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The Codices of the Bishoprics as a source of Social History

The so-called Codices of the Bishoprics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate are a valuable but little explored and appreciated source for the period of Ottoman rule. Until recently, it has been used mainly by Church and Law historians, usually within the narrow confines of their specific fields.¹ The various published lists of Bishops and Metropolitans, as well as the history of their Sees, owe a lot to those Codices that have survived.² However, it is only fairly recently that we encounter attempts to approach and exploit this source in a more general and productive way.³

There are many extant, known registers of this kind, but many more have been irretrievably lost; some others may have survived but have not yet been found or identified. The present paper is based on the Codices of seventeen Bishoprics, a number of which have been fully or partially published, while

¹ Κ. Ι. ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, «Συμβολαί εις την Εκκλησιαστικήν Ιστορίαν της Μητροπόλεως Λαρίσης», *Ιερός Σύνδεσμος*, 12 (17 Nov. 1916, 15 May 1917) p. 277–282 and *Νομοκανονικαί μελέται*. II, *Το διαζύγιον κατά τους κώδικας 1471 και 1472 της Βιβλιοθήκης του ημετέρου Πανεπιστημίου*. Αθήναι 1917, τ. Α΄, p. 55–105. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ Σ. ΓΚΙΝΗΣ, «Οι λόγοι διαζυγίου επί Τουρκοκρατίας», *Αριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Σχολής Νομικών και Οικονομικών Επιστημών, Μνημόσυνον Περικλέους Βιζουκίδου*, 8 (1960), p. 239–284. One can find a list of the by that time published divorce deeds granted by the Episcopal courts and included in the respective codices on p. 252. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΑ, «Το διαζύγιο στην Κοζάνη κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας», *Η Κοζάνη και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία – Πολιτισμός. Πρακτικά Α΄ Συνεδρίου Σεπτέμβριος 1993*. Κοζάνη 1993, p. 97–111.

² See, for example, ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, op. cit., *Ιερός Σύνδεσμος*, 12 (1916–1917), p. 277–282, for the Metropolitans of Larisa, whose contribution was later incorporated into all subsequent lists.

³ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΣΑΒΟΡΙΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *Νησιωτικές κοινωνίες στο Αιγαίο. Η περίπτωση της Ρόδου και της Κω πριν και μετά τις οθωμανικές μεταρρυθμίσεις (18–19^{ος} αιώνας)*, εκδόσεις Τροχαλία και Δήμος Ρόδου, α.χ.; ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΣΙΣΑΛΟΥΔΑΚΙ, *Pouvoirs et professions des Communautés Chrétiennes urbaines dans l'empire ottoman (XVIIe–XIX siècles: Serès, Philip- popoli, Kozani, Larissa*. Thèse de Doctorat de l'Université de Paris I, I–II, 2000.

others still remain unpublished. Of the latter, some I have been able to see and to research their contents properly; of the rest I have only partial knowledge. It has to be added that the published descriptions and the complete or partial editions of most of these Codices usually present so many problems that in many cases we do not really have a clear knowledge of their actual contents, as we shall immediately discuss.

Each Codex covers a different period.⁴ We cannot really make assumptions about those that have been lost, but most of those that survive start in the eighteenth century. Codices of the sixteenth century are extremely rare. The first two Codices of the Metropolis of Kastoria, both of which survive in very bad condition, date from that century. The second one also has acts dating from the seventeenth century.⁵ Some Codices of other Bishoprics contain a rather limited number of documents of the second half of the seventeenth century, while their greatest part covers the eighteenth, and often extends into the nineteenth century. The most frequently encountered Codices are those which begin in the second half of the eighteenth century, extend into the greatest part of nineteenth, and sometimes well into the twentieth century. Many Codices start at some point of the eighteenth and continue into the twentieth century. A few that we know of extend as far as 1970, as does the Codex of the Metropolis of Ioannina,⁶ and even up to the present day, as is the case with the Codex of the Metropolis of Kerkyra, which includes the act of the election of the present metropolitan Nektarios in 2002.

In many Bishoprics there used to be a long series of such Codices covering equally long periods of time and different aspects of local Church affairs. However, today, large gaps usually exist in these series, and occasionally in the documents of a specific Codex. We know, for example, of the existence of a Codex that was destroyed in the course of wars, namely the Codex of the Metropolis of Rhodes, which contained documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was partly damaged in 1825–1829, and finally

⁴ See p. 86.

⁵ E.B.E. (National Library of Greece), Ms 2751 and Ms 2752. See, ΠΑΝΤΕΛΗΣ ΤΣΑΜΙΣΗΣ, *Η Καστοριά και τα μνημεία της*. Αθήνα 1949, p. 96–100. ΦΙΛΑΡΕΤΟΣ ΒΑΦΕΙΔΗΣ, «Κώδιξ της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Καστοριάς και τινά εκκλησιαστικά βιβλία αποκείμενα εν τισι των εκκλησιών αυτής», *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, 24 (1900), p. 123–125. *Ταξίδι στον κόσμο των χειρογράφων. Κατάλογος Έκθεσης Χειρογράφων Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης*. Αθήνα 2004, p. 120–121.

