

**Topography:** The town of **Kupinnij Grad** (l. 30) is the modern village of Kupinovo on the north bank of the Sava River, between the towns of Šabac and Obrenovac. In 1429-1430 it belonged to the Serbian *čelnik* Radič who had received from the king of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg<sup>3</sup>. Being situated on Hungarian territory, Kupinnij Grad ceased to be the property of Radič in 1438 when the Hungarian King Albert

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1. Cf. PLP, no. 1311.

2. Ђоровић, *Историја Срба*, 368-369; В. Матић, *Црква мајке Ангелине у Крушедолу*, Belgrade 1978; М. Spremić, La famille serbe des Branković - considérations généalogiques et héraldiques, *ЗРВИ* 41 (Belgrade 2004), 441-452; М. Спремић, Бранковићи - ктитори манастира Крушедола, *Анали Огранка Српске Академије наука и уметности у Новом Саду* 4 (Novi Sad 2008), 25-35; С. Томин, *Деспотица и монахиња Ангелина Бранковић - света мајка Ангелина*, Novi Sad 2007.

3. See our act **no. 31. Serbian act no. 7.**

(1437-1439) delivered it to the brothers Thalloczy<sup>1</sup>.

**Editions:** П. Юлинацъ, *Краткое введениѣ въ исторію произхожденія славено-сербскаго народа, бывшихъ въ ономъ владѣтеляхъ, Царевъ, Деспотовъ, или владѣтельныхъ Князевъ Сербскихъ, до времени Георгіа Бранковича, послѣдняго Деспота Сербскаго сочинено и изъ разныхъ авторовъ нотами изяснено*, Venice 1765, 120-124; I. Раичъ, *Исторія разныхъ славянскихъ народовъ наипаче Болгаръ, Хорватовъ и Сербовъ, изъ тмы забвенія изъятая, и во свѣтъ историческій произведенная*, I, Vienna 1794, 316 (a reproduction of the seal); Каранотвртковић, *Србскіи споменици*, 340-341, no. 178; Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, 539-541, no. 462; Стојановић, *Стари српски хрисовули*, 5, no. 4; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 531-532; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 200-203, no. 14.

**Bibliography:** Дмитріевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39-40, act no. 16. In 1865 K. Dmitriev-Petkovič described the document in the following way: *Господи деспотицы Ангелины и господина деспота Георгія и господина деспота Иоанна о ктиторствѣ монастыря св. Павла. Обѣщаютъ давать ежегодно ф' златикъ. Писанъ въ градѣ Къпинномъ ꙗѣ (7004=1496), на пергаменѣ съ золотою толстою печатію, которой оттискъ помѣщенъ въ „Гласникъ Дружтва србске словесности“, III выпускъ за 1851 годъ. See also Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 202-203, act no. 16; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 200-203.*

### Text:

блѣвень гъ бѣ ѿць нашихъ, промышлагѣ намъ спсѣнїа нашего и всегѧ ||<sup>2</sup> блгодѣтельствоуѣ ѡ рѡдѣ нашемъ, искїи всегѧ спсѣнїа нашего, въ||<sup>3</sup>зведе на чїсти трѡиць єдиносоущноую и неразѣлимоую, прѣсоущ||<sup>4</sup>ноу и прѣбѣжствєвноую, єюже оумъ члч постигнути не можетъ ||<sup>5</sup> тькмо вѣрѡю єдиною правѣ исповѣдающе спсаѣмъ се, иже дѣлы подражающе. іако ||<sup>6</sup> же насчи на собою, иже вы послѣнїа лѣтомъ съшьдѣ съ нѣе, єдї съ стїе трѡице съпрѡ||<sup>7</sup>славлагѣ ѿць и дхѡви. и въплѣтивї се ѿ стїе прѡ дѣвы марїе, єгѡ же исповѣдаѣ мѣть, ||<sup>8</sup> не таймъ блгть, прѡповѣдаѣмъ блгодѣанїа вѣличьство, и свой въчлвченїе показѧ ||<sup>9</sup> намъ рѡзлинны поутъ спсѣнїа, іако же прѣже своего

1. М. Петровић, Тврѡава Купиник на Обедској бари, *Граѡа за проучавање споменика културе Војводине* 16 (1990) 24-29; P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, London - New York 2001, 279-280.

пришѣствіа прѣрѣкы проповѣда, послѣже ||<sup>10</sup> апли наоучи, и по тѣ прѣмници инии стѣи моужіе собою показаше, тако же иже въ хѣ ба ||<sup>11</sup> блговѣрнїи господи гнѣвгїе деспѣ срѣскїи, дѣ на ници же встѣе блггы ѡбыча прѣже юго вывч||<sup>12</sup>ши госпѣ срѣскїи, поревновѣв бо ѡцѣ свои, іакоже ѡни ѡбновише и съставише въ стѣи ||<sup>13</sup> горѣ афона монастѣ хилѣдарь, въ спсенїе себѣ и хѣтеши быти по ни. такоже и съ блговѣстивїи ||<sup>14</sup> деспѣ гнѣвгїе више въспоменстїи, въ тѣиже горѣ стѣи афона, ѡбнови и възвїиже мѣнасты ||<sup>15</sup> стѣи павль зовѣ, хрѣ же стѣго вѣликомѣдника и повѣдонѣсца гнѣвгїа, въ слау и чѣсть стѣ||<sup>16</sup>мѣ вѣликомѣдникѣ, себѣ же въ помощь и спсенїе, и хѣтеши по ни быти. и мы тако||<sup>17</sup>же и звѣлихѣм ѣлико ѡ чѣсти тѣшеше, послѣдѣвати и блггы ѡбычае по силѣ нашеи, и нене ||<sup>18</sup> прѣже невѣдѣши, ѡбаче же наї пѣче въспоменстїе ермонѣ кѣ никѣна, и гдѣмена тоеже ||<sup>19</sup> ѡбїтели, и не простѣи члѣкѣмъ нѣ дѣворѣвнїи, и прѣже бѣвшїи стѣго рѣстѣла нашего госпѣ||<sup>20</sup>на деспѣ стѣфа въ полѣтѣ, пѣкы мѣнасты стѣго павла въспрїехѣм и ѡбѣщахѣ се хѣти||<sup>21</sup>торїе быти. тебѣ же моли господи мой стѣи гнѣвгїе повѣдо{но}сче въ мѣницѣхѣ чїиши, прїи||<sup>22</sup>ми ѡ збѣгїе пазухы наше, іакоже вдовѣе ѡноѣ .ѣ. лѣпѣтѣ, и змѣоливъ блгаго бѣ нашего да||<sup>23</sup>жѣ блггы тоеиже ѡбїтѣе съпомагѣ .Ѣ. златикъ на всѣкѣю гѣдинѣ. прїими мѣлоѣ стѣе при||<sup>24</sup>ношѣ{нї}е іакоже смѣри си єси прїети мѣлоѣ сфѣгѣто ѡ ѡтѣрѣчица ѡного, прѣсївшомѣ да ||<sup>25</sup>єси крѣпѣ, тако и на зкрѣпи стѣи бѣжїи, силѣнимъ быти съпомагѣти стѣи твої хрѣмѣ, и и||<sup>26</sup>ны бѣжѣвнїи хрѣмѣ ѡдѣже и мѣ бѣжѣе славитѣ се. ѡбаче же да сѣ длѣжни више рѣнїе ѡбї||<sup>27</sup>тели стѣго павла иноци .а. днѣ въ сѣмици, въ чѣ, сѣврьшати бѣжѣвнїю лѣргїю, и братїа ||<sup>28</sup>прилѣвѣ, и сї зстѣвѣ да бѣдѣ непѣмено. всѣ же више писанаѣ и завѣщѣтелнаѣ да воу||<sup>29</sup>тѣ тверѣда и непоколѣбима. аще ли ктѣ дрѣзнѣ ѡ на, и ли хѣтеи быти по на, разрѣши||<sup>30</sup>ти, да не проклѣ ѡ га бѣ, и ѡ прѣчѣтїе бѣце, и ѡ всѣ стѣи, и ѡ стѣго гнѣвгїа, и пѣ запрѣщенїе||<sup>31</sup>мѣ стѣи хѣтѣ, и да да слово бѣ, амїи. писа се сїѣ книга, въ градѣ кѣспинѣномѣ, потрѣ||<sup>32</sup>жѣна же и съставлѣна, гнѣвгїемъ деспѣтѣ, пѣписано іванѣ деспѣтѣ, блгволе||<sup>33</sup>нїемъ деспѣтице англїелине. [...] и въ лѣ зѣдѣ, мѣца нѣвѣрїа .г. на ѡбно||<sup>34</sup>влѣнїе хрѣма стѣго гнѣвгїа. ||<sup>35</sup>въ хрѣса бѣга блгѣчѣтїиви и хрѣсолѣбїивы гѣо||<sup>36</sup>га дѣпѣтица аггїина и деспѣ гнѣвгїе и деспѣ іванѣ.

## Act no. 47

SIGILLIODES GRAMMA OF THE METROPOLITAN OF  
THESSALONICA THEONAS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARY  
BETWEEN THE DEPENDENCIES OF THE MONASTERIES OF  
ST. PAUL AND XENOPHONTOS IN KALAMARIANovember 7046 (1538), *indiction* 12th**Type of the document:** *σιγιλλιῶδες γράμμα* (l. 28)**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:**Variant no. 1.** Original kept in archival folder no. 7. It is written with black ink on **parchment** with dimensions 605 x 465 mm. Its preservation is good (see **plate no. 47**).**Variant no. 2.** 18th century copy kept in archival folder no. 7. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 450 x 315 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup>.**Analysis:** Intitulation of the metropolitan of Thessalonica Theonas. Theological introduction. The monks of St. Paul were neighbours of a property which the Athonite Monastery of Xenophontos possessed in the district of Kalamaria, to the southeast of Thessalonica. However, this property of Xenophontos was abandoned and ruined due to the financial difficulties which this monastery was facing. For this reason various neighbours had started trespassing on the land of Xenophontos, with the intention to appropriate it. This situation was damaging the adjacent property of St. Paul, so the monks of St. Paul tried to repel the trespassers and to restore to Xenophontos one specific hill (*gaiolophos*). The elders of the Xenophontos and those of St. Paul, together with the residents of the area, gathered at the controversial locality and demarcated it. The border line started from the west, turned to the sea shore where a large marble border mark was placed, and proceeded to the south until it reached a locality called Stomion at which a second marble border mark was installed. Several more border marks were engraved on rocks without references to place names. The boundary finally reached a trail which was known as Ovría, and a specific border mark was built at that location. The last border mark was placed on the top of the controversial hill (*toumba*). The persons who participated in the demarcation were: 1. From the Monastery of Xenophontos: the abbot Moses and the monks Gabriel, Paisios, Chariton, Gelasios, Dio-

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 88.

nysios, Ioannikios, Lawrence and Xenophon; 2. From the Monastery of St. Paul: the abbot Matthew, the ex-abbot Gennadios and the monks Kassianos, Gennadios, Sabbatios, Theodosios, Gregory, Damaskinos and Anthony; 3. From the village of Neochorion: the laymen Kyriakos Stallis, George Stallis, Stogiannos Karatzas, George Charvatos, Paraskevas Kyriakou, Stamoulis of Manuel Stravocephalos, Vlaikos of Dari and Dimos of Dari; 4. From the village of Krini: the laymen Manuel Dimanos and Konstas Logaras. The persons who had attended the demarcation then requested the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Theonas, to ratify and validate the text of their delimitation. With the present *sigilliodes gramma* Theonas confirmed that the Monastery of Xenophontos was the exclusive legal possessor of the terrain described in the delimitation. He also excommunicated all the potential offenders of the present arrangement. Final confirmative clauses. Date: 7046. *Menologema* (type of signature) of Theonas: November of the 12th *indiction*.

**Note beneath the text:** *za kalamarīo.*

**Remarks:** In November 1538 Theonas of Thessalonica issued a very similar document for the Monastery of Xenophontos<sup>1</sup>.

**Topography:** In 1404-1419 St. Paul's possessions in the district of Kalamaria consisted of the abandoned villages of Avramitai and Neochorion which were donated to it by the Serbian nobleman Radoslav Sabia in 1405<sup>2</sup>. For these two villages see the topography of our **act no. 6**.

**Editions:** *unpublished*

**Bibliography:** Binon, *Xéropotamou et Saint-Paul*, 303, no. 33; Guillou-Bompaire, *Recherches au Mont Athos*, 186; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Κατάλογος Αγίου Παύλου*, no. 13 and 13a; Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Ἑλληνικὰ ἔγγραφα*, 527, no. 13.35; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Αγίου Παύλου*, 74; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Αγίου Παύλου*, 88-90, no. 36.

**Text:**

† Θεων(ᾶς) ἐλέφ Θε(εο)ῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θε(εσσα)λ(ο)ν(ικης)  
ὕπερτιμος κ(αι) ἔξαρχος πάσης Θετταλίας

† Ἡ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων εἰς αἰεὶ διαμένουσα μνήμη αἰμῆνητος μέγα μὲν τὸ θεοφιλὲς ἐνδείκνυσι καὶ ὅσιον, πολὺ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ εὐλόγου φέρει τὸ δίκαιον ||<sup>2</sup> ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ εὐγνωμοσύνης ὑποφέρεται δόξαν,

1. Cf. K. Χρυσοχοῦδης, *Οἱ νεώτεροι χρόνοι. Κρίση καὶ πρώτη ἀνάκαμψη (15ος -16ος αἰώνας), Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ξενοφῶντος. Εἰκόνας*, Mount Athos 1998, 30-31 and 277 with note 59.

2. See our **acts nos. 6** (1378), **16**, **17** (1405), **18** (1406) and **27** (1419).

κ(αι) δεῖγμα πάντως οὐχὶ μικρόν, τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν συντηρήματος γίνεται. Ὅθεν δὴ γε κ(αι) ἐπὶ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ θεί(ας) ||<sup>3</sup> μονῆς τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ταῦτόν ἐπινενοήκασι ποιῆσαι, οἱ Ἄγιοπαυλίται ἀδελφοί, ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τισὶ καὶ μοναχοῖς χρεῶν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰς γε δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ||<sup>4</sup> πλεῖστον προειληφόσι τὸ προτεῖον τοῦ δικαίου κατάλληλον. Καὶ δεῖν ψήθησαν τοῖς τῷ χρόνῳ ἀμαυρωθεῖσι γανώμασι καὶ τόποις, καὶ ἀπαλλοτριωθεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ||<sup>5</sup> λεγομένης ἱερᾶς καὶ θείας μονῆς, τῆς εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένης τοῦ μεγάλου μου Γεωργίου καὶ εἰς χεῖρας τῶν Ἄγιοπαυλιτῶν ὡς ἐρημωμένοις περιπεσοῦσιν, αὐθις ἐπαναστρέψαι ||<sup>6</sup> καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις προσαρμοσθῆναι δι' αὐτῶν. Μετὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἐπηρεί(ας) κ(αι) ἐνοχλήσεις, οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξόδοις καὶ ἀναλώμασι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν γειτονοῦντων προσγινομένοις αὐτοῖς, ||<sup>7</sup> πολλάκις γὰρ τόνδε τὸν χῶρον ἠβουλήθησαν δυναστεία χρώμενοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ περίοικοι, καὶ τυραννικῆ ἀυθαδεία καὶ τόλμη κατακρατῆσαι καὶ ἰδιοποιηθῆναι πᾶσι δυνα(τοῖς) ||<sup>8</sup> τρόποις, κ(αι) τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀπειπόντες οἱ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου μου Παύλου θείας κ(αι) σεβασμί(ας) μονῆς π(ατέ)ρες ἔσπευσαν ἀπωθεῖσθαι τὰ ξένα ἐξ αὐτῶν, κ(αι) τοῖς δικαίοις δεσπότηαις ||<sup>9</sup> ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐκεῖσε γαιώλοφον χῶρον προσοικειῶσαι, καὶ δὴ παμπληθεῖ ἡ γερουσί(α) ἅπασα, τῆς τὲ σεβασμί(ας) μονῆς τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, κ(αι) τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου, ||<sup>10</sup> μετὰ κ(αι) τῶν περιόικων κ(αι) ἐπιχώρων οὐκ ὀλίγων κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸν τόπον ἐλθόντες, ἀφορίσαντο μ(έν) τὸν χῶρον ἐκεῖνον, ἔθηκαν δὲ σημεῖά τινα κ(αι) ὀροθέσια, χαρακτηρίζοντα ||<sup>11</sup> τὸν ὀρισθέντα τόπον. Ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ ζέφυρον ἀρξάμενοι κ(αι) περὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τραπέντες, περίπου τὰ δυτικὰ μέρη, προσέπηξαν εἰς μνήμην ἀγαθὴν μάρμαρον, εἶτα ||<sup>12</sup> πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐρχόμενοι, ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Στομίῳ προσπηγνύουσι κ(αι) δεύτερον μάρμαρον, κ(αι) μικρὸν ἐκθάντες, προσ{θέ}τουσι τρίτ(ην) πέτραν, μικρὰν μ(έν) πλατεῖαν δέ, ||<sup>13</sup> πλησίον τῆς πετλαί(ας), ἔπειτ' ἀνιόντες καθ' εἰρμόν τῷ τόπῳ τετάρτ(ην) λευκὴν πέτραν, κ(αι) πέμπτην μέλαιναν, κ(αι) αὐθις ἕκτην λευκὴν, κ(αι) τελευταίαν ἐβδόμην κατὰ τὸ μέρος ||<sup>14</sup> ἐκεῖνο προσήγαγον ξερόπετραν. Τραπέντες τοίνυν κ(αι) κατ(ὰ) ἀνατολάς, ἀγγί που ἦ τὴν συκὴν θαλασσόπετραν ἔθεντο. Εἶτα καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρχόμενοι κ(αι) αὐθις δευτέραν πέτραν λευκοτ(έραν) ||<sup>15</sup> ἔπυξαν κ(αι) αὐθις τετράγωνον. Ὀλίγον πόρρωθεν ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν κεκλημένην Ὀδρίαν, τετάρτ(ην) διέθεντο πέτραν, κ(αι) πέρασ ἀνωθεν τῆς τούμπας, πέμπτην ὀγκώ(δη) ||<sup>16</sup> πέτραν, τὸν χῶρον ἅπαντα κατεσφραγίσαντο. Ἦσαν οὖν ἐκ μ(έν) τῆς θεί(ας) κ(αι) ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ὁ τε ἱερομό(ναχος) π(νευματ)ικὸς κ(αι) καθηγούμενος αὐτῆς κ(ὕρ) Μωϋσῆς, κ(αι) ||<sup>17</sup> Γαβριὴλ ἱερομόναχος, κ(αι) ἐκ τῶν γερόντων Παῖσιος κ(αι) Χαρίτων κ(αι) Γαλακτίων κ(αι) Διονύσιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν

κοινῶν μοναχῶν Ἰωαννίκιος, Λαυρέντιος κ(αι) Ξενοφών. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἄγ(ίου) ||<sup>18</sup> Παύλου τῆς σεβασμί(ας) μονῆς ὑπῆρχον ὃ τε καθηγούμενος αὐτῶν κ(ὕρ) Ματθαῖος ἱερ(ομόναχος) κ(αι) σὺν αὐτῷ, ὁ προηγούμενος κ(ὕρ) Γεννάδιος, κ(αι) ἐκ τῶν γερόντων μοναχ(ῶν) ὃ τε Κασσιανὸς καὶ Γεννάδ(ιος), ||<sup>19</sup> καὶ Σαββάτιος καὶ Θεοδόσιος κ(αι) ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν μοναχῶν Γρηγόριος κ(αι) Δαμασκην(ός) κ(αι) Ἀντώνιος, ἦσαν δὲ τινες κ(αι) ἐκ τοῦ Νεοχωρίου χωρίου λεγομένου Κυριακὸς τοῦ Σταύρου, ||<sup>20</sup> κ(αι) Γεώργ(ιος) Πέτρ(ου) κ(αι) Στογιάννος Καρατζᾶς κ(αι) Γεωρ(γίος) Χαρθᾶτος κ(αι) Παρασκευᾶς Κυριάκου κ(αι) Σταμούλ(ης) Μανουήλ Στραβοκέφαλος κ(αι) Βλάϊκος τοῦ Δαρῆ κ(αι) Δῆμος τοῦ Δαρῆ, κ(αι) ἐκ τῆς Κρήν(ης) ||<sup>21</sup> χώρας ὃ τε Μανουήλ ὁ Δημάν(ος) κ(αι) ὁ Κώνστας ὁ Λογαρᾶς. Οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν καθ' εὐρεθέντες ἐν τῇ τοῦ χώρου τούδε ἀφορίσ(εως) καὶ διορίσ(εως). Ἔνθεν τι κ(αι) τῇ μετριότητι ἡμῶν προ- ||<sup>22</sup>σεδεθήθησαν τυχεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα σιγιλλιώδους γράμματος τοῦ μὴ μετὰ βραχὺ συναπιέναι τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐξῆς συνδιατείνητο· τοῦ τε μέντοι τούτου ||<sup>23</sup> κ(αι) ἡ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ὡς εἴρηται προαπολαύειν ἔχουσα ἴδιον ἅπαντα τὸν τόπον, ταῦτα κ(αι) πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς αὐτῇ παγιωθῆναι κ(αι) βεβαιωθῆναι χρόν(ους) γένοιτο ||<sup>24</sup> καὶ καινισθῆναι τρόπον δὴ τινα τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλεστ(άτην) τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ ἀρράγῃ τῇ ἀδελφότητι τῆς σεβασμί(ας) κ(αι) ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, τὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν ||<sup>25</sup> ὁ δὲ βουληθεῖς ἑτερογνωμόνως ἀνατρέψαι κ(αι) συγχῆσαι ταῦτα καὶ Θ(ε)ῷ προσκρούσαι ἄντικρις, κ(αι) τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φυλακὴν παρὰ μέρος θέσθαι, ἔξει τὰς ἀράς τῶν τιῆ' ||<sup>26</sup> θεοφόρ(ων) π(ατέ)ρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, κ(αι) ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ εἴη μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα, προσέτι δὲ ἀλύτῳ κ(αι) αἰωνίῳ ἀφορισμῷ προστάσσομεν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κ(αι) δυνάμει τοῦ παντεπόπτου πν(εύμα)τος ||<sup>27</sup> οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ κ(αι) τὸ διώκεσθαι τοῦτον ἐντέλλομαι ἐκ παντὸς δικαστηρίου κ(αι) βήματος, κοσμικοῦ τὲ κ(αι) ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κ(αι) τοῖς μετέπειτα δικασταῖς κ(αι) κριταῖς ἅπασιν ||<sup>28</sup> ἴν' ἀπαρασάλευτον κ(αι) ἀμετακίνητον τὸ δίκαιον μένειτο εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ὡς βεβαίου τοίνυν κ(αι) ἀσφαλοῦς ὄντος τοῦ παρόντος σιγιλλιώδους τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος γράμματος ||<sup>29</sup> ἀπολυθέντος τῷ ἐπτάκις χιλιοστῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει.

||<sup>30</sup> Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιβ'.

**Act no. 48. Serbian act no. 16**SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF AN EARLIER GREEK  
DEMARCATION OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE  
MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOUOctober 7089 (1580), *indiction* 9th**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no 32 as act no. 6. It is written with dark brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 300 x 420 mm. All the Greek names and signatures above and beneath the Slavic text are written by the same hand (see **plate no. 48**).**Analysis:***Names written in Greek above the Slavic text:* Gennadios, *protos*, Sophronios of Megiste Lavra, Makarios of Vatopedi, Markos of Vatopedi, and Makarios of Iviron.*Slavic text:* The boundary between the monasteries of St. Paul and Dionysiou started from a stream on the coast which was adjacent to “*the ridge of Kalathas*” (i.e. the ridge of the basket maker). At this place the Athonite authorities engraved a cross. Climbing up the hill they marked the border with a second cross. Further the boundary reached a large rock which was similar to a tower and was broken in the middle. After this rock the border passed near an oak on which the Athonite officials engraved another cross. This cross stood to the right of the border line which at that point turned to the east. Next there was a heap of stones and a second oak which had been marked with a cross at an earlier date. A new cross was then engraved next to the old. Near that place there was a threshing floor which belonged to an abbot named Theodore. The threshing floor stood to the east of the border line which from this point descended to a place where new crosses were engraved on two neighbouring oaks. Thirty more oaks were marked with crosses in the same district. The border ended near a col from which the locality of Morfin (in Greek Morphonou) was visible. This place was marked anew with three crosses which were engraved on a large pine. The territory to the east of the demarcated boundary and the trail leading from Karyai to St. Elias belonged to St. Paul, while that to the west of it to Dionysiou. Final confirmative clauses.*Signatures written in Greek by one hand beneath the Slavic translation:*

Gerasimos, ex-superior of Xeropotamou, and Theodosios, priest-monk from Karyai. Date written in Greek beneath the signatures: October 7089, *indiction* 9th.

**Note in the bottom margin:** о раздѣленн мегѣ ст҃го павла съ дїѡнисиѣтѣ.

**Remarks:** The document is a partial translation of our **act no. 11** which was issued by the *protos* Gennadios in October 1400<sup>1</sup>. The Slavic text describes with all the necessary details the boundary between St. Paul and Dionysiou, and this detail indicates that by 1580 the monks of St. Paul were prevailing Slavs. The names which are written in Greek above the Slavic text are the names of the Athonite officials who in 1400 validated the Greek prototype of the translation, and they were copied directly from **act no. 11**. There was no *protos* named Gennadios in 1578-1580, during this period *protoi* of Athos were the monks Paisios of Chilandar, Euthymios of Vatopedi and Dionysios of Megiste Lavra<sup>2</sup>.

