MOUNT ATHOS AND BYZANTINE MONASTICISM

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MOUNT ATHOS AND BYZANTINE MONASTICISM

Papers from the Twenty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994

Edited by

Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham

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Contents

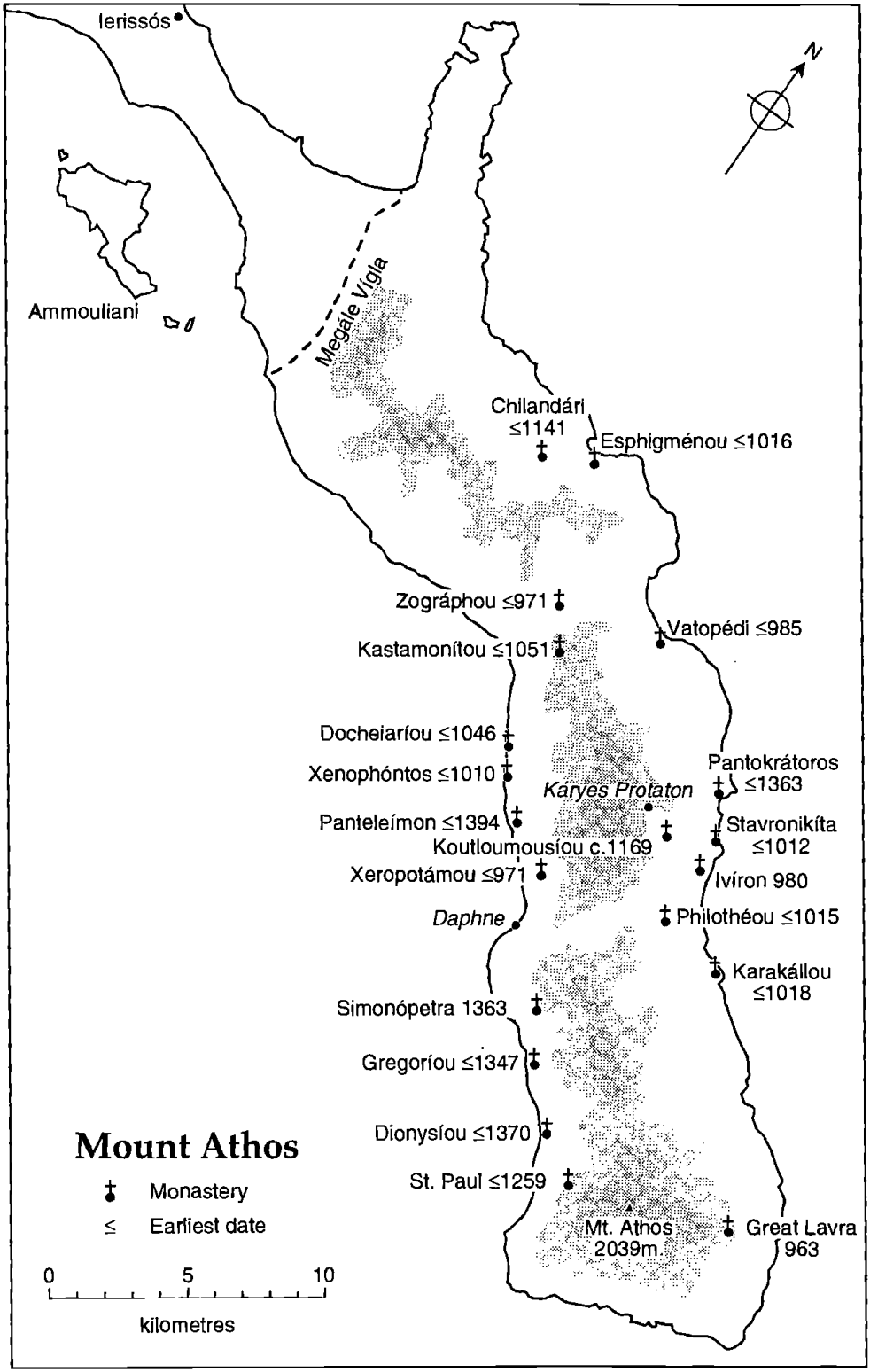
Preface

Anthony Bryer

The papers presented here emanate from a Symposium on *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, which met in Birmingham in 1994. It was the right time for such a meeting. Research on Byzantine monasticism was coming to a head: for example in Rosemary Morris's book on *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118*.[1] The subject has intriguing problems of evidence. By profession, ascetics are silent. Their silence is the foreground of this book, which depends for its existence upon breaks of this silence. Hermits tend to leave more letters for philologists than litter for archaeologists. However, monks are happily voluble and litigious; their patrons leave whole, surviving monasteries. This is a help to us because, in the absence of the central archives of the Byzantine state, those for Athos remain the single greatest corpus of its charters, although they only deal obliquely with both Byzantium and monasticism. But Paul Lemerle did justice to it in the majestic and continuing *Archives de l'Athos*,[2] which now give us the bulk of its Byzantine documents – the Ottoman ones are largely to come. On such a scale and in such quality the archaeological and architectural record of what monastic patrons gave Athos began more recently. The physical aspect of the Holy Mountain belongs to its most prosperous and Ottoman period. But by 1994 there was enough to start its interpretation, which we attempted, along with discussion of the music and libraries of Athos.

Local synods, such as XXVIII Birmingham 1994, have no claim to be either canonical or comprehensive, but they do reflect current concerns. Thus Gabriel Millet, author of *Monuments de l'Athos*[3] would have been surprised that we offered more evidence of Athonite photography than of its wall-painting: he knew both. I was surprised at how rarely hesychasm was discussed, although we celebrated the feast of St Gregory Palamas during the Symposium. That is the nature of silence – or perhaps quietism is just out of fashion. Perhaps irretrievable, now that monks are less rustic, is

[1] R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium 843–1118*, (Cambridge, 1995).
[2] P. Lemerle, *Archives de l'Athos*, (Paris, 1937–).
[3] G. Millet, *Monuments de L'Athos* (Paris, 1927).


Ierissós
N
Ammouliani
Megále Vígla
Chilandári
≤1141
Esphigménou ≤1016
Zográphou ≤971
Vatopédi ≤985
Kastamonítou ≤1051
Docheiaríou ≤1046
Xenophóntos ≤1010
Káryes Protaton
Pantokrátoros
≤1363
Panteleímon ≤1394
Stavronikíta
≤1012
Koutloumousíou c.1169
Xeropotámou ≤971
Ivíron 980
Daphne
Philothéou ≤1015
Karakállou
≤1018
Simonópetra 1363
Gregoríou ≤1347
Dionysíou ≤1370
St. Paul ≤1259
Mt. Athos
2039m.
Great Lavra
963
Mount Athos
Monastery
≤ Earliest date
0
5
10
kilometres

monastic folklore. It was best recorded by R.M. Dawkins[4] who would have enjoyed Fr Ephrem Lash's paper. But our Byzantine Symposium could not evade the present revival on the Holy Mountain, where sempiternal issues of spirit and community, authority and economy give a glimpse of fourteenth-century Athos in today's distorting mirror. It was therefore right that the British Friends of Mount Athos, along with some of its live monks, came to remind us of such historic continuity. We met under the patronage and blessing of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch, who sent us his blessing, which wished us the enlightenment of Mounts Tabor and Athos and said how loyal the Holy Mountain had always been to Constantinople. The Holy Fathers of Athos, who were perforce born in the secular world, responded with a diplomatic fax under four-part seal, which by some miracle arrived two seconds and 13 days later. It is an old story, about which Adam Nicholson wrote in the Sunday Telegraph.[5]

The discussion papers were divided by topic into six sections. All but two papers are squeezed into the confines of this volume, but the missing ones will be published elsewhere: in IV Grigoris Stathis (Athens) on *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Musical Manuscripts of Athos* and in VI Francis Thomson (Antwerp), whose challenging topic of *Athos, Alma Mater Spiritualis Slavorum*, burgeoned into a study arguing for (or against) the Athonite inheritance of the Slavs so extensive that it is to be included in his own Variorum volume. We have also had to be ruthless in selecting illustrations to this volume. Nevertheless it is proper to reproduce here a photograph of the cave of St Athanasios of Trebizond (*c.* 925–1004), founder of the Great Lavra and of Athos as we think we know it. It exemplifies our problems of distance, for even Byzantine economic historians who use the *Archives de l'Athos* in a library must know that monasticism begins with person and spirit, time and place. The plate on page 4 is from a photograph taken by Athelstan Riley (1858–1945) on 21/9 August 1883:

> It was a difficult place to photograph, as one naturally could not get far enough away from the subject ... with the hermit standing in his little garden. Of course it conveys no idea of its romantic situation.[6]

This appears as an engraving in Riley's *Athos* and it was his kinsman, John Leatham, who brought the Riley album to the Symposium. The photograph is now also reproduced in *Hagioretike Photographia*.[7]

Not included in this book is the record of 45 lively communications, abstracts of which are in the *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies*,[8] including

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[4] In R.M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, (London, 1936).

[5] 10 April 1994.

[6] A. Riley, *Athos*, (London, 1887), 200.

[7] *Hagioretike Photographia* 3, (Thessalonike, 1994), 51.

[8] *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 21 (1995), 63–76.

one sung memorably by Jørgen Raasted (1927–95). There were two particularly valuable communications sessions, each convened by their respective *ktitor*: on the *Evergetis Project*, by Margaret Mullett; and on *Visitors to Athos*, by Graham Speake.

The meeting was enhanced by films of Athos, thanks to Yanni Petsopoulos; exhibitions of *Byzantine Saints on Seals and Coins* in the Barber Institute, presented by Nubar Hampartumian and Eric Taylor; and Niki Tsironis organised an exhibition of *The Mount Athos Photographic Archive*, thanks to the abbot of Simonopetra and *Panorama*. We must thank too the Hellenic and A.G. Leventis Foundations, which have so long supported these Symposia, along with Tsantalis, who supplied us with Athonite wine, which did something to relieve our Orthodox Lenten Feast.

I thank Averil Cameron, who has given this volume her *imprimatur*, but most of all my co-editor, Mary Cunningham. She has done all the work and, in justice and silence, her name should stand alone on the title page.

Anthony Bryer
Symposiarch

Spring Symposia of Byzantine Studies: a record

The British Spring Symposia of Byzantine Studies began modestly enough in the University of Birmingham as an annual course sponsored by its then Committee for Byzantine Studies for its then Department of Extramural Studies. With some pretension, I started numbering and naming these meetings as Spring Symposia from V (1971); volunteered communications were introduced from VII (1973) and, after experiments with holding meetings on consecutive weekends, the format of a three-day residential Symposium began with VIII (1974), when University House was threatened with a demonstration of Greek Fire. From that meeting the University's Centre for Byzantine Studies sponsored Symposia for the British National Committee of the International Byzantine Association and, from XVII (1983), for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, which was founded at it. From XVI (1982), when the Birmingham Centre found itself running a Dumbarton Oaks 'Symposium' too, the Spring Symposia have moved from Birmingham to elsewhere in alternate years. It had always been the intention to collaborate with other like-minded groups, which have included joint meetings with British associations of Slavists, Classicists, Crusaders and Athonites. Earlier meetings brought a harvest of individual publications, but full editions were spasmodic, beginning with IX (1995). From XXIV (1990) Variorum has published Symposia for the SPBS, excluding XXV (1991) (the most lavish of publications and the best buy). From XVII (1983) abstracts of main papers – and from XXIV (1990) of Communications only – have been published annually in the SPBS's *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies*.

For the record, Symposia and associated publications, including videotapes, all of which are out of print before XXIV (1990) have been:

I (Birmingham 1967), *Byzantium and Europe*
II (Birmingham 1968), *Aspects of Byzantium*
III (Birmingham 1969), *The Tourkokratia*
IV (Birmingham 1970), *The Roman Empire in the East: Constantine to Justinian*

V (Birmingham 1971), *Asceticism in the Early Byzantine World*

VI (Birmingham 1972), *Byzantium and the East*

VII (Birmingham 1973), *Byzantine Literature and Art*. Videotape of *The Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus* (Birmingham, 1973)

VIII (Birmingham 1974), *Byzantine Society and Economy*. Videotape of *Byzantine Society and Economy* (Birmingham, 1974)

IX (Birmingham 1975), *Iconoclasm*. A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1977)

X (Birmingham 1976), *The Byzantine Underworld: Heroic Poetry and Popular Tradition*. Videotape of M.A. Foskolos, *Fortounatos* (Birmingham, 1976); H.A. Lidderdale, *The War of Independence in Pictures* (Birmingham, 1976)

XI (Birmingham 1977), *The Two Shining Lights: Islam and Christendom: Empire, Caliphate and Crusades*. P.D. Whitting, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Coins from the 'Mardin' Hoard* (Birmingham 1977); W. Farag, *The Truce of Safar AH 259 – December–January 969/970* (Birmingham 1977)

XII (Birmingham 1978), *The Byzantine Black Sea*. O. Lampsides, ed., *The Black Sea = Archeion Pontou*, 35 (1979); A. Bryer, *A Cadaster of the Great Estates of the Empire of Trebizond* (Birmingham, 1978); S. Karpov, *The Empire of Trebizond and Venice in 1374–76* (Birmingham, 1978)

XIII (Birmingham 1979), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*. M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds, *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1981)

XIV (Birmingham 1980), *The Byzantine Saint*. S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, *Sobornost*, 1981)

XV (Birmingham 1981), *Byzantium and the Slavs*

XVI (Edinburgh 1982), *The Byzantine Aristocracy*. M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, BAR International Series, 221 (Oxford, 1984)

XVII (Birmingham 1983), *Life and Death in Byzantium*

XVIII (Oxford 1984), *Byzantium and the West, c. 800–c. 1200*. J.D. Howard-Johnston and M. Wittow, eds, *Byzantium and the West c.800–c.1200*, (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1986)

XIX (Birmingham 1985), *The Byzantine World and the Turks 1071–1571*. A. Bryer and M. Ursinus, eds, *Byzantische Forschungen*, 16 (1991)

XX (Manchester 1986), *Church and People in Byzantium*. Rosemary Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium* (Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, 1990)

XXI (Birmingham 1987), *The Byzantine Eye: Word and Perception*

XXII (Nottingham 1988), *Latins and Greeks in the Aegean World after 1204*. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds, *Latins and Greeks in the*

Eastern Mediterranean after 1204 (London, Frank Cass, 1989 = Mediterranean Historical Review, 4)

XXIII (Birmingham 1989), *Salonica: The Second Second City*

XXIV (Cambridge 1990), *Byzantine Diplomacy*. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, Variorum = SPBS Publications 1, 1992)

XXV (Birmingham 1991), *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*. A.A.M. Bryer and G.S. Georghallides, eds, *The Sweet Land of Cyprus* (Nicosia, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies [Birmingham] and Cyprus Research Centre [Nicosia], 1993)

XXVI (St Andrews 1992), *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantine History*. P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines* (Aldershot, Variorum = SPBS Publications 2, 1994)

XXVII (Oxford 1993), *Constantinople and its Hinterland (Thrace and Bithynia)*. C. Mango, G. Dagron and G. Greatrex, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, Variorum = SPBS Publications 3, 1995)

XXVIII (Birmingham 1994), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*. A. Bryer and Mary Cunningham, eds, *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, (Aldershot, Variorum = SPBS Publications 4, 1996 and this volume).

Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
ArchDelt	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ArchPont	*Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*
BBTT	Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CahArch	*Cahiers archéologiques*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
Chil.	L. Petit and B. Korablev, eds, *Actes de Chilandar, Actes de l'Athos* V; *VV* 19, (1911) suppl. 1 (repr. Amsterdam, 1975)
Chil. Suppl.	V. Mosin, A. Sovre, *Supplementa ad acta graeca Chilandarii* (Ljubljana, 1948)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantine (Bonn)
DChAE	*Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
Dionys.	N. Oikonomides, ed., *Actes de Dionysiou, Archives de l'Athos* IV (Paris, 1968)
Docheiar.	N. Oikonomides, ed., *Actes de Docheiariou, Archives de l'Athos* XIII (Paris, 1984)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
Esphig.	J. Lefort, ed., *Actes d'Esphigménou, Archives de l'Athos* VI (Paris, 1973)
Esphig.[2]	L. Petit and W. Regel, eds, *Actes d'Esphigménou, Actes de l'Athos* III; *VV* 12 (1906), supp. 1 (repr. Amsterdam, 1967)

Hell	*Ἑλληνικά*
Ivir. I, II	J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides and D. Papachryssanthou, eds, *Actes d'Iviron, Archives de l'Athose* XIV, XVI (Paris, 1985, 1990)
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
Kastamon.	N. Oikonomides, ed., *Actes de Kastamonitou, Archives de l'Athos* IX (Paris, 1978)
Kutlum.	P. Lemerle, ed., *Actes de Kutlumus, Archives de l'Athos* II^2 (Paris, 1988)
Lavra I–IV	P. Lemerle, N. Svoronos, A. Guillou and D. Papchryssanthou, eds, *Actes de Lavra, Archives de l'Athos* V, VIII, X, XI (Paris, 1970, 1977, 1979, 1982)
Meyer, *Haupturkunden*	Ph. Meyer, *Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894)
Millet, Pargoire, Petit, *Recueil*	G. Millet, J. Pargoire and L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904)
MM	F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860–90)
MMA	*Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963*, 2 vols (Chevetogne, 1963–64)
Noret, *Vitae duae*	J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982)
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
Pantel.	P. Lemerle, G. Dagron and S. Čirković, eds, *Actes de Saint-Pantelléèmôn, Archives de l'Athos* XII (Paris, 1982)
Pantoc.	V. Kravari, ed., *Actes du Pantocrator, Archives de l'Athos* XVII (Paris, 1991)
Pantoc.^{2}	L. Petit, ed., *Actes du Pantocrator, Actes de l'Athos* II; *VV* 10 (1903) suppl. 2
PG	Patrologia cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne
Phil.	W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, eds, *Actes de Philothée, Actes de l'Athos* VI; *VV* 20 (1913) suppl. 1

Prot.	D. Papachryssanthou, ed., *Actes du Prôtaton, Archives de l'Athos* VII (Paris, 1975)
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RegPatr	V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, eds., *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 2 vols in 9 parts (Paris, 1932–79)
ROC	*Revue de l'orient chrétien*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*	G. Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* (Athens, 1903)
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
Vita A, Vita B	See above, Noret, *Vitae duae*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremmennik*
Xenoph.	D. Papachryssanthou, ed., *Actes de Xénophon, Archives de l'Athos* XV (Paris, 1986)
Xeropot.	J. Bompaire, ed., *Actes de Xéropotamou, Archives de l'Athos* III (Paris, 1964)
Zograph.	W. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korablev, *Actes de Zographou, Actes de l'Athos* IV; *VV* 13 (1907) supp. 1 (repr. Amsterdam, 1969)
ZRVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*

Section I

From Stoudios to Athos

1. St Athanasios the Athonite: traditionalist or innovator?

Kallistos Ware
Bishop of Diokleia

A decisive turning-point?