⁶ ΜΑΙΡΗ ΖΑΓΚΛΗ-ΜΠΟΖΙΟΥ, «Αρχείο Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Ιωαννίνων», *Αρχειακά Νέα*, 20, Febr. 2002, p. 33–36.

completely destroyed during the bombings of 1943 during World War II.⁷ Several Codices belong to the same Bishopric, and some of these survive, while others have been irretrievably lost. Two Codices of Monemvasia and Kalamata, two of Paronaxia and three of the Bishopric of Metron and Athyra have survived.⁸ In some cases Codices that have been lost were inadvertently or deliberately destroyed in past turbulent times; a few were transferred from the place where they were kept and hidden elsewhere, and have gone missing ever since, as has happened with the Codices of Serres, Achrida and Philippoupolis.⁹

In those few cases where a very great number of Codices have survived, scholars are faced with a vast amount of material, none of which has yet been published or properly catalogued. The approximately 340 Codices of the Metropolis of Ioannina, not to mention the over 280,000 loose documents,¹⁰ is perhaps the best example: it starts in the seventeenth century with the archives of the monasteries (1617–20th c.) and, including five more archives, extends to the second half of the twentieth century. The Codices of the Metropolis proper start in the nineteenth century and extend to 1970.

⁷ ΣΑΒΟΡΙΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΔΗΣ, *Ο κώδιξ της Μητροπόλεως Καστοριάς, 1665–1769 (Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης Ελλάδος 2753)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1990. ΝΙΚΟΣ Α. ΒΕΗΣ «Εκφρασις Κώδικος Μονεμβασίας καὶ Καλαμάτας», *Δελτίον Ιστορικής καὶ Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος [ΔΙΕΕΕ]*, 6 (1903), p. 186–208; IDEM «Ο τρίτος κώδιξ της Μητροπόλεως Μονεμβασίας καὶ Καλαμάτας», *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*, 6 (1957), p. 3–57. ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ Ι. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, «Ο κώδιξ Α΄ της Μητροπόλεως Παροναξίας», *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 164–172, 200–204, 239–249, 275–281, 322–330, 405–410 and «Ο κώδιξ Β΄ της Μητροπόλεως Παροναξίας», *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 85–89, 146–149, 217–224, 286–289, 324–327. ΜΙΑΤΙΔΗΣ ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ, «Κώδικες της επισκοπής Μέτρων καὶ Αθύρα», *Θρακικά*, 5 (1934), p. 163–178.

⁹ See P. ODORICO, *Mémoire d'une Voix perdue. La Cartulaire de la Métropole de Serrès, 17e–19e siècles*. Paris 1994.

ΜΥΡΤΙΛΛΟΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *Η Ιερά της Φιλίππουπόλεως Μητρόπολις καὶ οὐ κώδικες αὐτῆς*, Αθήνα 1939–40 (Ανατύπωση του Δ΄, Ε΄, καὶ ΣΤ΄ τόμου του Αρχείου του Θρακικού Λαογραφικού καὶ Γλωσσικού Θησαυρού), p. [v], 22.

It has to be noted that the page numbering is not continuous, but adheres to the initial numbering of the periodical, without, however, giving a clear reference to the volume. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, we give the volume number in brackets). HEINRICH GELZER, *Das Patriarchat von Achrid. Geschichte und Urkunden*, Jena 1902; IDEM, *Der wiederaufgefundene Kodex des hl. Klemens und andere auf das Patriarchat von Achrida bezügliche Urkundensammlungen, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philolog. Hist. Klasse*, 1903, B. 55. J. SNEGAROV, «Νέον αντίγραφον του κώδικος της Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Αχρίδος», *Θεολογία*, 8 (1930), p. 356–362.

¹⁰ A catalogue is being prepared by Mrs Mary Zagli-Boziou, see n. 4. 6

The Bishopric of Servia and Kozani has also a very extensive archive, of which we have only a brief description and an equally brief presentation of only two of its more than 170 Codices, and a minimal knowledge of its 45 files of loose documents.¹¹ We are better acquainted with the contents of the more than 114 codices of the Metropolis of Kos.¹² In other cases where the number of the Codices is far more manageable, the state of their preservation has discouraged scholars from attempting an edition, or even a proper cataloguing. The five Codices of the Metropolis of Kastoria belong to this category. Only one of these has been presented to the public, while the two older ones, which are in poor condition, have been ignored.¹³

It is obvious that many Bishoprics had separate Codices for the various categories of the acts they had to register. Thus, besides those dedicated strictly to ecclesiastical affairs, there were separate registers for marriages, baptisms, dowry settlements, testaments, community affairs, schools, etc. On the other hand, a significant number of the surviving ones comprise the whole range of acts in just one register. Although there were no strict rules, it seems that it was more usual to have just one common Codex for all kinds of documents in older times. Later, as the variety and the sheer bulk of Church affairs increased, separate ones were established for each of the main categories of documents in order to facilitate the bureaucratic procedures. This is obviously the case for the metropolitan Codices of Servia and Kozani, and Ioannina, but it was in no way something that was generally practiced.

¹¹ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΣΙΓΓΑΛΑΣ, *Από την πνευματική ζωή των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Μακεδονίας. Α'. Αρχεία και Βιβλιοθήκαι Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*, Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Παράρτημα Α' τόμου *Επετηρίδος Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1939, p. 68–80; ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΑΘ. ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, «Ο παλαιότερος κώδιξ τῆς Επισκοπῆς Σερβίων και Κοζάνης», *Σημειώματα Ιστορικά (εκ της Δυτ. Μακεδονίας)*, Πτολεμαΐς 1939, p. 10–36; ΙΔΕΜ «Ο κώδιξ της Επισκοπῆς Σερβίων και Κοζάνης ἐτῶν 1815–1831», *Γραπτά Μνημεία ἀπό την Δυτ. Μακεδονία χρόνων Τουρκοκρατίας*, Πτολεμαΐς 1940, p. 66–85; ΙΔΕΜ, *Τα λυτά ἔγγραφα της Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης 1676–1808*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1951.