There is only one error in the Slavic translation: the Slavic text renders the Greek place name *Rachis tou Kalatha* (ridge of the basket maker)<sup>3</sup> as *хръбѣть козничаревъ* (*hřebet kozničarev*, l. 6). The error is in the adjective *kozničarev*. The correct translation should be *хръбѣть кошничаревъ* (*hřebet košničarev*), i.e. it must contain a derivative of the Slavic word *košnica* (basket), which is the correct equivalent of the Greek word *kalathos* or *kalathion*. Instead of this, the Slavic text contains an adjective deriving from the Slavic word *kozni* which means “trap” (in Greek *παγίδα*). However, this error is not an important one.

**Topography:** On the basic landmarks mentioned in the text, see the topography of our **act no. 11** (cf. also **map no. 5**).

**Editions:** Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 203-205, act no. 17; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 203-207, no. 15.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 203-204, act no. 17; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 203-207.

#### Text:

† Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὡρῶς Γέννάδιος ἱερομὼνάχος ||<sup>2</sup> † Ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Λαύρας Σωφρόνηδος ἱερομὼνάχος καὶ π(νευμα)τικός † ||<sup>3</sup> † Μάχαρηος μὼνάχος ὡ Βάτωπεδινός † † Μάρκως ἰ(ε)ρ(ο)μὼνάχος καὶ πνευματικός Βά{το}πεδινός ||<sup>4</sup> † Ὁ Μάχαρηὼς ἰ(ε)ρῶμὼνάχος κ(αὶ) πν(ευμα)τικός ιοβήρ (= ὁ Ἴβηρ?) ||<sup>5</sup> † ѿ постависмо прѣдѣли междѣ ст҃го павла ѿ дїѡнисиѣтѣ.

1. See our **act no. 11**, l. 31-40.

2. Prôtaton, 147-148; Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ ἀθωνικός μοναχισμός*, 397-399.

3. See our **act no. 11**, l. 32.

ѣже ѿмаѣ сице ѿ мѡра ||<sup>6</sup> ѣ потѡкъ вѣлики. ѿже наричет се хрѣтъбѣ козничаревъ. въ сѣмѣ оубѡ потѡкъ ||<sup>7</sup> кáмень ѣ велики стáменитъ ѿже начрътасмо чѣтнаго крѣта. и мáло напѣкѣ ||<sup>8</sup> оуправъ ѿ кáмена положисмо крѣтотворѣнїе. ѿ тоу въсхѡдїи оуправъ на ||<sup>9</sup> ѡстро прѣвѣденаго великаго кáмена ѣже и пѡбїїе пїрѣга ѿмаѣ, ѿже и ра||<sup>10</sup> зцѣплень ѣ посѣкѣ въсхѡдїи дáже и до великїи кáмень гдѣ ѣ дѣ юже и ||<sup>11</sup> крѣтъ начръта се нáми, и тѡ ѡстависмо ѿ дѣсно. и къ вѣстокѣ вѣхѡ||<sup>12</sup> димъ ѡбрѣтáе грѡ камѣнни юже и дѣ великїи ѿже и крѣтъ. мáло же ||<sup>13</sup> напѣкѣ, ѿнь ѿже вѣ стáръ въ доу начрътъ. ѡбнови же ѿнѣ ѿ тѣ. вѣше ||<sup>14</sup> сего авва феѡрѡво гѣмно, ѿже ѡстависмо къ вѣстокѣ. стѣнидосмо мáло ||<sup>15</sup> начрътасмо на два дѣба съпротївъ стѡещїи крѣта. вѣ. оуправъ же ходѣше ||<sup>16</sup> пѣтемъ начрътасмо крѣтове на тридѣтъ дѣба. á же на коньць съпро||<sup>17</sup> тивъ сѣдлѣ же и зрїт се мѡрфинъ. стои ѣла велика ѿже и три ||<sup>18</sup> крѣтове сътворисмо. сѣмѣ же сице раздѣлшоу се нáми радї съоуза вл||<sup>19</sup> жѣнные лѡбве. глѣмъ и гáвпаемъ сѣ. ѿже вѡ сѣ къ вѣстокѣ до пѣтъ ||<sup>20</sup> ѿже грѣтъ ѿ карѣа на стѣго ѡлїю вѣса да ѣ стáра стѣго павла, á ѣ ||<sup>21</sup> западѣни стáра да ѣ дїѡнисїацкое. нї ѣдиносмѡ оубѡ ѿ ѿнѣ да и ||<sup>22</sup> мат и свѡбѡство начинати ѿлї досáждати, нї ѿ стáра стѣго павла ||<sup>23</sup> нї ѿ дїѡнисїате. нѣ да соу въ сѣмирѣни и въ ѣдиньствѣ ѡвѣ двѣ ѡвї||<sup>24</sup> тели доволны въ своѣ прѣдѣлѣ. и запрѣтихмо /ѡ/ кѡи монастѣ почїне скáндáла ||<sup>25</sup> нека и на нїхню дшѣ да ѣ. ||<sup>26</sup> † 'Ο ἐν ἡερώμοναχίς γερόν ω Γέρασήμος κ(αί) πρῶηγούμηνος τοῦ Ξερόπῶταμου μαρτηρόν ||<sup>27</sup> βεβέων ηπέγράψά. † 'Ο ἐλαχῆς(τ)ὸς ἐν ἡ(ε)ρώμανάχῆς καί πν(ευματ)ικῆς Θεώδωσῆος ὡ ἀπῶ ||<sup>28</sup> τῶν Καρῆνων (sic!) ||<sup>29</sup> μηνί ὠκτώβριῶ ἰν(δικτιῶν)ος θ(ης) ἔτους ,ζπθ<sup>οο</sup>. †

### Act no. 49. Serbian act no. 17

#### SERBIAN ACT OF SALE (*HOMOLOGIA*) CONCERNING THE MONASTIC CELL (*KELLION*) OF ST. THEODORE IN KARYAI

July 3, 7150 (1642) and March 30, 7152 (1644)

**Type of the document:** *ομολογία* (l. 16)

**Description:** Original kept in archival folder no. 7 of the modern archives of St. Paul. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 300 x 210 mm. Its preservation is very good<sup>1</sup> (see **plate no. 49**). There is an ink seal above the text whose inscription reads: **печат монастыра стѣго павла.**

1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 92.

**Analysis:** On July 3, 7150 (1642), a priest-monk named Makarios appeared in front of the abbot of the Monastery of St. Paul, Mardarios, the ex-abbot Ioannikios, and the monks Kallinikos and Matthew. He requested them to give him the monastic cell (*kellion*) of St. Theodore in Karyai for the lifetime of three persons - of Makarios himself, of Metrophanes and of Kosmas. The monastery agreed and Makarios delivered to it the sum of 50000 *aspra* as a payment.

On March 30, 7152 (1644), Makarios appeared once again in front of the abbot of St. Paul, Sabbatios, the *ekklésiarches* Nikodemos, and the monks Kallinikos, Sabbas, Gabriel, Simon and Gennadios, and asked them to allow him to add a fourth person to his earlier contract. The monastery consented and the monk Ananias was registered in Makarios's contract together with Metrophanes and Kosmas. For this reason Makarios delivered the sum of 10000 *aspra* (*akçe*) to the abbot Sabbatios. The text emphasizes that, according to the common Athonite practice, if any of the four monks decided to leave the *kellion*, the monastery had no obligation to give him the money back. However, if the monastery expelled any of the aforementioned hermits from the *kellion* of St. Theodore, then it had to give him 2 mattocks, 1 scythe, 2 axes, 1 pickaxe, 1 auger, 2 small and 2 large barrels. The monk Makarios was also obliged to send to St. Paul each year 4 workers for the *corvées* and 800 *aspra*. Signature: Sabbatios, abbot of St. Paul.

**Remarks:** The document is a typical representative of one peculiar Athonite category of acts which are known as *homologiai*. They were issued in order to validate the cession of a specific monastic cell (*kellion*) to a group of monks presided by an elder monk who was acting as an abbot of the group. The *homologiai* could be described as life-long rental contracts. In fact, they were deeds ratifying the sale and the purchase of the specific *kellion*, and the only difference from a normal transfer of property was that the monastery retained the right to take back the monastic cell which it had ceded after the death of the last of its tenants. Such documents are quite numerous in the Athonite archives, especially as far as the late Ottoman period is concerned. What makes the present *homologia* extraordinary is the fact that it is an early one and was written in Serbian. This means that Serbian was mother tongue for both the congregation of St. Paul and for its new tenants in Karyai.

**Editions:** *unpublished*

**Bibliography:** Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 91-92, no. 37.

## Text:

и́зволѣніемъ ѿца и́ поспѣшеніемъ сѣна и́ съвршѣніемъ ст҃го д҃ха и́  
 повелѣніемъ ||<sup>2</sup> монастыра ст҃го павла, и́же ѿ хр҃амъ ст҃го великои́нника хѣва  
 воина геѡргіа, ||<sup>3</sup> мнѣ и́гоуменьствоующѣ смѣренномѣ мардарію іерѡнахѣ, и́  
 проігоуменѣ іѡ-||<sup>4</sup> аниһію іерѡнахѣ, и́ стар҃ць калиникъ, и́ маѡѣд, и́ въса брѣтїа  
 ѡ г҃и ст҃го ||<sup>5</sup> монастыра, въ лѣто зѣрл, мѣца іоуліа г҃ днѣ, прїидѣ къ намѣ  
 брѣть нашѣ ||<sup>6</sup> по́пъ мака́ріе, и́ пойска ѡ насѣ грѣшныи кѣлію на ка́реиѣ ст҃го  
 ѡѡра тирѡна, и́ мѣ ||<sup>7</sup> съвѣщасмо въсѣи коупно съборнѣ выше речена брѣтїа  
 и́ дасмо ёмоу выше реченнѣю ||<sup>8</sup> кѣлію на трѣи ѡбразѣ. Прѣвы ѡбразѣ по́пъ  
 мака́ріе, ѣ ѡбразѣ митрофанѣ, г҃ ||<sup>9</sup> ко́зма. и́ ѡнь да́де монастырѣ блвѣніа  
 педе́тъ хїлади а́при. и́ пакы въ лѣто ||<sup>10</sup> зѣрнѣ, мѣца ма́ртїа л̄ днѣ пакы  
 прїде́ по́пъ мака́ріа, пойска ѡ насѣ смѣренныи ||<sup>11</sup> да въпише д̄ ѡбразѣ. мнѣ  
 смѣренномѣ и́гоуменьствоующѣ саватїю іерѡнахѣ, ||<sup>12</sup> и́ ре́космо въсѣи съборно  
 да въпише. азѣ и́гоумень саватїе, е́клистарѣ по́пъ никѡ-||<sup>13</sup> димѣ, стар҃ць  
 калиникъ, по́пъ са́ва, стар҃ць гаврілѣ, дїаконѣ симѡнѣ, ||<sup>14</sup> стар҃ць пенадїе,  
 и́ въса брѣтїа ѡ г҃и. и́ да́де л̄ хїладѣ а́при за д̄ ѡбразѣ ||<sup>15</sup> и́ въписахмо д̄  
 ѡбразѣ ананїю мо́на. того ради и́зменихмо мѣ сїю ||<sup>16</sup> ѡмологїю. сїе пишемѣ  
 іакоже ѡврѣтѣ въ старѡи ѡмоло҃ни. а́ще са́ ||<sup>17</sup> и́зыде́тъ ѡ кѣліе да моу се а́при  
 не да́доу за кѣлію. а́ще ли монастырь ||<sup>18</sup> гонїтъ е́го ѡбвѣчно да сътворитѣ,  
 іакоже ѿ оуставѣ ст҃ые горы, и́ да-||<sup>19</sup> смо ёмоу два дикѣла, е́динъ трѣнорезѣ,  
 двѣ сикїре, д̄ косѣрь, ||<sup>20</sup> д̄ сврьдаль, бачви ѣ малѣ, ѣ велике. писа въ лѣто  
 зѣрнѣ, мѣца ма́ртїа ||<sup>21</sup> л̄ днѣ. и́ ре́космо да́ дава сидоксїе на лѣто въсако по и́  
 стотїна а́при ||<sup>22</sup> и́ по д̄ аргатїна на годинѣ да работї монастырѣ.  
 ||<sup>23</sup> смѣренныи и́гоумень саватїе іерѡна и́ въ съборѣ ст҃го монастыра.

## COUNTERFEITED DOCUMENTS

### Act no. 50. Counterfeited Serbian act

FALSIFIED ACT ATTRIBUTED TO THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN  
STEPHEN GREGORY (STEFAN GRGUR) AND HIS BROTHERS,  
STEPHEN GEORGE (STEFAN GJURG) AND LAZAR

Date mentioned in the text: October 3, 6922 (1413)

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the text.

**Description:**

1. **Variant 1.** Falsified “original” kept in archival folder no. 32 as act no. 2. It is written with brown ink on **parchment** with dimensions 390 X 490 mm. The ink has faded all over the written surface and is almost unreadable. There are no signatures. Instead of a seal, there is an iron die hanging on a cord beneath the text. This is evidently a recent addition. Its diameter is 33 mm. On the obverse one can see negatively engraved the Serbian name **ВЛКЪ** (= Vlk or Vuk), while the reverse is blank. This piece of iron must have been either the head of a *boulloterion*, i.e. a pliers-like instrument producing lead seals, or, more likely, the stamp of a signet ring<sup>1</sup>. According to D. Sindik, this was probably the same stamp which was used by George Branković in a document which he issued for Ragusa (Dubrovnik) on December 29, 1405<sup>2</sup>.

2. **Variant 2.** Later copy kept in archival folder 32 as act no. 12. It is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 300 X 360 mm. Unlike **Variant 1**, this copy is readable and we are publishing the document based on its text. The bottom margin of the copy is missing but, fortunately, the lost final lines are readable in **Variant 1**. This fact allowed us to restore the full text of the counterfeit (see **plate no. 50**).

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. Stephen Grgur (Stefan Gregory), his unnamed mother, and his brothers, Stephen Gjurg (Stefan George) and Lazar, donated to the Athonite Monastery of St. Paul the village of Dobraševce on the Drenica River with all its properties and privileges, the village of Vranin Dol on the Lab River with all its properties, and the village of Patei Kolo at Trupovštica with the district adjacent to

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1. Cf. ODB, III, 1858-1859.

2. Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 191; Ивић, *Стари српски печати и грбови. Прилог српској сфрагистици и хералдици*, Novi Sad 1910, 30, no. 36 and pl. VI.

it and all its privileges. Moreover, the Serbian noblemen promised to provide St. Paul with a subsidy of 20 *litres* of silver per year. Final confirmative clauses and religious damnation against any potential abuser of the arrangement described in the document. The charter was composed when abbot of St. Paul was the monk Theodoulos. Date: October 3, 6922.

**Remarks:** Our counterfeit repeats verbatim some of the basic points available in our **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5**, a document which donated to St. Paul the villages of Trnava, Dobraševce, Vranin Dol, and Patei in the district around Priština in Kosovo. Our **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5** was issued on November 15, 1419, by George Branković and his wife, Eirene Kantakouzene, who emphasized that they were donating to St. Paul the villages of Trnava and Dobraševce *because they had been already given to St. Paul by George, his mother and his brothers Gregory and Lazar*, i.e. by the same persons who had allegedly issued our fake. The counterfeit was obviously intended to be the document mentioned in **act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5**, which stated that Trnava and Dobraševce had been donated to St. Paul by George Branković and his brothers, Gregory and Lazar, before 1419. However, the main problem of the counterfeit is that by October 1413, when it was supposedly issued, two of the persons who are said to have promulgated it were already dead. Gregory Branković died in March 1408 as a monk of Chilandar<sup>1</sup>, while Lazar Branković was murdered in July 1410<sup>2</sup> (see our **act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4**). The first scholar who made an attempt to explain this discrepancy was Lj. Kovačević, who in 1879 assumed that the date of the document was unintentionally mistaken and must be read as 1403<sup>3</sup>. A century later, in 1978, D. Sindik accepted his correction as logical and reasonable. However, the discrepancy between the dates was evidently due to the fact that our false charter was fabricated long after the death of Gregory and Lazar. This conclusion is convincingly supported by the misinterpretation of the name of the village *Patei Kolo near Trupovštica* available on lines 22-23 of the fake. In fact, in **act no. 28**, l. 21 the name of the village is *Patei near Trupovštica s okolom*, which means: *the village of Patei near Trupovštica with the surrounding area*. In the forgery this phrase was replaced by the name *Patei Kolo*.

1. Р. Михаљчић -И. Шпадијер, Слово браће Бранковића манастиру Хиландару (11. март 1365 - почетак децембра 1371), ССА 6 (Belgrade 2007), 164.

2. PLP, nos. 3076 and 3096.

3. Љ. Ковачевић, Неколико хронолошких исправака у српској историји, *Годишњица Н. Чукића* 3 (Belgrade 1979), 446.

**Prosopography:** See our act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5.

**Topography:** See our our act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5 and map no. 6.

**Editions:** Каранотвртковић, *Србскии споменици*, 310-320, no. 175; Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, 277-279, no. 259; Новаковић, *Законски споменици*, 529-530; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 208-211, false act no. 1.

**Bibliography:** Дмитриевъ-Петковичъ, *Обзоръ*, 39, act no. 10. In 1865 K. Dmitriev-Petkovič described the document in the following way: *Деспота Стефана Грыгура ѿ.ѿ.ѿв. (6922 - 1414) съ господьомъ майкомъ и братьями Стефаномъ, Гюргомъ и Лазаремъ. Имъ отдаются монастырю: Доброшевце (Доброселце), Вранинь долъ на Лабу, Патей Коло у Треповицице, и 20 литръ серебра ежегодно. Пергаменъ съ чугуною печатію, привъшенною на шнуркѣ. Этого самаго хрисовула есть другой экземпляръ на бумагѣ.* See also Синдик, *Српске повеље*, 191-192, act no. 3; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνική μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 55-56; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 208-211.

**Text of the copy which is unreadable in the false “original”:**

† иже ѿ небытіа въ бытіе въсѧ привѣдши, неизрѣнною мѣдростію ||<sup>2</sup> творче и съдѣтелю, вѣимымъ. и невѣимымъ всѣмъ. ꙗже на нѣси ||<sup>3</sup> и на земли. ѿче безначелне, и непостѣжне и недомыслѣне, ||<sup>4</sup> и самѣмъ тѣмъ оумнымъ силамъ, ꙗже на нѣси тѣбѣ прѣсто[н]щїи ||<sup>5</sup> и на земли исплнѧющими бжтвнаа ти повелѣнїа. снѣ. съвезн||<sup>6</sup>челне, и съпрѣсто[н]не ѿцоу. дше стѣи, иже ѿ ѿца исхѣде, и на снѣу почи||<sup>7</sup>вѣи, єдинѣчнѣ и съпрѣсто[н]не, и съпокланѧемъ, и съславимъ. ѿцѣ и снѣ. ||<sup>8</sup> бѣ єдинын, иже въ трѣ лицѣ познаванѣмыи и покланѧемыи. тѣбѣ при||<sup>9</sup>падаемъ, тѣбѣ молим се. мѣти въспрѣти прѣсимъ о нашї грѣхопадєнї, ||<sup>10</sup> ѿ тѣбе вл҃гаго чл҃колюбца бѧ нашѣ. ты вѣ реклѣ ꙗси ѿ вл҃ко, твоими прї||<sup>11</sup>стѣми и слѧкыми оусты. просїте и прїимете. и ищїте и обрѣщете. ||<sup>12</sup> сѣмоу бжтвномѣ и прѣсто[н]нѣмъ и сладковѣщѧнномъ гл҃оу твоѣмъ послѣдоующї ||<sup>13</sup> и мѣ рабї твои. съ оумилѣнїемъ припѧюще. азъ рабъ твои стѣфанъ грѣ||<sup>14</sup>гоуръ. съ гп҃гомъ и маикомъ ми. и съ възлюбленными братїами моими ||<sup>15</sup> стѣфаномъ гюргемъ и лазарѣмъ. маала принѣсим ти, тво[г]а ѿ твоѣ тѣбѣ ||<sup>16</sup> ѿ вл҃ко, привѣдеще ти въ млтѣвоу, прп҃внѧ и бг҃оноснѧ ѿца нашѣ павла, ||<sup>17</sup> просїѧвшаго въ постѣ, иже въ стѣки горѣ аѣона. ꙗко да млтѣвами юго, ||<sup>18</sup> подѧси намъ оставленїе грѣхѣмъ. и спѣвиши на деснѧго ти прѣсто[н]нѧ ||<sup>19</sup> въ вторѣмъ и срашнѣмъ твоѣмъ пришѣствїи. сѣго радї и принѣсохѣ ||<sup>20</sup> сїє приношенїе. храмѣ ст҃го и прп҃внѧ ѿца нашѣ павла, иже въ стѣки горѣ. ||<sup>21</sup> сѣло добрашевце на дрѣнице. с мегѧми и с прѧвинами сѣла тогѣ. сѣло врал||<sup>22</sup>нинъ долъ на лѧвоу, с мегѧми и с прѧвинами сѣла тогѣ. сѣло

патен коло ||<sup>23</sup> Ѹ трѡуповнице, с мегіа̀ми ѿ с прѡ̀винами сѣла то̀го. ѿ ѡ̀ще к то̀моу, двѡ̀||<sup>24</sup> десѣти ли́трѣ сребра. на всѡ́ко годи́ще да да́емо ѡ́ наше ко́уки монасты́рѣ ||<sup>25</sup> стѣго пѡ̀бла. къ сѣмоу́ же мѡ̀ приле́жныи мо́лимъ моли́нїемъ. ѡ̀ще ко̀го блѡ̀||<sup>26</sup> во́ли бѣ ѡ́ родѡ̀ на́ше гѡ̀сподѣствовати, ѿли ѿного ко̀го ѡ́ хѡ́любивыи гѡ̀спѡ̀ ||<sup>27</sup> въ мѣстѣ тѣхъ, ѿдеже сѣ приноше́нїе ѡ̀бръѣтаѣт се. то̀го іа̀ко бра́та на́ше ||<sup>28</sup> мо́лимъ, съ о́умилїенїемъ прѣ̀вѣзѡ̀вѡ̀юще ѿ мо́люще. сїе́моу на́ми за́писан||<sup>29</sup> номоу́, ѡ̀вещежїтелѣ̀ствоу́ поусты́нїе стѣго пѡ̀бла, не ѡ́мїемоу́, ни поврѣ̀||<sup>30</sup> женноу́ бы́ти, ни е́диномоу́ ѡ́ сїхъ. нѣ па́че бо́лиши потверѣ́жати, по за́||<sup>31</sup> конѣ̀ бжтѣ̀вныи. іа̀ко же ѿ пїсано. възложѣ̀на бѣ ѿ стѣмы ѿго не ѡ́мїемїти. ||<sup>32</sup> ѡ̀ще ли ктѡ̀ ѡ̀врѣ̀щѣт се такѡ̀вїи дїаволѣ̀емъ о́у̀хищренїемъ [ѡ̀бѣ́ѣтъ] ѡ̀слѣ̀пле||<sup>33</sup> нїа ѿ разорї сїѡ̀. ѿли чтѡ̀ ѡ́имѣть ѡ́ зде въпїсаннїи. ѡ́ монасты́ра стѣго пѡ̀бла, ||<sup>33</sup> тако̀ваго да разорїтъ гѣ̀ бѣ ѿ прѣ̀ча бѡ̀мїти зде. ѿ въ боудѡ̀уши вѣ̀цѣ̀ ||<sup>34</sup> въ вѣчнѣ̀и моу̀цѣ̀. ѿ да ѿмѡ̀тъ о́у̀честїе съ распѣ̀вшїи га́ на́шего іѡ̀ хѡ̀ ѿ ...

End of the copy. The last three lines, which are missing in the copy, are transcribed from the original in which they are sufficiently readable:

||<sup>35</sup> н рекѣ̀ши ми то̀га́ кровь ѿго на насъ ѿ на чедѣ̀хъ на́ши. ѿ да моу́ ѿ соу̀пѣ̀рникъ зде ѿ въ боудѡ̀уши ||<sup>36</sup> вѣ̀цѣ̀ стѣи ѿ прѣ̀внїи ѡ́цѣ̀ на́ше пѡ̀блѣ̀ поустїннѡ̀жителѣ̀. ѿ сїѡ̀ вѣ̀са сѡ̀врѣ̀ши се ѿ за́писа се ||<sup>37</sup> при старѡ̀у кѡ̀ ѡ̀еѡ̀доу́лоу́. въ лѣ̀то ѡ̀цѣ̀кѣ̀ мїѡ̀ вкѡ̀мврїѡ̀ [Г].

## Act no. 51 A. Counterfeited act of sale – Greek prototype

### FALSE GREEK OF SALE PRESUMABLY SIGNED BY THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND ESPHIGMENOU

Date mentioned in the text: March 1, 6977 (1469)

**Type of the document:** πράσις (l. 10 and 24)

**Description:** The document is preserved in the following variants:

**Variant no. 1.** 16th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17, section *16th Century Copies of a Delimitation of St. Paul* (2 αντίγραφα 16ου αἰ. περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, 1 Μαρτίου 1469), act no. 1. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 255 x 300 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of cloth. Its preservation is poor and there are abundant traces of moisture and numerous ruptures along the folds.

**Variant no. 2.** 16th century copy kept in archival folder no. 17,

section *16th Century Copies of a Delimitation of St. Paul* (2 αντίγραφα 16ου αἰ. περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου, 1 Μαρτίου 1469), act no. 2. It is written with black ink on **paper** with dimensions 425 x 310 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of cloth. Its preservation is relevantly good and there are only minor ruptures along the folds<sup>1</sup>.