The foundation of the Great Lavra around 963–64 by St Athanasios the Athonite (*c.* 925/30–c. 1001), with the support of his friend Nikephoros Phokas, is normally regarded as a decisive turning-point in the history of the Holy Mountain. Yet what kind of turning-point was it? The early sources regularly style Athanasios's foundation 'the new Lavra',[1] but wherein precisely did its novelty consist? In his work on the Holy Mountain was Athanasios a traditionalist or an innovator – or perhaps both of these things at once?

In one respect there can be little doubt about Athanasios's influence. The foundation of the Great Lavra was followed by a rapid influx of fresh recruits, both to the Lavra itself and to other parts of the Mountain, and during the second half of the eleventh century the monastic population of Athos increased rapidly. The Lavra, at first limited to 80 monks,[2] soon increased to 120,[3] and then – within fifteen years of its foundation – to more than 150.[4] According to his biographer, Athanasios of Panagiou, when Athanasios the Athonite died there were more than 3,000 monks on the Holy Mountain as a whole.[5] (Compare the figures for the present century: in 1903 there were 7,432 monks, more than half of them Slavs; in 1971 the number

[1] See, for example, Chrysobull of Nikephoros Phokas (964), *Lavra* I, 5.46, 54, 60; Chrysobull of Basil II and Constantine VIII (978), *Lavra* I, 7.23, 28, 60. The designation 'new', of course, refers primarily to the recent date of the foundation of the Great Lavra.

[2] *Typikon*, 106.35.

[3] Ibid., 114.31.

[4] *Lavra* I, 7.19.

[5] *Vita* A, 238.5.

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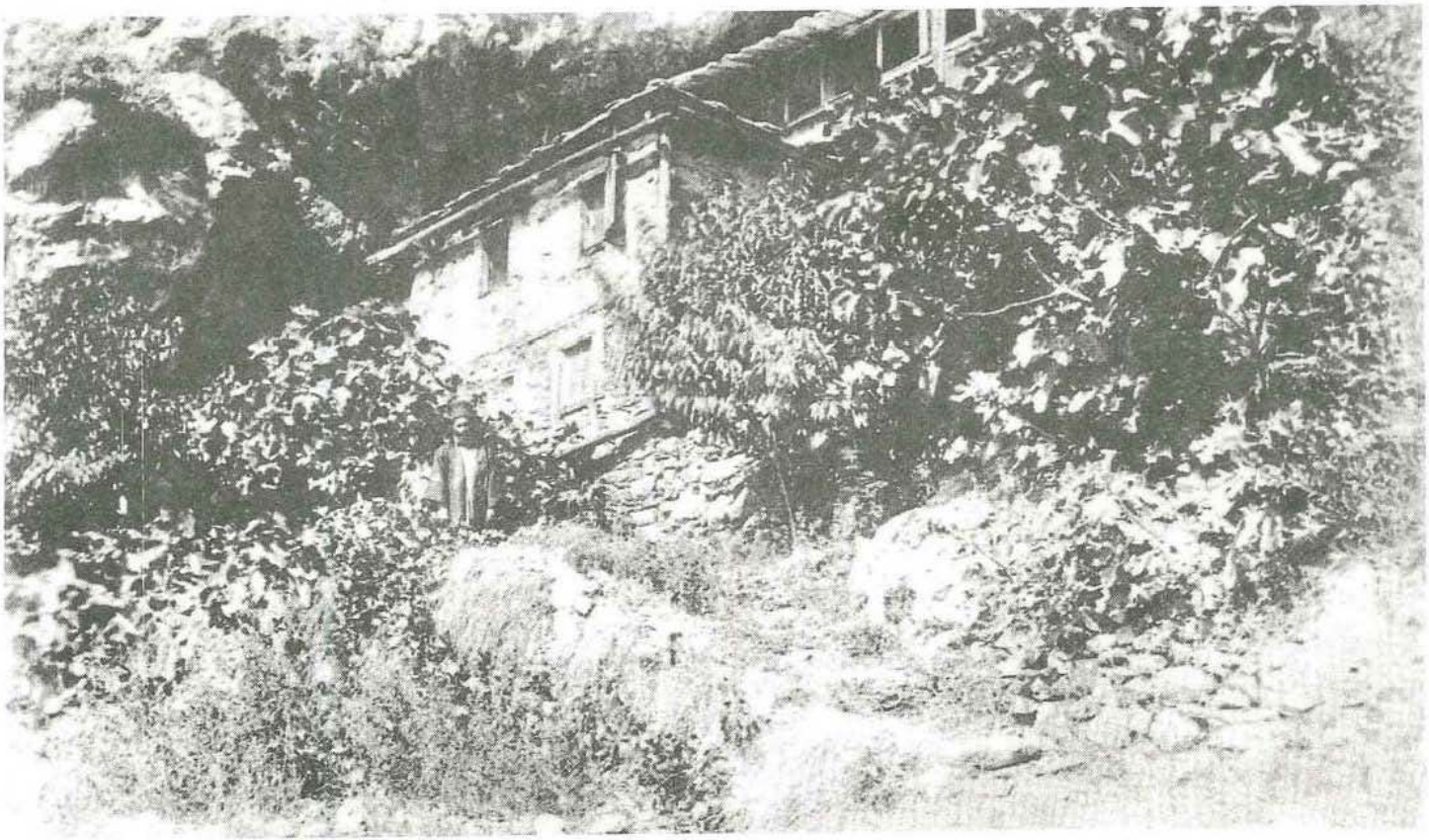

The cave of St Athanasios, founder of the Great Lavra, in 1883 (see also p. ix).

had decreased to 1,145; today there are about 2,000 monks.) With good reason his biographer claims that, through Athanasios, 'the whole mountain became a city'[6] – a conscious reminiscence of the Life of St Antony of Egypt attributed to Athanasius.[7] In the matter of monastic statistics, then, the foundation of the Great Lavra undoubtedly represents a turning-point.

There is a second way in which the emergence of the Great Lavra constitutes a turning-point in Athonite history. When, prior to 964, various emperors had dealings with the Holy Mountain, they addressed the general body of Athonite monks in their totality.[8] With the foundation of the Lavra, for the first time imperial patronage was extended to a specific foundation rather than to the Mountain as a whole. Significantly the monastery of St Athanasios is described in the early *acta* as 'the royal Lavra'.[9]

Thus far, however, the changes mentioned concern the external aspect of the Holy Mountain: its numerical size and its relationship with the outside world. What kind of effect did the foundation of the Great Lavra have upon the inner life of Athos? How far, if at all, did Athanasios introduce a form of the monastic life which had not existed hitherto on the Mountain? Julien Leroy has argued that Athanasios brought about a 'collective conversion' of Athonite monasticism,[10] but this is contested by Denise Papachryssanthou.[11] Which of them is right? What light on this matter is shed by Athanasios's own writings, the *Typikon*, the *Diatyposis* and the *Hypotyposis*, and how is the monastic ideal understood in these sources?[12]

'Everything in common': Athanasios's monastic programme

When, following the death of Nikephoros Phokas in 969, Athanasios was attacked by his fellow Athonites as an innovator and a revolutionary who was 'destroying the ancient rules and customs' of the Mountain,[13] he replied that, on the contrary, he sought to be entirely obedient to the 'traditions of the fathers'.[14] This claim seems justified, at any rate if we consider not simply the previous history of monasticism on Athos itself but, more broadly, the earlier monastic history in the Greek east as a whole. For what

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[6] Ibid., 164.37.

[7] *Vita Antonii* 14: 'The desert became a city'.

[8] As in the *Sigillion* of Basil I (883), the Act of Leo VI (908), and the Chrysobull of Romanos I (934) *Prot.*, 1–3.

[9] For instance, in the acts of the *protos* John (991, 996), and in the act of sale dating from 993: *Lavra* I, 9, title; 10.7–8; 11.3–4.

[10] Julien Leroy, 'La conversion de saint Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite', *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963* 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), 101–20, esp. 102.

[11] *Prot.*, Introduction, 78–79.

[12] Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 102–40.

[13] *Vita* A, **114**.20.

[14] Ibid., 184.13.

Athanasios and Nikephoros sought to do in the Great Lavra was precisely to found a monastery that followed the full cenobitic programme as established by the monastic reform of St Theodore the Stoudite (759–826), who in his turn was drawing on St Basil of Caesarea (d. 379). A century later St Christodoulos of Patmos likewise took the Stoudite reform as his model.[15]

It is true that, in the sources relating to Athanasios the Athonite, there is a surprising absence of references to Basil and Theodore. Neither is mentioned in the *Vita Prima*, while there is only a single reference to Theodore in the *Vita Secunda*;[16] the three legislative texts of Athanasios never refer to Theodore by name and make only two references to Basil.[17] But, despite this silence, there can be no doubt whatever that Athanasios's debt to Theodore is direct and fundamental. Out of the twenty-four sections in the *Testament* of Theodore the Stoudite,[18] Athanasios has incorporated – virtually word for word – no less than fourteen sections in his own *Typikon*, while Athanasios's *Hypotyposis* takes the Stoudite *Hypotyposis*[19] as its model.[20] If, via-à-vis the earlier history of the Holy Mountain, Athanasios was an innovator – and that is a question to which we shall return in due course – he was at the same time totally traditional in his innovations. Except at one significant point, noted below, he is a faithful disciple of Theodore.

Let us consider in more detail how Athanasios understands the Basilian–Stoudite monastic programme.

The monk and the martyr Although his biographers emphasize the compassion and affection shown by Athanasios, there is also in his character an unmistakable element of severity. Like the desert father Arsenios of Egypt, to whom Athanasios was compared,[21] he was noted for his tears.[22] In his own writings he regards the monk as the one who mourns: 'We were

[15] See Kallistos Ware, 'The Monastic ideal according to St Christodoulos of Patmos', *I. Moni Ag. Iôannou tou Theologou: 900 Chronia Istorikis Martyrias* (1088–1988), Etaireia Vyzantinon kai Metavyzantinon Meleton, Diptychon Paraphylla 2 (Athens, 1989), 23–35.

[16] *Vita* B, 65.10–11.

[17] *Hypotyposis*, 136.8; 140.6.

[18] PG 99.1813–24.

[19] Ibid., 99.1704–20.

[20] See Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 15–18; Leroy, 'La conversion', 113–15. Leroy considers that Athanasios may also have drawn on the *Rule* of St Benedict: 'La conversion', 120; see also J. Leroy, 'S. Athanase l'Athonite et la règle de S. Benoît', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 29 (1953), 108–22. Paul Lemerle (in my view, justifiably) expresses some caution about this supposed influence: *Lavra* I, Introduction, 41. But, according to *Vita* A, 158.6–7, there were a number of Latin monks who joined the Great Lavra, and so it is not impossible that Athanasios gained some knowledge of the Benedictine *Rule* from them.

[21] *Vita* A, 223.1 (but the particular point of comparison here is not tears but the reluctance to commit his teaching to writing).

[22] Ibid., 59.25; 129.7; 144.4, 7. The tears of the holy man are of course a familiar hagiographic *topos*; but a *topos* may sometimes correspond to the historical facts.

called to mourning (*penthos*), not to rejoicing.'[23] It will be remembered that, in the Syriac tradition, monks are known as 'mourners'. In this connection Athanasios draws on the ancient theme of the monastic life as a form of inner martyrdom.[24] Monks are to struggle 'as athletes and martyrs', he says;[25] and he promises to his disciples that, if they remain obedient to the instructions of the abbot, 'the choir of the martyrs will receive you'.[26] For Athanasios the cutting off of self-will through obedience is a way of laying down one's life for Christ.

A life of prayer Athanasios calls the monastic life an 'angelic calling';[27] the task of the angels is to praise and glorify God, and this in Athanasios's eyes is also the primary work of the monk. So in the *Hypotyposis* he supplies detailed instructions about the church services to be performed daily by the community (although there are some surprising omissions: for instance, he does not specify how frequently the monks should receive holy communion). As he makes clear in the *Typikon*, he has deliberately chosen for his monastery a site that is remote and extremely difficult of access, in order to ensure that the monks remain 'undistracted and free from external activities'[28] – free, that is to say, from all that might divert them from their main task of prayer. If the prayer that the monks are to offer on the world's behalf is not in fact greatly emphasized in Athanasios's *Typikon*, this is surely because he takes the point for granted. Monastic intercession for the emperors and the Christian empire is, however, stressed in the Chrysobull of Basil II and Constantine VIII issued to the Lavra around 978:

> What foundations are to a house and oars to a boat, the prayers of the saints are to the empire. Who can doubt that what the sword, the bow and military strength could not achieve, prayer alone has often brought to pass easily and splendidly?[29]

The true purpose of the monastic life, as the emperors see it, is precisely God-centred prayer:

> The members of the new Lavra on the Holy Mountain in their solitude attend to God alone, turning away completely from the world and returning to the Prototype.[30]

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[23] *Typikon*, 111.34. Cf. *Vita* A, 84.19–20: the monk should 'not laugh, or even so much as smile'.

[24] Cf. E.E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr* (Washington, 1950).

[25] *Typikon*, 118.17.

[26] Ibid., 122.24–25.

[27] Ibid., 122.14.

[28] Ibid., 105.27.

[29] *Lavra* I, 7.14–16; cf. 32–33.

[30] Ibid., 7.23–24. On the prayers of the monks for the world, compare the *Sigillion* of Basil I *Prot.*, 1.5, 11–12, and the Act of Leo VI *Prot.*, 2.3.

Strict poverty This life of inner martyrdom and unceasing prayer is to be realized within a 'controlled environment' in which all things are shared together under obedience to the abbot. It is here, in his emphasis upon poverty and obedience, that Athanasios's reliance on the Stoudite tradition is particularly evident. In words taken directly from Theodore's *Testament*, Athanasios enjoins:

> You are to make absolutely sure that everything in the brotherhood is common and undivided, and that no one owns anything as his individual possession, not even so much as a needle. Let the only things that you call your own be your body and soul, and let even these be shared in an equality of love among all your spiritual children and brethren.[31]

Athanasios emphasizes his point by employing the Pauline analogy of the one body with many limbs:

> I say that all the brethren are to live in common and direct their gaze in common to the same goal of salvation. There is to be one heart in the *koinobion* and one will and one desire; the whole community is to form one body composed of different limbs, as the apostle lays down.[32]

This means that the monks are to pray together and to eat together.[33] Private acts of charity are prohibited; the hospitality which comprises an integral part of the monastic vocation is to be supplied not by particular monks individually but by the community as a whole.[34]

Only if all things are shared in common will the community be free from strife and party-spirit:

> We all belong to one Christ ... and we all have one mother, the holy church of God; we have the same faith and the same calling. So let there be no quarrels among you.[35]

Athanasios singles out for censure one particular form of divisiveness, discrimination against the *xenokouroi*. Monks professed at the Great Lavra itself are not to regard themselves as superior to those who have joined the Lavra after being originally tonsured elsewhere.[36]

Strict poverty is to be imposed not only individually on each particular monk but also corporately on the total community. Closely following

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[31] *Typikon*, 113.16–21, quoting Theodore's counsels to the abbot in *Testament* 7, PG 99.1820A; cf. *Vita* A, 88.16–17.

[32] *Typikon*, 115.25–29; cf. 1 Cor. 12:12.

[33] *Typikon*, 116.5–9; cf. *Vita* A, 87.12–16.

[34] *Vita* A, 182.30–32; *Typikon*, 114.22; *Diatyposis*, 130.13.

[35] *Typikon*, 112.15–18.

[36] Ibid., 111.5–112.33; cf. *Vita* A, 89.1–21.

Theodore, Athanasios insists that the monastery is not to own slaves: slave-owning, like marriage, is permissible only for those in secular life.[37] This ban on slaves is inspired by two motives: first, slavery is an affront to the divine image present in each human being; second, poverty requires that the monks should not employ others to work for them but, rather, should labour with their own hands.[38]

Probably it is this desire for corporate poverty that leads Athanasios to forbid the monastery to own female animals.[39] In imposing this prohibition, Athanasios was not innovating but was simply following the rule laid down by Theodore the Stoudite.[40] It is often thought that this regulation against female animals was motivated by a desire to safeguard the sexual purity of the monks, and this is no doubt partly the reason. But Leroy is in all likelihood correct to suggest that the basic motivation is somewhat different.[41] In the surviving texts by Theodore and Athanasios, the prohibition on female animals is closely linked with the rule against the possession of slaves and servants. They banned female animals primarily because they did not want the monastery to engage in stockbreeding, which could easily lead to the development of a large commercial enterprise with hired employees, as happened in the West with the Cistercians. If the monks did not own flocks and herds but cultivated the earth with their own hands, this would help to preserve poverty and simplicity of life within the community.[42]

The abbot More than anything else, what holds the community together in unity is obedience to the abbot (*hegoumenos*). Precisely because the abbot's role within the monastery is of crucial importance, the question of his successor caused Athanasios much anxious thought; and both in the *Typikon* and in the *Diatyposis* he spells out in considerable detail how, after his death, the next abbot of the Great Lavra is to be chosen. In assigning

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[37] *Typikon*, 113.12–15; cf. Theodore, *Testament* 4, PG 99.1817D. How strange that slavery is not condemned more often in the Christian tradition! Even here, the condemnation is by no means absolute.

[38] On the vital importance of work – a central theme in Theodore the Stoudite – compare *Vita* A, 138.3–20; 172.9–15.

[39] *Typikon*, 113.15–16.

[40] *Testament* 5, PG 99, 1820A. Athanasios, while mentioning female animals, does not refer explicitly to the exclusion of women from the Holy Mountain, although he states that children and eunuchs are not to be allowed in the Lavra: see *Typikon*, 118.33–34. Almost certainly the rule against women already prevailed on the Holy Mountain before Athanasios's time, and so there was no need for him to allude specifically to it. On the other hand, it may well have been Athanasios himself who first introduced on Athos the Stoudite prohibition against female animals.

[41] Leroy, 'La conversion', 114.