¹² ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ Σ. ΧΑΤΖΗΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, «Οι κώδικες του Αρχείου Δουλείας της Μητρόπολης Κω τῶν ἐτῶν 1688–1947 και η συμβολή τους στη μελέτη της νεότερης ιστορίας του νησιού», *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά*, 14 (1986), p. 118–124. ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ Ι. ΚΑΡΙΑΘΙΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ Κω, *Αρχείον Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Κω (Δωδεκανήσου). Τεύχος πρώτον. Ο κώδιξ Α' Αρχείου Δουλείας*, Αθήναι 1958; *Αρχείον Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Κω (Δωδεκανήσου). Τεύχος δεύτερον. Οι κώδικες Β'–ΙΑ' (2–11) Αρχείου Δουλείας*, Αθήναι 1960; and *Αρχείον Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Κω (Δωδεκανήσου). Τεύχος τρίτον. Οι κώδικες ΙΒ'–Α' Αρχείου Δουλείας*, Αθήναι 1961.

¹³ See n. 5 and 8.

The manner in which most of the Codices have been published so far does not facilitate historical research. In fact, we seldom have a complete and reliable enough edition in order to fully appreciate its contents. Complete, critical editions like that of the Metropolis of Sisanion and Siatista,¹⁴ are very rare. Historical commentary, which rarely exists, is seldom adequate. In most cases the available editions are not methodologically acceptable by modern standards, as the contents of the codices are usually published with arbitrary selectivity. The editor of the Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki,¹⁵ for example, has published a selection of a considerable number of its acts, without providing an exact description of the full contents of the Codex. At the same time he rearranged and regrouped those selected acts according to various categories, omitting several other documents, for no apparent reason.

Frequently, only those acts which were considered the most significant by the editors were published *in extenso*; the rest were presented either in a very brief abstract, or in the form of a list, or even omitted altogether. Sometimes a passage might be quoted, if it was believed to be of some importance. An editor might also use all these combinations in the editing of different codices.¹⁶

There are also editions which publish each of the surviving Codices of the same Metropolis in a different way, as it is the case for the Codices of the Metropolis of Kos. Without commenting on the manner of the critical edition, which obviously leaves a lot to be desired, we notice that the first Codex is published *in extenso*, the second Codex is only partially so, and the following Codices are published even more erratically.¹⁷ Generally, it is quite common for acts of a later date to be either entirely omitted,¹⁸ or published in the form of tables, often with no abstract whatsoever. Occasionally, a small indicative selection of some acts may be published *in extenso* at the end of a rather brief discussion of the contents of a Codex.¹⁹ There is also the case of the two Codices of the Metropolis of Paronaxia, of which

¹⁴ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ Ι. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ / ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΑ ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ – ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΗ (ΕΔ.), *Κώδιξ Μητροπόλεως Σισανίου και Σιατίστης ιζ' -ιθ' αί.*, τεύχος Α'. Θεσσαλονίκη 1974.

¹⁵ Ν. Κ. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης*, Αθήνα 1980.

¹⁶ ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *ΔΙΕΕ*, 6, (1903), p. 186–208; ΙΔΕΜ, *op. cit.*, *Επετηρίς Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου...*, 6 (1957), p. 3–57; ΙΔΕΜ, «Ο Κώδιξ της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας Ανδρου και Σύρου. Συμβολή εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν των Κυκλάδων», *Bizantiiskij Vremennik*, 20 (1914), p. 208–246. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΟΥΛΙΤΣΑΣ, «Σύνοψις του Κώδικος της Επισκοπής Δρυϊνουπόλεως και Αργυροκάστρου», *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1930), p. 76–113.

¹⁷ ΚΑΡΗΛΑΘΙΟΣ, *Αρχείον*, *op. cit.*, ΠΟΥΛΙΤΣΑΣ *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 5 (1930), p. 76–113.

¹⁸ ΠΟΥΛΙΤΣΑΣ, *Σύνοψις*.

¹⁹ ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Θρακικά*, 5 (1934), p. 163–178. ΠΕΛΑΓΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*

abstracts of their various documents have been published in an alphabetical order of the editor's invention, thus creating complete chronological confusion and making the tracing of any particular act nearly impossible, as there are no indices.²⁰

Sometimes the historical fortunes of a Codex are so complicated that they affect their published text. Such is the case for the Codex of the Archbishopric of Achrida, for which various copies made at different periods by different scribes exist, as this Codex surfaced for a period of time, only to go missing again later. Thus, its first edition is not reliable, and a new one is urgently needed.²¹ The difficult task of reconstructing the Codex of the Metropolis of Serres, missing since the Balkan Wars, from surviving copies, published documents and extracts has also been undertaken, but, despite the usefulness of the reconstruction and the great work that has been done by the editor, it obviously does not provide us with either the Codex's full contents or its original text.²²

It is also rather common to encounter a number of various documents of these Codices published as part, or as an appendix, of studies focusing on specific subjects such as divorce, the guilds, local history, etc.²³

In the prefaces of these Codices, the prelates who established them often outline the purpose and the necessity of creating such a Codex, as well as the problems they faced in this endeavour, and the solutions they adopted.

²⁰ Ι. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 164–172, 200–204, 239–249, 275–281, 322–330, 405–410; IDEM, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 85–89, 146–149, 217–224, 286–289, 324–327.

²¹ GELZER, *op. cit.* J. SNEGAROV, *op. cit.*, *Θεολογία*, 8 (1930), p. 356–362.