**Analysis:** The monks of St. Paul, represented by their abbot Theophanes and their ex-abbot Barsanouphios, decided to buy a tower of the Monastery of Esphigmenou which was situated in the isthmus of Provlakas and a water mill located on a stream adjacent to a nearby dependency of the Monastery of Iviron. The ex-abbot of Esphigmenou, Merkourios, the monks Ignatios, Thomas, Germanos, Damian, Galaktion, and the warehouse keeper (*docheiaris*) John accepted the proposal and sold their *metochion* with its tower and the water mill for 50000 *aspra*. The border line of the *metochion* started from the coast near a *bara* (μπάρα) of Vatopedi and climbed up to a ridge (*rachis*) where there was a watching point (*vigla*) of St. Paul. This watching point was located near a stone slab of Vatopedi and a vineyard owned by Chilandar. The distance up to this point was 17 fathoms (*orgyai*). After this point the border passed near a threshing floor and a crossroad from which two trails started: one leading to Mount Athos and another one leading to the beach. The boundary then passed close to a *metochion* of Iviron and after that between properties belonging to St. Paul and Vatopedi. It reached the top of a hill from which the village of Aladiava was visible, descended to a residence (*konaki*) of the Monastery of Pantocrator, crossed some bushes and a trail coming from Aladiava, ascended a hill in the vicinity of two *baras* (μπάρρες), which were adjacent to a vineyard of Chilandar, and climbed up on top of a hill where there was a large boulder. The distance from this boulder to the nearby dry riverbed was 31 fathoms. Next, the boundary crossed a slope from which the sea was visible and where flint was abundant, and finally ended near a large rock and some weeds on the sea shore. Witnesses were: the bishop of Hierissos Raphael, the superior of Chilandar Vikentios, the metropolitan of Mytilene Paul, the ex-superiors Athanasios and Dionysios, the grand *oikonomos* (manager) Anthony, the elders Sabbas, Paisios, Basil, Dionysios, Gregory and Neophytos, Joseph from Zographou, the *oikonomos* of Vatopedi, and the monks Gennadios and Cyril from Aladiava. Lay witnesses from Komitissa were: George and his son Demetrios, Philip and his son Theodore, Demetrios Kamnomatis and his son George, Demetrios Zagorianos and

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1. Cf. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 87.

his sons George Kontakis and John, George Xanthos and his brother Stamatis, Kostas and his son Chrysaphis. Witnesses from the tower of Chilandar were: Demetrios Pangou, Theodore, Manolis and his son Nicholas, Nicholas Timan and the son of Mertzos. Date: March 1, 6977.

**Remarks:**

1. In reality, the counterfeit reproduces verbatim the text of our **act no. 45** which was issued by the widow of Murad II, Mara Branković, on March 1, 1469, when she bought from Esphigmenou its dependency and tower in the isthmus of Provlakas and donated them to St. Paul. The only new element in our fake is the delimitation of the dependency, which was inserted in the middle of the text and was not available in the deed of Mara Branković. According to Ph. Kutzageorgis, this counterfeit must have been fabricated during the 16th century, because it mentions as neighbouring other properties of St. Paul in the district of Provlakas, while a Turkush *hüccet* dated 1469 makes it clear that by that date the monastery had no estates in this region<sup>1</sup>.

2. The text mentions as a feature of the relief which was important for the demarcation of the land the term *bara* (μπάρα, l. 11, 20 and 21). Ph. Kutzageorgis translated it into Modern Greek as έλος<sup>2</sup>, i.e. swamp. According to the *Lexicon of the Medieval Demotic Greek* by E. Kriaras, such a meaning of the Greek word μπαρά was not attested during the late medieval period until 1669, while in Modern Greek *bara* means *pole* or *rod*<sup>3</sup>. On the contrary, the word *bara* (бара) is quite common in Bulgarian and Serbian. In Bulgarian it denotes a stream or rivulet, while in Serbian it designates a marsh or swamp<sup>4</sup>. Both meanings offer a good description of a landmark and the word *bara* is, in fact, a frequent toponym in the territories occupied by the modern states of Bulgaria, Serbia, Kosovo and Northern Macedonia<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the untranslated Slavic word *bara* in the Greek text indicates that the initial variant of the

1. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Η άθωνική μονή Αγίου Παύλου*, 142.

2. Κοτζαγεώργης, *Επιτομές Αγίου Παύλου*, 80.

3. See Έ. Κριαράς, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας 1100-1669*, II, Thessalonica 1971, 25-26.

4. Cf. Н. Геровъ, *Рѣчникъ на блъгарскый языкъ съ тълкувание рѣчи-ты на блъгарскы и на русскы*, I (A-D), Plovdiv 1895, 24; P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, I (A-J), ed. M. Deanović and Lj. Jónké, Zagreb 1971, 109.

5. В. Миковъ, *Произходъ и значение на имената на нашите градове, села, рѣки, планини и мѣста*, Sofia 1943, 180-181; Э. Григорян, *Словарь местных географических терминов болгарского и македонского языков*, Ереван 1975, 12-13; О. Иванова, *Речник на имињата на населените места во Р. Македонија (Б, Ѓ, Е, Ј, Н, Р, Т, Ќ, У, Ф, Ц, Ш)*, Skopje 2014, 38.

counterfeit might have been the Serbian and not the Greek.

**Topography:** On the locality **Provlakas** (l. 2), see the topography of our act no. 5.

**Edition:** Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 142 (partial edition).

**Bibliography:** Χρυσοχοΐδης, *Κατάλογος Ἁγίου Παύλου*, no. 30 and 30α; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἡ ἀθωνικὴ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 141-142; Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 87-88, no. 35.

**Text:**

† Ἡμεῖς οἱ καλόγεροι οἱ Ἁγιοπαυλίτες ἐγοιρεύσαμει τὸν πύργον τὸ μετόχην ||<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) εἰς τὸν Πρόδλακα ἀντάμα μὲ τὸν παλαιόμυλον ὅπου ἵνα εἰς τ(ὸν) ποταμὸν πλησί(ον) ||<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸ μετόχην τῶν Ἰβήρων. Κ(αί) ἡμεῖς οἱ καλόγ(ε)ροι οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι εἰς τὸ μονασ(τήριον) τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) ὁ ||<sup>4</sup> προηγούμε(ενος) κ(ὺρ) Μερκούριος κ(αί) ὁ γέροντ(α)ς Ἰγνάτιος καὶ ὁ γ(έ)ρων Θωμᾶς καὶ ὁ γ(έ)ροντ(α)ς Γ(ε)ρμανὸς κ(αί) ὁ ||<sup>5</sup> γ(έ)ρων Δαμιανὸς κ(αί) ὁ γ(έ)ρων Γαλακτίων κ(αί) ὁ Ἰωδάννης ὁ δοχειαρίτης κ(αί) ὅλοι οἱ ἀδελφοί, δι' αὐ-||<sup>6</sup>τῶ ἐβουληθήκαμ(εν) κ(αί) ἐπουληήσαμ(εν) τ(ὸν) πύργον ἅπορον εἰς τὸν Πρόδλακα μὲ τὸ μετό[χιον] ||<sup>7</sup> κ(αί) μὲ τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἴσθαται ὁ μῦλος, ἵνα τὸ ἔχει σωννηκῶς (sic) ἕως νὰ ἔνε ὁ κόσμος, [μετόχιον] ||<sup>8</sup> [... 10-12 ...]αν αὐτῆς, ἥ ἂν θέλει νὰ τὸ πουλήσοι, ἐμεῖς γοῦν οἱ καλόγ(ε)ροι τοῦ Ἐσφιγμ(ένου) μηδ[....] ||<sup>9</sup> [... 20-25 ...] ἢ ὀλήγον ἢ [πολύ, ν]ὰ ὑποῦμ(εν) ὃν ἐπράξαμ(εν) [... 10-12 ...] ||<sup>10</sup> [... 30-35 ...] ν' χιλιάδες ἄσπ(ρα) [... 45-50 ...] ||<sup>11</sup> στὸν αἰγιαλὸν μπάρα βατοπαιδινῆ [ἴσια] ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ||<sup>12</sup> βίγλα· εἰς τὴν ἁγιοπαυλίτικη τὴν ράχη· εἰς τὴν πλάκα τὴν βατοπαιδινῆ· σιμᾶ εἰς ||<sup>13</sup> τὸ ἀμπέλι τὸ χελανδαρινό· ὀργίαις δέκα ἐπτὰ· ὀμπροστὰ εἰς τὸ ἀλώνι· ||<sup>14</sup> εἰς τὸ σταυροδρόμι ὅπου πηγένη ἢ μία στρατα εἰς τὸ γιαλό, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πηγένη ||<sup>15</sup> εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος· εἰς τὴν στρατα ὅπου πηγένη εἰς τὸ ἰβέρικον τὸ μετόχι, καὶ ||<sup>16</sup> ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ σύνορον τὸ ἰβέρικον, κατώστρατα βατοπεδινόν, καὶ ἀπάνωστρατα ||<sup>17</sup> ἁγιοπαυλίτικον· ἴσια ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ράχη, ὅπου ἐξαγνατίζει ἀπάνω ||<sup>18</sup> εἰς τὸ Ἀλαδιάβα· ἴσια κάτω δίπλα εἰς τὸ κονάκι τὸ παντοκρατο||<sup>19</sup>ρινόν· ἴσια στὴν βατζηνιά, ἡ στρατα ὅπου ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀλαδιάβα στὴν ||<sup>20</sup> ἄκρη στὸ χαντάκι· ἴσια ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ράχη στὴν μπάρα· δίπλα ὅπου πη||<sup>21</sup>γένη εἰς τὴν ἄλλη μπάρα ἀπὸ κάτω τὸ ἀμπέλι τὸ χελανδαρινό· καὶ τὴν ἄκρη τὸ ||<sup>22</sup> ἀμπέλι ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ράχη στὴν πέτρα παρέκει στὴν λάκκα εἰς τὴν πέτρα ||<sup>23</sup> ἀπὸ κείθεν στὸ πλάγι ὅπου ἀγναντίζει τὸν γιαλό εἰς τὴν πέτρα ὅπου εἶναι στρουναρί· ||<sup>24</sup> ἀπὸ τὴν πέτρα, ὡς τὸν ξηρόλακα, ὀργίαις λα'· ἴσια κάτω στὴν ἄλλη τὴν πέτρα ||<sup>25</sup> τὴν μεγάλη,

ἀγνάντια στὰ βοῦρλα εἰς τὸν γιαιλό, καὶ ἔδωσέ μ(ας) εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν πύρ-  
 ||<sup>26</sup>γον μὲ τὸν παλαιόμυλον τ(ε)λειάν πράσιν, ἄσπρ(α) χιλιάδες λ'. Εἰς  
 αὐτὴν τ(ήν) δουλείαν κ(αὶ) τὴν ἄ-||<sup>27</sup>γωρὰν ἔστιν μάρτυρες· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος  
 τοῦ Ἱερισσοῦ κ(ὐρ) Ἰραφαήλ, ὁ ἡγού(μενος) Χιλιταρίου κ(ὐρ) Βυκέν-  
 ||<sup>28</sup>τιος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ μητροπολί(της) Μυτηλίν(ης) κ(ὐρ) Παῦλ(ος),  
 ὁ προηγού(μενος) Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ προηγού(μενος) κ(ὐρ)  
 Διονύσι-||<sup>29</sup>ος ὁ ἱερο(μόναχος), ὁ οἰκονόμος ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος, κ(αὶ) ὁ  
 γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Σάββας, κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Παΐσιος, κ(αὶ) ὁ  
 ||<sup>30</sup> γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Βασίλειος, κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Διονύσιος  
 κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας ὁ κ(ὐρ) Γρηγόριος, κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωγράφου ||<sup>31</sup> ὁ  
 γ(έ)ροντας κ(ὐρ) Ἰωάσαφ κ(αὶ) ὁ γ(έ)ροντας κ(ὐρ) Νεόφυτος, κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ  
 τὸ Βατοπαίδην ὁ οἰκονόμος, ἀπὸ τὸ ||<sup>32</sup> Ἀλλαδιάβα ὁ κ(ὐρ) Γενάδιος  
 μο(ναχός) κ(αὶ) ὁ Κύριλλος μο(ναχός), καὶ ἀπὸ τ(ήν) Κομήτησα  
 Γεώργιος κ(αὶ) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ||<sup>33</sup> Δημήτ(ριος), κ(αὶ) ὁ Φύλιππος κ(αὶ)  
 ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος, Καμνομάτις ὁ Δημήτ(ριος) κ(αὶ) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
 Γεώργιος, ὁ Δημήτ(ριος) ὁ Ζαγωριανὸς κ(αὶ) ||<sup>34</sup> ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Γεώργιος  
 ὁ Κοντάκις καὶ ὁ δεύτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰω(άννης) κ(αὶ) Γεώργιος ὁ  
 Γεωργῆς τοῦ Ἐάνθου κ(αὶ) ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σταμάτις κ(αὶ) Κώστας  
 ||<sup>35</sup> κ(αὶ) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Χρυσάφης, κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ τὸν Χιλανταρινὸ πύργον ὁ  
 Πάγκου ὁ Δημήτ(ριος) κ(αὶ) ὁ Θεόδωρος, κ(αὶ) ὁ Μανώλης καὶ ὁ υἱὸς  
 αὐτοῦ ||<sup>36</sup> Νικόλ(αος), καὶ ὁ Νικόλας τοῦ Τιμᾶν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Μέρτζου  
 εἰς αὐτ(ήν) γοῦν ||<sup>37</sup> τ(ήν) δουλεί(αν) καὶ τὴν ἀγωρὰν ἐποιήσαμ(εν)  
 τέλειον αφορεσμὸν [... 25-30 ...] ||<sup>38</sup> [... 10-15 ...]θεν κ(αὶ) ἀντιβολήση  
 τὴν πράσιν καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν ὡς ἐποιήσαμ(εν) ὁμοθυμαδόν. ||<sup>39</sup> Ἔτος  
 ,ςζοζ' μηνὶ Μ(αρτίω) α'.

**Act no. 51 B. Serbian translation of the counterfeited Greek act no.  
 51 A**

**SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A FALSE GREEK ACT OF SALE  
 PRESUMABLY SIGNED BY THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL  
 AND ESPHIGMENOU**

Date mentioned in the text: March 1, 6977 (1469)

**Type of the document:** The type is not specified in the Slavic translation.

**Description:** Serbian translation or, maybe, prototype of our act 51

A. It is kept in archival folder no. 17 as act no. 8 and is written with brown ink on **paper** with dimensions 290 x 260 mm. The back of the document is glued to a piece of red cloth. There are no signatures or traces of a seal (see **plate no. 51**).

**Analysis:** The monks of St. Paul, represented by the abbot Theofan and the ex-abbot Varsanufie, wanted to acquire a tower belonging to Esphigmenou which was situated in the isthmus of Provlakas and a water mill located on a river close to a nearby dependency of the Monastery of Iviron. The ex-abbot of Esphigmenou, Merkurie, the elders Ignatie, Thomas, German, Damian, Galaktion, and the warehouse keeper (*dohiar*) John, accepted the proposal and sold the tower, the *metochion* and the water mill for 50000 *aspra*. Its border started from the coast near a *bara* of Vatopedi, climbed upon a hill near a watching point (*vigla*) of St. Paul, followed the hill crest until it reached a slab of Vatopedi and a vineyard of Chilandar, in toto 17 *sežania* (fathoms). Advancing further, the border neared a crossroad from which a trail leading to the coast started, passed along a *metochion* of Iviron and between some properties of St. Paul and Vatopedi, reached a hill crest near a residence (*konak*) of Pantocrator, passed along some bushes near a trail leading to the village of Aladiava, crossed a ditch near a residence (*konak*) of Esphigmenou, descended from the hill to a *bara* in the vicinity of a trail leading to a dependency of Megiste Lavra, passed along another *bara* and a vineyard of Chilandar, and reached a large white boulder. The distance from this boulder to a dry riverbed was 31 *sežania* (fathoms). The boundary finally descended to a large rock on the sea shore. Witnesses were: the bishop of Hierissos Rafail, the superior of Chilandar Vikentie, the metropolitan of Mytilene Paul, the ex-superiors Athanasie and Dionisie, the *ikonom* (manager) Anthony, the elders Sava, Paisie, Basil, Dionisie, Gregory and Neofit, Joseph from Zographou, an unnamed *ikonom* of Vatopedi, the monks Genadie and Cyril from Aladiava. Lay witnesses from Kumetica (in Greek Komitissa) were: George and his son Dimitri, Philip and his son Theodore, Stelian, Ian Kakotrihis and his son Stamat. Lay witnesses from Aladiava were: Theolog and his son Iane, Dimitūr and his son Theodore, the stone cutter Dimitūr and his son George, Dimitri and his sons, George Kondak and John, George Ksatovik and his brother Stamat, Theodore, Kosta and his son Hrisaf. Witnesses from the tower of Chilandar were: Dimitri Panguevik, Theodore, Manuel, John, Krajo and his son Nicholas, and Nicholas son of Diman. Date: March 1, 6977.

**Remarks:**

1. A detail indicating that our false Slavic translation was fabricated long after 1469, is the unit of measurement *sažen* which is used in the text (сежанѣа, l. 9 and 14). This is a typically Russian term which corresponds to the Greek ὀργυιά, the English fathom, the German *Klafter*, the Serbian хват (*hvat*), and the Bulgarian разтег (*razteg*). In Russian texts it first appeared in the 11th century and was spelt сажень<sup>1</sup>. During the 16th and 17th century it was widely used in Wallachia and Moldavia, where its spelling was very similar to that of our text — сеженъ (*sežen*). However, the word is not attested in Byzantine sources, and, based on our own expertise, during the 15th century it was unknown in the region adjacent to Mount Athos<sup>2</sup>. Its presence in our text makes it clear that its translator must have been influenced by the Russian or Wallachian terminology, and this was almost impossible during the 15th and 16th century when the Turks were still conquering new lands.

2. The term *bara*, which was difficult to understand in the Greek variant of the act, appears on lines 8, 12 and 13 and clearly denotes a small stream or rivulet, probably a marshy one. In the Serbian text it is easily comprehensible and its meaning creates no problems. However, this detail is note enough to prove that the initial version of the document was the Serbian.

**Editions:** Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 201-202, act no. 15; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 211-216, false act no. 2.

**Bibliography:** Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 201, act no. 15; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, 211-216.

#### Text:

||<sup>1</sup> [† бл҃гоизвоу]ѣніѣ ѿца, и поспеше[ніѣ] сѣна и съвршеніѣ ст҃го д҃ха, ѡво како поискаше ст҃опавлане и҃г҃мѣ кѣ ||<sup>2</sup> ѡеѡфанъ, и прои҃г҃мень кѣ варсаноуфїѣ и въсе [о] х҃ѣ братство, пирьгъ на рѣвлаке свигменскѣ, и воденїчище ||<sup>3</sup> на рѣцѣ конь иверскога метоха. и мѣ въ тѣ врѣме обрѣтшеи се инѡци въ монастырѣ свїгменѣ, прои҃г҃мень кѣ ||<sup>4</sup> м[ε]ркѡрїѣ, и старецъ кѣ игнатїѣ, и старецъ кѣ ѡма, и старецъ кѣ германъ, и старецъ дамїанъ, и старецъ га[л]а ||<sup>5</sup> ктиѡ, и іѡанъ дохїаръ и въсе о х҃ѣ братство ѡ тѣ съвѣщавше се, продѣдосмо

1. И. Срезневскій, *Материалы для словаря древне-русскаго языка по письменнымъ памятникамъ*, III, Sankt Petersburg 1912, 243-244; А. Пилецкий, Системы величин, мер и пропорцій в древнерусской архитектуре, *Архитектура СССР* 10 (Moscow 1980), 53; Г. Романова, *Наименование мер длины в русском языке*, Moscow 1975, 19-32.

2. Cf. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970; E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen* (ВКМ no. 19), Thessalonica 1982.

пѣръгъ на прѣвлаке с метохѡ<sup>а</sup> ||<sup>6</sup> и с воденичищѣ<sup>а</sup> оу бащинѣ вѣчнѣ или нмь драго дръжати, или нмь драго продати. мѣ свѣгменіане ѡт[...] ||<sup>7</sup> веке да не смо болны ни мало ни мнѡго. и дадоше ны за тѣ пиргъ с мѣтѡхѡ<sup>а</sup> ѣ хиліада, бащин[...] ||<sup>8</sup> на море бара ватопѣдскаа оу брѣдо на вѣглѣ стѡпавльскѣ, те брѣдѡ дошгѣвши на плѡчю ватопѣдскѣ [...] ||<sup>9</sup> [...] х]иландарго сѣжаніа зѣ прѣма [...]. мѣсть, тѣ поутѣ на раскрѣстице що иде на море ѣ [...] ||<sup>10</sup> [...] ѣ на ѣверскы мѣтѡ поутѣ дошгѣвши до мегіе ѣверске, пѡ поутѣ ватопѣдско, на поутѣ стѡпавльскѡ ||<sup>11</sup> дошгѣвши на брѣдо низ брѣдо влѣзь пандократорскѣ конакѣ, на кѣпінѣ на поутѣ що ѣде ѡ аладіаве на и[...] ||<sup>12</sup> хендѣка конѣ свѣгменскѣ конакѣ, оуз брѣдо на барѣ, странѡ на поутѣ що ѣде на лаврьскы мѣтѡ на[...] ||<sup>13</sup> бароу влизь лозіе хиландарско, те на брѣдо на камѣнь великѣ, странѡ ѡ камѣна до камѣна, дошгѣвши ||<sup>14</sup> на вѣли камѣнь, ѡ вѣлога камѣна до соухѣ потѡкъ сѣжаніа ла, дошгѣвши на великѣ камѣнь на ||<sup>15</sup> море [пр]ѣма взоуга (sic!). ѣ томѣ свѣтеліе стѣиши епѣпѣ ерисоу кѣ рафаиль, ѣгменѣ хиландарскы ||<sup>16</sup> кѣ викентіе іеромѡна, мѣрополитѣ митилинскѣ кѣ павль, проигменѣ кѣ афанасіе іеро ||<sup>17</sup> монѡ, проигоумѣнѣ дїонісїе іеромѡна, иконѡ великѣ кѣ антѡніе, ѣ старѣцѣ кѣ сава, ѣ старѣцѣ ||<sup>18</sup> паисїе, ѣ старѣцѣ васїліе, ѣ старѣцѣ дїонісїе, и старѣцѣ григорїе, ѣ ѡ ѣзоуграфа старѣцѣ іѡсїфѣ, ||<sup>19</sup> старѣцѣ неѡфитѣ, ѣ ѡ ватопѣда иконѡ оу аладіаве гѣнадїе монѡ, и кѣрїль монѡ, и ѡ кѣ ||<sup>20</sup> мѣтице геѡгїе и сѣнь мѣ димїтрѣ, ѣ фїлиппѣ и сѣнь мѣ феѡрѣ, ѣ стеліанѣ, ѣ іанѣ какотри[...] ||<sup>21</sup> ѣ сѣнь мѣ стаматѣ, и ѡ аладіаве феѡло[гѣ] ѣ сѣнь моу іанѣ, ѣ димїтрѣ и сѣнь мѣ феѡрѣ, и кално[дѣль] ||<sup>22</sup> димїтрѣ и сѣнь мѣ геѡгїе, димїтрѣ и сѣнь мѣ геѡгїе кондакѣ, ѣ дроугы мѣ сѣнь іѡаннѣ, геѡгїе ||<sup>23</sup> жатовикѣ и братѣ мѣ стаматѣ, и феѡрѣ, и кѡста и сѣнь мѣ хрисафѣ, ѣ ѡ хиландарскога пирга ||<sup>24</sup> [п]ангоукѣвѣ димїтрѣ, и феѡрѣ, ѣ манѣиль, іѡаннѣ, краив ѣ сѣнь мѣ никѡла, и никѡла дима- ||<sup>25</sup> новѣ сѣнь. вѣ лѣ ꙗ.ѡ. и ѡ.ѡ. мѣца мартїа а днѣ.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate no. 1. Act no. 1. GUARANTEE OF THE SUPERIOR OF THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF MEGISTE LAVRA, THEODORETOS, CONCERNING THE AUTONOMY OF THE MONASTERY OF BOULEUTERIA, April 1010 (Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου*, 29).

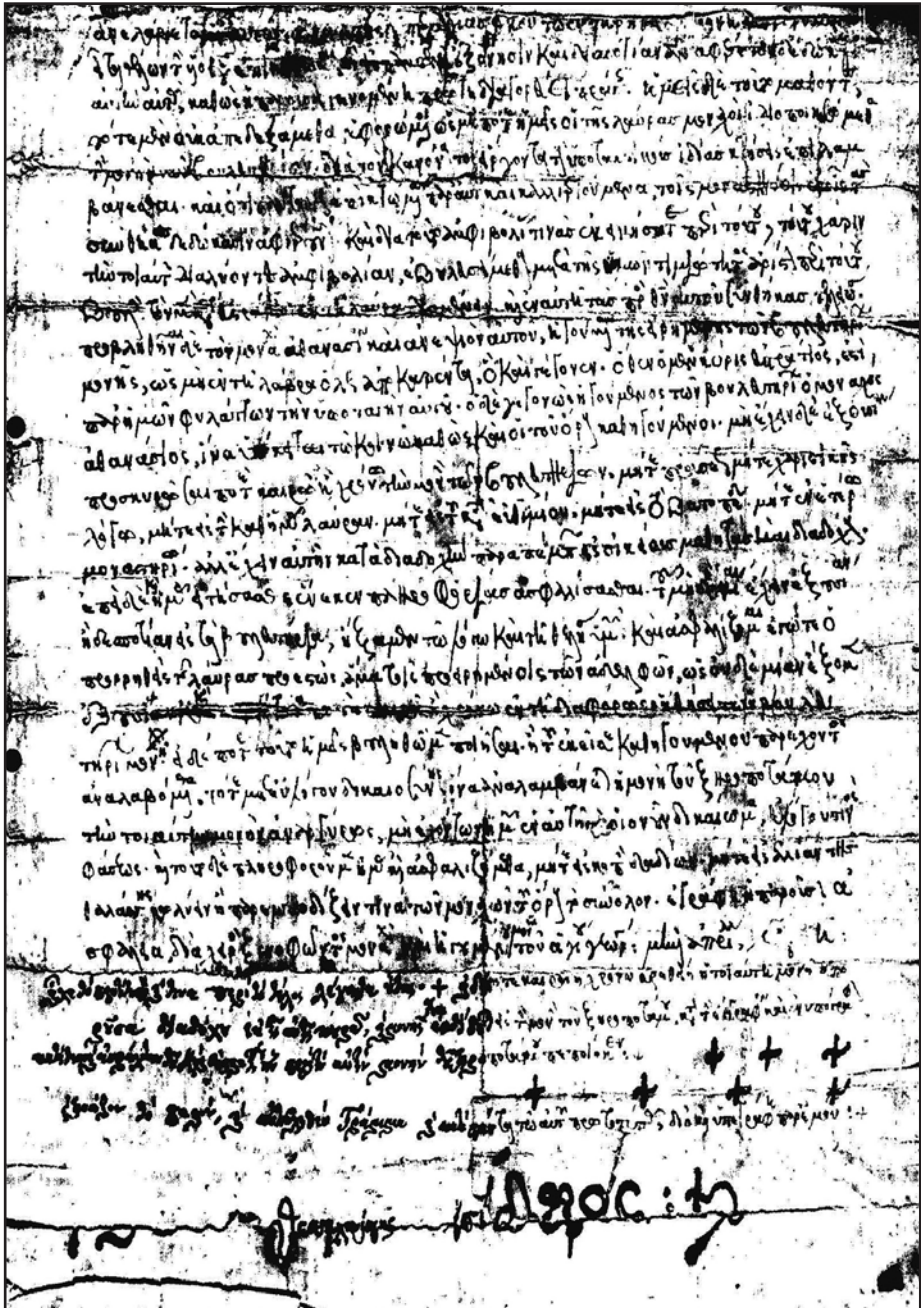


Plate no. 2. Act no. 6. CHRYSOBULL OF ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THAT RADOSLAV SABIA WAS THE LEGAL OWNER OF THE VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION NEAR THESSALONICA, November 1378. Variant 1, original (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 11).