[42] Cf. *Typikon*, 121.19–21.

decisive authority to the abbot, Athanasios is once more basing himself closely on the Stoudite pattern, as Christodoulos was also to do a century later.[43] The abbot – who, apparently, does not have to be a priest – is elected for life and endowed with full control:

> I desire and wish that he shall have all power and dominion in every question, whether spiritual or bodily, and he is not to be restricted or hindered by anyone whatsoever.[44]

There is, superior to the abbot, no higher earthly authority to whom the monks can appeal, for the monastery is to be strictly 'free', 'self-governing' (*avtodespoton*) and 'independent' (*avtexousion*).[45] Great value is attached to the virtue of obedience to the abbot, the reward for which, according to Athanasios, is greater than that for continence and self-restraint (*enkrateia*);[46] monastic life involves above all else a denial of self-will.[47]

Yet the abbot, despite his dominant authority, is required to live a life of simplicity. He is to be as rigorous as any of the brethren in observing the rule of poverty, and should possess nothing whatever of his own. His clothes should be of no better quality than those of the rest of the community. He is not to undertake journeys outside the monastery, thereby neglecting the flock entrusted to him, but is to share the life of the monks as fully as possible.[48] If we are to believe his biographer, Athanasios of Panagiou – whose account is doubtless idealized, but may well possess also a firm foundation in historical fact – the founder of the Great Lavra complied with his own precepts. He was, we are told, both 'humble and exalted'.[49] On public occasions, especially in the presence of lay people, he was dignified, formal and somewhat remote, but in private with his own monks he was warm, affable and easily approached. He was both 'leader and yet servant of all',[50] taking part himself in the monk's manual labour and gladly accepting the most disagreeable tasks.[51] What particularly marked Athanasios's character was 'sympathy and affection'.[52] He was a burden-bearer who took on his own shoulders the heavy loads of others, suffering with those who suffer;[53] and he was a true pastor, 'most shepherdly' (*poimenarchikotatos*), who laid down his life for his noetic sheep.[54] Repeatedly the

[43] See Ware, 'The Monastic ideal', 26–28.
[44] *Diatyposis*, 129.13–15.
[45] *Typikon*, 107.15–16; 109.10.
[46] Ibid., 116.4–5.
[47] Ibid., 111.32; 122.21–22. Cf. *Vita* A, 182.12–15.
[48] Ibid., 113.3–4; 113.34–113.2.
[49] *Vita* A, 155.8.
[50] Ibid., 140.1–2.
[51] Ibid., 141.6–12.
[52] Ibid., 136.1; cf. 97.10–11; 128.46; 179.39, etc.
[53] Ibid., 137.39–40; 174.32; 190.10–12; 233.48–56. Cf. *Diatyposis*, 124.16.
[54] Ibid., 8.11; 17.10.

Vita applies to him imagery that is therapeutic rather than juridical or authoritarian: to his disciples Athanasios was a physician and healer rather than a judge or ruler.[55]

An important way in which the abbot exercises his healing ministry is through the 'disclosure of thoughts' (*exagorevsis logismon*). This was an established Stoudite practice;[56] while overlapping with sacramental confession, it has a wider scope and can be administered by someone who is not a priest. Athanasios speaks of this at the end of the *Hypotyposis*:

> It is necessary to know that an ancient tradition and rule of the holy fathers is for the brethren to disclose their thoughts and hidden acts to the superior – or to whomever the superior appoints – and to receive from him the appropriate discipline.[57]

The abbot, as spiritual father, is endowed with full power 'to bind and loose' when exercising this 'care of souls'.[58] It is significant that the superior can delegate his ministry to others, and this would probably be desirable in a community with as many as 150 members.

The *Typikon*, the *Diatyposis* and the *Hypotyposis* give no further details about the way in which the 'disclosure of thoughts' is to take place, but a more complete picture is provided in the *Vita* of Athanasios of Panagiou. This is probably an accurate reflection of what was being done in the Great Lavra – at any rate at the end of Athanasios's life. Athanasios, it is said, used to 'receive thoughts' sitting apart in a chapel during Matins (*Orthros*) – as was the normal Stoudite custom – but the monks also came to him for the 'disclosure of thoughts' throughout the day and indeed, because of the large numbers involved, during much of the night as well. Each monk was expected to come daily to the abbot for *exagorevsis*.[59] Evidently Athanasios considered this type of 'counselling' a central element in his ministry as abbot and would devote a substantial amount of his time to it every day. Contrary to what is suggested in the *Hypotyposis*, according to the *Vita* Athanasios insisted that the 'disclosure' should be made only to himself as abbot, and to no one else.[60] This would help to ensure that there was no division of spiritual authority within the monastery. It is interesting that

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[55] Ibid., 156.13–15; 168.48; 169.52; 174.28; 175.2; 179.40; 217.5; 219.9, *et passim*.

[56] On the Stoudite practice, see Irénée Hausherr, *Direction spirituelle en orient autrefois* (Rome, 1995), esp. 218–23. Cf. Kallistos Ware, 'The Spiritual Father in St John Climacus and St Symeon the New Theologian', *Studia Patristica* 18.2 (Kalamazoo/Leuven, 1989), 299–316; and by the same author, 'Prayer and the sacraments in the Synagoge', in Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby, eds, *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, BBTT 6:1 (Belfast, 1994), 325–47, esp. 341–45.

[57] *Hypotyposis*, 139.35–140.2.

[58] *Typikon*, 113.24–25.

[59] *Vita* A, 85.2–20.

[60] Ibid., 143.13–22.

the 'disclosure of thoughts' is mentioned several times in the *Tragos*;[61] evidently it was a practice widely observed on the Mountain at this time, and was by no means distinctive solely of the Great Lavra.

The solitary life Thus far Athanasios has closely followed Theodore, but there is one point at which he deliberately departs from his Stoudite model. Alongside the main community observing the full cenobitic programme, he permits certain of the brethren to pursue the solitary life. These are termed 'kelliot monks, that is to say hesychasts' (*monachois kelliotais toutestin hesychastais*).[62] They are not to exceed the number of five at any one time; as the total community amounted to 120, and soon afterwards to 150, it is clear that the 'hesychasts' form only a small minority, and evidently most the monks at the Great Lavra had no expectation of becoming solitaries. These 'hesychasts' are to live outside the main buildings of the Lavra, although apparently at no great distance from them; they are to continue in obedience under the abbot. Each is permitted to have one disciple with him, to act as his servant; thus they are not completely isolated. The material needs of the 'hesychasts' are to be provided by the monastery, 'so that they may be free from all care concerning bodily matters and entirely undisturbed'.[63]

In his *Hypotyposis* Christodoulos makes a similar provision for a small number of the brethren – in this case, twelve – to pursue the eremitic life. But at Patmos these 'hesychasts' are required to return to the main monastery every Saturday morning and to stay there until Sunday afternoon, attending church services and eating with the brethren in the refectory, although not speaking to anyone except the abbot or someone else appointed by him.[64] In Athanasios's *Typikon* there is no such provision for a weekly return to the monastery. Presumably Christodoulos includes this ruling to ensure that the solitaries maintain a close continuing link with the central community.

In thus providing for solitaries dependent on the central monastery, Athanasios wishes to combine in one foundation both the cenobitic and the eremitic life, allowing a place for the characteristic values of each. Theodore, on the other hand, is consistently cenobitic in his monastic legislation, and makes no such provision for solitaries.[65] Athanasios deliberately permits a greater variety. Yet, although departing at this juncture from his Stoudite

[61] *Typikon* of John Tzimiskes (972), *Prot.*, 7.75–76, 83–84, 110.

[62] *Typikon*, 117.11; cf. 115.7–14. Cf. Pierre Dumont, 'Vie cénobitique ou vie hésychaste dans quelques "typica" byzantins', *1054–1954. L'église et les églises*, 2 (Chevetogne: Collection Irénikon, 1955), 3–13.

[63] *Typikon*, 117.17.

[64] See Ware, 'The Monastic ideal', 31.

[65] See Leroy, 'La conversion', 118.

exemplar, even here he is no sense a total innovator. According to his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea in his monastic foundations arranged for solitaries to live on the margin of the main community.[66] Also in Palestine during the fifth and sixth centuries, in the foundations associated with St Evthymios and St Savas, we often find a *koinobion*, a lavra and solitaries established in close proximity and interdependence, with the monks being allowed considerable freedom and flexibility in transferring from one form of life to another. In principle the cenobitic and the solitary life appear clearly distinct, but in practice throughout the Christian East the line of demarcation between them is often blurred. There is, then, nothing intrinsically paradoxical about Athanasios's desire to combine together the common life and the solitude of the 'hesychast'.

Athanasios seeks to prevent any rivalry between the cenobites and the solitaries. The 'hesychasts', so he insists, are not to look on themselves as an élite, superior to the rest of the brotherhood. On the contrary the cenobitic vocation, faithfully observed, is on an equal footing with the eremitic. He writes:

> I testify to you all before God and the angels that those who persevere in genuine obedience and continue in the love of God and in warm affection towards each other will by no means come in the second place after those who have struggled to the utmost in *hesychia*, but may even be found superior to them.[67]

It should be noted that, when Athanasios employs the term 'hesychast', he uses it simply in the older and broader sense to mean someone living in solitude rather than in a *koinobion*.[68] There is no trace in Athanasios of the later fourteenth-century sense whereby a 'hesychast' commonly designates one who practises the Jesus Prayer, perhaps in combination with certain bodily techniques, seeking thereby the vision of divine light. Indeed, Athanasios says nothing at all about the invocation of the name of Jesus and is generally reticent about the practice of inner prayer. While he refers occasionally to the 'guarding' of the spiritual intellect (*nous*),[69] he nowhere specifies how this is to be done in practice.

Certainly, the *Vita* by Athanasios of Panagiou alludes once to an 'outpouring of light' that shone around Athanasios the Athonite at the end of a period of temptation,[70] while the anonymous *Vita Secunda* describes

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[66] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 43.62.

[67] *Typikon*, 118.18–22.

[68] On the different senses of *hesychia*, see I. Hausherr, 'L'hésychasme. Etude de spiritualité', OCP 22 (1956), 5–40, 244–85, reprinted in Hausherr, *Hésychasme et prière*, OCA 176 (Rome, 1966), 163–237.

[69] *Typikon*, 102.29; 116.16; cf. *Vita* A, 159.23.

[70] *Vita* A, 59.22; influenced by Athanasios of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii* 10.

more specifically how a monk saw Athanasios's face 'like a flame of fire ... shining as lightning'.[71] While these passages anticipate to some extent the teaching on the divine light in fourteenth-century texts such as *The Triads* of St Gregory Palamas and the two early *Vitae* of St Maximos of Kapsokalyvia,[72] it would be unwise to build too much on a couple of isolated references. The divine light is definitely not a dominant theme in the surviving sources concerning the founder of the Great Lavra.

There is another omission, of a different kind, in Athanasios the Athonite's writings. Somewhat surprisingly, since he was himself a scribe,[73] he says nothing about the need for a monastic library. In contrast, Christodoulos devoted much energy to the assembling of a good collection of manuscripts for his monks to consult.[74] Clearly, following Theodore the Stoudite, Athanasios saw his monastery as a place for manual labour, not for scholarly research. There was a school attached to the Great Lavra,[75] but this was probably only at an elementary level, to teach illiterate monks to read.

Athanasios the Athonite's place in monastic history

Let us now return to our initial question. If such is Athanasios the Athonite's monastic programme, how should we assess his place in monastic history? Was he a traditionalist or an innovator? The question may be approached from three angles.

First, looking not at the previous history of Athos but at Byzantine monastic history in general, should he be seen as an innovator? Our answer must be an emphatic *'No'*. Athanasios seeks to reproduce faithfully the existing tradition of cenobitic monasticism in its Basilian–Stoudite form. There is, however, one important qualification to be made. Unlike Theodore, alongside the cenobitic life he allows a place within his foundation for the solitary or 'hesychast' vocation, such as had existed on the Holy Mountain since at least the early ninth century. Yet even here, as we have seen, he was by no means a total innovator, for many others before him, including Basil himself, had sought to combine the two ways of life.

Second, did the foundation of the Great Lavra represent a new departure – a startling change of direction – so far as Athanasios's own previous

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[71] *Vita* B, 60.27–30. For similar incidents in the *Apophthegmata*, see the alphabetical collection, Arsenios 27, Joseph of Panepho 6–7, Pambo 1 and 12, Sisois 9 and 14, Silvanus 12, PG 65.96C, 229CD, 368C, 372A, 393C, 396BC, 412C.

[72] See Kallistos Ware, 'St Maximos of Kapsokalyvia and fourteenth-century Athonite hesychasm', in J. Chrysostomides, ed., *Kathegetria: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday* (Camberley, 1988), 409–30, esp. 420–29.

[73] *Vita* A, 53.8–10; 112.24–27. He was noted, so we are told, for the beauty of his script and the extraordinary speed with which he wrote.

[74] See Ware, 'The Monastic ideal', 32–33.

[75] *Vita* A, 165.13.

monastic career was concerned? Should we speak, as Leroy does, of a 'conversion' of Athanasios to the cenobitic ideal? There seems some justification for such a view. In his youth at Constantinople, the young Avraamios – the future Athanasios – led a secret ascetic life, while still a layman, as 'a monastic among non-monastics'.[76] Although there was no lack of cenobitic houses in the capital, he does not seem to have had close links with any of them; he chose to pursue the ascetic way in the solitude of his own room. The community at Kyminas which Athanasios subsequently joined was not a *koinobion* of the full Stoudite type, but a 'lavra' in the older sense of the word – that is, a group of disciples living under the personal guidance of a spiritual father.[77] After four years in this lavra, he was allowed to become a hermit.[78] When he journeyed from Kyminas to Mount Athos, one of his motives was precisely a desire for greater *hesychia*; and, at the earliest possible opportunity after the customary period of probation, he moved to a spot that was 'utterly deserted' at the southernmost tip of the Athonite peninsula.[79] He became not merely a hermit but a hermit of the most extreme type.

There is little in all this that presages his future role as the founder of a cenobitic house. The turning-point occurs around the year 961 with his visit to Crete.[80] In all probability it was Nikephoros Phokas who persuaded Athanasios to found not a lavra such as he had known at Kyminas but a cenobitic Stoudite house. Although Athanasios retained the name "Lavra" for his foundation, it was not in fact a lavra of the older Palestinian type but a true *koinobion*. His change of direction proved permanent; unlike other founders of *koinobia* who subsequently withdrew into solitude, Athanasios continued to live a fully communal life until his death. But if there was a change of direction on Athanasios's part, it was not total. The Great Lavra was indeed a *koinobion* but, as we have noted, a *koinobion* with a difference, since Athanasios allowed a place also for the eremitic vocation. Although only a small minority, the 'hesychasts' at the Lavra constitute a significant presence in the total brotherhood.

This brings us to the third aspect of the question: how far was Athanasios an innovator in terms of the previous history of the Holy Mountain? In common with many biographers, Athanasios of Panagiou seeks to enhance the creativity of his hero by drawing a sharp contrast between the situation before Athanasios and the situation after him. In a famous passage the author of the *Vita Prima* describes monastic life on the Mountain prior to Athanasios's arrival: scattered hermits, few in number, practising no

[76] Ibid., 14.17.
[77] Leroy, 'La conversion', 106–8.
[78] *Vita* A, 26.22–23.
[79] Ibid., 57.13.
[80] See Papachryssanthou, *Prot.*, Introduction, 75–76.

agriculture, living on wild fruits, and dwelling in little huts of wood with thatched roofs.[81] There is certainly a serious degree of exaggeration here. At best the description applies to the situation in the early ninth century, but when St Evthymios the Younger arrived on Athos in 859 the monastic life of the Mountain was already more organized that this.

Can we claim, none the less, that prior to Athanasios there existed on the Holy Mountain no fully integrated *koinobion* of the Stoudite type? It would be rash to assert this categorically, for we are not at all well informed about the exact situation on Athos during the first half of the tenth century. There is evidence to suggest a gradual development of community life in the fifty years before the foundation of the Great Lavra, but it is not clear how far, if at all, these communities conformed to the full Stoudite programme. In the *Tragos*, dating from around 972, alongside the signatures of the Prôtos and of Athanasios there are those of fifty-five other monks, of whom no less than forty-six style themselves *hegoumenos*.[82] Who are these forty-six 'abbots'? There seems to be a clear distinction between them and Athanasios. Whereas Athanasios is designated '*hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra', in the case of the other forty-six (with two possible exceptions) each is simply called *hegoumenos* and is not linked with any particular house. If each was head of a fully developed monastery like the Great Lavra, why is the name of the monastery not given, as is done in the case of Athanasios? In the absence of any more definite indication, it would be dangerous to conclude that all forty-six were abbots of Stoudite cenobitic houses, similar to the Great Lavra. Probably the communities over which they presided were for the most part small and informal, and the references to the functions of the *hegoumenos* in the text of the *Tragos* bear this out.[83]

This at least, then, can be affirmed with some confidence: there currently exists no clear and specific evidence of any fully organized Stoudite *koinobia* on the Mountain prior to the foundation of the Great Lavra around 963–64. There seems, therefore, sound reason to continue to regard the foundation of the Great Lavra as a decisive turning-point for Athonite history, even though the break with the past is less sharp than used to be assumed. So far as the evolution of the Holy Mountain is concerned, Athanasios does indeed appear as an innovator, albeit an innovator who was at the same time firmly rooted in established tradition. With the rapid emergence of other fully organized *koinobia* in the thirty-five years after the establishment of the Great Lavra, a fresh epoch in Athonite history begins; and it is Athanasios himself who inaugurates this new era. Not without reason do the hymns for his feast on 5 July liken him to the morning star and to the dawn.

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[81] *Vita* A, 38.1–25.

[82] *Prot.*, 7.162–76.

[83] *Prot.*, 7.43–71.

2. Symeon the New Theologian (d.1022) and Byzantine monasticism

John A. McGuckin

The life behind the Vita

Symeon's life adds to the known picture of the increasing trend in eleventh-century Byzantine monastic institutions to seek for greater autonomy from imperial and patriarchal control. The events correspond exactly with the high point of the Macedonian land reform policy, the attempt to standardize liturgical forms in Byzantium, and the increasing unrest of the powerful aristocratic families (especially those of Asia Minor) which is translated into the several attempts made on the throne in this period.

More than thirty years after his death, Niketas Stethatos composed a *Vita* bent on minimizing every element of political and ecclesiastical controversy in his subject's life, which was perhaps not an easy task.[1] His concern was to rehabilitate a figure who he still felt, even in 1054 when he was writing, could raise controversial memories.

Symeon's own works give a clearer sense of an independent thinker and powerful administrator who came from a successful senatorial career to a position of monastic leadership that spread outwards in eleventh-century society in a wide nexus of monastic and lay-aristocrat spiritual sons. Niketas's biography, although generally recognized as both late and tendentious, is the dominant source for much of our subject's life, but many later commentators have still relied on it too confidently despite Hausherr's early caveats. A full redactive analysis of the tendencies of Niketas as hagiographer is much needed. Where Niketas and Symeon both give accounts of the same instances, several significant divergences are immediately obvious. If one were less ready to rely on the *Vita*, the

[1] I. Hausherr, 'Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicétas Stéthatos', OCA 12 (Rome, 1928). (Henceforth *Vie*: Hausherr's prefatory commentary cited in Roman numerals, the text cited in Arabic numerals).

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question of what constituted Symeon's monastic reforms might stand out in fuller relief, for one would accordingly be less ready to accept Niketas's explanation of that reform, namely that Symeon found a derelict and lax community and restored it to a state of fervour: a standard hagiographical oversimplification of what monastic reform constitutes. The issue of distinguishing the real motives of Symeon from those attributed to him a generation later may be clarified by explaining some of the history which Niketas relegates to silence.