²² ODOMICO, *op. cit.*

²³ As it is beyond the purpose of this paper to offer a complete bibliography on this subject, we give just as an indication three examples: See n. 1 and, among others, the collected relevant bibliography for the Codex of the metropolis of Castoria (E.B.E. 2753) in ΠΕΛΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 4. The Codices of Larissa (E.B.E. 1472) and those of Servia and Kozani offer more examples of the use that has been made of them by scholars. See ΕΛΕΝΗ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΜΑΤΗ-ΤΣΟΥΓΚΑΡΑΚΗ, «Συμβολή στην ιστορία της οικονομικής, κοινωνικής και εκπαιδευτικής ζωής της Λάρισσας κατά την Τουρκοκρατία», *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, 3 (1990), p. 255–232, where older bibliography is included. Π. ΔΕΛΙΑΛΗΣ, «Συμβολαί εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν της Κοζάνης. Αμφια χρυσοκέντητα εκ του ιερού ναού του Αγίου Νικολάου Κοζάνης του 16^{ου}–19^{ου} αι.», «*Οικοδομή*», *Επετηρίς της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Σερβίων και Κοζάνης*, Κοζάνη 1958, p. 317–334; IDEM «Συμβολαί εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν της Κοζάνης. Γ' – Αργυρά ιερά σκεύη της εκκλησίας του Αγίου Νικολάου Κοζάνης. Δ' – Τα οικονομικά της εκκλησίας του Αγίου Νικολάου Κοζάνης των ετών 1746–1782», «*Οικοδομή*», *Επετηρίς Εκκλησιαστική και Φιλολογική της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Σερβίων και Κοζάνης*, Έτος Β' (1959), Κοζάνη 1960, p. 17–72, 201–216, 217–272.

An example of a very concise caption reads: 'This volume was composed in the days of the humble Dositheos, Bishop of Dryinoupolis and Argyrokastro, in which are recorded acts of various affairs of the Church as well as various exact copies of letters, to be retained for posterity and times of need.'²⁴

In some cases, it is mentioned that there used to be older Codices of the diocese, which, however, were either totally or partially destroyed. On other occasions, the previous Codex did not prove satisfactory to a new prelate, who abolished it so that he could introduce a new system of records. One such instance can be found in the example of Cyril, Metropolitan of Philippoupolis, who established one new register for the recording of ecclesiastical acts and relevant correspondence, and a second one for the accounts of the churches, hospitals and schools.²⁵ In fact it is rather common to encounter different registers, each for a different aspect of Church affairs, as we have already noted.

There are frequent references to the difficulties faced by the new prelates in collecting and collating the dispersed material of the older archive of a Bishopric. For example, in 1769, the Archbishop of Andros and Syros, Ioasaf, observes this phenomenon with understandable surprise: '... neither registers, nor method and order in Church affairs have been found, but to the contrary, only disarray, disorder and great barbarism ... Because we have found some copies made by my predecessor, the reverend Philotheos, and drawn from ancient and rotting codices of the previous prelates of this Archbishopric, signed and printed so that they are remembered by future generations, here we record them, as they are necessary, identical, and unchanged, as they were; so much so, that we have only failed to imitate the errors in spelling and syntax of that barbaric scribe.'²⁶

The Metropolitan of Monemvasia and Kalamata, Nicodemos Vavatenis, who had a similar experience, writes in 1700: 'Woe is me, for the misery of our nation, and the great devastation. For, together with its sovereignty, it lost its freedom, its valour, its nobility and the knowledge which is given by philosophy ... This is why there are no more chroniclers and Church historians, why the Church registers have rotted away, and, especially here in the Peloponnese, where, despite my efforts in all the counties, I have only found but some few, chaotic remnants, which the current prelates keep as,

²⁴ ΠΟΥΛΙΤΣΑΣ, *op. cit.*, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1930), *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁵ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁶ ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Vizantiskij Vremennik*, 20 (1913), p. 220.

and consider to be, codices'.²⁷ In his investigations, Nicodemos did not find the first Codex of his Metropolis, which had been partially composed by the Archbishop of Philadelphia, Gabriel Seviros, and which contained acts of the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, this Codex was kept in the Library of Turin, but it was lost in a fire in 1904.²⁸ A fire also destroyed in 1757 the first of the many Codices of the Bishopric of Servia and Kozani; the oldest now surviving is the one that was established to replace it.²⁹ The necessity of the preservation of the documents was also stated as the reason for the compilation of the third Codex of the above-mentioned Metropolis,³⁰ and it is also repeated in the preface of the third Codex of Philippoupolis.³¹

The situation just described, in combination with the inclusion of copies of acts and deeds of various dates in the codices of later periods, explains the chronological discontinuity and interweaving, the long periods of silence, the occasional repetitions, and to a large extent the lack of chronological order that characterises this source.

Nevertheless, despite their fragmentary nature, the contents of these registers are especially rich, since they fully reflect the multifaceted role of the Church. The acts which refer exclusively to ecclesiastical matters are only one of the categories of documents that these Codices comprise, and sometimes it is not the largest one. In the case of the Codex of the Metropolis of Sisanion and Siatista hardly any strictly ecclesiastical documents are included, which can only mean that there had been a separate register for them. On the other hand, of the 80 documents included in Codex II of the Metropolis of Monemvasia and Kalamata, 61 refer to various ecclesiastical affairs, while in Codex III the number is even greater, i.e. 98 out of 101. Equally great is the number of ecclesiastical acts in the Codex of the Archbishopric of Andros and Syros: 39 out of 48. However, quite often it is not easy to classify an act as strictly ecclesiastical, because the role of the Church in community affairs makes such a clear distinction impossible, as we shall see.

The ecclesiastical documents are usually patriarchal letters on various subjects, acts of depositions and elections of bishops in vacant sees, resignations of prelates due to infirmity or old age, declarations of faith of the elected candidates. The revenues and the debts of the Bishoprics, as well as

²⁷ ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Δ.Ι.Ε.Ε.Ε.*, 6 (1903), p. 187–188.