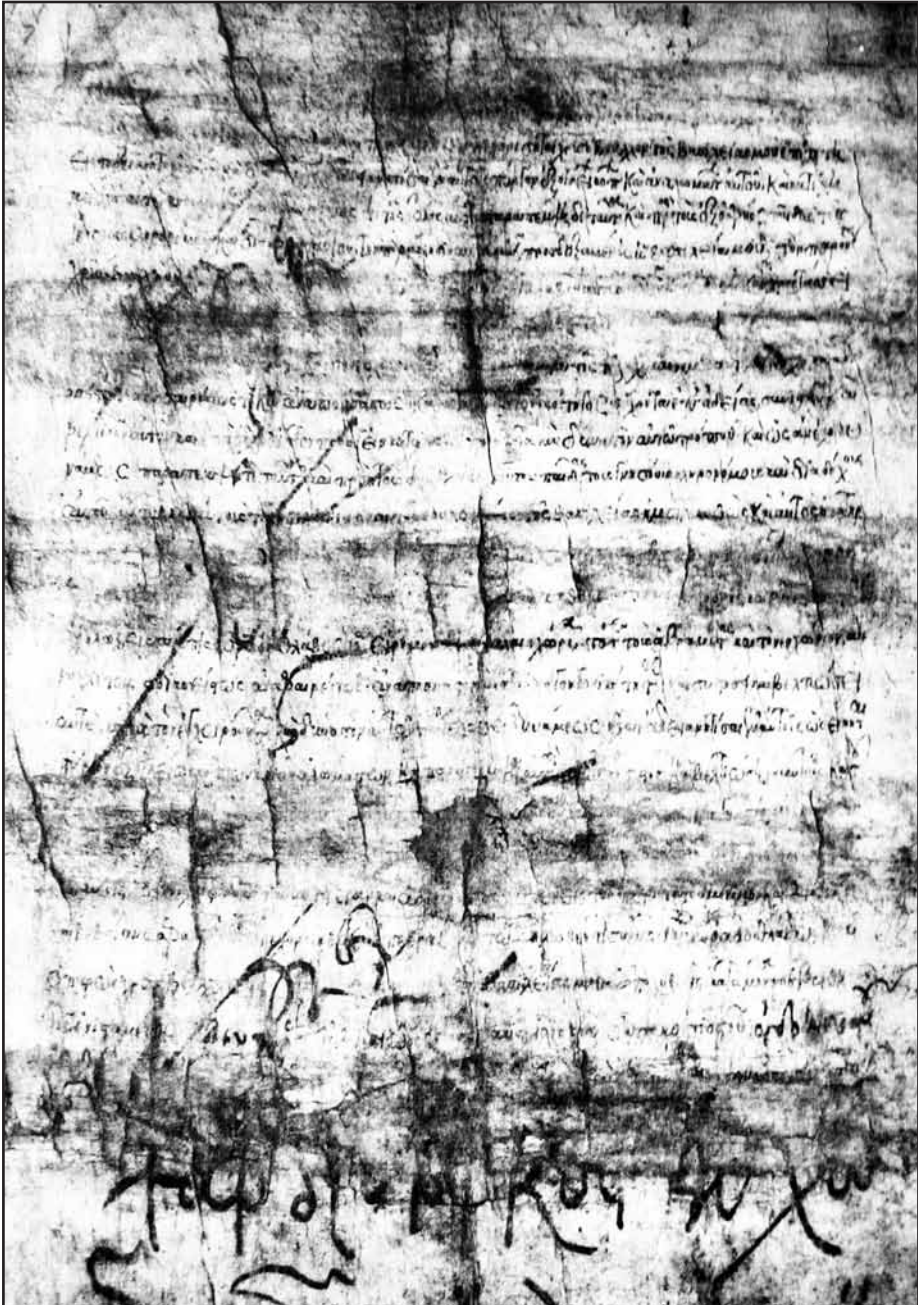


Plate no. 3. Act no. 6. CHRYSOBULL OF ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THAT RADOSLAV SABIA WAS THE LEGAL OWNER OF THE ABANDONED VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION NEAR THESSALONICA, November 1378. Variant 2, copy signed by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel (Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 38).



Plate no. 4. Act no. 7. Serbian act no. 1. FRAGMENT FROM AN ACT OF DONATION ISSUED BY NICHOLAS BAGAŠ BALDOVIN IN FAVOUR OF THE MONASTERY OF OUR LADY NISIOTISA NEAR EDESSA (VODEN), before March 1385 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 1).

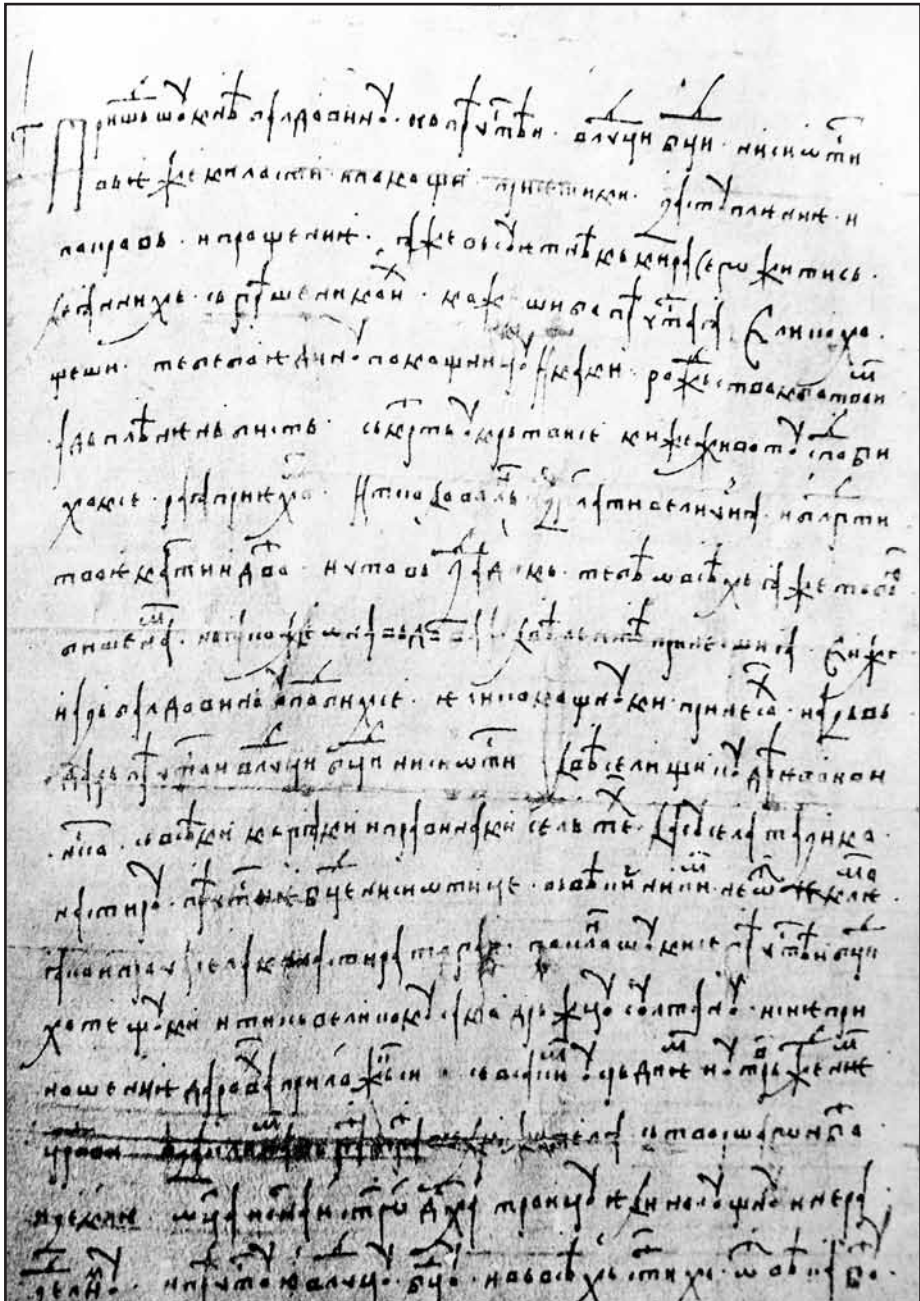




Plate no. 6. Act no. 10 B. Serbian act no. 2. Translation of Greek act no. 10 A. SERBIAN TRANSLATION OF THE ACT OF THE PROTOS NEOPHYTOS SANCTIONING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL FROM THE MONASTERY OF XEROPOTAMOU, November 1399, photograph 1 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 2A).

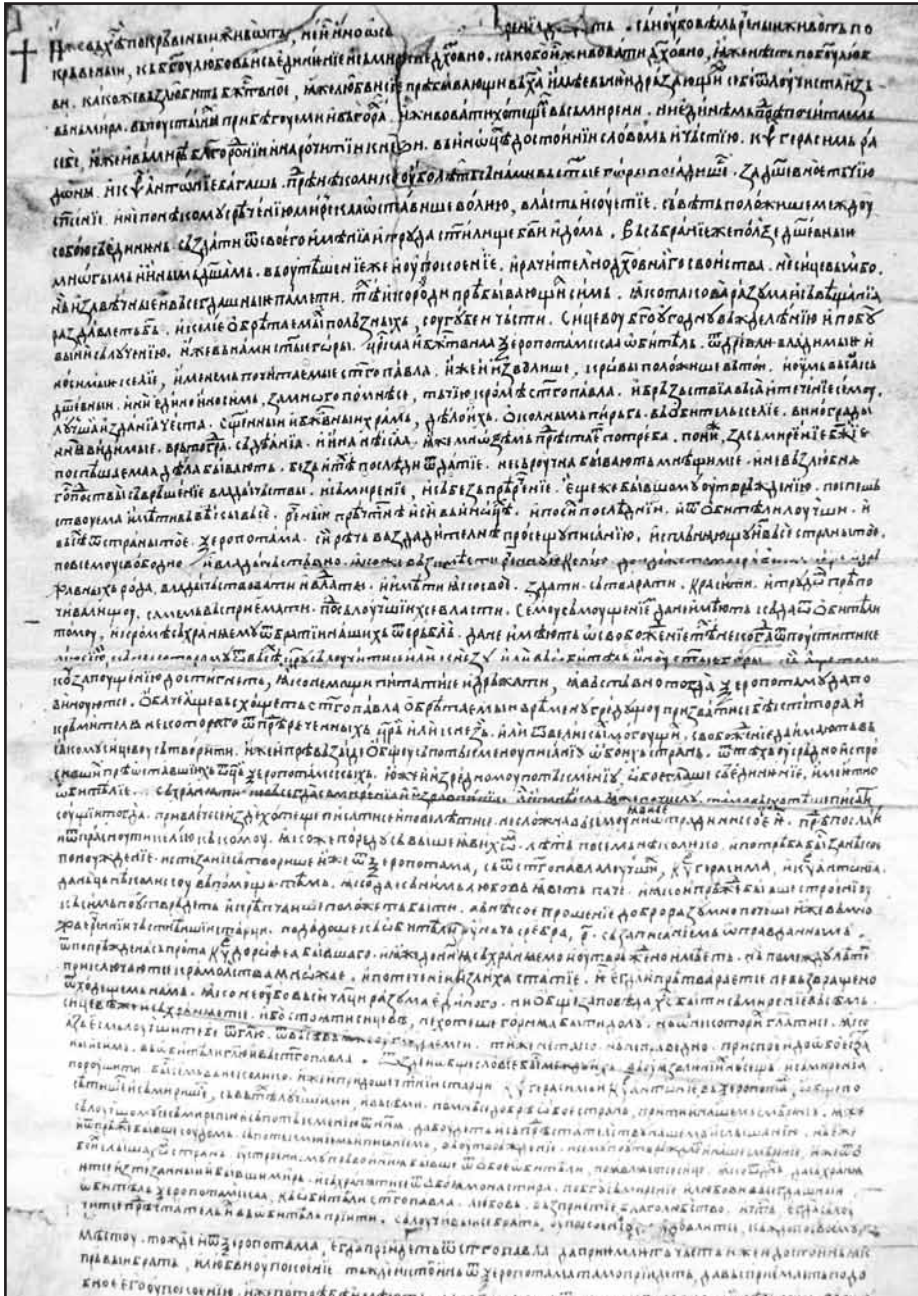




Plate no. 8. Act no. 11. DOCUMENT OF THE *PROTOS* GENNADIOS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 1400, Variant 2, copy validated by the bishop of Hierissos, Theodosios (Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 47).

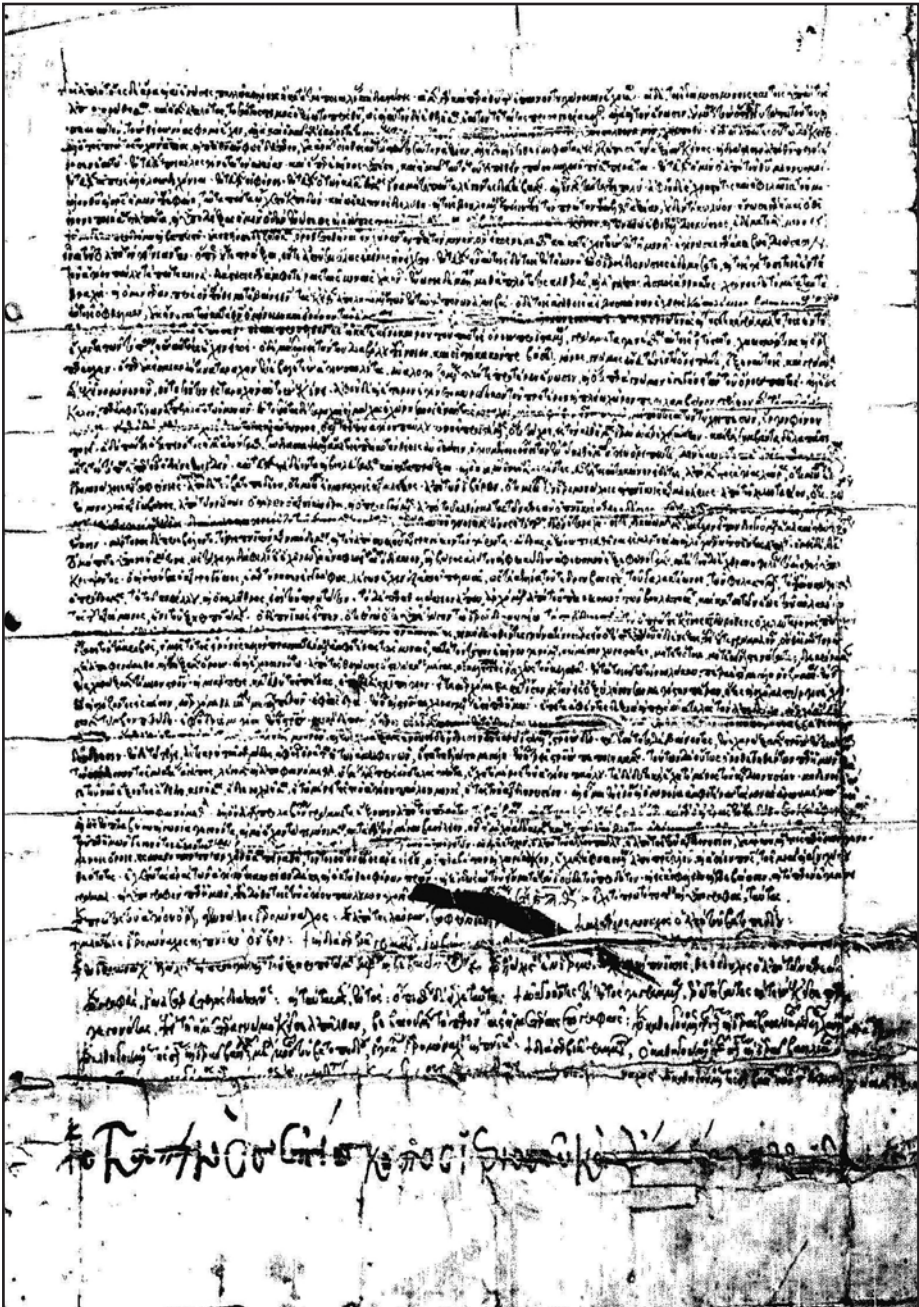


Plate no. 9. Act no. 13. DEED OF SALE CONCERNING LAND SOLD TO ST. PAUL BY DEMETRIOS KOMNENOS, 1401-1402 (Κοτζαγεώργης, Έπιτομές Αγίου Παύλου, 53).



Plate no. 10. Act no. 14. *SIGILLIODES GRAMMA* OF THE  
 CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCH MATTHEW I SETTLING A BORDER  
 DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIU,  
 September 1403 (Χρυσοσχόδης, Κατάλογος Ἀγίου Παύλου, 263).



Plate no. 11. Act no. 15. LETTER OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCH MATTHEW I CONCERNING A BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND DIONYSIOU, October 1403 ((Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 97).



Plate no. 12. Act no. 16. ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN RADOSLAV SABIA DONATING PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, June 1405 (Κοτζαγεώργης, *Ἐπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου*, 58).



Plate no. 13. Act no. 17. CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S DONATION OF PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, June 1405 (Οικονομίδης, *Ελληνικά έγγραφα*, 520, no. 13.23).

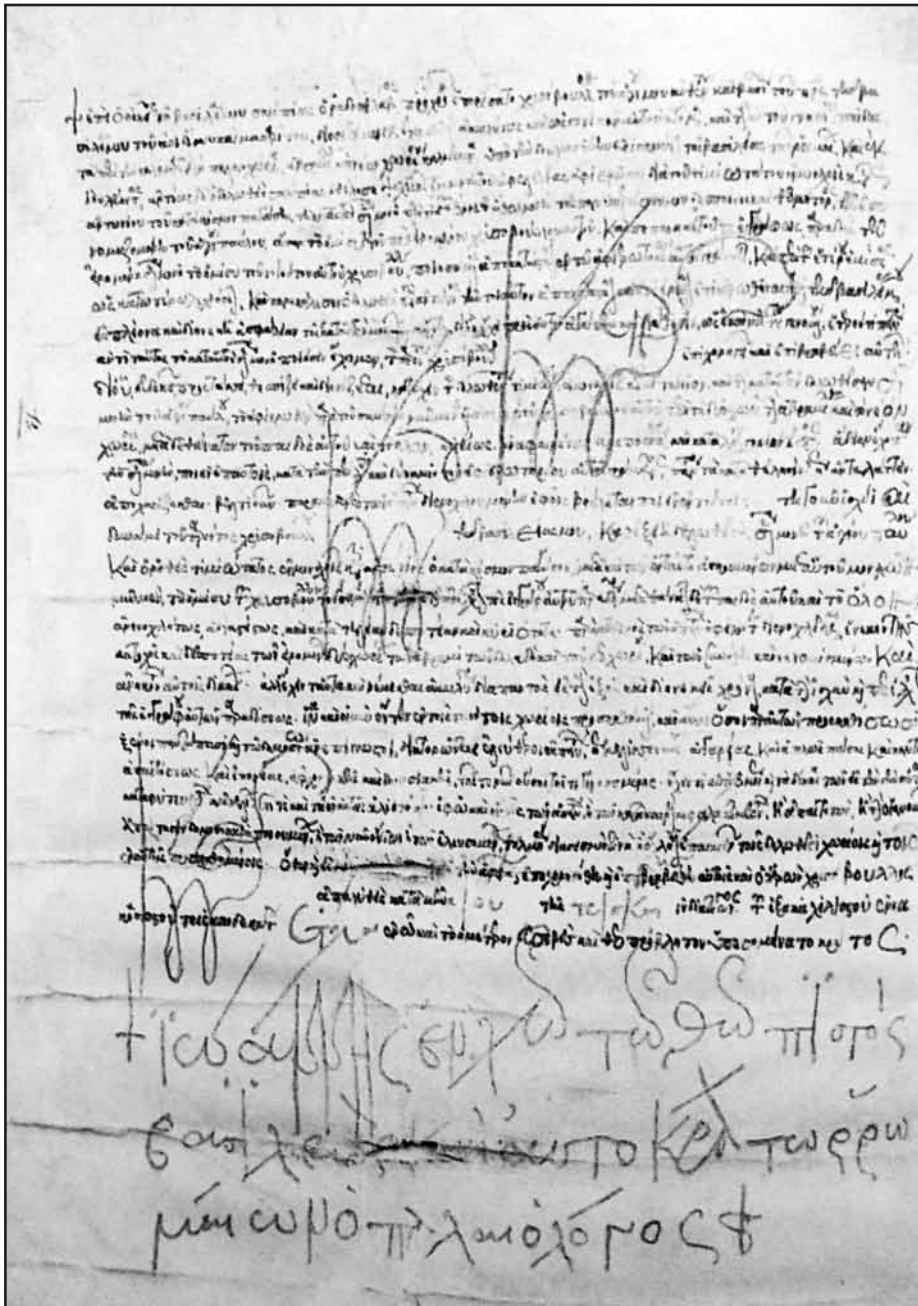


Plate no. 14. Act no. 18. *PROSTAGMA* OF JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS RECONFIRMING RADOSLAV SABIA'S DONATION OF PROPERTY IN KALAMARIA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, October 1406. Copy signed by the metropolitan of Thessalonica Gabriel (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 42).



Plate no. 15. Act no. 19. *PROSTAGMA* OF THE EMPEROR JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING THE VILLAGE OF HAGIOS PAVLOS (ST. PAUL) IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, January 1407 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 45a).

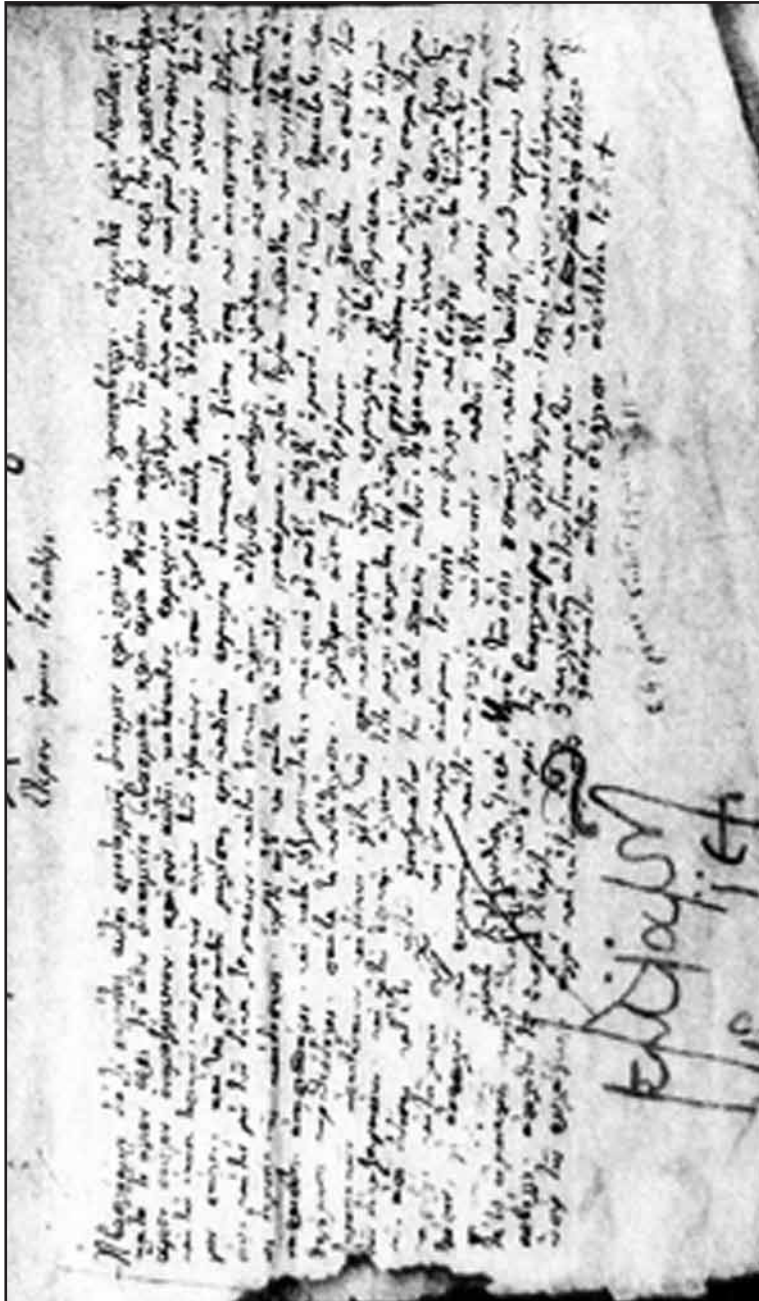


Plate no. 16. Act no. 20. CHRYSOBULL OF JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS REFERRING TO DONATIONS WHICH SEVERAL ATHONITE MONASTERIES HAD RECEIVED BY HIM IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, February 1407, photograph 1 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 45b).