Symeon was born in 949 to wealthy Byzantine provincial aristocrats in Paphlagonia, Asia Minor,[2] a family which had important contacts in the capital and kinsmen already in place in high imperial offices. His father brought the child to Byzantium in 960 at the age of eleven to begin his studies. The date of his arrival coincided with the death of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, signalling a new chance to make fame and fortune under another administration. Romanos II had just begun his reign. John Tzimiskes and Nikephoros Phokas were both making great reputations for themselves as successful generals in the oriental campaigns.

Symeon's uncle was already in the imperial service, and advanced his nephew's studies as a way into court life. Romanos's administration was dominated by the intrigue of his empress Theophano who succeeded very quickly in retiring the dowager empress Helena and forcibly moving the five imperial sisters to a monastic residence. Joseph Bringas, the eunuch *parakoimomenos* and *paradynasteuon*, was effectively in charge of home affairs. On the emperor's early death in 963, however, matters changed dramatically, for Theophano pre-empted Bringas's power plans and allied herself with Nikephoros Phokas. Nikephoros could only come to his anointing in the great church after much bloody fighting in the streets of the capital where Bringas's faction held its ground. After breaking this resistance in August 963 Theophano appointed John Tzimiskes as *domestikos*, and the eunuch Basil, the great uncle of the young princes, as *parakoimomenos*.

This is the immediate context of a detail in Niketas's *Life of Symeon*, where he tells us that when the saint had completed his secondary schooling he abandoned his studies because he did not want to enter the political career which was open to him. This is a standard hagiographical device, although Niketas goes too far when he describes his hero as *'agrammatos'*, an unjustified slur since his own grammar is obviously defective in comparison with that of his subject. Niketas is simply wrong on this point, as on many others, since Symeon's subsequent career shows that he did plan for a glittering political career and indeed succeeded in his aspirations.

The reason for the abrupt withdrawal from public life in 963 is not that the pious child was already turning from the world (an idea Symeon himself contradicts in his confessional lamentations) but that the world was

[2] *Vie*, 2. 3–6.

turning from him. The actual conversion or entrance to a monastery on Symeon's part did not take place for a further thirteen years. What then disrupted the child's apparently predetermined progress? Several commentators, following Hausherr's original surmise,[3] have tried to fill the gap by speculating on Romanos II's moral profligacy and suggesting that the young Symeon experienced a moral revulsion at the thought of serving in the latter's chamber as spathocubiculary. This theory owes more to romance than history. Even though the office had diminished somewhat by the eleventh century, it still carried automatic senatorial rank. It no longer implied eunuch status[4] and represented far more than a mere servant's role. In any case, the young Symeon was not being proposed as spathocubicularius to Romanos II; this was an office which he was to bear under John Tzimiskes.

The real reason for Symeon's withdrawal from the schools was that his uncle's patronage ended abruptly. Niketas only gives the blandest of hints, but these are enough for he tells us, 'He was suddenly ushered out of life by no ordinary death',[5] and thus we are led to regard Symeon's uncle as one of the casualties of the palace revolution in 963.[6] This explains the extraordinary death (execution or assassination) and the removal of his protection over his nephew. After Bringas's fall, Theophano purged the eunuch administration savagely. Thus when Niketas abruptly portrays the fourteen-year-old Symeon fleeing the world in anticipation of his future life, it is clear that it was in fact a flight for safety to a monastery.

Symeon's setback lasted only a very short time; certainly within the year he was able to resume a political career. An important, but otherwise unknown, member of the Senate acted as his patron, and Symeon served in this house attending the palace daily, ultimately assuming senatorial rank himself.

Symeon's career advanced apace, a testimony to the resilience of his clan and the extent of its connections at court. In 969, when he was twenty, he describes his condition as that of a successful and somewhat rakish youth, travelling to and from the capital on court business,[7] which probably

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[3] *Vie*, lxxxviii.

[4] *Pace* P.A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VIIe, VIIe et IXe siècles* (Louvain, 1975), 36, who is correct in noting that, in earlier centuries, the office had been so restricted. Niketas probably thinks that Symeon had been a eunuch for this is how he has his own disciple, Philotheos, envisaging him, coming in a dream to signify his blessing on Niketas's work. Cf. *Vie*, 147. 6f. The psychosexual evidence in Symeon's own text weighs against this: *Catechesis* 35. 141–46 (henceforth *Cat.*, cited by *Catechesis* no. and SC page ref.). Symeon ought, in every instance, to be preferred.

[5] *Vie*, 3.16.

[6] Though surely not Bringas himself, as Hausherr surmised (*Vie*, lxxxviii), who is described by Leo the Deacon as being of ignoble birth: Leonis Diaconi Historia, CSHB 33, III.4.40.

[7] *Cat.*, 22, 22–27.

means family business at court. At this time Symeon says that he began to visit Symeon the Stoudite (Eulabes) whenever he was in Byzantium,[8] and that the latter gave him spiritual books to read.[9] He reduces the significance of his reading of the exploits of the older fathers to the point that they merely stimulated in him the desire for finding someone like them in the present generation who might effect his reconciliation and be a salvific father to him.

Symeon continued in this way of life for several years, interweaving spiritual exercises with his political duties.[10] He states that he grew to depend profoundly on Symeon Eulabes[11] but did not connect him with the paradigm of the living saint he was seeking until his first ecstatic vision which occurred at about this time and which he himself attributes to the influence of his spiritual father.[12] His famous description of his first vision of the divine light is clearly designed to highlight not so much his approach to God, but the role of the spiritual father who intercedes for him and who is present next to the light as a radiant, yet lesser, light. This provides insight into the kind of mediation he was then seeking, but it does not represent a general statement about the nature of mystical ecstasy. It marked a significant episode in his life, although not a conversion point, for he carried on with his courtly life, hinting that he became more dissolute in behaviour than ever before.[13] Symeon's description of his second vision of the light, experienced seven years later after he had joined his spiritual father in the Stoudios monastery in 976, presents it as the definitive resolution of all earlier experiences. It is the second vision which should be viewed as Symeon's actual conversion and it is contemporaneous with his definitive entry into the monastic state. We should treat his statement that throughout the seven years between the first and second visions he was dissatisfied and seeking to escape from the tyranny of political service with a degree of caution. This represents a retrospective attempt to explain why it took him so long to embrace the monastic life.

Symeon was seeking the answer to that question inside himself, but the historian needs also to look at external conditions. In his inner condition Symeon was motivated by anxiety. He needed a reconciler and was told that no one existed in the present generation who could sustain such a

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[8] Ibid., 307–8.

[9] Mark the Monk's *Spiritual Law*, a fifth-century ascetical work: PG 65. 905–29. Symeon's monastic writings also show the influence of John Climacus, Theodore the Stoudite and, to some extent, Gregory Nazianzen who in many ways prefigured him as an aristocratic monk, composer of hymns and theorist of the divine light. In this period Gregory's writings were very popular in the schools of Byzantium.

[10] *Cat.*, 22, 70–73.

[11] Ibid., 299.

[12] Ibid., 70–73.

[13] Ibid., 275–95; *Eucharistic Hymns* (henceforth *Euch.*) 2, 41–6; *Euch.*, 1. 114–17.

spiritual role.[14] This restless dissatisfaction, of course, reveals the inner state that made him ready for the experience of 969 and the more dramatic vision of 976 which he connects with it. It is interesting, in the light of this connection, to note the external events of 969 which correspond with the feelings of intense anxiety, the quest for a saving father, and the ecstatic vision of light.

Indeed they are significant, for in that same period occur the assassination of Nikephoros Phokas, orchestrated by Theophano, and the elevation of John Tzimiskes. Those of the current imperial administration, Symeon included, must have been filled with great dread at what a return to power in the hands of Theophano might mean for them. Perhaps the return to a rapid sense of security came soon enough when John, who had learned from all he had seen and done, imprisoned Theophano in a convent and reigned supreme. Like Nikephoros, John had many friends in the aristocratic party and Symeon's career seems if anything to have been consolidated by his accession.

Seven years later, however, the vision of light recurred. Symeon was now in the Stoudios monastery, and his political career was never to be resumed in its previous form. What had happened? Using violent language he talks of God rescuing him from the pit. The imagery he uses is revealing: he is 'in a pit once again',[15] under the 'tyranny willingly accepted of these brigands', yet God himself lifted him from the abyss 'by a hair of my head'. The brigands are of course the demons and passions apostrophized. This is how the passage has always been read. But is this all that is behind it? In his later reflections he celebrates a veritable 'escape' at this period from courtly life and from princes and kings 'who wanted to use him as a vile instrument of their base designs'.[16] This, I suggest, has no sexual connotations (although interpreters have nevertheless assumed them)[17] but rather represents the reaction of an aristocrat sensitive of his familial honour and expressing disdain for an inferior, even hateful, *basileus*. Although it has been pointed out that Symeon has a range of cynical and dismissive images which he relates to the emperor,[18] the point here is not that Symeon hated the emperor *de facto* but that he hated a particular emperor. The evidence points to Basil II, a basilisk from Theophano's brood as far as Symeon was concerned.

The reference to being 'lifted by a hair of my head' signals his intended context of meaning by alluding to Ezekiel 8.3 where the prophetic Son of

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[14] *Euch.*, 1, 72–80.

[15] Ibid., 2, 47–73.

[16] *Cat.*, 36, 32–5.

[17] Cf. Hausherr, *Vie*, lxxxviii.

[18] Cf. B. Krivocheine, *In the Light of Christ* (New York, 1986), 157 and *Cat.*, 2, 107–20, 324–34; *Cat.*, 5, 594–632.

Man is carried by the hair of his head to see the apostasy of the court and priesthood, the final prelude to God's abandonment of his temple and his making of a new covenant with the scattered and persecuted kinsfolk of the prophetic Son of Man (Ezek.11.14f.). As the visionary and ecstatic prophet Ezekiel castigated the usurping administration of Jerusalem and highlighted the hope of the true line of King Jehoiachin being restored from exile, so also he condemned the ruling party for having scattered their victims on the streets of the city (Ezek.11.6). In his own turn, the visionary and ecstatic Symeon had a strong motive for characterizing himself in an Ezekiel typology. It is likely that he resonates with the deeper political parallels of the scriptural passage: a hateful section of the ascendant court who scattered victims of his own family on the streets, an implicit call for the overthrow of the present false court and the restoration of true royalty from among the exiles. Such dangerous political aspirations were best voiced in coded biblical symbolism.

To date, the second vision has attracted attention largely in the manner of the hagiographic 'conversion story'. Western scholars have approached this event mainly in its relation to the inner psychic or moral states of Symeon: a favoured paradigm of Western European religious consciousness but not necessarily the proper matrix for reading the ancient genre of *'conversio'* narrative. The political subtext of the Ezekiel quotation becomes more interesting when we note the parallel political events of 976, the year of John Tzimiskes's death and the great upheavals consequent on Bardas Skleros's claiming the throne on the basis of the right to dominion falling to the strongest aristocratic family. The *parakoimomenos* Basil simultaneously pressed for his own advancement by championing the rights of Theophano's children, Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII). The Skleros revolt soon escalated to the status of a civil war, with first he, then Bardas Phokas, making concerted bids to secure the throne with support from powerful aristocratic clans in Asia Minor (Symeon's home base). In the summer of 976 Skleros was acclaimed emperor and marched on the capital. His revolt was suppressed by Phokas in 979. Even so in 985, as Basil II prepared to overthrow his uncle's influence and rule in his own right, aristocratic unrest broke out with renewed force and was only ended by the Varangian defeat of Phokas's armies at Chrysopolis where he had established his base.

The *parakoimomenos* Basil, sensing his own disgrace approaching in 985, was anxious to make alliances with strong aristocratic factions, Phokas included, but he was caught and overthrown in his negotiations. It was this grand eunuch who had recommended the election of the Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges (984–95), whom Niketas at least regarded as a friend of Symeon's, and mistakenly posits as the one who had advanced him to the status of *hegoumenos* of St Mamas. But if Symeon became *hegoumenos* in 979, it must have been by the vote and influence of the patriarch appointed by

Tzimiskes – that is, Antony the Stoudite (974–80), someone who would have known Symeon during his aristocratic career at court and could be expected to advance his cause in the difficult times after 976. It can be noted, in contrast, that Basil II's patriarchal appointments after he had purged the opposing aristocrats were Sisinios II (995–98) and Sergios II (999–1019), neither of whom could be described as friends of the abbot of Xylokerkos, despite all Niketas's attempts to make them so in the *Vita*. It is clear both from this early period in 976, and from the moves made against Symeon in his later career, that the family of Theophano regarded the likes of Symeon as longstanding enemies – and apparently this feeling was mutual.

This would suggest that, as soon as the grand eunuch seized power on behalf of Basil II in 976, Symeon knew that his political career was over and even perhaps that his life was in as much danger as it had been in the aftermath of the palace revolts of 963 and 969. He was correct with regard to the former, but he was able to retain a foothold (in and through the church) because of old friends at least as long as the *parakoimomenos* Basil ruled. When Basil II took sole power things were very different. A wry note in Basil's Novel of 996 tells just how much the *basileus* intended to distance himself from his uncle's policies.[19]

The correlation of the Byzantine aristocrat's almost instinctive understanding of the monastery as a political refuge, with the entrance to monastic life depicted in terms of religious conversion, is, of course, far from being an irreconcilable paradox. Symeon gives the final reason for his entrance to monastic life as weariness with the instability of the world's affairs. He also later tells his monks that 'fear of retribution' is the best of all first steps on the monastic road. It is revealing that he apostrophizes the dread that makes a good monk as 'fear of the executioner'.[20] The political explanation does not denigrate the authenticity of the inner state which normally is thought to characterize the conversion experience. The concept of conversion was understood far less individualistically in the Byzantine period than in the post-Freudian era and the hand of God was much more readily and directly seen in the political exigencies that signalled whether a man was to live in palaces or monastic retirement.

In 976 then, at the age of twenty-seven, Symeon took refuge once again in the Stoudios monastery by the side of his spiritual father. He did not share his cell, but Niketas tells us that he occupied a small cupboard under

[19] Novel of 996: 'For from the beginning of our own reign until the deposition of Basil the *parakoimomenos* ... many things happened which were not according to our wish, for he decided and appointed everything according to his own will ...' cited in G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1989), 300.

[20] *Chapters*, 3.19, p. 76 in Paul McGuckin, ed., *St Symeon the New Theologian: The Practical & Theological Chapters* (Kalamazoo, 1982). The aforementioned is my youthful monastically named self. It seems to me now that the historical introduction to this edition of the *Chapters* takes Niketas too literally.

the stairs[21] – perhaps a temporary measure – indeed his sojourn here could only have lasted a matter of weeks.[22] Niketas tries to suggest that this was Symeon's entrance into Stoudite monachism, a fallacy that has become part and parcel of the Symeon legend. On the basis of the subsequent deduction that he was 'expelled', several scholars have tried to draw contrasts between Symeon's idea of community life and that of Stoudios. The evidence does not support such a view. In all the aspects of Symeon's monastic regime at St Mamas no strong departure from Stoudite daily observance can be discerned.[23] It was the teaching on spiritual fatherhood alone that seemed to have stirred up opposition in his own community and in many ways this can be seen as an attempt on Symeon's part to centralize monastic observance even further on the basis of obedience to the *hegoumenos*. It represents an important aspect that will have to be considered later when trying to describe what validity the term reform might have in relation to Symeon's treatment of the monastic lifestyle.

Symeon's departure from Stoudios, far from being an expulsion, represented an advancement, particularly since three years later he was raised to *hegoumenos* by a Stoudite patriarch. Niketas suggests that the 'jealousy' of the *hegoumenos* of Stoudios was the reason for his departure, but that is the stock answer he gives for every detail of Symeon's life which could be interpreted as a setback. It tells us nothing except that St Mamas was a less desirable address than Stoudios. Mgr Krivocheine[24] and several other scholars have elevated this assumption of Niketas into a symbol of Symeon's so-called monastic reforms. Thus Stoudios is portrayed as a paradigm of organized, institutionalized cenobitic life and Symeon's inability to fit in there becomes a harbinger of a new individual and passionate spirit which he brings to insufflate and renew a tired institutionalism by means of fervent mysticism.

This theory, however, misrepresents the evidence of tenth-century Byzantine monasticism, first by reading Niketas's hagiographical exaggerations as straightforward history and, second, by approaching Symeon with the hindsight of medieval hesychasm. It is clear that Niketas, at least, saw Symeon *qua monastic legislator*, purely in the Stoudite tradition.

Within three years of Symeon's arrival at St Mamas,[25] in 979–80, the Patriarch Antony the Stoudite elevated him to the hegoumenate. This took

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[21] *Vie*, 11, 4–11.

[22] Ibid., lxxxvii.

[23] Cf. D. Krausmüller, 'Stoudios and St Mamas in the tenth century', in M. Mullett and A. Kirby, eds, *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Byzantine Monasticism*, BBTT 6.1 (Belfast, 1994), 71–73 and *passim*.

[24] Introduction to the *Catecheses* in SC 96 (Paris, 1963), 23, 41.

[25] St Mamas the Megalomartyr by the Xerokerkos or Xylokerkos gate. Mgr Krivocheine noted that fragments from the monastery complex could be discerned among the ruins of the

place immediately after the death of the previous abbot Antony, a friend of Symeon Eulabes.[26] The rapid advancement indicates a significant patronage, although this factor is wholly ignored by Niketas who uses the elevation as a *topos* to reveal Symeon's reputation for holiness. This patronage factor is of great importance in considering to what extent Symeon was ever a monastic reformer. If he enjoyed external patronage from the patriarch to the extent that he was effectively handed control of the St Mamas monastery, it can only be surmised that it was because he was still able to exercise significant patronal power himself. This is only to be expected of a rich aristocrat taking refuge in monastic life. The refurbishment of the fabric of the site and the ostentatious opulence of the festivals subsequently celebrated at St Mamas are eloquent testimony to the portable wealth that Symeon was still able to command after his arrival there. It is also useful to recall that later in his career, when Symeon was formally indicted at the patriarchal trial, the authorities made a rapid search of his quarters for the quantities of gold they thought were lodged there.

It is from this period of the early hegoumenate that commentators trace their theories of Symeon's programme of monastic reform, looking primarily to the *Catecheses* which he begins to preach at the morning office. General conclusions about tenth-century Byzantine monasticism ought to be drawn only with the greatest of care from this somewhat narrow base. Nevertheless, certain facts are clear in the record, and Symeon undoubtedly had a 'programme' which he set about initiating, parts of which were controversial. It is of course important to discern which parts those were.

In the first place, let us consider the physical reforms which Symeon instigated as soon as he was given control of the monastery. According to Niketas,[27] Symeon rebuilt almost everything except the monastery church. We are told that the church itself had come to be a 'burial place', full of bones, and that Symeon removed these accumulations, paved the entire floor with marble and invested it with *polykandela* and costly icons. Niketas's cumulative picture is almost that of a ruined site, but this ought not to be taken too literally since the hagiographer wishes to emphasize his hero's organizational skills. His text is clearly doubtful for he actually contradicts himself as he progresses. His initial statement, for example, that the church alone did not need restoration, is unravelled by his later characterization

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church of Our Lady of Belgrade by the present-day Belgrad Kapısı. See R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin III: Les églises et les monastères* (2nd edn, Paris, 1969), 314–19. It was near the site of Stoudios.