²⁸ ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, «Το περί της κτίσεως της Μονεμβασίας χρονικόν», *Ιστορικά Μελετήματα*, Αθήναι 1884, p. 97. ΝΙΚΟΣ Α. ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *ΔΙΕΕΕ*, 6 (1903), p. 187, *ΙΔΕΜ*, *op. cit.*, *Ανάτωπον εκ της Επετηρίδος του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου*, 6 (1957), p. 3.

²⁹ ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Σημειώματα Ιστορικά (εκ της Δυτ. Μακεδονίας)*, p. 11.

³⁰ Α. ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Ανάτωπον εκ της Επετηρίδος του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου*, 6 (1957), p. 4.

³¹ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

those of their churches and the monasteries, along with their various other properties, are meticulously registered: land, houses, workshops, liturgical vessels, vestments, relics, all kinds of offerings, etc. are either written down in inventories, or they are mentioned in various acts. A great number of documents relating to the administration of churches, monasteries, parishes, and a variety of other administrative affairs or problems concerning the higher and lower clergy and so on are also included in these Codices. Giving references for these numerous types of ecclesiastical documents would be nearly impossible in the context of this study.

The Church with its spiritual power and legal jurisdiction, particularly in the areas under Ottoman rule, was the only institution which provided legal and social security for Christians. Thus, especially in those places where notaries did not exist, the inclusion of various important documents in Church registers became the only means for Christians to legally record and safeguard them, although this entailed a financial cost. Hence, a strong presence of very diverse material unrelated to Church affairs is also included in these ecclesiastical registers

In essence, these codices contain a series of documents referring to a considerable variety of issues that concerned the local societies. In these matters, individuals from all social groups were involved, among them the local Christian notables, ‘οι άρχοντες του τόπου’, and of course the Church and its representatives, clergy and lay officials, were prominent. In some cases, correspondence or documents of the Ottoman or other local authorities, e.g. Ali Pasha of Ioannina, were recorded; elsewhere, the direct or indirect involvement of the Ottoman authorities in private or local issues is clearly demonstrated in various acts.³²

The acts which are recorded in the registers may regard either the whole of the Christian community of a diocese, or only a part of it. For example, the decisions concerning the settlement of debts in the Christian community, or the founding and operation of a school or a hospital, were recorded there, along with the finances and the administrative reports of their executive committees. The resolution of financial issues that concerned Christian merchants and artisans, the rivalries and disputes among guilds, the regulation and function of local markets, either in general, or concerning specific products and guilds, are some of the most common matters recorded in some

³² ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 100–102, 105. Ι. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ / ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ-ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΗ (ED.), *op. cit.*, p. 150–151. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [4] p. 29, [5] p. 49, [6], p. 71–72. ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ, *Δελτίο του Ιστορικού και Παλαιογραφικού Αρχείου*, 7 (1997), p. 246 (Codex of the Bishopric of Leros and Kalymnos). ΚΑΡΙΑΘΙΩΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 289, and *Αρχείον Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Κω (Δωδεκανήσου)*, I, p. 117–118.

Codices, as especially is the case for the Codices of Philippoupolis, Larissa, Trikki and Servia and Kozani. At the same time, documents referring to the villages, the parishes, or particular neighbourhoods of a diocese (*mahallades*), as well as to the private affairs of the local population were also often registered there.

All kinds of private legal actions and deeds pertaining to arbitrations, negotiations and agreements, authorizations and commissions relating to family and business affairs comprise some of the most commonly encountered records. Official and private agreements, arrangements of inheritance, the buying and selling of items or property, the dissolution and formation of partnerships, donations and bequests, testaments, adoptions, dowry agreements, dowry transfers, etc., were recorded and legally safeguarded with their inclusion in the register.

Hence, a Codex of a Bishopric also functioned as a sort of notarial protocol, especially in those areas of mainland Greece where the institution of notaries did not exist. Despite the existence of notaries in Naxos, the Codex of the Metropolis of Paronaxia also presents us with a considerable variety of acts. The research, therefore, must turn to this source in order to acquire the kind of information which is otherwise found in the notarial acts, and which has proved so important for the social and economic history of regions under Latin, or Venetian rule.

Occasionally, *enthymeseis*, i.e. brief notes recording various events of local or of broader importance, or the activities of a bishop, are included in these Codices.³³ Autobiographical or biographical notes, opinions and views of the prelates are also sometimes written down.³⁴

Other documents that do not fall under any of these categories also make their appearance. For example, we have lists with the names of the French who were in Naxos in 1790, and those of French, Neapolitan, Italian, Slav and Ionian origin “born outside the Ottoman empire and living in Naxos” in July 1811.³⁵ It is quite uncommon to encounter passages of ancient Greek texts (Plutarch, Diodorus, Aelianus, Arrianos, Pausanias), as we see in Codex II of the Metropolis of Trikki (1828–1865).³⁶ It is also rather strange to find among the same registers copies of Alexandros Ypsilantis’s declaration

³³ Cf. ΠΕΛΑΓΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 16, 34. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 239. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [4] p. 29, 33.

³⁴ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [4] p. 30, [5] p. 72–75. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Θρακικά*, 2 (1934), p. 169 f. ΟΔΟΡΙΚΟ, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

³⁵ ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 288.