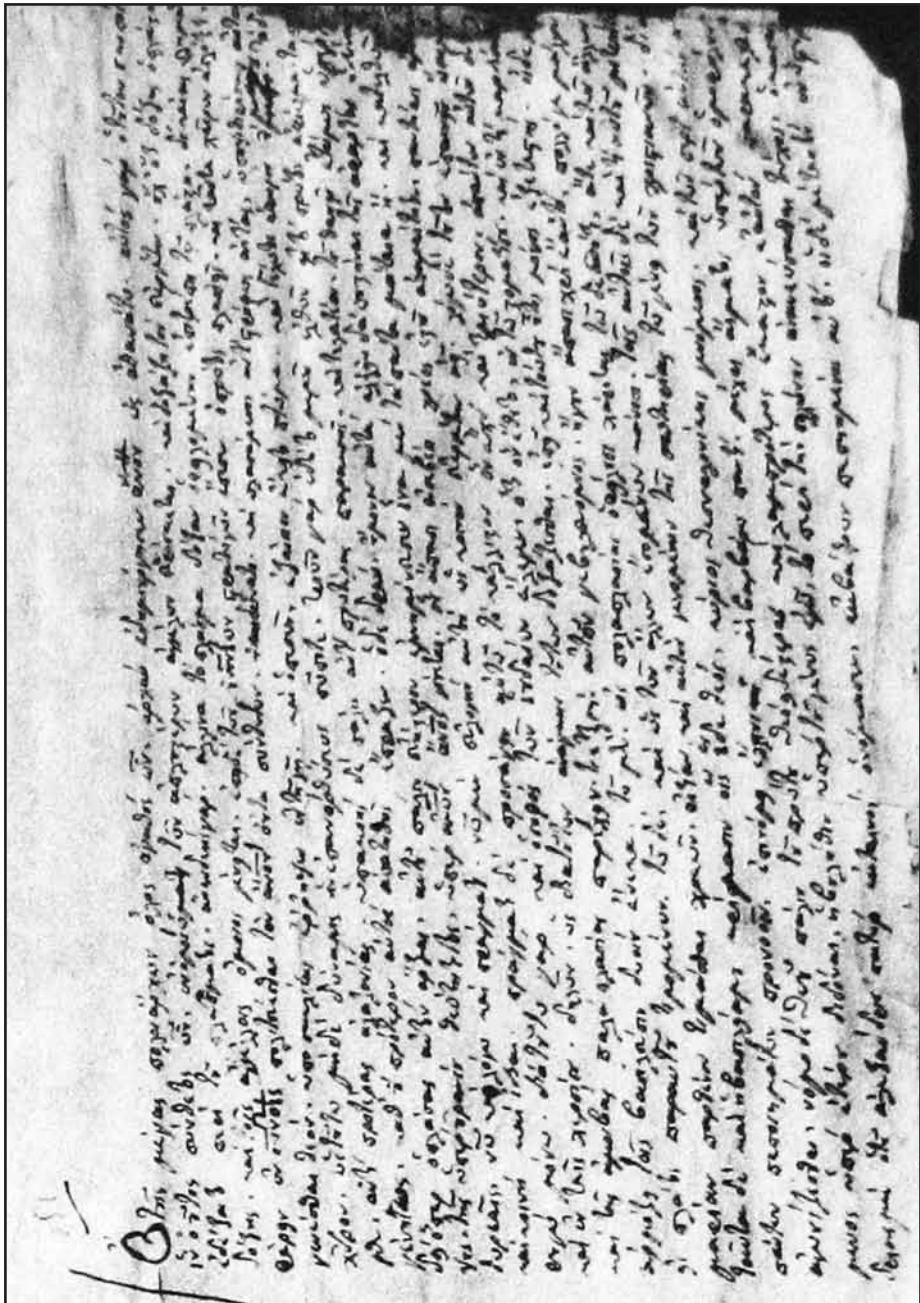


Plate no. 17. Act no. 20. CHRYSOBULL OF JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS  
REFERRING TO DONATIONS WHICH SEVERAL ATHONITE MONASTERIES  
HAD RECEIVED BY HIM IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, February  
1407, photograph 2 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 46a).

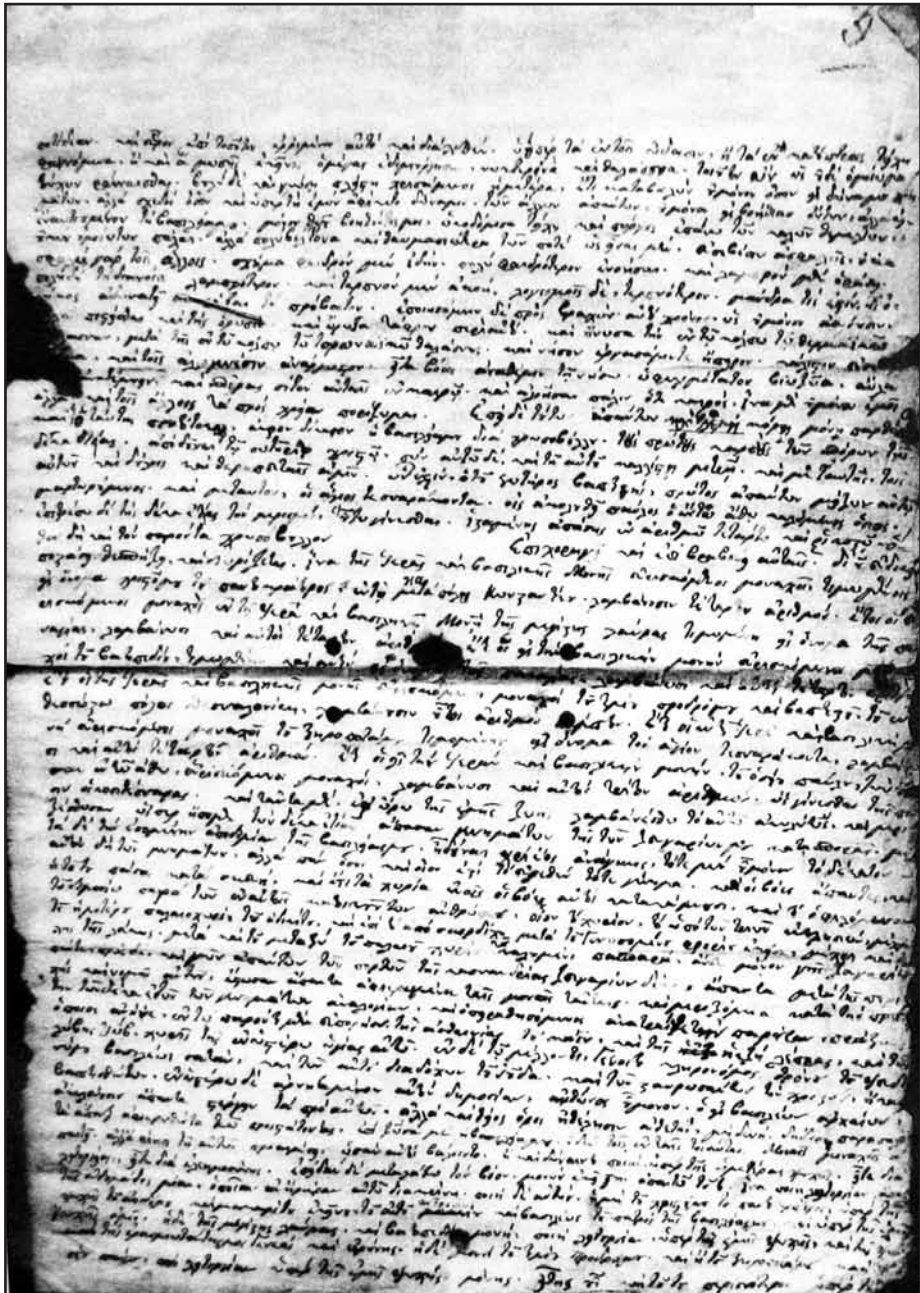




Plate no. 19. Act no. 22. *PROSTAGMA* OF MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS FOR A DONATION MADE TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, January 1409 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 45b).

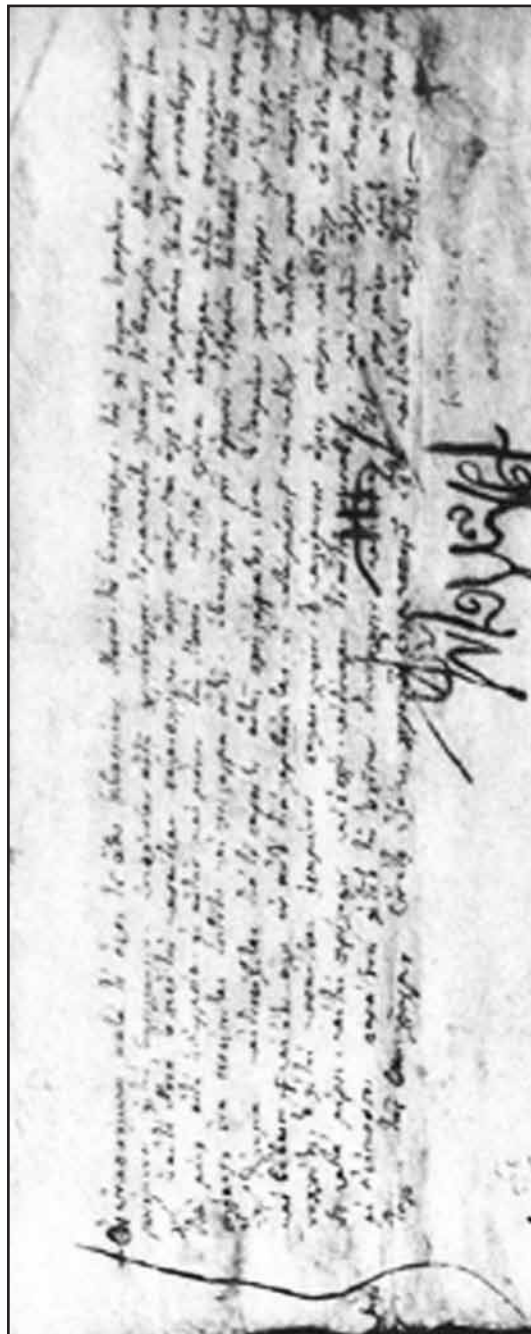


Plate no. 20. Act no. 23 A. Greek prototype. ACT OF THE PROTOS SIMON GRANTING THE KELLION OF SOTIRIOTIS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, November 1409 (Κοτζαγεώργης, Έπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου, 67).



Plate no. 21. Act no. 23 B. Serbian act no. 3. Translation of Greek act no. 23 A. SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A GREEK ACT ISSUED BY THE PROTOS SIMON FOR THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, November 1409 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 4).

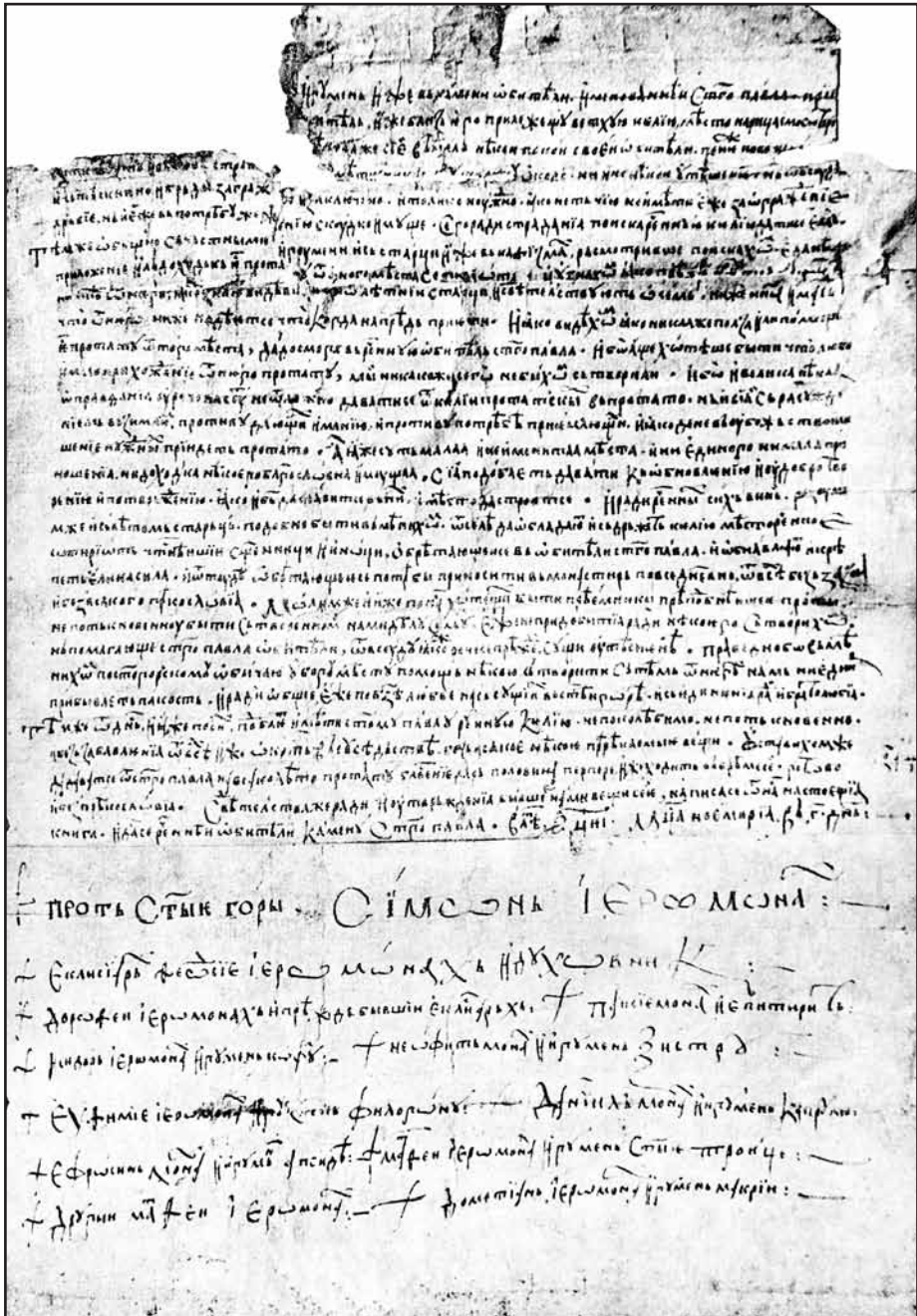


Plate no. 22. Act no. 24. Serbian act no. 4. ACT OF THE SERBIAN ARISTOCRATS, GEORGE AND LAZAR BRANKOVIĆ AND THEIR MOTHER MARA, DONATING TO ST. PAUL THE VILLAGE OF KUZMINO ON THE SITNICA RIVER, October 1410 (Синдик, Српске новеле, 192-193, document 5).

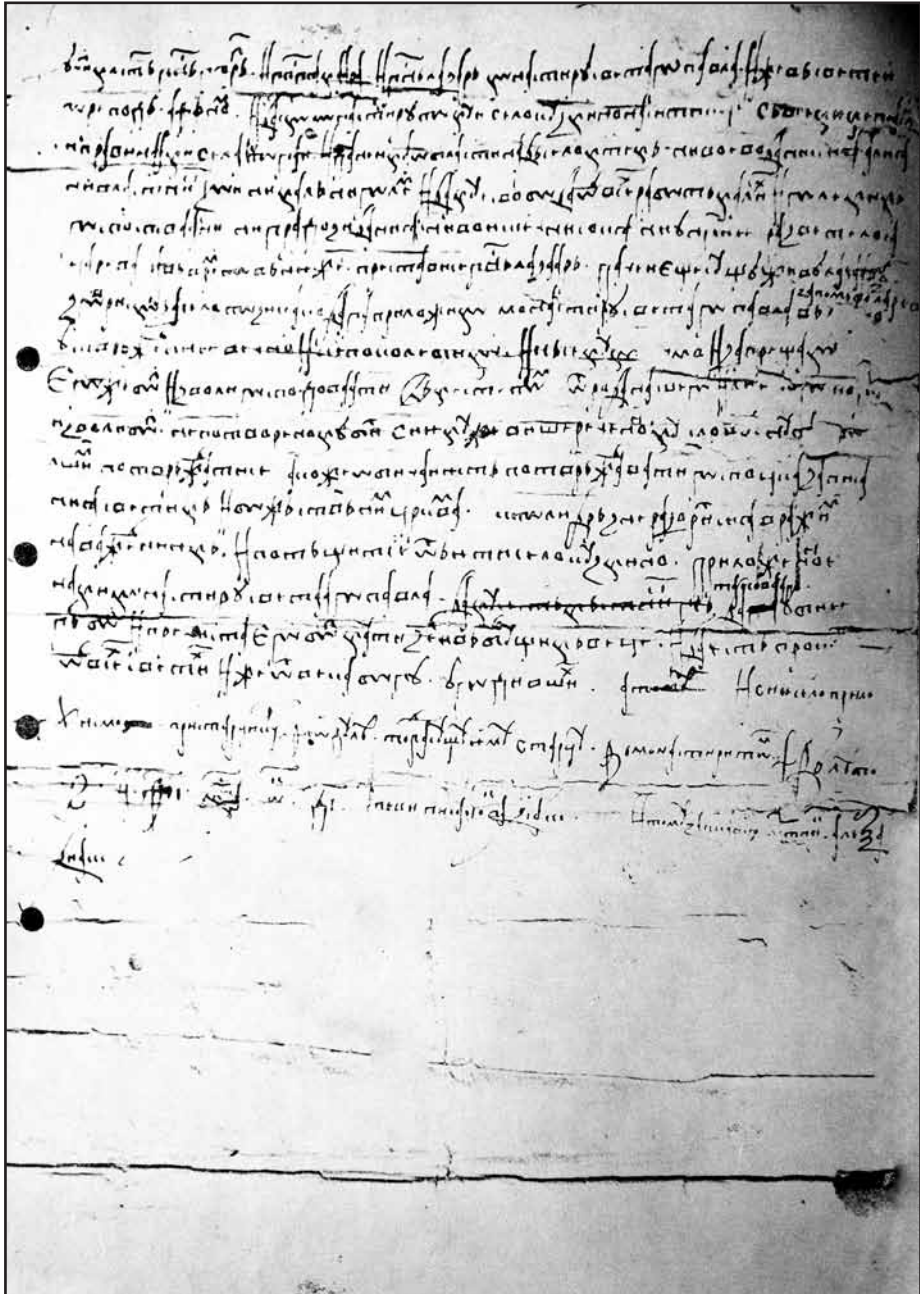


Plate no. 23. Act no. 25. HORISMOS OF THE DESPOT OF THESSALONICA ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS GRANTING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL LAND IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, February 1415 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 45b).

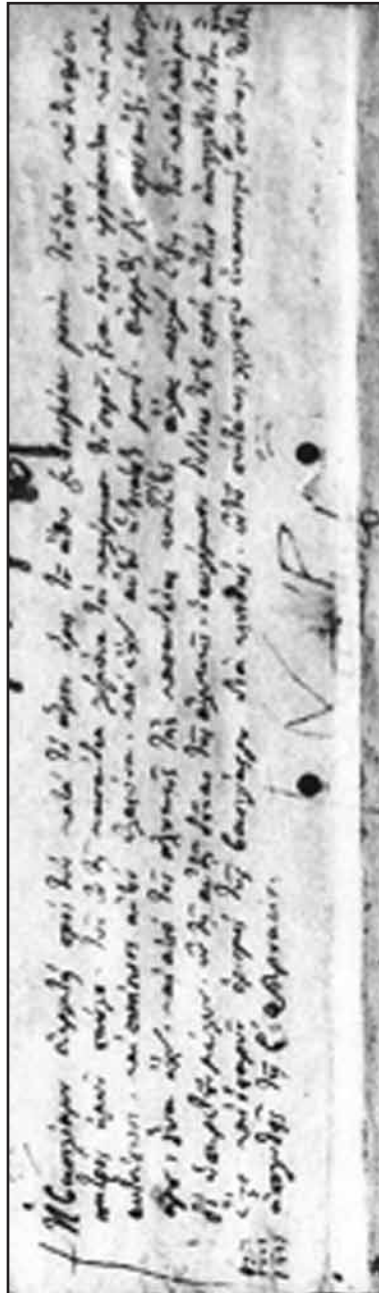


Plate no. 24. Act no. 27. HORISMOS OF THE DESPOT ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL IN THE VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION IN KALAMARIA, September 1419, photograph 1 (Οικονομίδης, Έλληνικά έγγραφα, 522, no. 13.26).

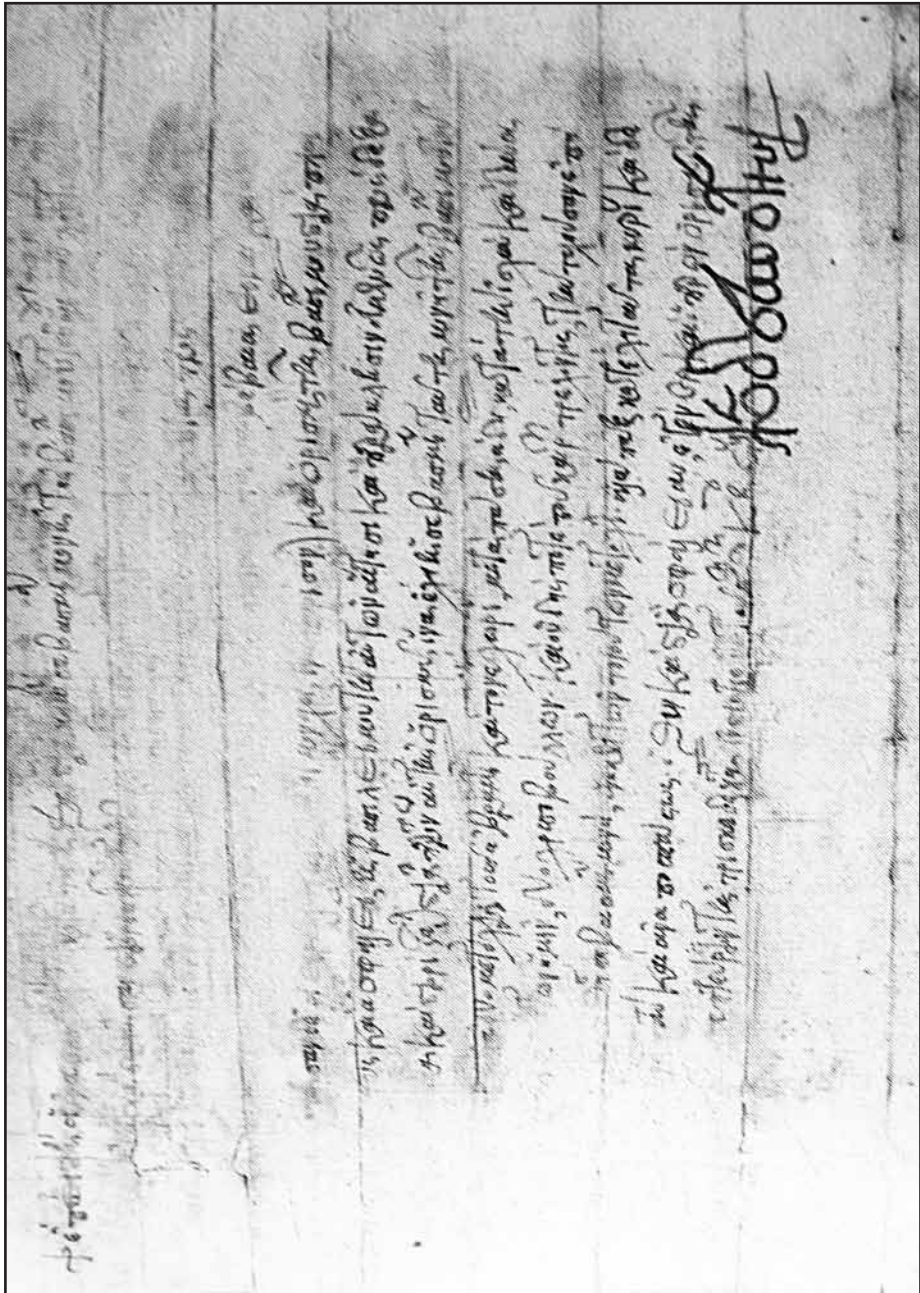


Plate no. 25. Act no. 27. *HORISMOS* OF THE DESPOT ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF ST. PAUL IN THE VILLAGES OF AVRAMITAI AND NEOCHORION IN KALAMARIA, September 1419, photograph 2 (Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, pl. no. 31).