[26] *Vie*, 22, 32.

[27] Ibid., 34, 2–6. Here Niketas describes the physical condition of the site and subsequently his views on its monastic inhabitants, who are eventually transformed into 'holy Stoudites' by the work of Symeon.

of it as little more than a 'burial place'. The contemporary reader is almost given the picture of Stoudios as it appears today, magnificent but melancholy in its decayed ruination. Such an image is highly tendentious and one ought not to be led astray by Niketas, although many commentators have taken the picture seriously and arrived at conclusions about Symeon's reform programme on its basis. The church was not a derelict graveyard and Symeon did not have to rebuild it. The only bones which we know were certainly there were those of the imperial family of Maurice, whose royal foundation St Mamas had been. Symeon's activity is not so much that of the rebuilder as that of a new patron effecting a second foundation by refurbishment and, in the process, deleting the obvious signs of previous patronage. If it was the imperial tombs that Symeon cleared from the church, it was a loud and provocative statement for a tenth-century aristocrat to make in the face of the newly elevated *basileus*. St Mamas was a patronal saint of Paphlagonia, Symeon's ancestral homeland and source of his family's wealth. Here, in the heart of the capital, was a chance for a concrete aristocratic deconstruction of imperial dynastic pretensions.

Closely allied with Niketas's wish to present his hero as rebuilder of the monastery comes the depiction of the moral and spiritual ruin into which the St Mamas monks had supposedly fallen. This is again a *topos* of the *Vita* which is often cited by commentators as evidence of Symeon's 'reform' being constituted by a kind of interior renewal of lax discipline among aimless monks. Niketas says, '[St Mamas] was no longer a sheepfold for monks but had become a rendezvous for worldly men',[28] and he continues, 'The few monks that remained were suffering spiritual famine, abandoned as they were with no protection or spiritual guidance'.[29] This statement does not fully fit the facts, for Niketas had earlier told us that the monastery was under the direction of the *hegoumenos* Antony. The charge of 'abandonment' is part of Niketas's accumulating picture of ruin and neglect, but, if the monastery was in the ruinous state, he implies that it could hardly have been a 'rendezvous for worldly men'. I take this to be an accurate reminiscence. It clearly represents a side-swipe against Symeon's later opponents within the community whom Niketas characterizes as so angered by Symeon's zeal that they orchestrated two attempts to overthrow their *hegoumenos*, the second of which was successful. The reference to 'worldly men' can be read another way – that is, that St Mamas was already known as a suitable venue for the social élite. There are parts of the text of the *Catecheses* which have Symeon apostrophizing his monks and asking whether they expect to find monastic life an improvement on their former lifestyles. This has sometimes been read as an indication that the monks

[28] *Vie*, 32. 2–4.
[29] Ibid., 4–6.

were known by the founder to be from the peasant class, and his call for asceticism is grounded in his reminder that they ought not to attempt to raise their status through their monastic profession. I would take it more as an ironic affirmation of his own power base as aristocratic 'founder' of the community, over and against his known opposition in the monastery who also had significant social connections,[30] but not in the same order of importance or wealth as Symeon's family, and the aristocratic circle of disciples (extended kinship) which he soon attracted to himself from the court and from other monasteries in Byzantium.

This double perspective, first of a St Mamas which was not as ruinous as Niketas would have us believe but which actually harboured a number of highly placed monastics who remained a constant source of opposition to Symeon, and second, of Symeon's arrival at St Mamas as a wealthy aristocrat who needed to re-establish a power base independent of court patronage and whose disposable income eased his way to authority over the site as a second founder, is one which must be given new consideration. It is important to take into account the hagiographic manner in which Symeon's monastic programme has traditionally been presented, portraying the saint in accordance with Niketas's *topoi* both as vigorous builder and as spiritual castigator of inner laxity.

It is the *Catecheses* that Symeon preached at St Mamas from 980 onwards which ought to be taken as primary evidence of Symeon's monastic programme and which should be preferred in every instance to Niketas's *Vita*. Their dates extend across an extremely volatile period, as symbolized by Bardas Phokas's revolt (986–89), which was itself the culmination of a long process of increasingly focused opposition by the aristocrats of Asia Minor (Symeon's homeland) to Basil II's policy of restricting the power base of his opponents by controlling land acquisition in the civil and ecclesiastical domains. In 986 Basil discovered the plot of his *parakoimomenos* and became his own master. After Phokas's defeat in 989, he became more ready to move openly against his enemies. In the same period (986–87) Symeon Eulabes died at the Stoudios monastery,[31] leaving Symeon as the head of his considerable school of disciples.

Some time between 995 and 998 the internal opposition to Symeon's leadership came to a head during a service of *orthros* when he was delivering one of his Catecheses. No less than thirty monks charged at him in open revolt [32] and, after the protest in church, broke the lock on the monastery gate and lodged a demand at the patriarchal palace for the dismissal of their

[30] See Krausmüller's interesting account of the significance of monks eating with one another in tenth-century monastic life, as a form of social bonding and patterning: Krausmüller, 'Stoudios and St Mamas', 72–73, 84.

[31] Hausherr, *Vie*, xl ; cf. Symeon's *Hymn* 37, 48–50.

[32] *Vie*, 38, 7–18 ; cf. Hausherr, *Vie*, xc.

hegoumenos. The detail of the broken lock surely indicates their intention to return and their confidence in ousting Symeon rather than in being ousted by him.

This attempt to overthrow Symeon was premature. Niketas tells us that it came to nothing, even that the monks were exiled.[33] Yet there is a strange note of qualification when he depicts Symeon trying to seek them out so they could continue living in his community.[34] He attributes this to Symeon's all-embracing charity. Someone less trusting of Niketas might read it as a rationalization of the known fact that there remained a determined seat of opposition to Symeon within his own monastery right up to the time of his condemnation by the synod and subsequent exile. This throws doubt on the severity of the patriarchal sentence against the monastic dissidents and the extent of its application. Niketas's attempt to dismiss the riot as a minority protest is of course hopelessly inadequate. The full extent of the St Mamas community is not known but, by tenth-century standards for such a house, thirty represents a very sizeable body of monks. The riot, and doubtless the motive for it, coincides with the death of the patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges and the election of Sisinios II (995–98), the first patriarchal appointment of Basil II's own choosing. In 999 the former was succeeded by Sergios II Manuelites (999–1019). Both patriarchal courts instituted legal processes against Symeon and it was only a matter of time before their concerted action bore fruit in his deposition. The political implications are obvious, although suppressed by Niketas and largely ignored subsequently: the attempt to disgrace Symeon represents a part of Basil II's increasing suppression of his aristocratic opponents which reflected his desire to cut their fiscal lifelines.

The first formal arraignment began a few years after the open revolt. It represented a public enquiry into Symeon's cult of his spiritual master. According to Niketas, this review process was instigated by enemies and the patriarch never assented to it. In fact he tells us that he even sent gifts of incense and candles to associate himself in the veneration of Symeon Eulabes.[35] This suits Niketas's general intent to dilute every element of controversy in his *Vita*, but it is surely another misattributed memory on Niketas's part that there had, at some stage, been patriarchal support for Symeon and his veneration of the memory of Eulabes which now had been continuing unhindered for several years. The patriarch who tacitly blessed the cult, however, was surely not Sergios but Nicholas Chrysoberges, his predecessor, whom Niketas remembered as a friend of Symeon.

The refusal after 995 to honour Symeon's spiritual father was a deliberate slur on the honour of both. Formal charges were made to the effect that

[33] *Vie*, 39. 6–11.

[34] Ibid., 39–40.

[35] Ibid., 72, 24–26.

Eulabes, far from being a holy man, was a profligate and a fool.[36] What was at stake here was family prestige, standing at court and influence. Although Symeon Eulabes was not related to Symeon, the bond of spiritual discipleship represented exactly that kind of extended Byzantine kinship which allowed aristocratic families to consolidate their opposition to the throne in extensive networks of subversive allegiance. It is this which the synodical review was challenging, and the unseen motivating force was surely the emperor himself. Niketas attempts to remove both patriarch and *basileus* from the process and accordingly lays all the blame on Stephen of Alexina, metropolitan of Nicomedia. This is a ridiculous position, all too often taken for fact. Stephen of Alexina was none other than the *synkellos* of the Patriarch. It is inconceivable that he acted in any other role than as the spokesman and agent of the court. It is also indicative that several years earlier, in 976, it was the same Stephen who had been commissioned by Basil II to negotiate the cessation of hostilities with Bardas Skleros. His mission proved unsuccessful, but it clearly marked out Stephen as a trusted and longstanding confidant of the emperor.

The second legal process against Symeon began in 1003 and was clearly more carefully planned. Its first hearing was designed to entrap Symeon in dialectics and to prove his heterodoxy on a trinitarian basis. This reflects common knowledge of the time – something that the writings of Symeon themselves witness – that the saint was not a skilled systematician or historian of the tradition. He was, however, able to confound that attempt by excusing himself from open debate and pleading the necessity to submit a written profession – one that could be securely drafted. The substance of this response can be seen now in his *Theological Discourses*. Lack of skill at dialectic is, however, different from ignorance as a theologian, and this process also caused him to write an important text[37] which castigates Stephen for refusing to allow the function and title of theologian to those who have achieved impassibility and the experience of the divine light. This text was to become famous as a rallying point for all the adherents of mystical theology in opposition to scholasticism and, although it had the effect of firing a return shot to the synod in 1003, it was destined to acquire even greater significance as a *locus classicus* in the much later disputes of Palamas and Barlaam, and ever afterwards in hesychast apologetics.

Thus began a war of attrition which Niketas describes as lasting for six years, culminating in a sentence of deposition in 1005 and one of exile in 1009. During this time the opposition forces in Symeon's own monastery helped to destabilize him.[38] Niketas describes Symeon's trial as if it were

[36] Cf. *Cat.*, 36, 102–116.
[37] *Hymn* 21; cf. *Vie*, 75–77.
[38] *Vie*, 87, 9–21.

a defence of the holy icons and he blows up the controversy as if it were the ninth century revisited. Symeon's own writings are much more informative and much less histrionic. They demonstrate that he at least regarded the issue as doctrinally based and localized in his right to claim that a saint can live in the present generation and must judge in accordance with his own God-given lights. We might extend the definition of 'doctrinal' in order to note that, in this argument which is almost synonymous with Symeon's central theological argument, that only the initiated mystic has the right to theologize, the central point is one of authority. This struggle to assert the proper *locus* of authority, be it in the imperially controlled circuit of palace and patriarchal throne or in the more diffused and independent networks of aristocratic relations, was critically important not merely on a 'theological' plane, but also in the wider context of Basil II's determined efforts to assert his predominance. The theological and political aspects of the Symeon controversy become inseparable at this juncture. In contemporary canons of theological interpretation, particularly after Schleiermacher's and James's internalizations of religion for the Western Protestant consciousness, reference is primarily to the internal and discrete religious personality of the mystic. In a total society, or to put it more accurately, a total or closed narrative such as that represented by the religious orthodoxy of Byzantium in the tenth century, the appeal to mystical insight along with the claim of authority to teach, belongs quite clearly to a different universe of discourse. It represents nothing more than a pre-emptive appeal to individually adjudicated authority within, yet above, society. In Symeon's case (for he undoubtedly refers to himself and his own right to teach when he appeals to the principle of the contemporary saint) it amounts to a claim that he exists above the power bases of the thrones which controlled Byzantium, those of the emperor and the patriarch. This is exactly what the lay aristocratic opposition to Basil II was also saying in a more political way and on a wider front.

Symeon's deposition from office was effected in 1005 and what Niketas describes as his resignation to 'longed-for *hesychia*'[39] was probably his restriction to St Mamas while other charges were being pursued. On 3 January 1009 he was taken by a detachment of troops into exile and dropped unceremoniously at Paloukito, by Chrysopolis. Niketas may be hinting that the place was chosen as a symbolic mark of scorn when he tells us that Symeon was 'abandoned in a deserted place where the column of the condemned prince stood'.[40] This was the region which Bardas Phokas had made his headquarters for his ill-fated attempt to topple Basil II. If it is correct to surmise that 'the condemned prince' stands for Phokas and his failed

[39] Ibid., 59, 4–15.

[40] Ibid., 95. 6–11.

design of 976, the choice of site would have been a sardonic gesture on the part of the *basileus*, informing Symeon that his insulting rejection of the court at that period had been noted and was now repaid in full. At the same time St Mamas was raided and Symeon's assets sequestered.

According to Niketas, the raid on the monastery resulted from an insulting letter written by Symeon to Stephen of Alexina from his place of exile. The letter, however, bears all the hallmarks of a composition of Niketas himself. It is small-minded and petty, bearing scant resemblance to Symeon's own apologetic texts which adopt a robust and aristocratic tone with his opponents. In any case, it would hardly be worthwhile raiding St Mamas long after Symeon had left, and in fact the raid by the fiscal officers was probably synchronized with the delivery of the sentence to exile, which must also have contained a provision for confiscation of goods. Here Niketas's chronology, as elsewhere, is wrong. Niketas indicates that the condemnation by the synod was delivered *'in absentia'* and thus was expected by Symeon. This explains how his assets were successfully transferred with the help of his network of aristocratic disciples and how new properties and extensive lands at Chrysopolis could be purchased so quickly afterwards.

Niketas's claim that the patriarch wished to reverse the exiles' condemnation by offering him elevation to an important metropolitan see as a token of rehabilitation[41] stems only from his apologetic intent to rehabilitate Symeon's memory. In reality Symeon stayed for the rest of his life at Paloukiton in permanent exile from Byzantium, and a new monastic estate grew up around him again just as it once had at St Mamas. The buildings of the St Marina oratory were supplemented by his party's purchase of the lands attached to the neighbouring *metochion* of the Eugenios convent.

We are told that, in his final years, Symeon returned to his family's estates in Asia Minor – an interesting detail, for to read his *Practical Chapters* with their (largely traditional) material about the renunciation of kinship ties, one might have been led to surmise that Symeon's life was devoid of clan bonds. In fact kin and extended kinship form the matrix of his entire life and are included in his monastic programme. The primary concern of the castigations of associations of monks (such as eating together or discoursing in cells) that appear in the *Catecheses* should be understood not as denunciation of kinship bonds per se, but as control techniques for all those associative kin groups within the monastery that were not under the direct control of its *hegoumenos* and which Symeon rightly sensed to be serious threats to his own position.

Finally, exhausted by an attack of dysentery, Symeon died in exile at the age of seventy-three and was buried by his disciples. It was not until thirty

[41] Ibid., 102, 14–103,18.

years after his death that his relics were returned to the capital, which indicates the extent of the controversy that attended his reputation. The *Vita* by Niketas was partly designed to prepare for their reception in the city. Allowing that Symeon was a highly controversial figure, is it therefore accurate to say that his monastic teaching *per se* was innovative?

What might monastic reform mean to Symeon the New Theologian?

Symeon's specifically monastic reforms have frequently been characterized as a kind of anti-Stoudite reaction. In so far as Stoudios is portrayed as a paradigm of regular Basilian cenobitism, Symeon's vision is frequently described as a more personalized call to inner freedom. There are difficulties with such a picture. While Symeon undoubtedly lays much emphasis on the true monk's consciousness of the grace of the Holy Spirit, this is not the same as elevating the notion of purely personal responsibility in the monastic life. In fact Symeon's purely 'monastic' programme, as evidenced throughout the *Catecheses*, witnesses, at many instances, an entirely opposite intent.

In the Stoudite form of cenobitic order, the common offices provided the context for a variety of monastic expressions. This is demonstrated by the example of Symeon Eulabes coexisting in the same house alongside colleagues who castigated his type of enthusiastic monasticism and the wider variety of styles and personalities in the large number of famous Stoudites who appear throughout the pages of Byzantine history. In no way does this represent a stultifying uniformity of monastic stereotypes. Furthermore, Symeon's insistence on absolute obedience to the spiritual father marks a new stage in the submissiveness of independent action and thought, not a deepening sense of personal autonomy. The total dedication to the will of the *abba* is an old desert tradition that survived in regular instructions to novices. It had a relevance in the eremitic context of its origins as well as in standard tenth-century attitudes towards novices and the lower order, 'servant monks'. Symeon's reclamation of this concept as an important principle of monastic *praxis* represents a radical innovation, and it was this more than anything else that raised the ire of experienced monks.

The interpretations of Symeon's life which rely uncritically on Niketas (and this is exactly a point where Symeon's own writings do not sustain the interpretation) often assume that his transfer from Stoudios to St Mamas took place because of his refusal to recognize the authority of the *hegoumenos* in preference for that of his spiritual father. It is then assumed, only partly accurately, that in his *Catecheses* he goes on to elevate the role of the spiritual father to a supreme authority in monastic life. This interpretation, however, obscures an important aspect of the case. What Symeon is actually doing is elevating his *own* authority as *hegoumenos* far beyond that traditionally

assumed by previous monastic leaders and beyond that customary in Stoudite life. He elevates the total obedience owed by the novice to his spiritual father as a paradigm of that owed by the ordinary monk to his *hegoumenos* – none other than himself in the case of the St Mamas community. In addition, Symeon subverts the whole tradition of monastic regularity and conformity of experience by stating how the monk ought henceforth to articulate his very spiritual identity, conforming it to the autobiographical paradigm he presents of the ecstatic visionary.

Although of profound interest and importance in the history of spirituality and mysticism, this tends to obscure the fact that Symeon's highly self-referent definition of the monastic state is not so much a promulgation of spiritual freedom, but an attempt to move towards a new and more rigorously centralist sense of the power of the *hegoumenos* as lord of an estate. Such power is part of what he regards as his aristocratic right as new founder and renovator of the monastic complex and it may be compared to the way in which later founders and holders of *charistikia* leave detailed specifications in written *typika* as to how an establishment should function. In the *Catecheses* Symeon is not so much giving a general programme of monastic spirituality as setting out the new tenor of what he wanted his own household to become. It is this, I think, and not the generally admirable loyalty he felt to his own spiritual master, which is the real bone of contention between him and his experienced monks – a friction which, try as he might, Niketas could not successfully disguise by depicting them as a minority of disaffected layabouts. The disciplinary measures proposed in the *Catecheses*[42] do not represent the root of his controversial impact, nor do they provide real evidence for his precise programme of monastic reform, for they are all extremely traditionalist and consistent with Stoudite practice.