³⁶ *Τα χειρόγραφα των Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικός των χειρογράφων κωδίκων των αποκειμένων εις τας μονάς των Μετεώρων. Τόμ. Β΄. Τά χειρόγραφα της Μονής Βαρλαάμ.*

of the War of Greek Independence, but then the Metropolitan of that time, Ierotheos, was one of those prelates who fought in the War, and he left Naxos in 1823 leading a body of men to take part in the fighting.³⁷ Another extraordinary document included in the Codex of the Archbishopric of Cyprus³⁸ contains notes about locusts, which were copied from books «Σημειώματα περί τη ακρίδι, ευγαλμένα από μερικά βιβλία οπού ευρίσκονται εν τη βιβλιοθήκη του μουσιού αρέρ κονσούλου της φράντζας». Locusts were a terrible scourge in Cyprus, thus the interest of the Church is fully understandable. In the same Codex there is also another document referring to locusts: it is an exact copy of a letter by Archbishop Christodoulos, written on 15 June 1621, that states the years that locusts invaded Cyprus, and asks for a holy relic, the head of St Michael of Synada, to be brought to the island as a remedy to the problem.³⁹ There is no obvious reason, however, for the inclusion of a document which lists the names of “the subscribers to the newspapers” in the Codex of the Metropolis of Philippoupolis in 1832.⁴⁰

It has to be pointed out that ecclesiastical acts quite often offer a wealth of extremely interesting information concerning much broader issues which affected the whole Christian community. The financial affairs of the Church offer perhaps the best example, as they were closely linked with those of the Christian communities. The taxes and other various obligations of each diocese either to the Porte or to the Patriarchate, the debts incurred by individual prelates,⁴¹ the apportionment of the financial burdens to the local people are issues comprising a very large part of most of these Codices. Thus, they do not just provide us with information about the Patriarchate and its Bishopricks, but they also allow us to see how these affected the people: the measures which were taken to guarantee the payment of debts, the solutions which were offered in order to ease the burden of the people, the settlement of other local disputes. One of the measures seems to have been to create a new Bishopric, as the new bishop could then take on part of the debts, which would be easier for him to collect from his diocese. It

Εκ τών καταλοίπων του Ν. Α. ΒΕΗ, Ακαδημία Αθηνών Κέντρον Ερεύνης του Μεσαιωνικού και Νέου Ελληνισμού, Athens 1984, p. 391.

³⁷ ΚΑΡΠΙΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 217, 221, 326.

³⁸ P. 94.

³⁹ P. 59.

⁴⁰ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [4] p. 31.

⁴¹ We have sometimes detailed lists of the debts of certain Bishops, and occasionally even the names of their lenders, as in the case of the Archbishop Cyprianos of Cyprus in 1762, and of the Metropolis of Monemvasia and Kalamata in 1729–1734 and 1736–1748, all of which, however, are not published. Cf. the Codex of the Archbishopric of Cyprus I, p. 80–83. ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Δ.Ι.Ε.Ε.Ε.*, 6 (1903), p. 207–208.

seems that the local people approved this arrangement, and indeed demanded it, although it is not easy for us now to see how this helped them.⁴²

The ecclesiastical documents also reveal not only the already well-known moral and legal power of the Church in private and social matters, but they also manifest the reverse, that is, the role and influence exercised either by individuals or the local society in general on the Church. The financial transactions between various individuals and the Church, mainly through lending, but also through donations and bequests, are very clearly depicted in most Codices. In certain cases, this interdependence might allow individuals to intervene in ecclesiastical matters, or to promote their own ascendancy and prominence in the local community. Careful research can often reveal the persons who comprised the local elite and to document their activities over a period of time through the acts recorded in these registers, because they present us with their names and their activities, both private and public. We can certainly, for example, collect through the documents the names of the officials of each Bishopric or Metropolis. In the case of the Metropolis of Trikki, we have the listings of the officials of the Metropolis for the years 1733 and 1744.⁴³ We also have lists of officials of the Bishopric of Servia and Kozani,⁴⁴ and often the names of the heads of guilds, of teachers, of the commissaries and trustees of schools, hospitals and charitable trusts, as well as of church wardens, who were usually the most prominent members of the local society.

Equally interesting is the study of those cases in which laymen directly intervened in Church affairs, either positively with the Church's own approval, or, occasionally, against its will. We see, thus, members of a community, a parish, one village or more, even a whole diocese supporting their prelate, expressing an opinion and/or proposing the election of a particular person as Bishop, the establishment or re-establishment of a bishopric; we can also notice the improper intervention of laics in the affairs of the Church.⁴⁵ More rarely we encounter blatant violations of canonical law, for example when priests and even Bishops were appointed by individuals without the knowledge and approval of the Metropolitan.⁴⁶ We also note the

⁴² ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 20–25.

⁴³ Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki (E.B.E. 1471), f. 72v, 73r–74v. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 96–98, publishes only that of the year 1744.

⁴⁴ ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Σημειώματα Ιστορικά*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 26. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [5], p. 84–85. Ν.Κ. Γιαννούλης, *op. cit.*, p. 20–21. ΠΟΥΛΙΤΣΑΣ, *op. cit.*, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1930), p. 77. ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Σημειώματα ιστορικά*, p. 15. Α. ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Δ.Ι.Ε.Ε.Ε.*, 6 (1903), p. 202–203.