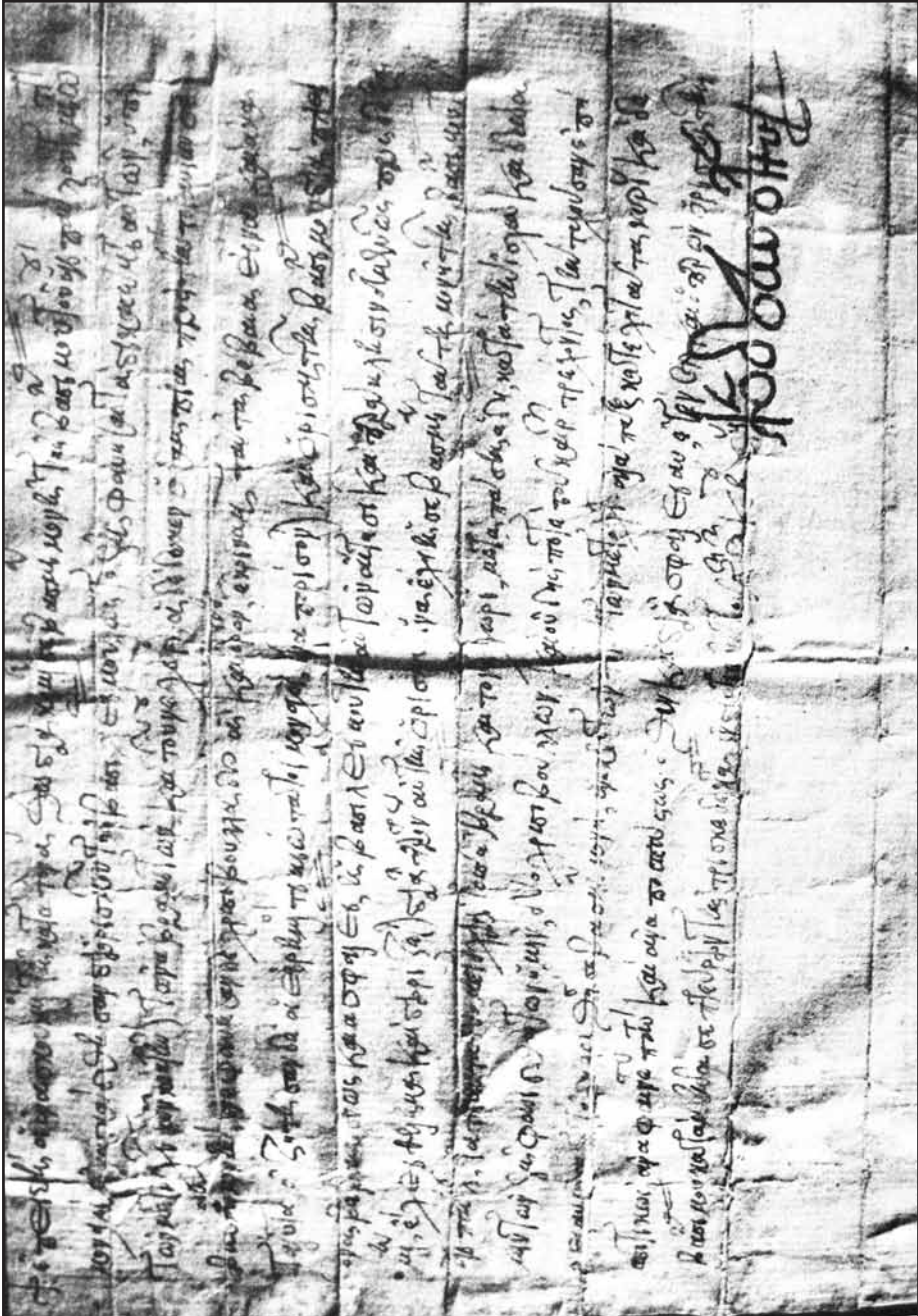


Plate no. 26. Act no. 28. Serbian act no. 5. ACT OF THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL THE VILLAGES OF DOBRAŠEVCE, VRANIN DOL AND PATEI, November 1419 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 6).



Plate no. 27. Act no. 29. ACT OF THE *PROTOS* MALACHIAS RECOGNIZING THE AUTONOMY OF THE MONASTIC CELL (*KELLION*) OF PHILOGONOU IN KARYAI, May 1423 (Χρυσοχόδης, *Κατάλογος Ἰγίου Παύλου*, 233).

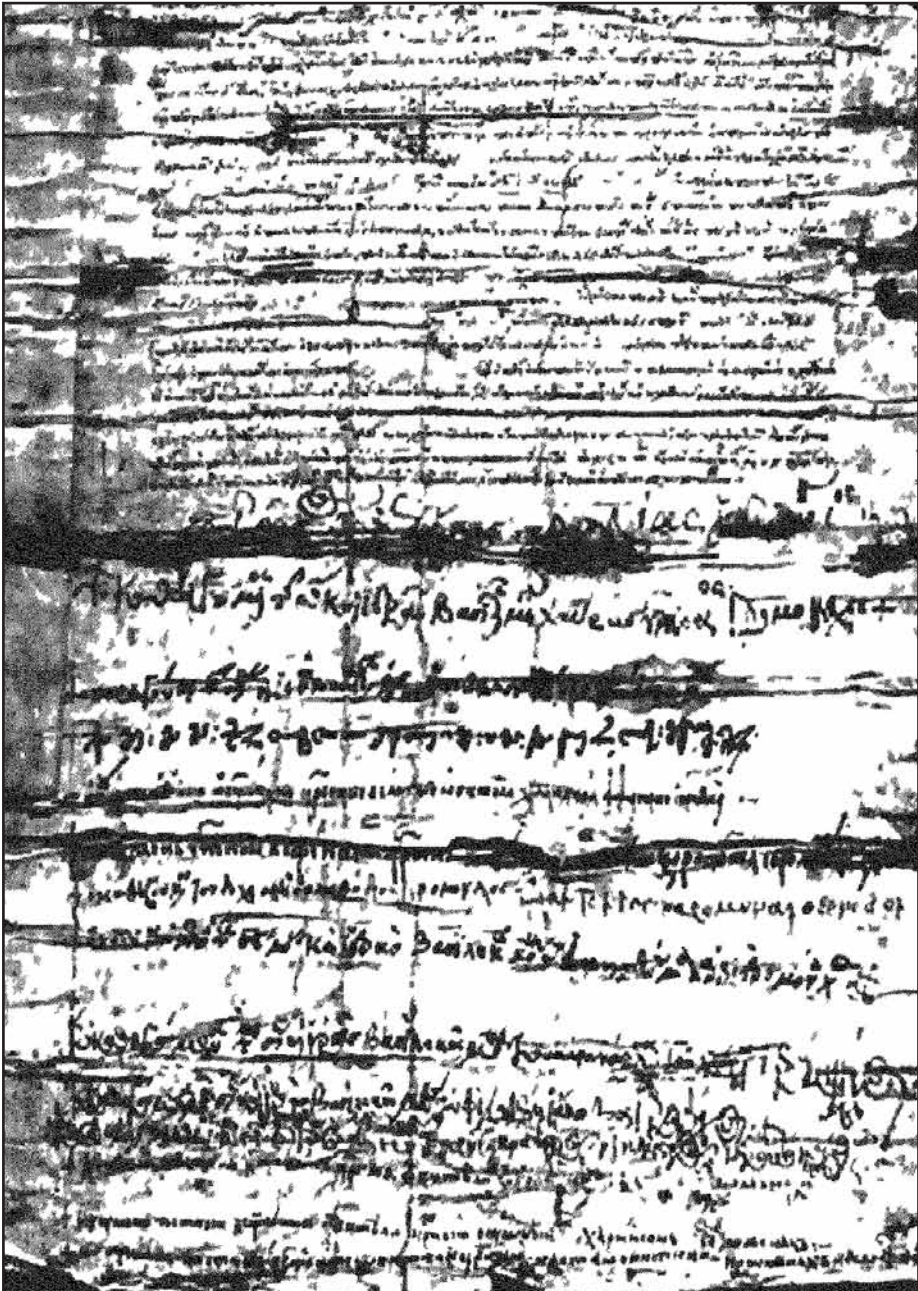


Plate no. 28. Act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7. ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ CONFIRMING THE DONATION OF THE VILLAGE OF GORNJA PEŠČANICA NEAR BRANIČEVO WHICH THE ČELNIK RADIČ HAD MADE TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, after July 1429, photograph 1 (Ταχιάος, Σλαβικά έγγραφα, 557, no. 15.2).

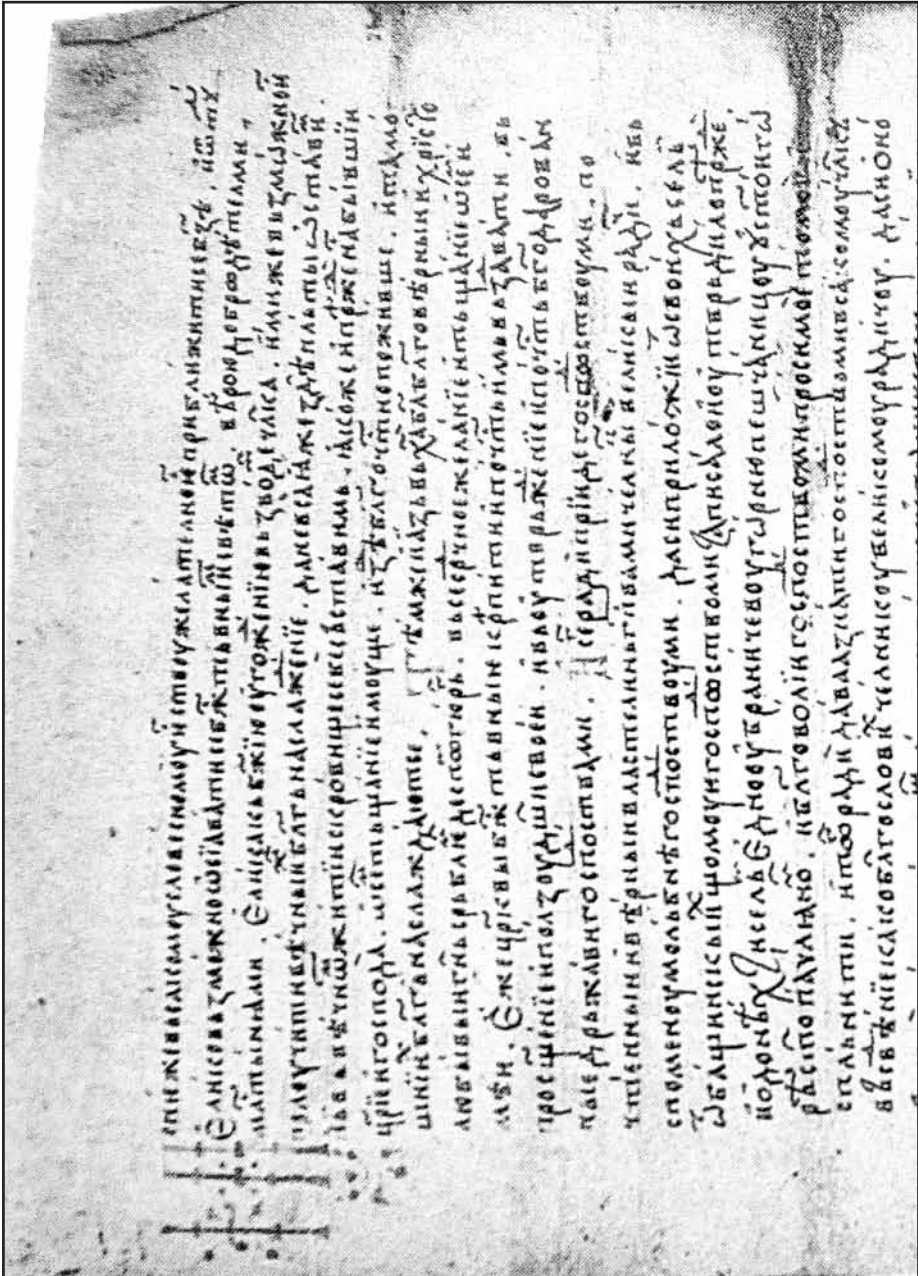


Plate no. 29. Act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7. ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ CONFIRMING THE DONATION OF THE VILLAGE OF GORNJA PEŠČANICA NEAR BRANIČEVO WHICH THE ČELNIK RADIČ HAD MADE TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, after July 1429, photograph 2 (Ταχιάος, Σλαβικά ἔγγραφα, 557, no. 15.2).

ЧИЕМЪ ИМЪ ВЪ РЪКАХЪ И ВЪ ЛЕПЕЛНИКАХЪ И ВЪ МАНИЧЕЛЪ И ВЪ МАНИСКИНЪ РЪКАХЪ, КЪ  
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Plate no. 30. Act no. 31. Serbian act no. 7. ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ CONFIRMING THE DONATION OF THE VILLAGE OF GORNJA PEŠČANICA NEAR BRANIČEVO WHICH THE ČELNIK RADIČ HAD MADE TO THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, after July 1429, photograph 3  
(Ταχιάος, Σλαβικά ἔγγραφα, 557, no. 15.2).





Plate no. 32. Act no. 33. Serbian act no. 9. SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF AN ACT WHICH THE DESPOT DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS HAD ISSUED IN ORDER TO CONFIRM THE CESSION OF TWO SHEEPFOLDS IN LEMNOS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, February 1431 (Синдик, *Простагма цара Јована VIII*, 212, photograph 2).

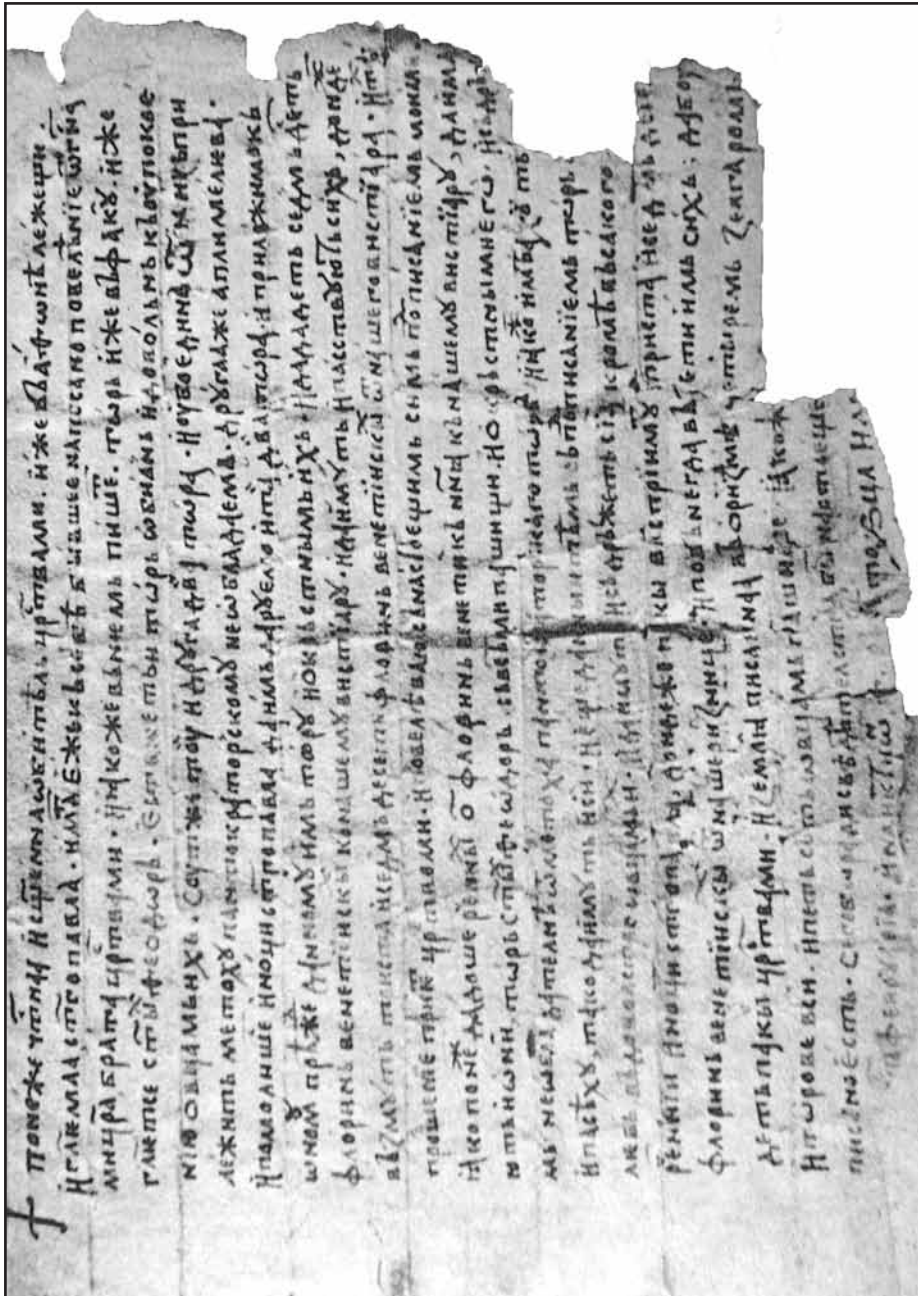


Plate no. 33. Act no. 34. Serbian act no. 10. ACT OF THE MONK SAVATIE WHO ADOPTED A PRIEST NAMED BOGDAN AND DECLARED HIM HIS HEIR, September 1434 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 10).

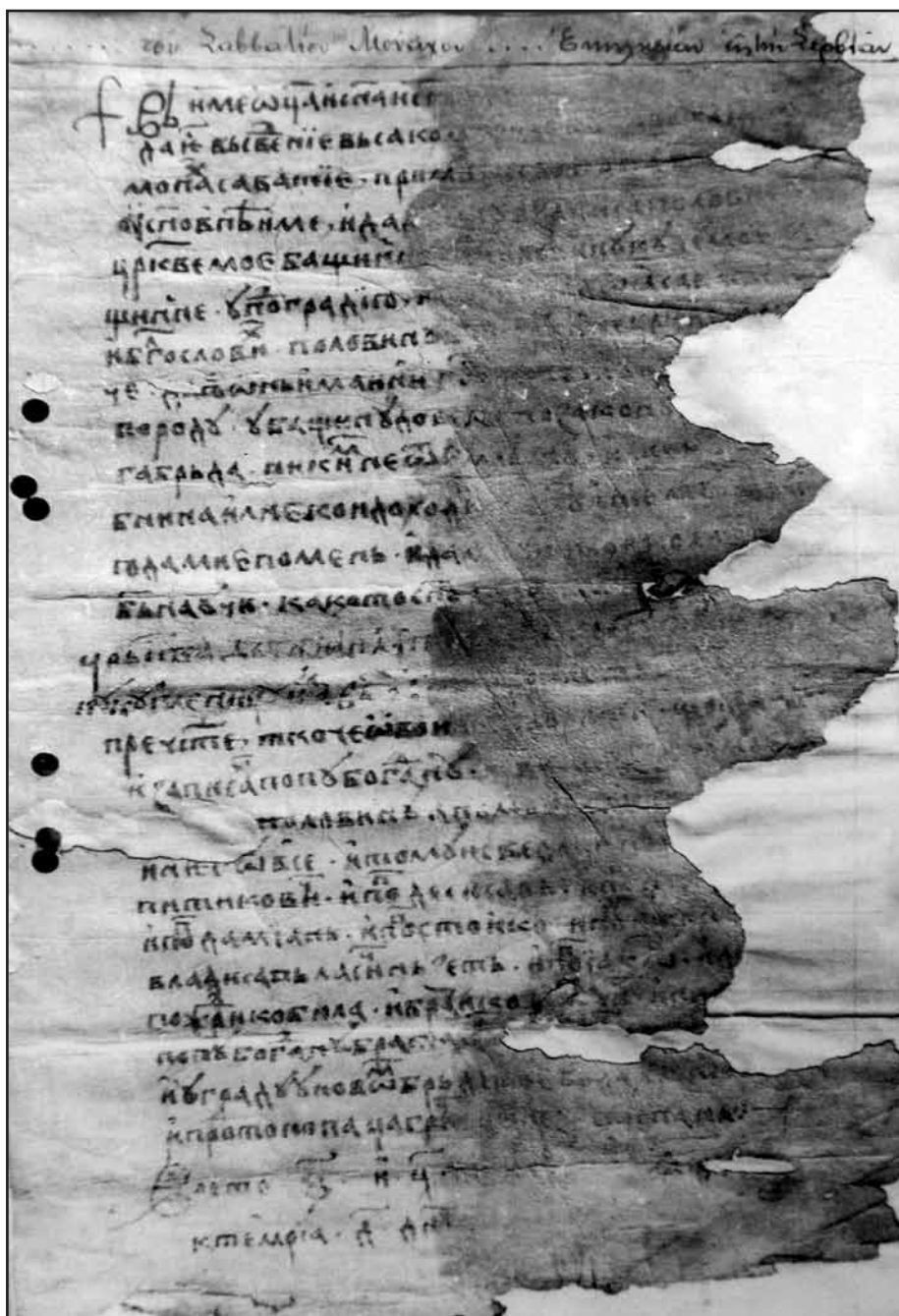




Plate no. 35. Act no. 37. DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE LEASE OF THE  
DEPENDENCY WHICH THE MONASTERY OF XENOPONTOS POSSESSED IN  
THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, October 1443

(Κοτζαγεώργης, 'Επιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου, 77).

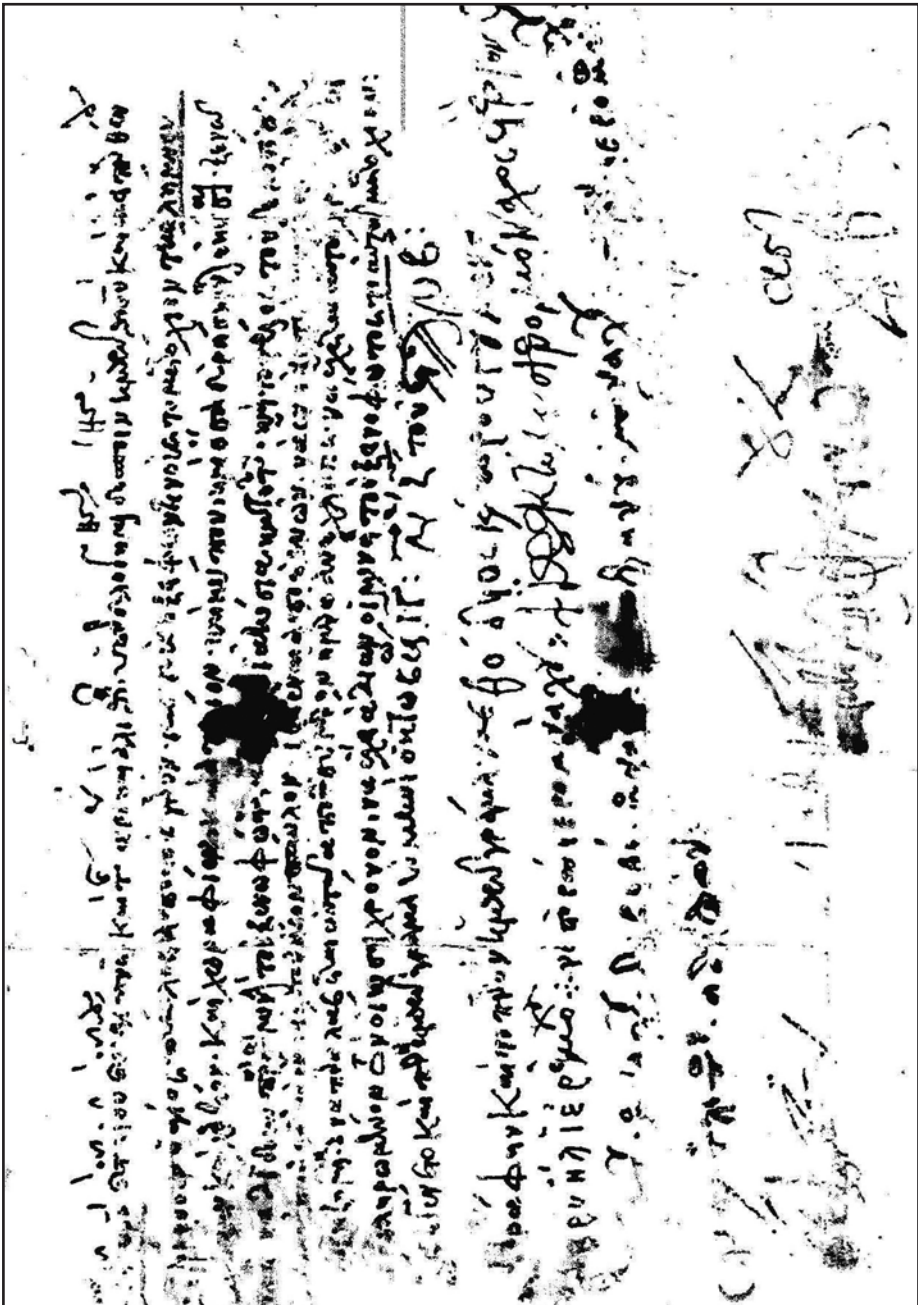


Plate no. 36. Act no. 38. DELIMITATION OF THE DEPENDENCY WHICH THE ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL POSSESSED IN THE PENINSULA OF KASSANDRA, April 1445. Variant 1 (Κοτζαγεώργης, Έπιτομὲς Ἀγίου Παύλου, 70).