The most remarkable thing about *Catechesis* 26, in which Symeon has preserved an account of the daily routine at St Mamas, is how regular and unexceptional it all appears. His real originality as a monastic theorist was the way in which he wanted to bring monasticism to regard the ecstatic and visionary capacity not only as normative, but as the goal and purpose of the entire monastic lifestyle. In an important résumé of his programme, he begins with Antony the hermit and tells how the old writers only described their 'outer condition' when they spoke of their ascetical feats. He sets himself now to reveal their 'inner condition', namely the mystical vision of light.[43] In this important sermon he begins with Antony, Euthymios, Sabas and the other classical monastic fathers, but soon makes it clear that all

[42] For example, *Cat.*, 4, 324, 330–32 and 334–36.

[43] Cat. 6, 15–17.

authoritative guidance resolves into his own apostolic[44] visionary experience and the unquestioning obedience he expects on its basis.

This is all the more extraordinary if we see it from his contemporaries' perspective. When Symeon became *hegoumenos* he had no more than three years' experience of monastic living. His programme of monastic practice, set out in his *Catecheses*, was in his own and everyone else's eyes no more than the publication of his total dependence on the teaching he had received from Symeon Eulabes, a character whom many regarded as unrepresentative of the mainstream of the monastic tradition.

How does this suggestion of a totalist manifesto in monastic ideology (or rather in terms of his appropriation of the St Mamas site) fit in with Symeon's perceived affinities with the aristocratic party in Byzantine politics as opposed to the centralizing forces of the imperial court? It certainly does not contradict the picture, for the aristocrats were not protesting against the principle of imperial accumulation of power on any democratic grounds. They were fighting against the centralism of Basil II only in so far as it frustrated their own attempts to centralize power in and around their own familial accumulations of land, wealth and armies. In the face of Symeon's loss of identity in the imperial court where once he had successfully held sway, he redefines himself and his power base in the ecclesiastical world of St Mamas, transforming monasticism in the process with a typically aristocratic self-confidence.

How does this picture fit in with the subsequent reception of Symeon's ideas in the later Byzantine world? Symeon's three original contributions to the monastic programme can be isolated as:

1. his desire to see monasticism move the category of the ecstatic and visionary to central stage;
2. his desire to propagate his teacher's form of emotive psychical energy in the affective spiritual life; and
3. his attempt to redefine the power structure in aristocratic foundations.

At least in regard to the first two we can readily see why he has been claimed as a founding father of hesychasm, for it is within this movement that the attempt to centralise the notion of spiritual vision of light within the heart of monastic *praxis* is definitively accomplished in Byzantine ecclesiastic life. Symeon's emphasis on the emotive form of his own master's spirituality is also rendered more acceptable in the context of the fourteenth century and afterwards when the breaking down of the older form of collective monastic consciousness had given way to a deeper appreciation of

[44] The phrase with which Symeon introduces his own autobiographical reminiscences evokes the "I know a man" of Paul's account of his own apostolic vision which he too used as the basis for his claim for apostolic status and authority (2 Cor. 12:2).

individual consciousness. In this new environment Symeon is no longer seen as a peripheral oddity in his religious psychology but has become more mainstream. His doctrine (for example his emphasis on tears) is spiritually absorbed and repristinated by the Hesychasts as part of their general reappropriation of earlier monastic tradition. In this respect, Symeon is indeed a precursor of hesychasm although not a hesychast himself in any proper application of the term.

Nevertheless, in relation to his sense of a deepened form of totalist authority in monastic spirituality his inheritance was much mediated and qualified by received wisdoms which quietly allowed many aspects of his specifically monastic programme to fall into obscurity. In short, the process of rewriting Symeon's message began with Niketas and continued apace with the hesychasts. It has been as a mystic – a guide of the inner consciousness – and not as a significant monastic reformer that his work has been transmitted. Despite their undoubted relation to one another, these two capacities are not the same and ought not to be confused.

3. The origins of Athos

Rosemary Morris

It might seem odd to begin a discussion of the origins of Athos at the end of the eleventh century, but a document taken from the archives of the Monastery of Philotheou, dated to 1087, gives us an important glimpse of a process vital to the understanding of what Athos first represented in the monastic world of Byzantium and what it later became.[1] In this document, a longstanding dispute over the property of an Athonite monastery, known as Chaldou or 'of the hesychasts', was settled. The details of the territorial settlement need not concern us, it is the apparently incongruous title of the monastery which is of interest. In the *proiomion* to the document we are given a potted history of the house. At the end of the tenth century, the monk Sabas, famous for his asceticism, had led the hesychastic life at Chaldou in the south of Athos. Such was his fame that many others joined him.[2] But there came a point when, for reasons which were not clear to the drafter of the document, although he made vague references to satanic intervention, the Hesychasts decided to change their solitary way of life for a *koinobion*. They built *kellia*, planted a vineyard and began to live in a community.[3] It was then that they asked the Protos Paul (who can be dated to 1001–9) for the grant of some land, which was to be the basis of the settlement some eighty years later.[4]

Even at the end of the eleventh century, then, the memory of the eremitic groups of Mt Athos was still green and this, in itself, should warn us

[1] See *Phil.*, no. 1 (Aug. 1087).

[2] Ibid., 1–2.

[3] Ibid., 2.

[4] Ibid., 2–3. For the *protoi* of Mt Athos in the eleventh century, a somewhat controversial topic see J. Darrouzès, 'Listes des Prôtes de l'Athos', *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963. Etudes et mélanges*, 2 vols, (Chevetogne, 1963–64), vol. 1, 407–37. See 410–11 for the Protos Paul (of Xeropotamou).

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against assuming that the cenobitic way swept all before it at the end of the tenth century. And it is with this balance between the various styles of the monastic life that I shall first be concerned, since this helps to answer the question '*What* was Athos by the end of the tenth century?'. But we need to ask two further questions: '*Where* was Athos?' and '*Who* was Athos?'. For its geographical and social identity was also being established in the years before the issuing of the first imperial document controlling the organization of the mountain as a whole – the so-called *Tragos* of John Tzimiskes – which can be dated to between 970 and 972.[5]

The earliest literary references to Athos, setting aside all sorts of interesting legends which deserve a study in themselves (for instance, why *did* later Athonites feel it necessary to be part of a community founded by Constantine the Great or to become evangelized by Clement of Jerusalem?), all place the area firmly in the context of the other holy mountains of the iconoclastic and immediate post-iconoclastic period.[6] Like Olympos and Kyminas in Asia Minor, Athos had, by the beginning of the ninth century, attracted hermits to its craggy interior and, also like them, now presented a contrast with its mountainous solitude to the settled agrarian life beyond.[7] In the case of the Chalkidiki, to the north of Athos, conditions in the mid- to late ninth century seem to have been a great deal more secure than they were in the tenth, exactly paralleling the relationship between the coastlines of Bithynia and the holy mountains of its hinterland where cenobitic monasteries were found on the lowlands and lavriote-influenced communities higher up.[8] But in addition to these spatial similarities, we can also point to some important personal connections between Asia Minor and Athos. Although the evidence is mainly from the tenth century, it may be that monks from Athos joined the procession of monks from the holy mountains who celebrated the restoration of Orthodoxy in 843; whether true or not, this indicates that chroniclers such as Genesios placed the Athonites in this sort of category.[9] Indeed, one of the earliest Athonite

[5] For the *Tragos*, see *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72) and for its date, see Introduction, 102.

[6] For legends about the origins of Athos, see *Prot.*, Introduction, 7.

[7] The holy mountains of Olympos and Kyminas, are discussed in R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1995), 31–63.

[8] For conditions in the Chalkidike at the end of the ninth century, see *Prot.*, Introduction, 35–44.

[9] *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn, CFHB xiv (Berlin/New York, 1978), 58. Most accounts of the monastic participation in the procession in 843 only mention those from Mt Olympos, whereas Genesios, writing in the tenth century, mentions contingents from Olympos, Ida and Kyminas as well as Athos. But as Papachryssanthou has pointed out (*Prot.*, Introduction, 17–18), Genesios is not simply writing an 'ideal list', because he does not include other possibilities such as monks from Mt Auxentios and Latros. Athos was not yet sufficiently famous at the time he was writing for it to have 'demanded' a retrospective entry and his report may well, therefore, be accurate.

monastic settlers to have been commemorated with a hagiography, St Euthymios the Younger, had lived on Mt Olympos for many years, some of them as a disciple of the great St Ioannikios, before moving on to Athos in about 859 'because he had heard of its tranquillity'.[10] Another important early figure, Peter the Athonite, was commemorated in a canon written at the end of the ninth century as living on the mountain of Athos 'like Elias on Mt Carmel'.[11] By 865, John Kolobos (a disciple of Euthymios the Younger) was 'already advanced in spirituality'.[12] Athos, then, was a place to which aspiring ascetics went to further their spiritual education and it was, of course, as a hermit that Athanasios disguised himself after leaving Mt Kyminas and arriving on Athos round about the year 958.[13] Athos in the mid-tenth century was thus a possible port of call on the spiritual map so interestingly delineated in Elisabeth Malamut's recent book, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*; it was both known in Asia Minor and influenced by ascetic customs brought from there.[14]

How, then, can we explain the situation reflected in the *Tragos*, in which individual asceticism was firmly frowned upon? Those coming to Athos to take up the monastic life, the document declared, 'should be received inside monasteries and are not to stay outside the holy enclosures'.[15] The *hegoumenoi* alone were to decide on suitable candidates for the solitary life in each monastery. While the hand of the Stoudites can clearly be seen – the agreements contained in the *Tragos* were 'brokered' by the monk Euthymios of Stoudios[16] – we should be wary of following the (admittedly seductive) line of argument which runs as follows: 'documents associated with St Athanasios show Stoudite influence'; 'Stoudite equals cenobitic'; 'Athanasios was extremely influential on Athos and in Constantinople'; 'John Tzimiskes was extremely eager to appease him after the murder of Nikephoros Phokas'; thus 'quasi-Stoudite customs were imposed by imperial decree on Athos as as a whole'.[17] For the Stoudite tradition (or

[10] See *Vie et office de Saint Euthyme le Jeune*, ed. L. Petit, *ROC*, ser. 1, 8 (1903), 168–205, summarized by D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.*, 22–31 and D. Papachryssanthou, 'La vie de Saint Euthyme le Jeune et la métropole de Thessalonique', *REB* 32 (1974), 225–45.

[11] D. Papachryssanthou, 'L'office ancien de Saint Pierre l'Athonite', *AB* 88 (1970), 27–41. See also idem., 'La vie ancienne de Saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique', *AB* 92 (1974), 19–61.

[12] *Prot.*, Introduction, 29–31, for Euthymios's disciples.

[13] See *Vita* A, 38–40, 19–20; *Vita* B, 13–14, 139–40.

[14] E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris, 1993). See 108–26 for the most travelled 'saintly' itineraries of the ninth and tenth centuries.

[15] *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72), ll.45–47.

[16] For the mission of Euthymios of Stoudios at the command of the Emperor John Tzimiskes, see *Prot.*, no. 7, ll.10–13.

[17] The argument for Athanasios's 'conversion' to Stoudite, and by implication, cenobitic ideas was cogently put by J. Leroy, 'La conversion de S. Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite', *MMA*, vol. 1, 101–20. In my view, Athanasios wished to

traditions, since so-called Stoudite customs were never themselves static and Denise Papachryssanthou has rightly called our attention to the outposts of the Stoudite monastic family in the region of Olympos where the eremitic tradition was still strong in the tenth century) was by no means the only source of cenobitic influence to have gained ground on Athos during the course of the tenth century.[18] Forty-seven *hegoumenoi* signed the *Tragos* – an indication that, by this time, considerable numbers of Athonite monks were already grouped in *koinobia*.[19]

We know a very little about these houses, mainly from the few precious documents in the archives of the Protaton dating from the late ninth and early tenth centuries, but none of their foundation *typika* have survived. What we see is a microcosm of that process of rural foundation and patronage which was taking place throughout the Empire and of which we know so little. The *hegoumenos* of the confusingly named Monastery *tou Atho* or *tou Athonos* (which Papachryssanthou was surely right to see as a separate house, not as a term referring to the whole mountain) and which had probably been founded by 908, was also referred to in an agreement made in May 942 with the inhabitants of Hierissos, the *kastron* immediately to the north of the peninsula.[20] The Monastery of St Nikephoros of Xeropotamou was granted in April 956, in accordance with imperial order, 950 *modioi* of land at Ozolimnos and, in 1010, the *hegoumenos*, Poimen of Bouleuteria, was reported to have held office 'for more than fifty years', which would mean that his house had already been founded by about 960.[21] The Monastery of Clement, dedicated to St John Prodromos and granted as a base for the Georgian monks in 979–80 was also one of these early cenobitic foundations.[22] The *Tragos*, although it only provides the names of *hegoumenoi* and other office-holders but not, except in the case of Athanasios, their houses – another telling touch – gives us a few tantalizing clues as to the sort of people they were. Many were priests – one an *oikonomos*, one an *ekklesiarches*, one a *zographos*, and one a *kalligraphos* – all offices and tasks familiar from cenobitic monasticism.[23]

re-create the 'hybrid' monasticism with which he was familiar on Mt Kyminas: see Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium*, 31–63. For John Tzimiskes's remorse and its practical effects, see R. Morris, 'Succession and usurpation: politics and rhetoric in the late tenth century', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 199–214, esp. 209–13 for the 'rehabilitation' of Tzimiskes.

[18] For the variety of 'Stoudite' monasteries, see *Prot.*, Introduction, 100.

[19] *Prot.*, no. 7 (970-2), ll. 162–75.

[20] Ibid., Introduction, 61–64 for the Monastery *tou Atho* (or *tou Athonos*). The agreement of May 942 is *Prot.*, no. 4.

[20] *Xeropot.*, no. 1 (April 956) and for a discussion of the early history of the house in this period, see Introduction, 4–8. For the Monastery of Bouleuteria, see *Prot.*, Introduction, 68–69.

[22] For the Monastery of Clement, see *Ivir.* I, Introduction, 24–25.

[23] Apart from Athanasios, 'of the Great Lavra', only one other signatory is identified (but not in all the mss. of the *Tragos*) by his monastery: Paul 'Xeropotamites'. He is probably not

It is clear that there were communal houses as well as eremitic groups on Athos by the mid-tenth century. A *sigillion* of Basil I of June 883 had already drawn a distinction between the Athonites living outside the monasteries and those 'who have pitched their frugal tents there' – probably a reference to these early foundations.[24] Imperial interest had been further aroused by the visits to Constantinople of St Blasios of Armorion, who had spent forty years in the Monastery of Stoudios before coming to Athos in about 896. Although his biographer recalls that he was somewhat hostilely received by the Athonite monks (Papachryssanthou suggests that he was deemed to be too closely associated with the Palace at a time when Leo VI's marital affairs were causing scandal in the church), he interceded, as we shall see, with the emperor on their behalf in a dispute with the neighbouring Monastery of Kolobos.[25]

What is not so clear, however, is whether, even in these early houses, provision was made for some monks to follow the hesychastic life and thus provide the kind of 'hybrid' monasticism followed both on the holy mountains of Asia Minor (in places like Latros and certainly Kyminas, whence Athanasios had come) and, later on, in the Great Lavra itself. It is a question that needs to be addressed by architectural historians, since no documentary evidence survives.[26] Suffice it to say that that mountain of Athos reflected, at this time, a wide variety of monastic 'styles'.

Why did not this state of affairs continue? Part of the answer lies in the fact that disputes between monasteries and hermits had already begun to break out by the beginning of the tenth century. These did not, initially, involve the houses actually on the mountain, but the *skandala* and *philoneikia* referred to in the *Tragos* do suggest that disagreements about the monastic lifestyle had reached alarming proportions on the mountain by the end of the tenth century.[27] This had much to do with the arrival of Athanasios.

The first skirmishes, however, were between the monastic inhabitants of the mountain proper and their near neighbours in Chalkidiki and it was in the processes followed in settling these disputes that we can begin to see the answer emerging to our second question, '*Where* was Athos?' For, unlike Olympos, Latros and the other holy mountains, Athos had a clearly defined geographical frontier by the mid-tenth century. The significance

to be identified with the *hegoumenos* Paul, see *Xeropot.*, Introduction, 4. For the *oikonomos* Luke, the *ekklesiarches* Kosmas, the *zographos* George and the *kalligraphos* Nicholas, see *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72), ll.152–75.

[24] *Prot.*, no. 1 (883), ll.1–6.

[25] For a summary of the career of St Blasios of Amorion, see *Prot.*, Introduction, 49–52, especially 50.

[26] The concept of 'hybrid' monasticism was first discussed in D. Papachryssanthou, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècles', *REB* 43 (1973), 158–82. See further discussion in Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium*, 31–63.

[27] *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72), ll.1–5.

of this can hardly be overemphasized. It meant that Athos, as a whole, was conceived of as a kind of spiritual estate, with a detailed *periorismos* (boundary) marked out and with its own internal organization and jurisdiction. Within Athos, of course, each monastery and group held its own lands, and the acquisition of these was often a matter of great friction, but towards the outside world the Athonites presented a legally established unity.

The boundary was established as a consequence of conflict between the Athonites and two other groups with interests in the peninsula: the inhabitants of Hierissos and the monks of the Monastery of John Kolobos founded at the end of the ninth century, which held lands south of the town towards the Zygos ridge at the north-western end of Athos. The causes of dispute were to become familiar in the history of the Athonite monks with their neighbours: grazing rights and the control of *klasma* lands – that is, lands abandoned by their previous owners for thirty years and subsequently resold at advantageously low prices by the central government.[28]

The *sigillion* of Basil I gave two important privileges to the Athonites. It freed them (and, incidentally, the monks of the Monastery of Kolobos) from the 'vexations' of imperial officials and it also prohibited private individuals, peasants and shepherds from entering the mountain.[29] Apart from the interesting evidence of imperial interest in Athos as early as the end of the ninth century, the document also reveals, first, that the Athonites were viewed as a group – there is no mention of individual houses – and, second, that the legitimate interests of the 'neighbours' (in the fiscal as well as the geographical sense) were already beginning to be eroded in favour of the Athonites.[30] By 908, the scales of justice had been weighed down even further in their favour. For an extraordinary Act of Leo VI related how the monks of the Kolobos Monastery had, 'on the sly' obtained from him not merely a confirmation of his father's *sigillion*, but a veritable donation, by which they had gained for themselves the possession of 'almost all of Athos' as well as estates beyond the mountain. They had then treated the Athonites as their *paroikoi*, maintaining that they could evict them at will and further declared that the peninsula of Athos constituted their own pastureland, but that, on the payment of suitable sums, they would allow animals belonging to their neighbours to be brought in.[31] The Act of 908

[28] See R. Morris, 'Dispute settlement in the Byzantine provinces in the tenth century', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), 125–47, where the disputes with the Monastery of John Kolobos and the events leading up to the establishment of the frontier of Athos are discussed in detail.

[29] *Prot.*, no. 1 (883), ll. 12–18.

[30] The document specifically mentions 'common people and countryfolk' with the imperial officials whose activities are to be curtailed.