⁴⁶ Ι. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 219.

appropriation of ecclesiastical property by villagers.⁴⁷ Occasionally we are given a glimpse of the reaction of the people to bad or improper behaviour of members of the clergy that resulted in the intervention of the local prelate, who then punished the misdemeanours and imposed stricter regulations.⁴⁸

Church documents may often offer information concerning the number of parishes and their members, sometimes along with their activities and functions.⁴⁹ Information about neighbourhoods (*mahalades*) is also encountered, but this is not as rich and varied as one might have wished.⁵⁰ Occasionally, we can see the collective activities of an entire Christian community in relation to the Church, as is the case with the bishopric of Gardiki, which decided to build an inn (a *khan*) with the view to use the profits in order to fund the Bishopric.⁵¹ There also exist documents which list and record the settlements, the households or the fields in the jurisdiction of a Bishopric, either for ecclesiastical reasons, or following the orders of the State and/or local officials for purposes of taxation or for other reasons.⁵²

Other regulations and/or interventions on the part of the Church in matters of broader interest and importance for the local Christian community also provide the historian with valuable information. There exist, for example, metropolitan decrees which sought to limit excessive luxury in the attire of the general population, particularly that of women.⁵³ Others regulated wedding celebrations and introduced financial restrictions to dowries according to the social and financial status of the bride's family,⁵⁴ or established regulations concerning the composition of wills and testaments.⁵⁵ All these obviously offer us a better insight into the society and its way of life of that time.

⁴⁷ O'DORICO, *op. cit.*, p. 41–44, 53–55, 59–60, 110–112.

⁴⁸ ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Σημειώματα Ιστορικά*, p. 15, 16, 17. ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ Ι. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 169, 244–245.

⁴⁹ ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 246–247, 322–323. ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ, *op. cit.*, 7 (1997), p. 246. ΤΣΙΣΑΛΟΥΔΑΚΙ, *op. cit.*, p. 285–286.

⁵⁰ Cf. ΤΣΙΣΑΛΟΥΔΑΚΙ, *op. cit.*, p. 287–288.

⁵¹ ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁵² Codex of the metropolis of Trikki (E.B.E. 1471) ff. 28v –29v. Cf. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 100–103, where part of the document has not been published.

⁵³ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΜΑΤΗ-ΤΣΟΥΓΚΑΡΑΚΗ, *op. cit.*, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, 3 (1990), p. 326–329. Κ. Ι. ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, «Ανέκδοτοι εγκύκλιοι και έγγραφα της Μητροπόλεως Λαρίσης», *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 2 (1924), p. 76–77. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [6], p. 60–61.

⁵⁴ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, [4], 28, [6], 58–59. ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 2 (1924), p. 75–77.

⁵⁵ Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki (E.B.E. 1471), f. 62r.

Arbitration in all kinds of family, commercial and community disputes, adoptions, wedding licences, and especially grants of divorce are some of the most frequent acts recorded in the Codices. As divorces were granted by the local ecclesiastical court presided over by the prelate, a significant part of the total number of such acts are included in the Codices. For example, of the 192 documents of the First Codex of the Metropolis of Kos, 66 are concerned with divorce grants, for a period of about a hundred years.⁵⁶ This great number, however, is exceptional, as a significantly smaller one is found in the other Codices of the same Metropolis, as well as in all those of the other Bishopricks. There are only 15 divorces among the 148 acts in the Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria, and the Codices of the Metropolis of Trikki and of Larisa contain 36 and 24 divorce deeds respectively,⁵⁷ a comparatively small number of the total acts included. It should be pointed out that our knowledge concerning divorces is derived almost entirely from this type of source, as well as from other metropolitan and patriarchal acts.

Although the Church usually appears to oppress its flock by imposing on them the financial burden of its excessive debts, the ecclesiastical documents occasionally show us also a positive side to the role of the Church in society, which is not often otherwise mentioned. Thus, through these registers, charitable activities of the Church may be observed, such as the selling of votive offerings in order to pay off the debts ‘of the people’ to the Ottoman rulers,⁵⁸ the provision of housing for the homeless, dowries for poor girls, etc.,⁵⁹ or the initiative, financial support, and contributions made by some prelates for the foundation of schools.⁶⁰ It is often the case that the local Church is

⁵⁶ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *Αρχαίον Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Κω (Δωδεκανήσου), Τεύχος πρώτον. Ο Κώδιξ Α΄ Αρχαίου Δουλείας*.

⁵⁷ ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, *Νομοκανονικά Μελέται.ΙΙ* (wie Anm. 1), where they are published.

⁵⁸ ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.* p. 36.

⁵⁹ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. [4] 39, 42, [6] 80. Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki (E.B.E. 1472), f. 71r

⁶⁰ ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΡΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Σημειώματα ιστορικά*, p. 16, 17. IDEM, «Ο κώδιξ της Επισκοπής Σερβίων και Κοζάνης των ετών 1815–1831», *Γραπτά Μνημεία*, p. 68. ΑΓΓΕΛΟΜΑΤΗ-ΤΣΟΥΓΚΑΡΑΚΗ, *op. cit.*, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, 3 (1990), p. 323–326. ΒΕΗΣ, *op. cit.*, *Bizantiiskij Vremennik*, 20 (1914), p. 233–238. Συνοδικός Κώδιξ Α΄ Αρχιεπισκοπής Κύπρου, p. 173–175. Codex II of the Metropolis of Trikki (1828–1865), *Τα χειρόγραφα των Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικός των χειρογράφων κωδίκων των αποκειμένων εις τας μονάς των Μετεώρων. Τόμ. Β΄. Τα χειρόγραφα της Μονής Βαρλαάμ.*, p. 392–393. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. [6] p. 41.

appointed as the executor of donations and bequests of all sorts of benefactions.⁶¹ Especially in the Metropolis of Ioannina, the relevant material is vast. There are 200 Codices starting in 1827 and continuing well into the 20th century, as well as more than 60.000 loose documents, which concern the charities and benefactions established by the Epirote benefactors.⁶²

The detailed listing and recording of the properties of the Bishoprics, their monasteries and churches, combined with their numerous registered financial transactions provide a wealth of information that covers not just the local Church itself but also the society and economy of a diocese in general. There are many cases where it is evident that the study of the recorded acts of lending, buying and selling of property, and of donations and bequests, would allow us to form a fairly clear picture of the economy of the local society. It would also reveal the personal and social networks which were created around the Church and its bestowal of ecclesiastical offices, which affected the ascent of local personages to positions of prestige and power in the local communities.