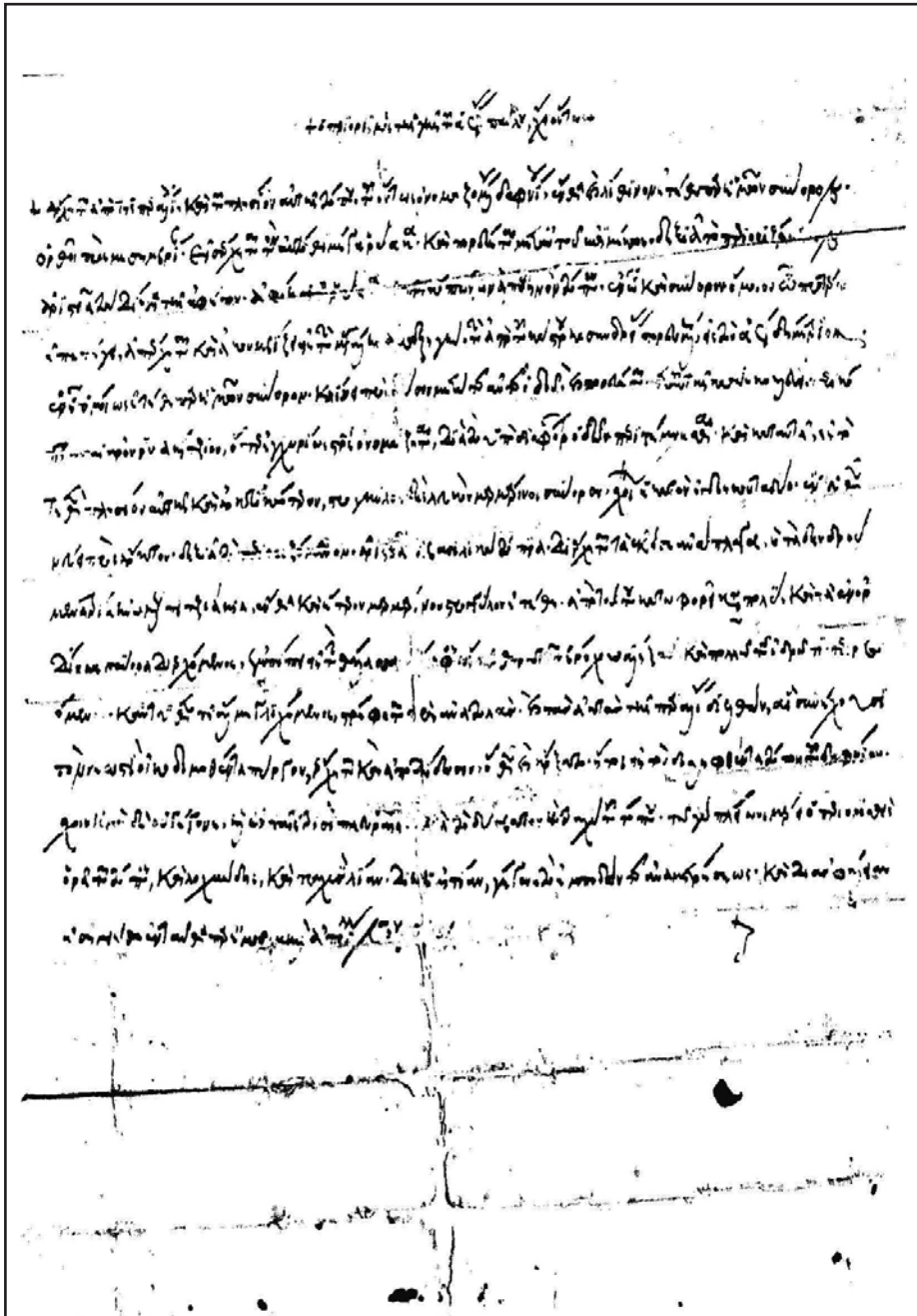






Plate no. 39. Act no. 40. Serbian act no. 12. ACT OF A CERTAIN NOVAK AND HIS WIFE JELA WHO ARE DONATING TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL ONE HALF OF A HOUSE WHICH THEY POSSESSED IN AN UNSPECIFIED SETTLEMENT, April 1453 (Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 192-193, document 12).

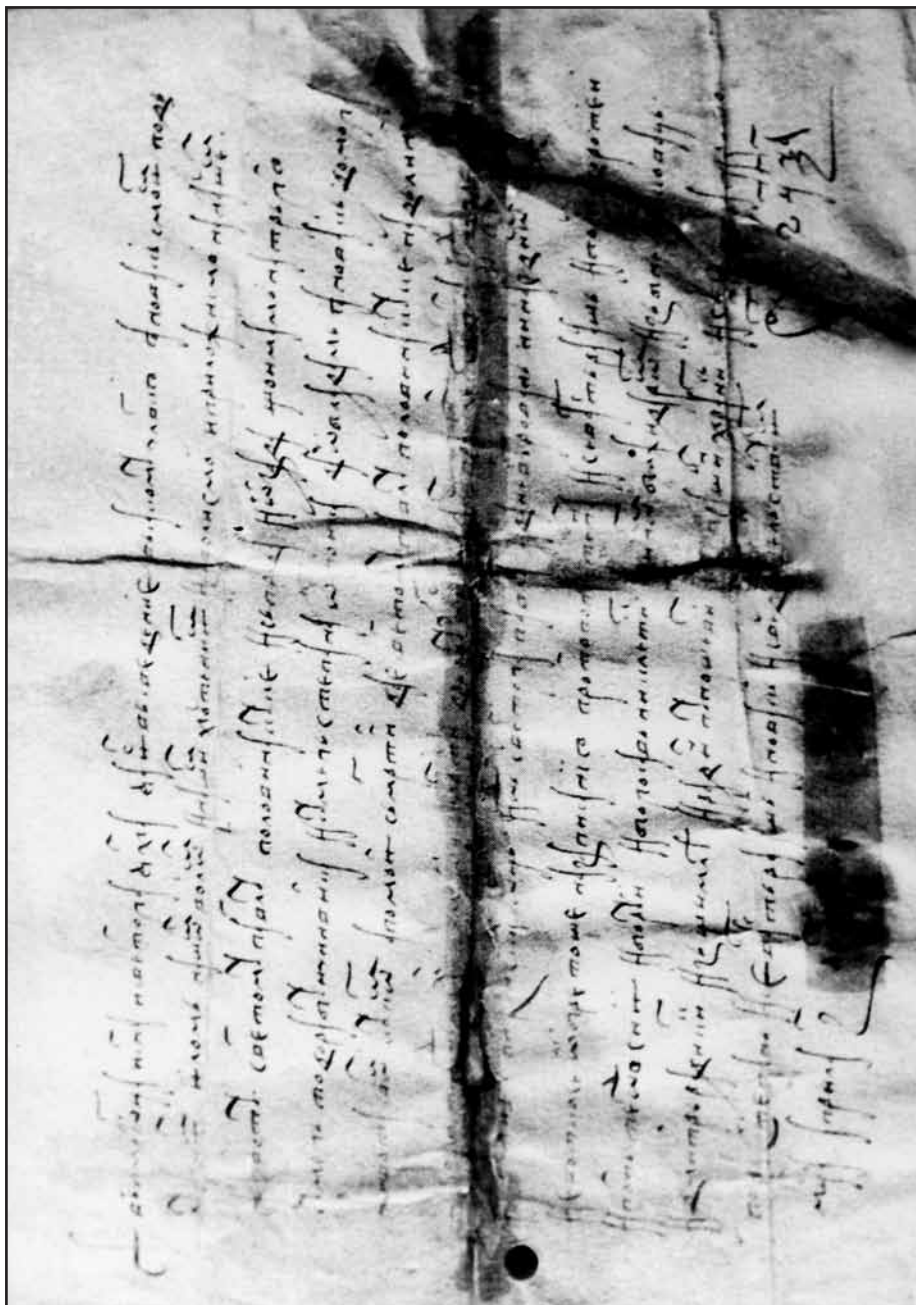


Plate no. 40. Act no. 41. DOCUMENT OF THE PROTOS SERAPION PERTAINING TO THE KELLION OF PHILOGONIΟΥ IN KARYAI, July 1456 (Χρυσοχοϊδης, Συμπληρώσεις, 466).

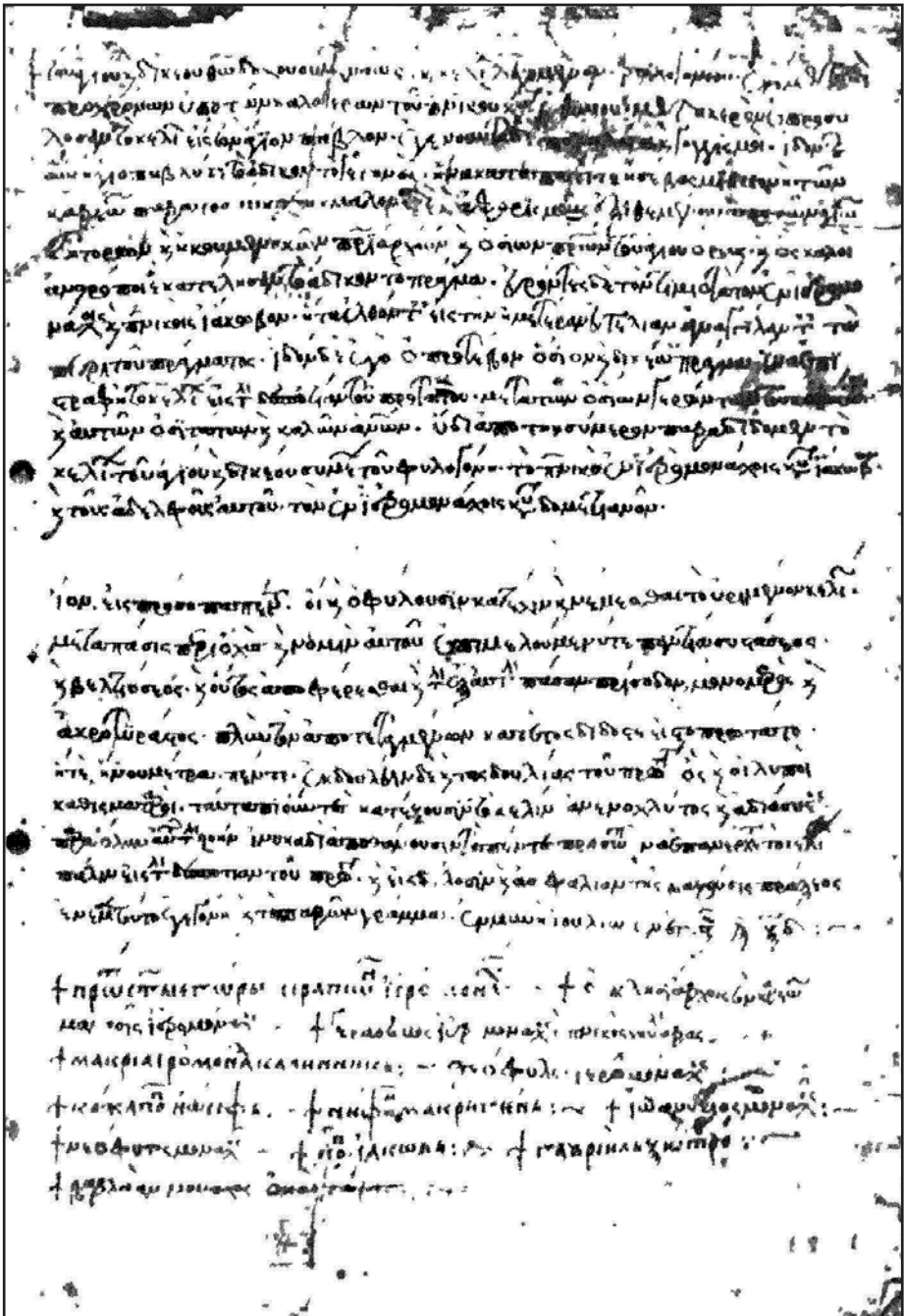


Plate no. 41. Act no. 42. Serbian act no. 13. ACT OF THE DESPOT GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ AND HIS SON LAZAR DONATING TO THE METROPOLITAN OF GRAČANICA BENEDICT THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE AT THE VILLAGE OF VRAČEVŠTICA IN CENTRAL SERBIA, September 1456 (Синдик, Српске повеље, 192-193, document 13).

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Plate no. 43. Act no. 44. Serbian act no. 14. ACT OF MARA BRANKOVIĆ GRANTING THE INCOME WHICH SHE WAS ENTITLED TO RECEIVE FROM THE VILLAGES EŽEVO AND MRAVINCE TO THE MONASTERIES OF CHILANDAR AND ST. PAUL, May 1466 (Тук, Повеља царице Марѣ, 114).

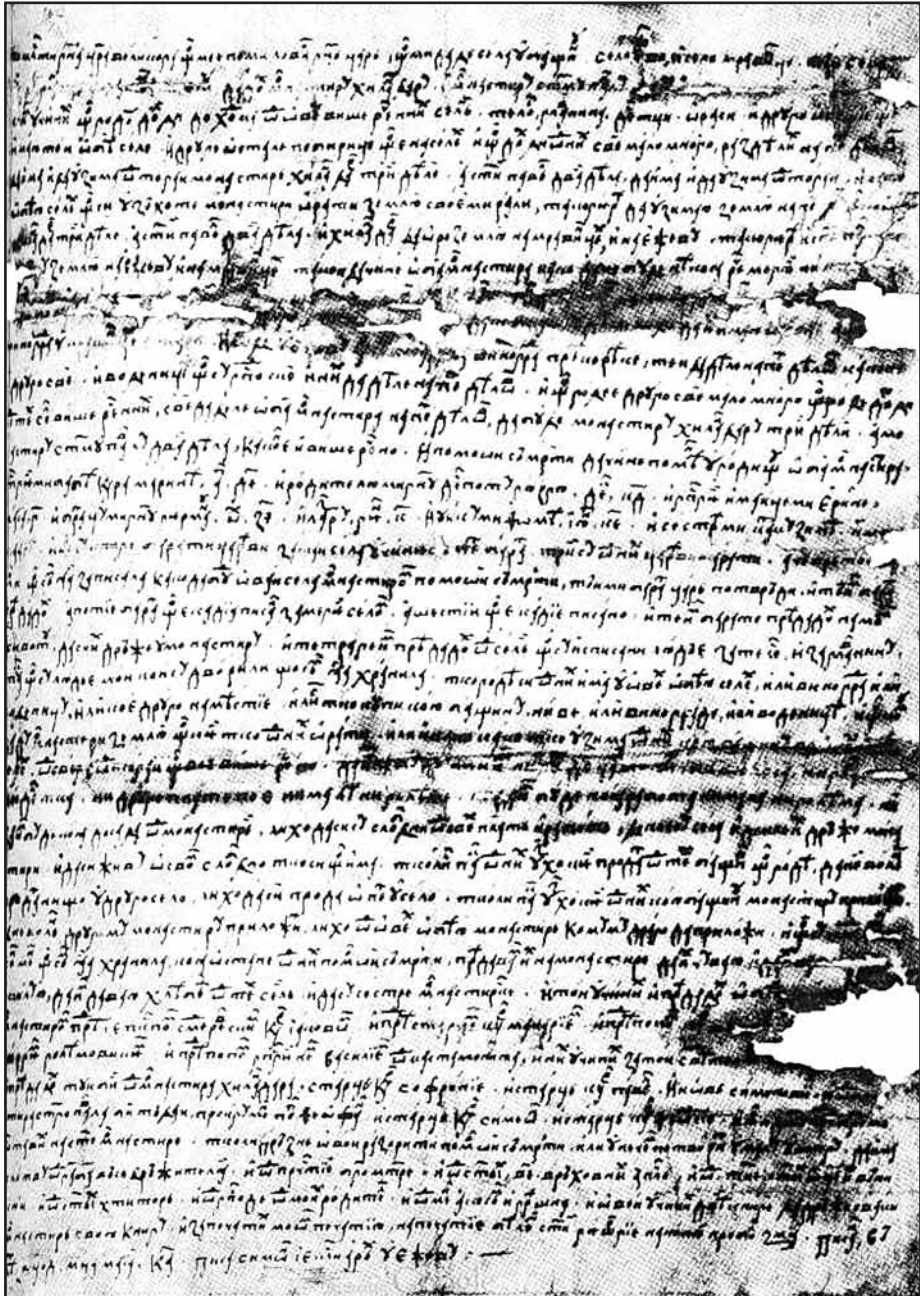


Plate no. 44. Act no. 45. ACT OF DONATION SIGNED BY MARO BRANKOVIĆ WHO BOUGHT AND BESTOWED ON THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL A TOWER IN THE ISTHMUS OF PROVLAKAS, March 1469 (Κοτζαγαώργης, 'Επιτομὲς Ἁγίου Παύλου, 85).

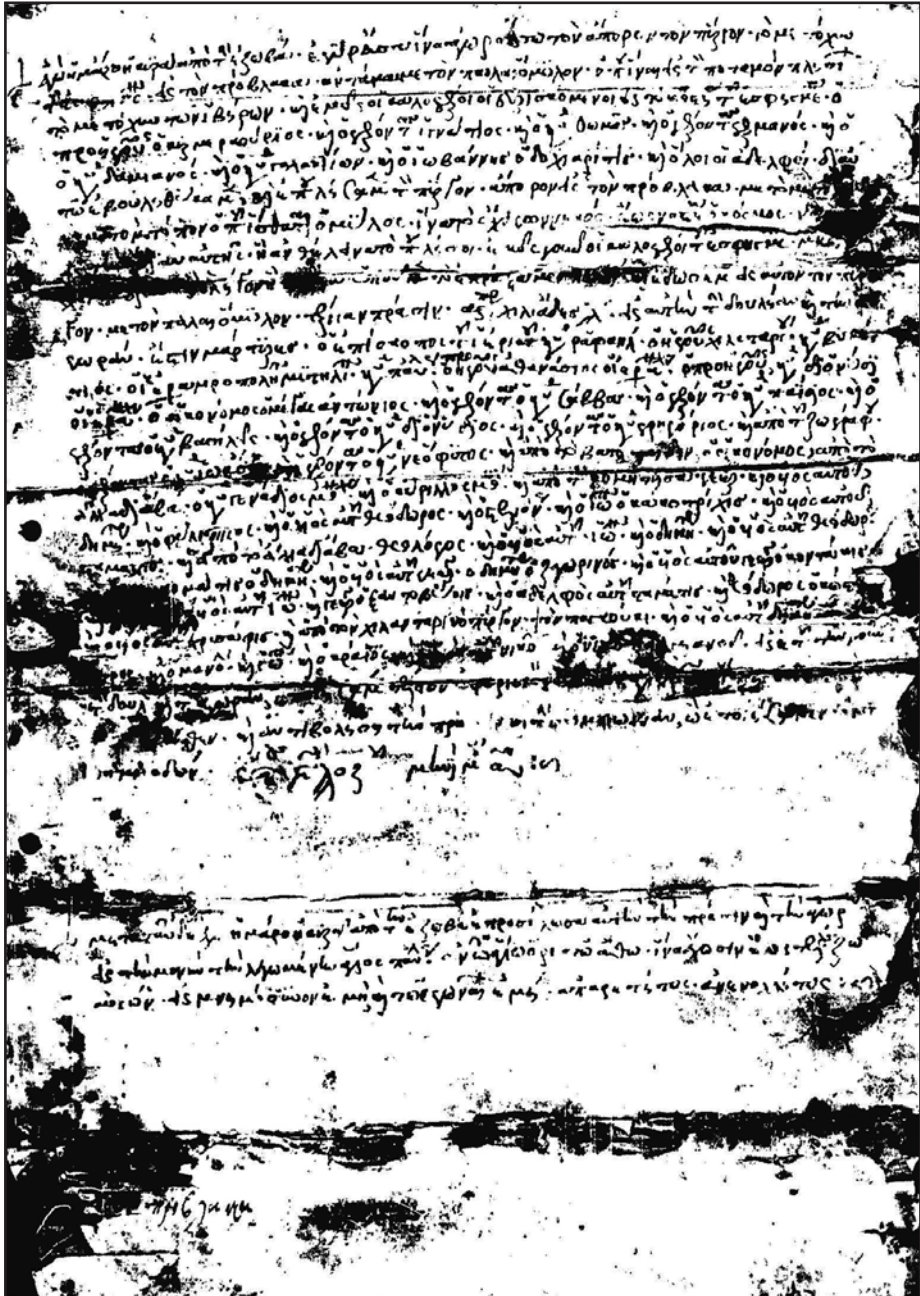


Plate no. 45. Act no. 46. Serbian act no. 15. ACT OF THE SERBIAN *DESPO*TICA ANGELINA AND HER SONS, THE DESPOTS GEORGE AND JOHN, GRANTING TO ST. PAUL A YEARLY SUBSIDY OF 500 GOLDEN COINS, November 1495, photograph 1 (Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 192-193, document 16).

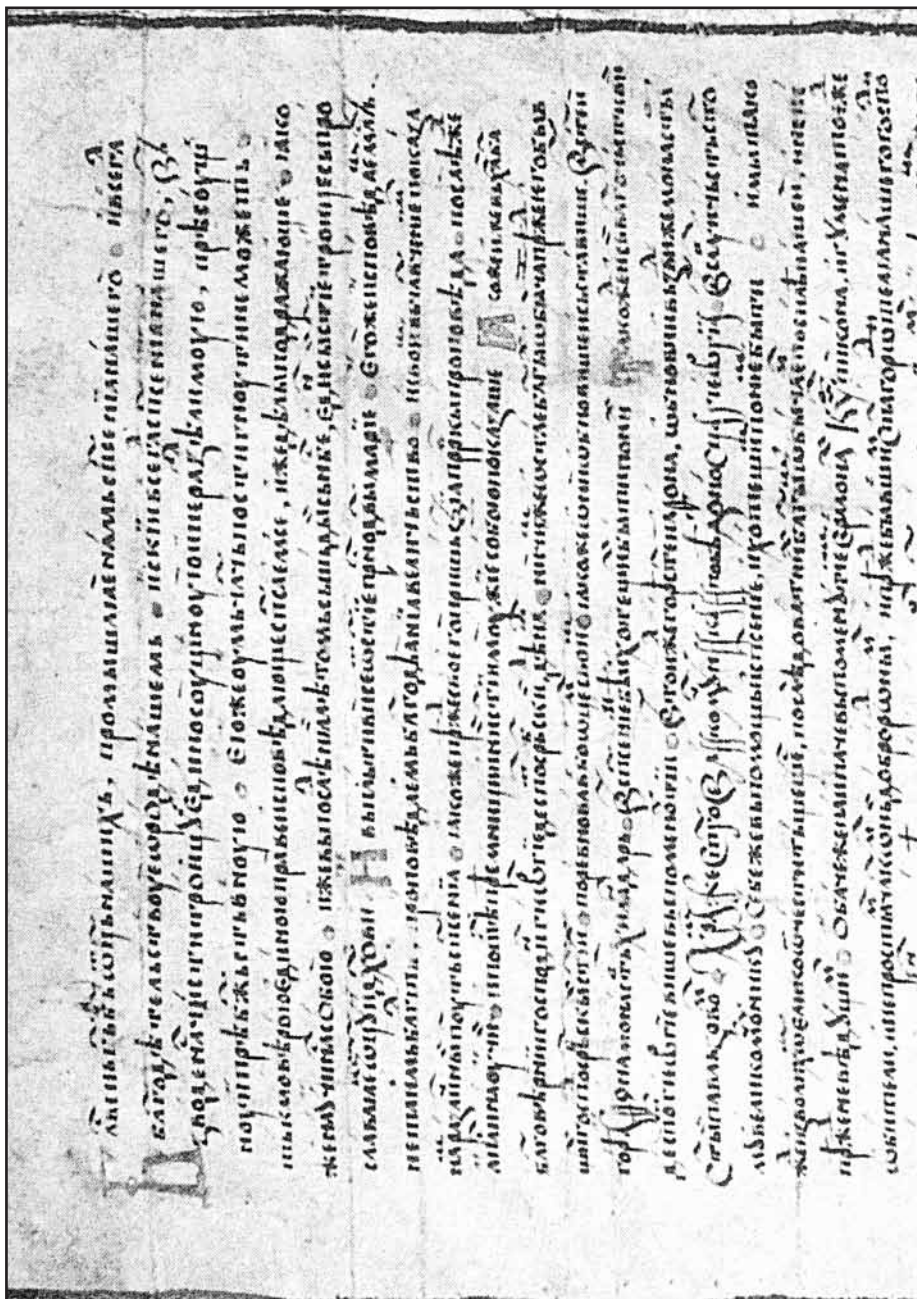




Plate no. 47. Act no. 47. SIGILLIODES GRAMMA OF THE METROPOLITAN OF THESSALONICA THEONAS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE DEPENDENCIES OF ST. PAUL AND XENOPHONTOS IN KALAMARIA, November 1538 (Χρυσσοχόδης, Ἑλληνικά ἔγγραφα, 527, no. 13.35).

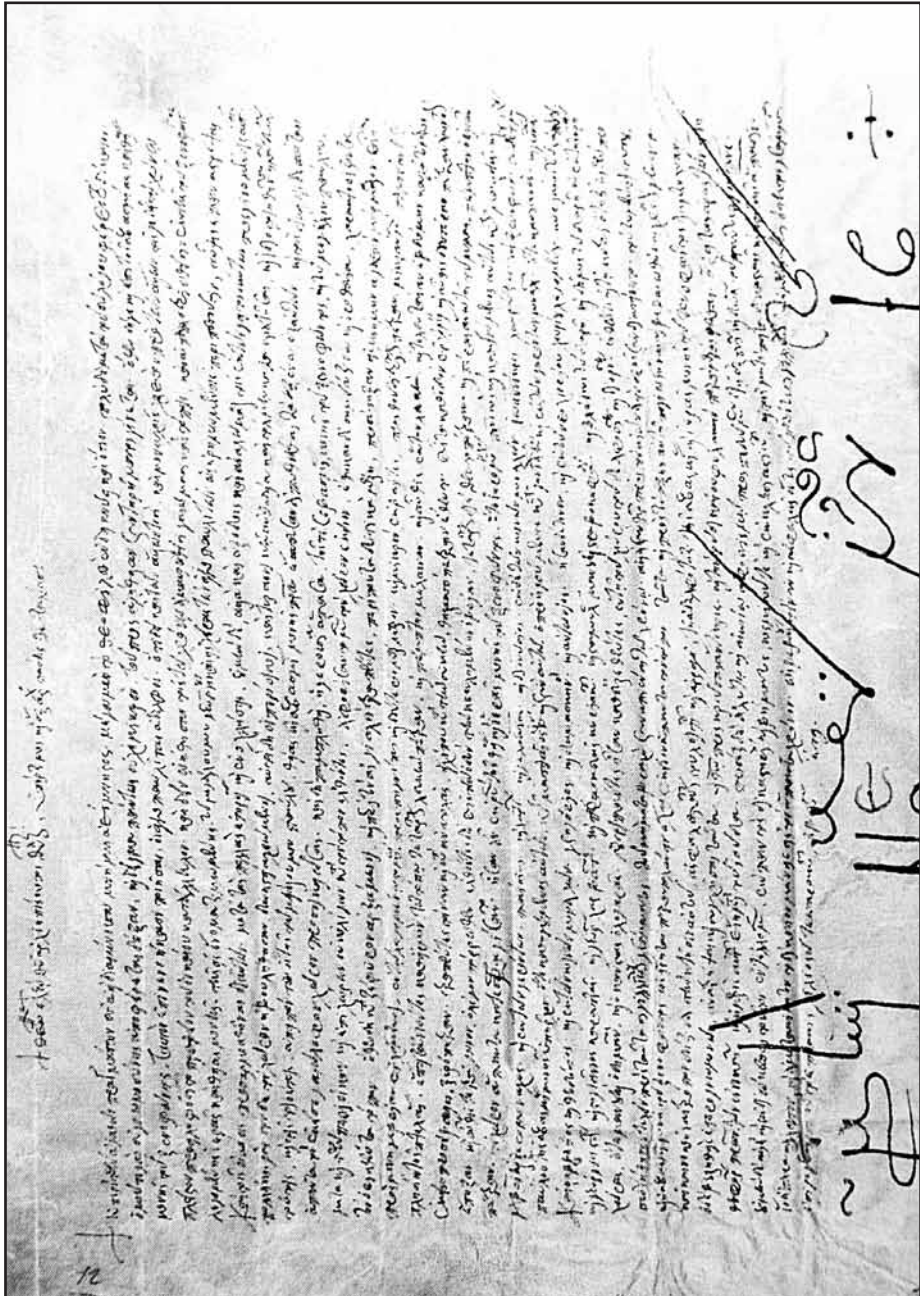






Plate no. 50. Act no. 50. Counterfeited Serbian act. FALSIFIED ACT  
 ATTRIBUTED TO THE SERBIAN NOBLEMAN STEPHEN GREGORY (STEFAN  
 GRGUR) AND HIS BROTHERS, STEPHEN GEORGE (STEFAN GJURG) AND  
 LAZAR, October 1413 (Синдик, *Српске новеле*, 192-193, document 3).