[31] *Prot.*, no. 2 (908); ll. 8–31 for Leo VI's earlier privilege and the Athonite protests which it evoked. A delegation was sent to Constantinople; the imperial official, Nikephoros Eupraxes,

abrogated Leo's earlier decision (a candid and rare admission of an imperial mistake!) and firmly limited the Kolobos possessions to the *enoria* (district) of Hierissos and the region around Kamena. In other words, they had no claims to Athos itself and the idea of a limit beyond which they (or anyone else) could not go was being further defined.[32]

The precise establishment of the frontier in 943 followed arguments between, as one document of May 942 put it, 'the Athonite monks, that is the monks of the mountain of Athos' and the inhabitants of Hierissos over the ownership of lands between the town and the Zygos ridge. This matter had come to a head because *klasma* lands in the area had been sold off by the imperial authorities, but it also reflected continuing tensions over pasturing rights.[33] The Hierissiotes claimed that their control 'stretched as far as the Zygos ridge and from there the land belonged to the Athonites'; the Athonites claimed a large amount of land to the north-west of the Zygos ridge. The process of establishing the boundary took until August 943 and was dogged by controversy. The first attempts were not noted in sufficient detail by the imperial officials concerned; the monks of Athos, producing the *sigillion* of Basil I, declared that their lands ran as far as the *enoria* of Hierissos (true), but that what was here meant by *enoria* was not the 'district' of the settlement *and* its associated lands – the *chorion* – but merely that of the *kastron* – the walled settlement – which would, of course, have given them more lands (false).[34] Even after one imperial official had marked out the boundary with cairns and slashed trees between May 942 and August 943, it had to be done again by no less a figure than the *strategos*, Katakalon of Thessalonike, in the company of the archbishop of the city, Gregory, and a number of other lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries.[35] Why the use of such eminent sledgehammers to crack this particular nut?

Imperial interest in the mountain was clearly growing in the first half of the tenth century. At some time between 920 and 944, Romanos Lekapenos

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was sent to Athos to investigate; both parties were then summoned to Constantinople and further hearings in the *sekreton* of the *asekreta* before three high officials resulted in a decision that lands had been wrongly ascribed to Kolobos. Blasios of Amorion was clearly involved in lobbying in Constantinople for the Athonite cause. His biography (as quoted by Papachryssanthou, *Prot.*, Introduction, 51) recalls that, after twelve years on Athos, he went to Constantinople, 'because certain persons raised their voices to pretend that they had rights of possession on Athos. This state of affairs caused grave annoyance to the Athonite fathers'.

[32] *Prot.*, no. 2 (908), ll. 43–54 for Leo's final dispositions.

[33] Ibid., no. 4 (942). English translation in Morris, 'Dispute settlement in the Byzantine provinces', 132–33. If by 'recently' we understand that the *klasma* lands had been sold within the previous two years, then since, by law, they had to have been abandoned for thirty years, the cause of the abandonment, in about 911, might well have been the Bulgar raids of that period.

[34] See *Prot.*, no. 5 (942–43).

[35] Ibid., no. 6 (943).

began to send *rogai* (yearly cash payments) of one *nomisma* per monk to Athos as well as to the other holy mountains of Asia Minor.[36] As we have seen, imperial intervention was sought by the Athonites over the matter of the frontier; again, it must have been Romanos Lekapenos who was involved. This in itself suggests that the reputation of Athos as an oasis of prayer and spirituality was now high enough for it to be associated with more longstanding holy mountains and thus become a candidate for imperial interest and protection. But the Athonites themselves were also becoming more organized, and thus the question 'Who was Athos?' can, by this stage, be answered. For Athos by the mid-tenth century had a legal *persona* represented by a Protos and a council of *hegoumenoi* which met from time to time. The *sigillion* of Basil I mentioned an assembly of monks, and, in 908, a certain Andrew, described as the *protos hesychastes* went to Constantinople to complain about the behaviour of the monks of the Kolobos Monastery.[37] When Nikephoros Phokas wished to search out his spiritual father Athanasios, the *krites* of Thessalonike charged to find him consulted the *protos* of Athos to find out how this might best be done.[38] The *Tragos* sought to regulate the number of *synaxeis* or meetings of monks; they had clearly been long established by this time.[39]

Interesting though these arrangements were, they were not unique. We have fragments of information about the existence of other *protoi* of monastic confederations: seals of the *protos* of Mt Ganos (a holy mountain in Thrace), for example, and the case of Mt Latros in western Asia Minor, where, at the end of the eleventh century, St Christodoulos (later of Patmos) held the office of *protos*. He was, incidentally, asked by the Emperor Alexios Komnenos, to take over the *prostasia* of the communities on Mt Kellion (now called Mt Pelion), another place where a communal structure seems to have existed.[40] So monastic confederations were not unusual. Although we lack the necessary evidence these areas may also have enjoyed the kind of freedom from the attentions of imperial officials as did Athos. We can suggest, then, that the most prestigious monastic regions of the Empire –

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[36] *Theoph. cont.*, 430. The other monastic centres mentioned are those of Olympos, Kyminas, Barachios and Latros.

[37] *Prot.*, Introduction, 114–24; see nos 1 (883) and 2 (908) for early evidence of the Protos.

[38] *Vita* A, chap.46, 24; (B), chap.17, 143.

[39] See *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72).

[40] See V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V: *L'église*, 3 vols (Paris, 1963–72), vol. 2, nos 1228–1331. Mt Ganos is further discussed in M. Gedeon, 'Μνημεία Λατρείας Χριστιανικῆς ἐν Γανοχώροις', *EkAl* 36 (1912), 304, 311–13, 325–27, 352–55, 389–92. For Christodoulos's career and the offer of the *prostasia* of the Monastery of the Kellia, see E. Vranousse, *Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς. Φιλολογικὴ παράδοσις καὶ ἱστορικαὶ μαρτυρίαι* (Athens, 1966) and his own account in his *Hypotyposis: Regula edita a Sancto Christodulo pro monasterio sancti Ioannis Theologi in insula Patmo ab eo condito*, MM VI, 59–80, 64.

and here we would dearly love to know about the organization of the populous monastic communities of Cappadocia – ran their own internal affairs. They were thus removed from the legal structures of the emperor, though not necessarily those of the patriarch, for the extent of his influence over Athos was, and remained, always a point at issue. They provided a form of communal and elective administration not found in the secular world; a government which replicated the traditions of the monastic houses, with their emphasis on equality and the emergence of leaders whose claims were *supposedly* based not on the secular criteria of birth, wealth or office, but on the recognition of spiritual strength and natural authority.

It was this kind of unity which seemed to be working reasonably well, though with its ups and downs, on Athos until the coming of Athanasios. Hermits coexisted with cenobites; the territorial and legal unity of the mountain had been established; imperial patronage was equally shared. By the time of the *Tragos* this equilibrium was shattered and nowhere is this more evident than in the witness list to the document in which the *hegoumenos* of the Lavra now placed his signature immediately after that of the Protos, thus indicating his leading position in the Athonite hierarchy.[41]

It was not so much the fact that Athanasios founded a monastery that changed the nature of the mountain; this, after all, had been done before. The difference lay in the workings of lay patronage and, in particular, in the change from the imperial patronage of the mountain as a whole (as under the emperors from Basil I to Constantine Porphyrogenitus) to specifically targeted monetary and legal privileges. Certainly, imperial donations of *roga* to the whole mountain continued, but of far more significance were monetary grants to imperially favoured houses. This process had already begun under Romanos II, from whom, if we are to believe Athanasios himself, the Great Lavra received monetary donations. But it was given great emphasis by the patronage of Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes.[42]

To the power of the Lavra must be added, by the end of the tenth century, that of Iviron. Both houses enjoyed a veritable stream of gold from the holders of the imperial office, which was simply not available to other monasteries. The foundation of Iviron was, of course, in the future at the time of the drawing up of the *Tragos*, but the power of the Lavra had

[41] *Prot.*, no. 7 (970–72), l.153.

[42] Romanos Lekapenos apparently gave one *nomisma* per monk to the communities of Olympos, Kyminas, Barachios, Latros, Chryse Petra and Athos, see Theoph. cont., VI, 27, 218–19; 44, 430. Romanos II's donations to the Lavra of 432 and 100 *nomismata* respectively are reported in the *Typikon of Athanasios*: Τυπικὸν ἤτοι κανονικὸν ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ, in Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 102–30, 104 and *Lavra* I, Appendix II, respectively. Later imperial donations are reported in *Vita* A, 104, 50, 52; *Vita* (B), 34, 166; *Typikon of Athanasios*, 114–15 (Nikephoros Phokas); *Vita* A, 116, 56; *Vita* B, 36, 169; *Typikon of Athanasios*, 114–15 (John Tzimiskes).

already been well established in the previous ten years.[43] So if we pose our three questions once again, we can now begin to qualify the first answers a little.

What was Athos by 970? It was a place where individual *askesis*, as exemplified by the hermits of Chaldou, was not being eradicated, but was being controlled and, in a way, made respectable. Where was Athos? It was a clearly defined 'spiritual estate' and a place which, in the spiritual, if not the geographical sense, had moved a great deal nearer to Constantinople and the imperial court during the tenth century. Who was Athos? The answer to this last question depended on *who* you were and *where* you were. Doubtless for many Athonites 'Athos' was represented by their own house, their own *hegoumenos* and, to a degree, the Protos and his council. From Constantinople the view at the end of the tenth century was rather different. Athos was still, in general, the sum of the prayers of all the monks of the mountain. But it now had a more specific location in the houses of the Lavra and Iviron and in the charismatic figures of the Georgians John and Euthymios and John Tornik, and in that, above all, of Athanasios.

[43] See *Ivir.* I, Introduction.

4. Byzantine monasteries in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (Synaxis, Mt Papikion, St John Prodromos Monastery)

Ch. Bakirtzis

Three Byzantine monastic centres in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace give a picture of Byzantine monasticism outside Mt Athos.

I

Between 1985 and 1990 I excavated a large three-aisled early Christian basilica with a transept at Synaxis, east of Maroneia.[1] The east end is of marble taken from older Roman buildings of the Antonine period (AD 96–192). The basilica collapsed in the late sixth or early seventh century.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, ascetics who had settled in the remote, craggy area around Synaxis cleared the site and, using materials taken entirely from the ruined basilica, built themselves a monastery. The north wing occupied the north aisle of the basilica, the south wing the south aisle, and the courtyard was on the nave. The basilica's outer walls served as the monastery's enclosure.

The monks' decision to settle in isolated Synaxis was connected with the development of monasticism in the area and the reorganization of its urban centres.[2] Monasteries were founded on Mt Papikion and Mt Athos, and those ancient cities which still survived in shrunken form either retained their old names, like Maroneia, or acquired new ones. Abdera, for instance,

[1] Ch. Bakirtzis and G. Hadjimichalis, Σύναξη Μαρωνείας (Athens, 1992); Peter Soustal, *Thrakien (Thrake, Rodope und Haimimontos)*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6 (Vienna, 1991), 469 f.

[2] Ch. Bakirtzis, 'Western Thrace in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods: results of archaeological research and the prospects, 1973–1987', in Ch. Bakirtzis, ed., *Byzantine Thrace, Image and Character*, First International Symposium for Thracian Studies, Komotini, 28–31 May 1987, *ByzF* XIV/ 1 (1989), 44.

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was renamed Polystylon, because the marble merchants found numerous columns there.

The monks' desire to build their monastery on the ruins of the early Christian basilica in such a way as to accommodate the new building to the existing design of the old is an example of the *mimesis* which governed Byzantine creativity.

There were two entrances at the monastery's west end, a central one and a side entrance to the north. Immediately inside the side entrance a timber shelter protected the monastery's oven. A marble jamb of the Roman period, which had been re-used in the *basileios* door of the early Christian basilica, was found lying in the monastery courtyard. Investigations underneath it revealed that it had never been moved from its original position. This means that in the middle of Synaxis, first amidst the ruins of the early Christian basilica and later in the courtyard of the Byzantine monastery, a piece of marble four metres high, with Hadrianic decoration, stood proudly upright for centuries, the enduring emblem of the site.

The monastery's south wing consists of five apartments. The first, which had a fireplace, served as a kind of porter's lodge, as a guesthouse or even as an infirmary. Outside the guesthouse, in the south-west corner of the courtyard, was found the semicircular base of a balcony on which the *semantra* were mounted. The next apartment has no wall on the courtyard side and was a storeroom for the monastery tools.

There follow three rooms, of which the easternmost lies directly upon the south wing of the basilica's transept. The floor bears traces of a long built table and, parallel to it, the bases of built forms with seating space for twenty-four monks. At the head of the table is the abbot's throne, built out of spolia. Like most monastery refectories, this one has an apse, which is in fact the south apse of the transept. The other two rooms next to the refectory are the kitchen and the larder.

The *katholikon* is in the usual place, opposite the entrance to the refectory, at the far end of the courtyard. It is an aisleless structure, roofed with tiles, in whose wide narthex was found the built tomb of the monastery's *hegoumenoi*. The katholikon's walls were unfrescoed and the floor was paved with re-used marble. Curiously enough, all that was found of the marble chancel screen was two closure slabs. Although beautifully decorated with mid-Byzantine themes based on early Christian models, both had been sawn down to the same size. This means that, after the church had been abandoned, they were destined to be removed from Synaxis and used elsewhere. But, for some unknown reason, when the roof collapsed the rest of the screen was never transferred.

Five more of the monastery's apartments were built on the basilica's north aisle. Two were entered from the courtyard, one from the outer narthex of the katholikon, one from the narthex, and one from outside the monastery precinct. A fireplace was found against the north wall of room M. There

was a plinth in the middle of the fireplace, on which the monks would stand their cooking pots or toast pieces of bread. The ashes contained only mussel and oyster shells and fishbones, the typical remnants of a monastic diet. Next to the fireplace, a composite early Christian Ionic capital, wedged underneath with small stones, served as a worktop, and, next to this, in the corner of the room, quantities of ash indicate where cooking utensils were placed to keep their contents warm. Despite its rough and ready appearance, the whole arrangement reflects the practicality and warmth of monastic life.

Although no finds were made in the rooms in the south and north wings, the earthfill in the courtyard contained quantities of shells, sherds, and other small objects. This means that, when the rooms were cleared out, their contents were not removed to refuse sites but scattered about the courtyard as an easy way of levelling the surface and offering protection from mud.

The amount, variety, and fine quality of the pottery that the monks used on an everyday basis is surprising. This luxury in small things contrasts with their practical, but cheap and impermanent buildings. Such indifference to transient earthly life coupled with a concern for the details of daily routine and love of luxurious small objects was typical not only of monastic life, but of Byzantine life in general.

Apart from the pottery from Synaxis, there is a quite unique find: a round metal amphora stamp of the tenth to eleventh centuries bearing the letters A and C on either side of the monogram IΩ, which may stand for Ioannis. Seals of the same kind, though with different lettering, have been found on the northern shores of the Black Sea and elsewhere.[3] The discovery of such a stamp in a monastery, rather than in an amphora workshop, may indicate that the sealing of mid-Byzantine amphorae was the responsibility of the producers or merchants and not of the manufacturers.

The most recent coin found at Synaxis belonged to Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80),[4] and the most recent pottery finds cannot date from later than the mid-thirteenth century. Therefore, the monastery must have been abandoned during the Frankish period, and one imagines that the monks of Synaxis sought refuge in the region's more secure urban centres.

II

Papikion is a mountain in Thrace and was a well known centre of Byzantine monasticism. An expert on the historical geography of Thrace, Stilpon Kyriakidis, suggested that Papikion was situated on the southern slopes of the Rhodope mountains, north-west of Komotini.[5] In 1983 excavations

[3] Ch. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινὰ Τσουκαλολάγηνα* (Athens, 1989), 83, pl. 23.

[4] N. Zekos, 'Κατάλογος νομισμάτων (1985–1990)', *Σύναξη Μαρωνείας*, 134.

[5] Stilpon Kyriakidis, 'Τὸ Παπίκιον ὄρος', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 35 (1923), 219–25.

began under the direction of Nikolaos Zekos on behalf of the Kavala Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities.[6] During the investigation, Thanasis Papazotos located ruins which showed that Kyriakidis had been right and which indicated the extent and boundaries of the monastic community.[7] These were the River Kompsatos to the west, the Komotini–Karydia road to the east, and the Greek–Bulgarian border to the north.

The earliest reference to Papikion is found in the Rule of the Monastery of the Panaghia Petritzonitissa (Batchkovo) in 1083, which mentions the Monastery of St George 'established on the Mount of Papikion'.[8] From the eleventh century onwards, for a period of some 300 years, the sources make frequent reference to Mt Papikion, giving information about the monasteries and the historic figures who lived in them: the *protostrator* Alexios Axuch; the *sebastokrator* Alexios, natural son of Manuel I; the Serbian leader Stefan Nemanja; Gregory Palamas, later archbishop of Thessalonike; St Maximos Kausokalybites; as well as others.[9] The texts suggest that Papikion flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, fell into a decline in the thirteenth, and was abandoned in the fourteenth. In the early fourteenth century the monks of Papikion were 'without home, roof, or material goods'.[10]

Archaeological investigations have located the ruins of three aisleless churches with tiled saddle roofs;[11] they are the simplest examples of church building on Papikion. Two aisleless domed churches of the eleventh to twelfth century have also been excavated, with sumptuous floors of marble slabs separated by strips or rectangles of *opus sectile*.[12]

The excavation of one monastic complex uncovered the katholikon and the refectory.[13] The church is a mid-Byzantine basilica with two columns in each colonnade. At the north end of the spacious narthex is a built tomb belonging either to the founder or to the abbots. The refectory is a large chamber with an apse and with storerooms and a portico on the courtyard side. The coins found here suggest that the monastery was active between the early eleventh and the late thirteenth century. The same excavation also yielded a lead seal of the *protonovelissimos* Constantine Gavras (*c.* 1120–40), who fought against Bohemond II of Antioch and the Seljuk Turks and

[6] N. Zekos, 'Αποτελέσματα ἀνασκαφικῶν ἐρευνῶν στὸ Παπίκιον ὄρος', in Bakirtzes, ed., *Byzantine Thrace*, 675–92.

[7] Th. Papazotos, Προανασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὸ Παπίκιον ὄρος', *Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα* 1 (1980), 113–39.

[8] L. Petit, 'Typicon de Grégoire Pakourianos pour le monastère de Pétritzos (Bačkovo) en Bulgarie', *VV* 11, (1904), Suppl.1, 11.

[9] Zekos, 'Αποτελέσματα', 677–78.

[10] Papazotos, 'Προανασκαφικές ἔρευνες', 121.

[11] Papazotos, 'Προανασκαφικές ἔρευνες', 125–29.