Especially interesting is the evidence concerning the urban properties of the Church. It allows us to define, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively and spatially, the permeation and involvement of the Church in urban activities and the subsequent additional influence it exercised in the community. For example, both in Larissa and Trikala, there were a considerable number of workshops which belonged to the respective Bishoprics. These were rented out to artisans and merchants, who obviously were thus dependent on the Church.

Finally, one can single out three large categories of documents which provide significant information and insight concerning some very important issues for the local Christian communities. These appear in most of the Codices, even though their distribution among them varies greatly in quantity. They are the documents that relate: a) to the municipal authorities, the local communities and their notables and aldermen, their organization, function and relations with the Church and the rest of the people,⁶³ b) to the

⁶¹ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. [4] 27, [6] 30–36.

⁶² ΖΑΓΚΑΛΗ-ΜΠΟΖΙΟΥ, *op. cit.*, *Αρχαιολογικά Νέα*, 20 February 2002, p. 35.

⁶³ These acts are too numerous to be specifically referred to. Even documents which appear at first to deal with private issues or Church affairs show, after closer examination, that they also concern the Christian community in general, at least for the earlier dates. In the documents of 19th and 20th centuries, the more organized activities of the communities are much more clearly distinguished.

local guilds,⁶⁴ and c) to the foundation and function of schools and, in few cases, of hospitals.⁶⁵

The significance of all these documents is self-evident. In the first two cases, the frequency and continuity of relevant acts seems much greater in the Codices of the Bishopricks that were based in cities with strong urban and economic activities, such as Philippoupolis, Larissa, Trikala, Kozani and Ioannina, whereas such acts are rare, or even entirely absent, from the Codices of Bishopricks of more rural areas. Of course, we cannot have absolute certainty about this claim, because other Codices of these dioceses containing such acts might have not survived.

The third group of documents, those concerning schools, appears more or less in most of the surviving Codices. In some registers, in fact, these documents are so numerous and detailed that it is possible to form a clear and detailed picture of the financial administration and operation of a local school over a long period of time.

In conclusion, the relations among the Church and local people, municipal institutions, the existence, the function and mutual interaction among the guilds, their connections with the local society and their role within it, the establishment of schools, the organization of charity, local problems, all sorts of human relations, whether financial, mercantile, legal, social, or familial, occasionally even sexual, parade through the documents of these Codices. Many of these have not yet been published and, unfortunately, they have not even been adequately used and appreciated by historians. More extensive research would greatly improve our knowledge and understanding of the social history of the local communities among other things. Once this is done, we shall be able to proceed to the next level of research, i.e. to a comparison between these different local communities, the life of which is recorded in this important source.

⁶⁴ Cf. the Codices of Philipoupolis, Larissa (E.B.E. 1472), Trikki (E.B.E. 1471), Servia and Kozani, and Serres, *passim*.

⁶⁵ See n. 55 and ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. [4] 30, [5] p. 1–9, 10, 75–77, [6] 41, 50–57, 70–71, 73, 76, 78–82. ΠΕΛΑΓΙΔΗΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 40–43. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115, 133–134, 135, 137, 143. ΣΙΓΑΛΑΣ, *Από την πνευματικήν ζωήν των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Μακεδονίας*, p. 73, 77, 78, 80, 81–83. ΠΟΥΛΠΤΣΑΣ, *op. cit.*, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1930), p. 88–91. ΚΑΡΠΑΘΙΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 19 (1935), p. 164–165, 409; *idem*, *op. cit.*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 23 (1939), p. 87, 146–147, 286. ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ, *op. cit.*, 7 (1997), p. 246.

*List of Codices**

1. Codex of the Archbishopric of Andros and Syros	1770–1781
2. Codex of the Archbishopric of Cyprus (Nicosia)	1672–1936
3. Codex of the Bishopric of Dryinoupolis and Argyrocastro	1609–1835?
4. Codices (340) of the Metropolis of Ioannina	1617–1970
5. Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria I	1531–1566
Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria II	1566–1662
Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria III	1665–1769
Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria IV	1818–1858
Codex of the Metropolis of Kastoria V	1794–1858
6. Codex of the Metropolis of Kerkyra	1800–2002
7. Codices (115) of the Metropolis of Kos, the 1st before	1688–1947
8. Codex of the Metropolis of Larissa	1647–1868
9. Codex of the Bishopric of Leros and Kalymnos	1820–1873
10. Codex of the Bishopric of Metra and Athira	1577–1761?
11. Codex of the Metropolis of Monembasia and Kalamata II	1700–1818
Codex of the Metropolis of Monembasia and Kalamata III	1758–1873
12. Codex of the Metropolis of Paronaxia I	1690–1831
Codex of the Metropolis of Paronaxia II	1781–1901
13. Codex of the Metropolis of Serres	1603–1834
14. Codices (170) of the Bishopric of Servia and Kozani	1743–1919
Codex I	1743–1826
Codex II	1815–1843
15. Codex of the Metropolis of Sisanio and Siatista	1694–1845
16. Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki I	1688–1857
Codex of the Metropolis of Trikki II	1828–1865
17. Codex of the Metropolis of Filippoupolis I	1780–1843
Codex of the Metropolis of Filippoupolis II	1794–1847

* In the list the later Codices of the Metropolis of Kos and of the Bishopric of Servia and Kozani are not included as they are too numerous to list, but they have been referred to in the notes. On two occasions the dates bear a question mark because in the published article about these Codices the dates are given in a rather vague manner.

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