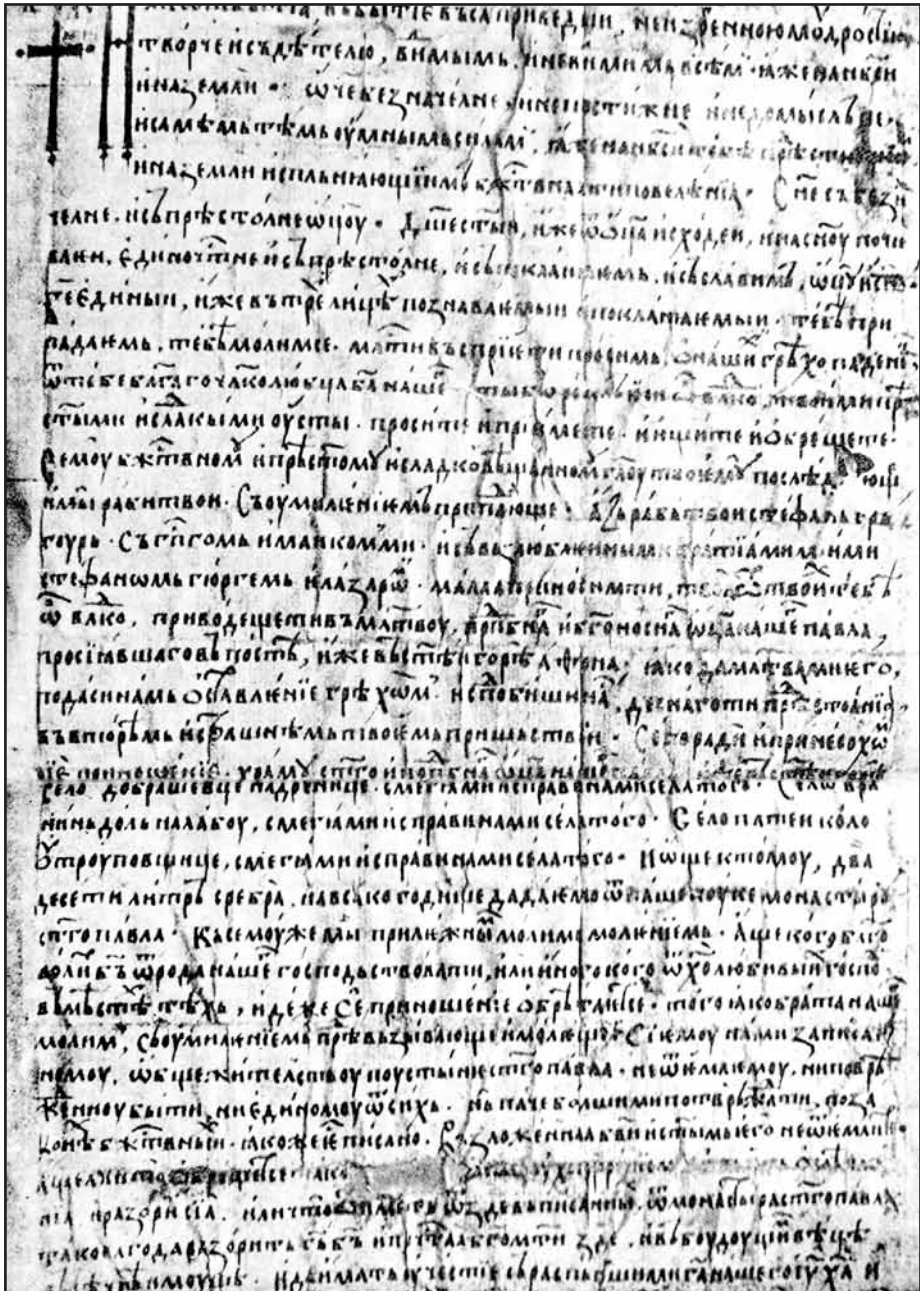
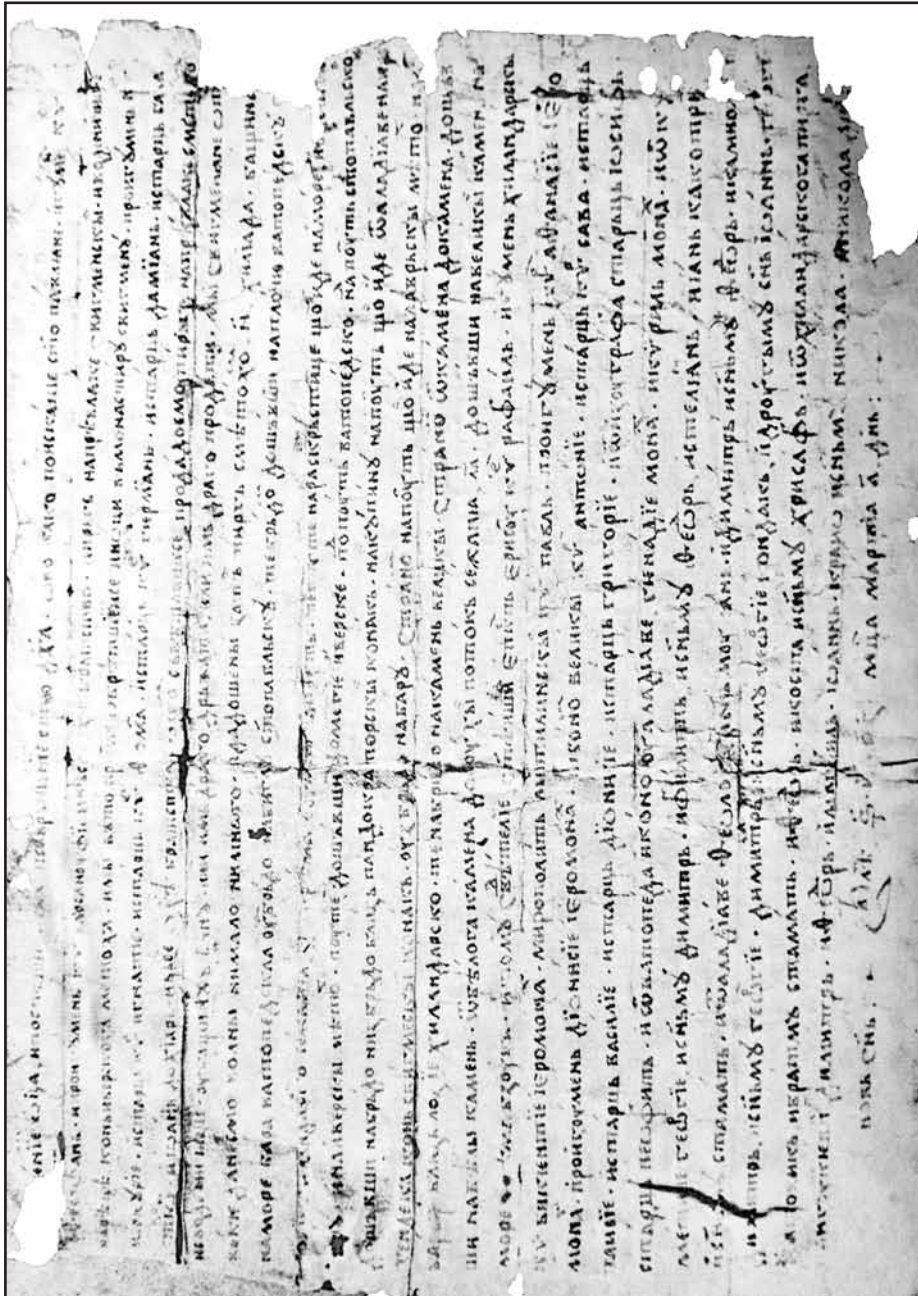
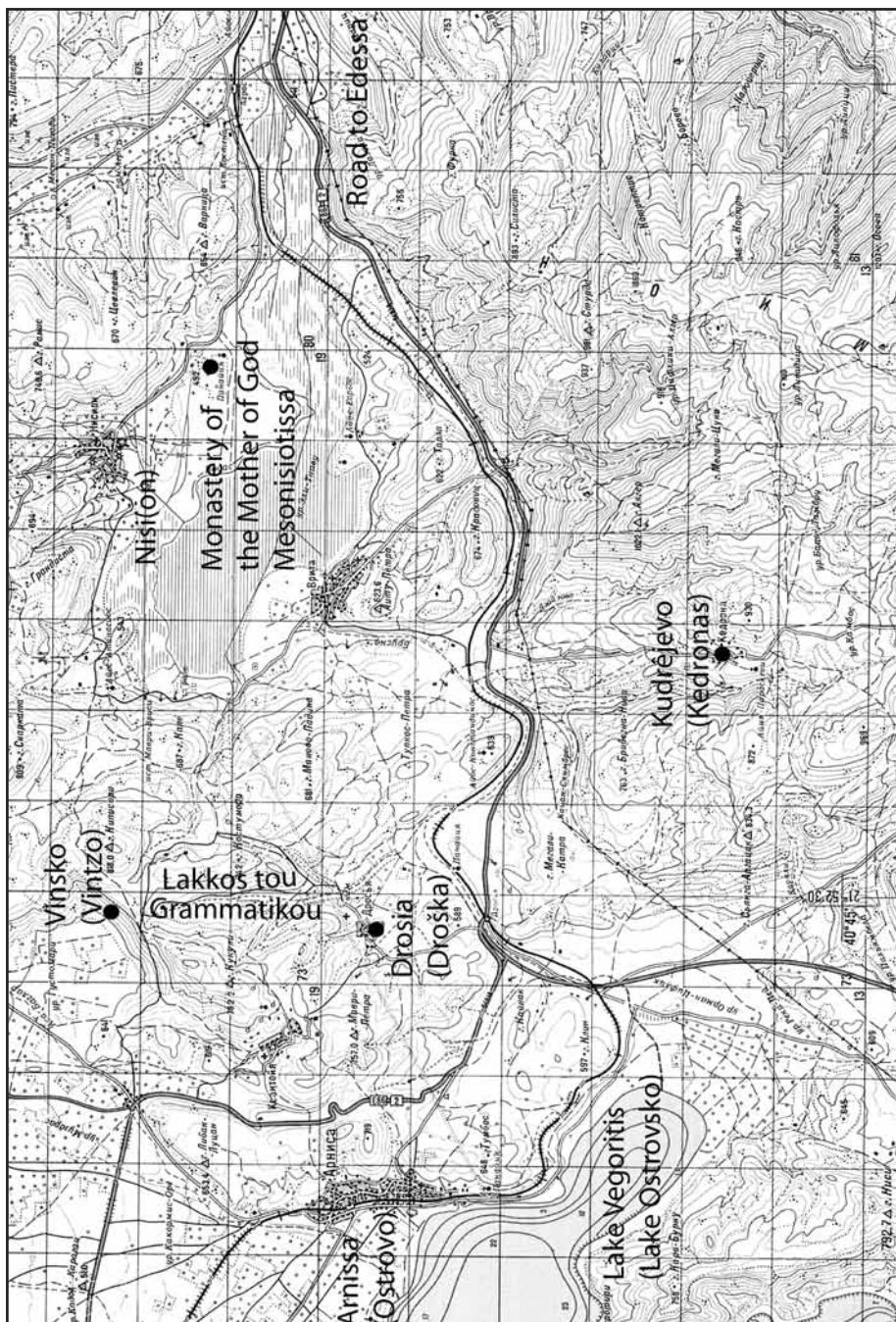


Plate no. 51. Act no. 51 B. Serbian translation of the counterfeited Greek act no. 51 A. SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF A FALSE GREEK ACT OF SALE PRESUMABLY SIGNED BY THE MONASTERIES OF ST. PAUL AND ESPHIGMENOY, March 1469 (Синдик, *Сръпске новеље*, 192-193, document 15).

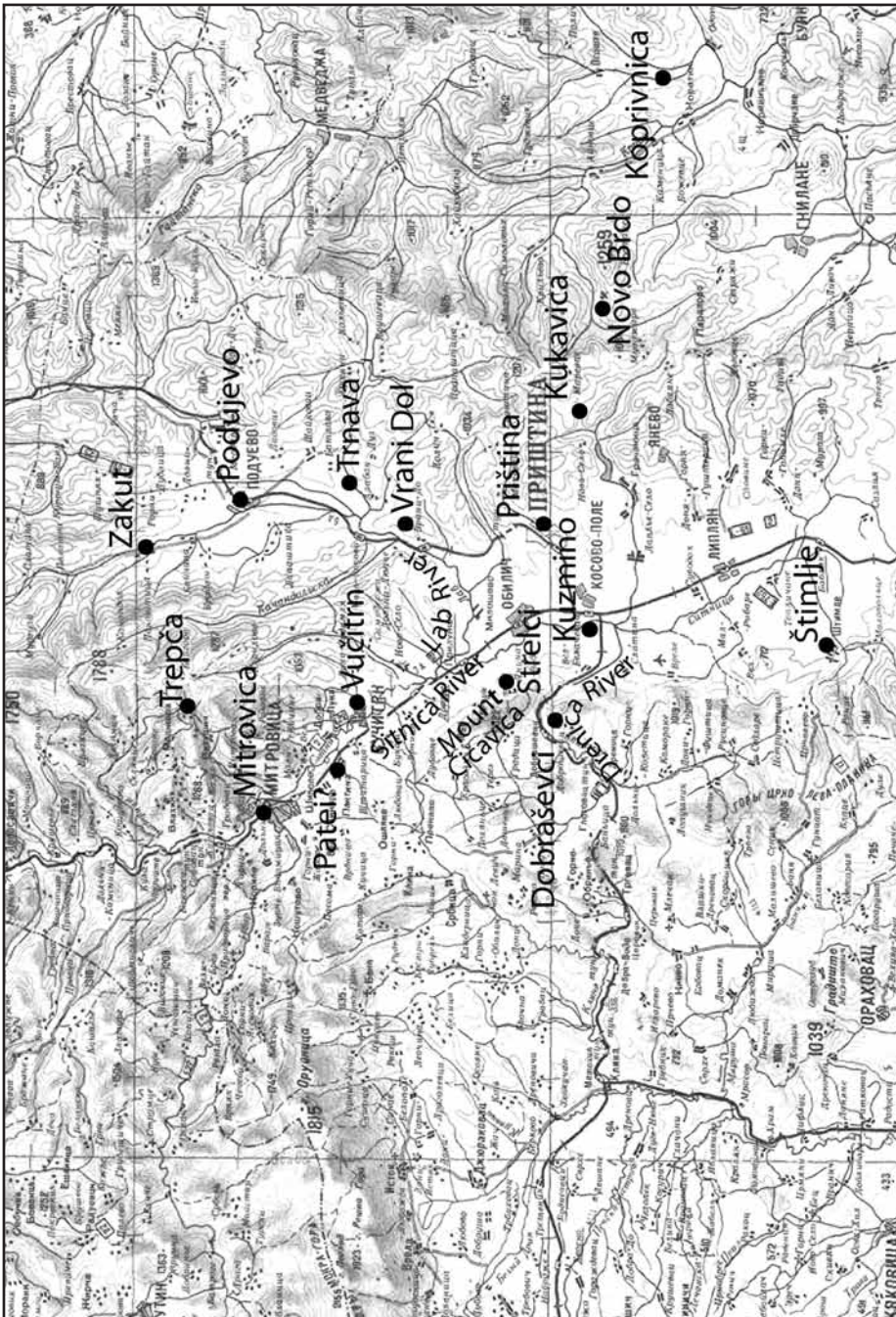


# MAPS OF THE PROPERTIES OF ST. PAUL

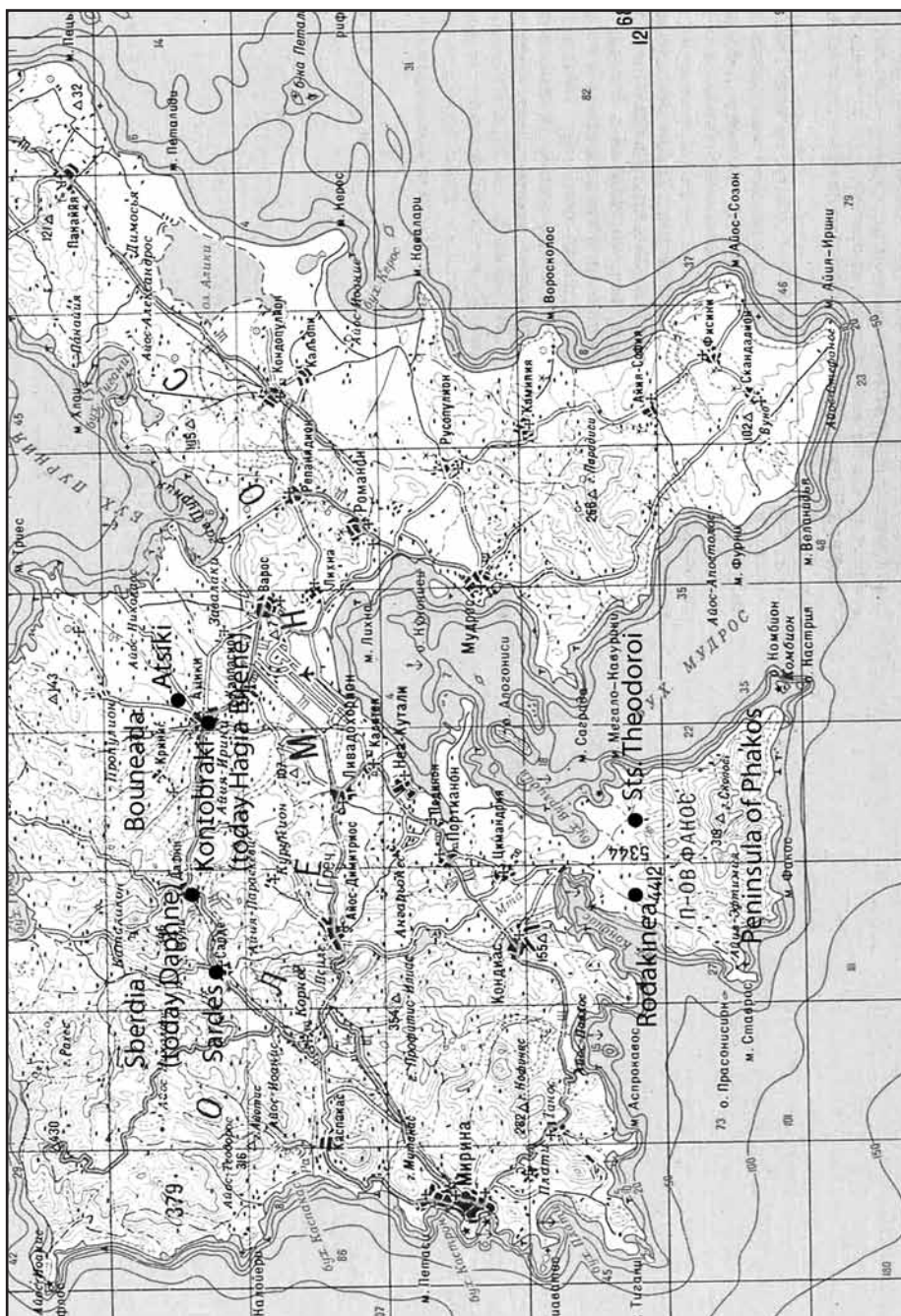
Map no. 1. The Monastery of Mesonisiotiss to the west of the town of Edessa (Voden).



Map no. 2. Properties donated to the Monastery of St. Paul around the town of Priština in Serbia.



Map no. 3. Properties of the Monastery of St. Paul in the island of Lemnos.



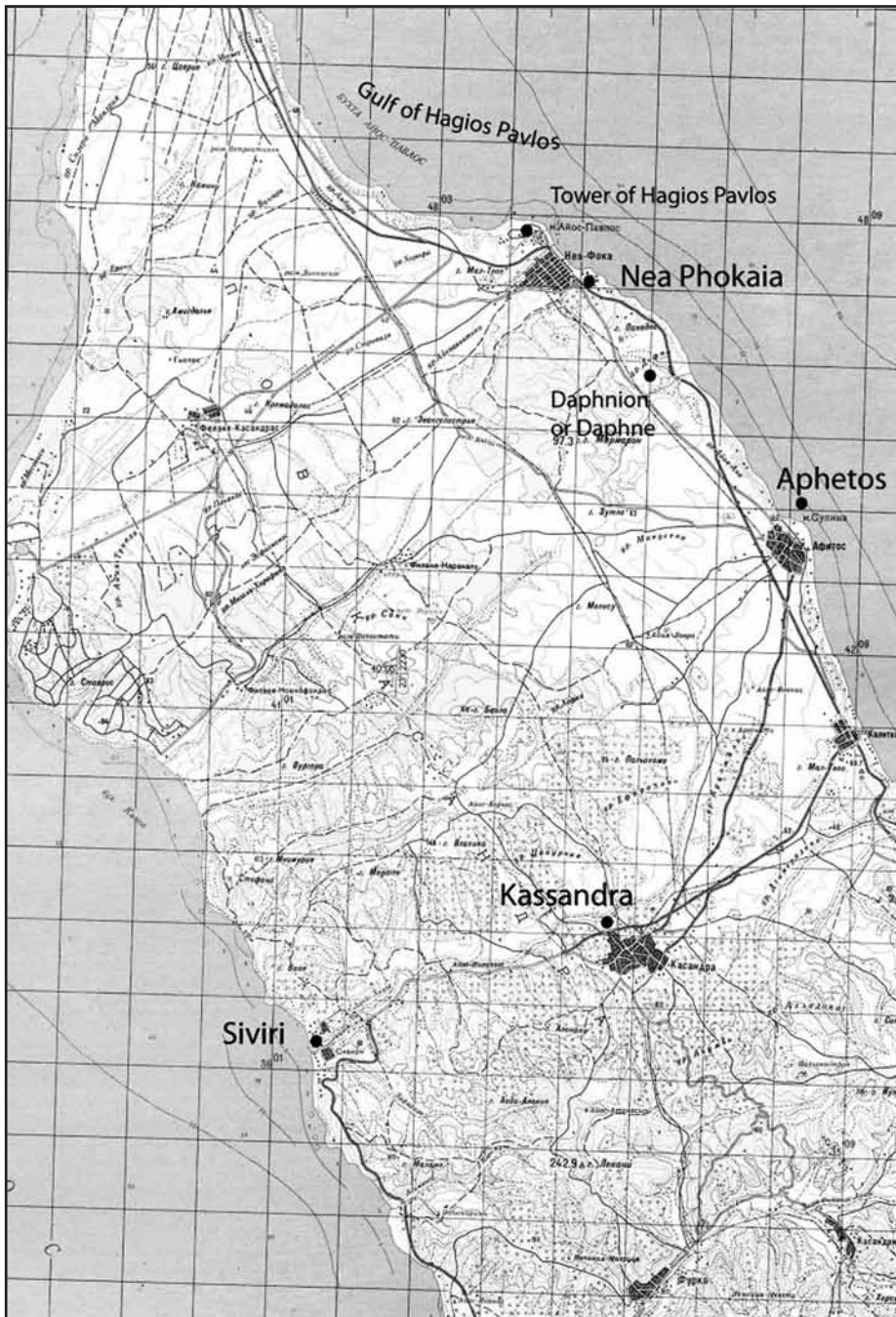
Map no. 4. Properties donated to the Monastery of St. Paul around the villages of Vrakjevštica and Rudnik in Serbia.



**Map no. 5.** The Monastery of St. Paul and its Athonite neighbours.



Map no. 6. Properties donated to the Monastery of St. Paul in the northern part of the peninsula of Kassandra.





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Prof. Dr. Cyril **P. Pavlikianov**, Dr. Habilitatus (D.Sc.), Ph.D., M.A. was born in Sofia in 1965. He obtained his Ph.D. degree in Byzantine History at the National and Capodistrian University of Athens in 1998. He was Assistant Professor of Modern Greek Philology in 1998–2001, and Associate Professor of Byzantine Literature in 2001–2007 at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology of the University of Sofia “St. Kliment Ohridski”.

In 2004 he obtained the scientific degree of Doctor Habilitatus (Doctor Scientiarum) in Mediaeval History, and in 2007 was elected full Professor of Byzantine Philology and Palaeography in the University of Sofia.

His most important monographs are:

1. The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos, Sofia 2001.
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