[12] Zekos, 'Αποτελέσματα', 679–81; *ArchDelt* 38 (1983), *Chronika*, 337 (N. Zekos); *ArchDelt* 39 (1984), *Chronika*, 291 (N. Zekos).

later became independent Duke of Chaldia.[14] The few finds include a small twelfth-century steatite icon with a representation of warrior saints.[15]

Amongst the pottery for everyday use is a jug with narrow spout, found intact. The hollow tubular handle enabled monks to pull up wine from the jars. A brown sgraffito plate has the characteristic features of Zeuxippus ware, as described by A.H.S. Megaw,[16] and also of the high quality Palaeologan pottery found in Thrace and Constantinople.[17] It forms a link between the two groups, may be dated to the mid-thirteenth century, and suggests that this high-quality Palaeologan pottery, with its pure clay, thin walls, shiny glaze, meticulous sgraffito designs and occasional touches of green or brown, indicates the continuing activity of the 'Zeuxippus' glazed pottery in the Palaeologan period.[18]

Amongst the everyday utensils were numerous small iron knives and various types of drinking glasses, including the prunted beakers which Gladys Weinberg has suggested were made in Corinth.[19] The glass finds also included round panes from stucco or plaster window frames.

Recent excavations by Nikolaos Zekos have uncovered the ruins of two more churches.[20] One is an aisleless domed structure whose walls, still bearing fragmentary frescoes, survive to quite a height. In the narthex are tombs of founders or *hegoumenoi*. The other is a twelfth-century cross-inscribed church with piers, which, apart from some beautiful fragments of wall-paintings, also preserves a striking *opus sectile* floor.[21] The floor owes its luxurious and colourful appearance to a combination of *opus sectile* and mosaic-work – a common practice in the twelfth century.

Apart from the ecclesiastical buildings, secular structures have also been found or excavated on Papikion. One example is a bath-house, with a

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[13] Zekos, 'Αποτελέσματα', 681–86; *ArchDelt* 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 282–87 (N. Zekos).

[14] N. Zekos, 'Βυζαντινὰ μολυββόβουλλα τοῦ μουσείου Κομοτηνῆς', in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (Washington,1990), 182, no. 14.

[15] N. Zekos, 'Small steatite icon from Papikio', *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 18 (1985), 205–10.

[16] A.H.S. Megaw, 'Zeuxippus ware', *ABSA* 63 (1968), 67–88.

[17] Ch. Bakirtzis, 'Byzantine glazed pottery from Western Thrace', *Eighteenth (1992) Byzantine Studies Conference*, Abstracts of Papers (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), 27–28.

[18] For Zeuxippus ware derivatives see A.H.S. Megaw, 'Zeuxippus ware again', in V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, eds, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine* (*BCH* Suppl. 18, Paris, 1989), 259–66; P.Armstrong, 'Zeuxippus derivative bowls from Sparta', in J.M. Sanders, ed., *PHILOLAKON, Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, Suppl. *ABSA* (1992), 1–9; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, 'Zeuxippus ware: some minor observations', in J. Herrin and M.E. Mullett, eds, *A Mosaic of Byzantine and Cypriot Studies in Honour of A.H.S. Megaw* (forthcoming).

[19] G.R. Davidson, 'A medieval glass factory at Corinth', *AJA* 44 (1940), 322, fig. 23: 73–76.

[20] *ArchDelt* 43, (1988), *Chronika*, 442–44 (N. Zekos).

[21] See recent finds from Papikion in 'Byzantine Thrace, a new field opened for archaeological research', *Catalogue of the Exhibition 'Aspects de Byzance', Présidence Hellénique 1994* (Brussels, January–June 1994), 28–32.

vestiary, a middle room, and an inner *caldarium*, where the water was heated in coppers on a hearth.[22] Also unearthed was a large water cistern, which collected rainwater and the water from the surrounding springs to serve the needs of a monastery.[23] Finally, a mill with three workrooms bears witness to the self-sufficiency sought by this extended monastic community.[24]

The community maintained close links with Mosynopolis, a few hours' journey away in the foothills of Mt Papikion. Apart from the uncovering of the south-east corner of the fortifying wall and some groups of late Roman graves, no systematic excavations have been carried out in Mosynopolis, but we do know from the sources that there were dependencies of Papikion monasteries in the town, as well as other monastic property. Mosynopolis is frequently mentioned as a place where Byzantine emperors and officials stayed. In 1207 it was given to Geoffrey I Villehardouin; in 1343, when John VI Kantakuzenos camped there, he found it in ruins.[25] Mosynopolis was an urban centre which wielded economic, ecclesiastical, and administrative influence over Papikion.

We have little information about the internal organization of Papikion. A lead seal of the tenth or eleventh century with the inscription '† Mother of God, help the *protos* of Papikion' attests that it was one of the monastic communities, like Athos, Ganos, Latros and Meteora, which were guided and administered by a *protos*, or 'first monk'.[26] The title of *dikaios* was also used on Papikion, as is apparent from an inscription on a boundary marker found there: '† Boundaries of the most benevolent monastery of the *dikaios* Antony †'.[27] The inscription suggests that the Papikion monasteries had clearly defined and well marked boundaries within which each house had its estate and its arable land. The Monastery of St George, for instance, owned vineyards, fields, land, and buildings. The monasteries were built on prominent sites without defensive walls and their vegetable gardens would have been watered from large cisterns. Apart from the Monastery of St George, we do not know the names of any of the other monasteries on Mt Papikion but there are general references to churches and monasteries (including the Panaghia Tzintziloukiotissa) around Mosynopolis.

Monastic life on and around Papikion began to decline in the Frankish period. The most recent coins that have been found there belong to Andronikos III Palaeologos (1328–41).[28] Neither Papikion nor Mosynopolis

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[22] *ArchDelt* 42 (1987), *Chronika*, 468–69 (N. Zekos).

[23] Papazotos, 'Προανασκαφικές ἔρευνες', 123 f.

[24] Ibid., 134 f.

[25] For Mosynopolis see C. Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Etude de géographie historique* (Athens, 1976), 104–9.

[26] V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V/2 (Paris, 1965), 159, no. 1237.

[27] Zekos, 'Αποτελέσματα', 687.

[28] I would like to thank Mr N. Zekos for this information.

survived the turbulent fourteenth century, and I suspect that the monks must have sought refuge in safer urban centres, such as Peritheorion, whose walls were rebuilt in 1341, or nearby Koumoutzina (Komotini), which evolved in the Palaeologan period from a mere staging post on the Via Egnatia into a secure urban centre.[29]

III

At the time when the two monastic centres of Synaxis, near Maroneia, and Mt Papikion were falling into decline and being abandoned, a new, flourishing monastery outside Athos was founded: the monastery of St John Prodromos on Mt Menoikion near Serres.[30] It was established in about 1275 by a monk from Serres named Ioannikios and organized by his nephew and successor, the second founder, Joachim, from 1300 to 1332. The monastery survived the dynastic strife of the fourteenth century, the period of Serbian rule (1345–71) and the Ottoman conquest in 1383, thanks to the powerful patrons it always took good care to secure, and thanks, above all, to the close relations it always maintained with the aristocracy of Serres. A flourishing provincial centre in the Palaeologan period, the town developed into a powerful economic and social centre after the arrival and spread of the Ottomans, owing to the fertile plain on which it stood.[31]

The monastery complex shares structural similarities with the monasteries of Mt Athos. The katholikon in the middle of the courtyard is surrounded by four wings containing cells, refectory, kitchens, workshops, guesthouse, chapels and other auxiliary areas. The whole ensemble is surrounded by a defensive wall, in the south-west corner of which is a square Byzantine tower with buttresses.

The frescoes in the katholikon and the chapels present a panorama of ecclesiastical painting from the early fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Two tombs in arcosolia have recently been discovered in the east wall of the outer narthex of the katholikon. In the tympanum of the more southerly arcosolium is a representation of a monk praying before the enthroned Virgin and Child and St John Prodromos. In the soffit are St Theodore the General and St Theodore the Recruit, the patron saints of Serres town and patrons too of its metropolitan church. Taking the depicted figures as a group, it is clear that the praying monk must have some connection with both the

[29] For general information and bibliography on Peritheorion and Koumoutzina, see Ch. Bakirtzis and D. Triantaphyllos, *Thrace* (Athens, 1990) and Soustal, *Thrakien*, 328f. and 394f.

[30] P.N. Papageorghiou, 'Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου', *BZ* 3 (1894) 225–329; Christophoros Demetriades, *Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τῇ πόλει τῶν Σερρῶν καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, Λειψία*, (Serres, 1904); A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955).

[31] P. Th. Pennas, *Ἱστορία τῶν Σερρῶν, 1383–1913* (Athens, 1966).

monastery and the town. The frescoes belong to the first layer of painting, which Andreas Xyngopoulos dated to 1300–32.[32] While investigating the monastery's manuscripts, which are in the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies in Sofia, V. Katsaros and Ch. Papastathis have recently discovered and published a bulky codex, which contains, *inter alia*, a list of all the monastery's inscriptions, drawn up by *hegoumenos* Theodosios in his second term from 1870–85.[33] Many of the inscriptions, such as two dated to 1319 which were painted over the doorway between the outer and the inner narthex, are now ruined or lost.[34] The oldest frescoes are dated to 1319 which is the *terminus ante quem* for the death of the monk portrayed over the arcosolium. So, taking into account the iconography of the mortuary composition, I suggest that the monk depicted over his own tomb is the monastery's first founder and abbot, Ioannikios, who died in 1300.

[32] A. Xyngopoulos, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας* (Thessalonike, 1973), 79.

[33] V. Katsaros and Ch. Papastathis, 'Ὁ "Νέος Μέγας Κῶδηξ" τῆς μονῆς Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρῶν', *Σερραϊκὰ Ἀνάλεκτα* 1 (1992) 172–220. (For complete bibliography on the St John Prodromos monastery, see 209–12.)

[34] Discussion on the inscriptions and the frescoes: A. Strati, Παρατηρήσεις στὴν τοιχογραφία τῆς Παναγίας Περιβλέπτου ἀπὸ τὸ Μακρυναρίκι τῆς Ἱ.Μ. Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρῶν', *Σερραϊκὰ Ἀνάλεκτα* 2 (1993–94), 47–52, and E.N. Kyriakoudis, 'Ἡ τέχνη στὴ μονὴ Προδρόμου Σερρῶν κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Σερβοκρατίας, στὸν 140 αἰώνα', *Ἐπιστημονικὸ συμπόσιο Χριστιανικὴ Μακεδονία, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρῶν* (Thessalonike, 1995), 284–88.

Section II

Community and Spirituality

5. The Athonite monastic tradition during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries

Dirk Krausmüller

Unlike most other monastic centres within the Byzantine Empire Mt Athos has survived as a functioning community and is famous for its abundance of documents. These documents, however, tell us little about the daily routine within Athonite monasteries and nothing about how Athonite monks conceived of their vocation. Texts about monastic discipline can help to fill this void.

A starting point is provided by the *Hypotyposis* from the late tenth century in which Athanasios laid down regulations about liturgy and fasting for his Lavra.[1] For the next hundred years, however, no sources are known which would enable us to follow the development of the tradition instituted by Athanasios. It was only during the patriarchate of Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) that this silence was broken. During that period as we are informed by the *Diegesis Merike*,[2] Mt Athos was in turmoil because of the Vlach scandal and the ban of the patriarch. At the same time a discussion on disciplinary matters took place, which is reflected in a number of texts. In the following paper I will establish the historical setting for these texts, then look at their contents, concentrating on the practice of fasting as the central topic, and finally discuss the strategies the authors used to claim authority for their views. Before beginning this discussion, however, a general remark is necessary. These texts were copied for their practical use and were therefore usually adapted to changes in practice. They also often lost specific traits such as the names of their authors. This makes a reconstruction of the original versions especially difficult.

The first text is a poem on fasting by Patriarch Nicholas which he addressed to the Athonite *protos*, Ioannikios, who in 1096 signed a document

[1] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 130–40.

[2] Ibid., 163–84.

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

in this function.[3] Apart from Nicholas's poem there exists a second treatment of fasting routine at Mt Athos which has so far gone unnoticed[4] – namely a letter containing a list of questions followed by a short treatise called *Eidesis Eusynoptos* or 'Concise Information' in which these questions are answered. The author of the *Eidesis* is usually presented as an anonymous *geron*, but in two manuscripts his name is given as John the Monk.[5] A monk called John also appears as the author of an *Hypomnema* or petition to Nicholas III which is preserved together with its *Lysis*. In the prooemium of the petition an earlier *Lysis* of the same patriarch is inserted which John wanted to be clarified.[6] In some manuscripts this prooemium is omitted and the questions and answers are presented as *kephalaia ekklesiastika* addressed by John, monk and hesychast on Mt Athos, to Patriarch Nicholas.[7] To judge from a Patmian manuscript they were included in a now lost *nomokanon* of this patriarch. In this manuscript John's surname, 'Tarchanes', is mentioned.[8]

The monk John Tarchaniotes is known from the *Diegesis Merike*.[9] He took part in two successive Athonite embassies to Constantinople of which he gave an eye-witness account. From the text it can be deduced that he was abbot of Kastamonitou and a relative of Emperor Alexios.[10] During his second stay at the capital he acted as spokesman for the Athonite *hegoumenoi*

[3] J. Koder, ed., 'Das Fastengedicht des Patriarchen Nikolaos III. Grammatikos', *JÖB* 19 (1970), 203–41; cf. Darrouzès, *Régestes*, no. 982, p. 444. Unfortunately, the contents of the text as established by Koder does not coincide with Nicholas's opinions on fasting in the other sources. Therefore Koder assumes that Nicholas changed his mind and that the poem was his latest statement on fasting, dating to the twelfth century. It is impossible to discuss this problem here because this would require a re-evaluation of the two redactions of the poem.

[4] A. Dmitrievskij, ed., *Opisanie liturgicheskih rukopisej* III (Kiev, 1917), 135–51.

[5] Codd. Bodleianus Clarke 2 and Atheniensis 1432, s. 13. I have collated Dmitrievskij's text with these manuscripts which represent a different redaction.

[6] J. B. Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium Solismense* IV (Paris 1858), 477–80. John's name is preserved in Cod. Vindob. jur. 11, s. 1191; cf. Darrouzès, *Régestes*, no. 972, 431 and no. 977, 434–40. In Cod. Athous Lavra B 43 (163), s. 12, the *Hypomnema* appears as a synodal decree; cf. V. N. Beneševič, *Svedenija o grecheskih rukopisjah kanonicheskago soderzhanija v bibliotekah monastirej Vatopeda i Lavry sv. Athanasija na Athone*, *VV* 11, part 2 (St Petersburg, 1904), 46–54; cf. Darrouzès, *Régestes*, no. 980, 440–43.

[7] J. Oudot, ed., *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani Acta Selecta* I, Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione canonica orientale, Fonti II, 3, no. 2 (Rome, 1949), 13–26; cf. Darrouzès, *Régestes*, no. 977, 434–40. See also V. Laurent, 'Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Élie', *REB* 16 (1958), 133, 227.

[8] Cod. Patm. 540 where one of John's *kephalaia* is presented as an excerpt from Nicholas's *nomokanon*; it was edited by Beneševič, *Svedenija*, 48–49; cf. Darrouzès, *Régestes*, no. 979, 440.

[9] This connection was already suggested by Beneševič, *Svedenija*, 48–49.

[10] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 163.5–170.25. On p. 169.24 the narrative switches from impersonal to personal speech. John makes his appearance as the narrator before the end of the first embassy. On pp. 165.22–7 since all members of this first embassy are named he must be identified with one of them. The only possible candidate is the anonymous abbot of

before the emperor and afterwards was made *protos*. From documents we know that John held this function in 1107–8 but not yet in 1101–2.[11] Unfortunately, in his own writings John is never called *hegoumenos* or *protos*. In the *Hypomnema* he appears as the representative of his lavra. Since the community around the *protos* at Karyes was usually called lavra he may already have been *protos* then.[12]

In the *Eidesis* John spoke of himself and the monk who had asked for his advice as of 'we the leaders and teachers of some'.[13] He obviously had a higher spiritual authority than his correspondent, but we cannot tell how this translated into institutional status.[14] The *Diegesis* mentions that John addressed questions on monastic discipline to Patriarch Nicholas during a reception right after his appointment.[15] It is likely that his writings date to roughly the same period – that is, the first decade of the twelfth century, some ten years later than Nicholas's poem.

Athanasios's *Hypotyposis*, John's *Eidesis* and Nicholas's poem allow a comprehensive analysis of their views on fasting. I will, however, only discuss the topic that had the greatest bearing on the lives of the monks: the weekly fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays outside the Lenten periods. By fasting on these days all three authors meant that no food should be consumed before the only meal at the ninth hour. Moreover, the food was to be prepared without oil – that is, *xerophagia*.[16] There were, however, numerous feast-days and two festal periods – one from Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost, the *pentekoste*, and one between Christmas and Epiphany, the *dodekaemeros* – which might overrule fasting regulations.[17] Therefore the two systems had to be accommodated.

Kastamonitou, since John speaks of himself as an abbot on p. 169.36, ff. Moreover, this abbot is called a relative of the emperor Alexios, and John bore the name of an aristocratic family. As a consequence, the abbot of Kastamonitou cannot be identified with the *protos* Hilarion who is mentioned in the *Diegesis* on p. 173.6 as was proposed by the compiler of a history of this monastery in the seventeenth century. See N. Oikonomides, *Kastamon.*, 2 and App. II, 97–101.

[11] See D. Papachryssanthou, *Prot.*, 132 and notes 22–24. The sketchy evidence makes it difficult to establish for how long John acted as *protos*.

[12] For John the term 'lavra' had a technical meaning since he classed monks living in *lavrai* together with the hesychasts; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 150–51. Kastamonitou was called *mone* in the eleventh century, see *Kastamon.*, no. 1.

[13] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 144.32.

[14] John is addressed as 'father', Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 135.30 and 136.23, whereas he calls his correspondent 'brother' on pp. 141.13 and 142.7 and 145.16 and 151.4. It cannot be excluded that he had retired from his function as *protos* to live as a hesychast.

[15] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 170, 14–25.

[16] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 137, 17; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 139, 3–5; Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 216, 165–69.

[17] I will not discuss the regulations for the *dodekaemeros* since the passage in the *Eidesis* is unclear and Nicholas does not discuss it.

In the *Hypotyposis* Athanasios singled out a group of 'famous' saints who were honoured by breaking the fast. He defined their status by the absence of hours, genuflections and work and classed them together with the dominical feasts when the whole range of food permitted for monks, including oil, fish, cheese and eggs, could be eaten. The same regime applied to the festal periods.[18]

John Tarchaniotes answered the questions of his correspondent by presenting a revised version of Athanasios's *Hypotyposis*.[19] He retained the diet prescribed by Athanasios only for feasts of Christ, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist whereas on the days of 'very outstanding' saints he limited the breaking of the fast to oil only.[20] Furthermore, he no longer accepted that a festal liturgy and rest from work automatically cancelled the fast.[21] The pentecostal period was now broken up. Only for the week after Easter and the week after Pentecost were there no restrictions, whereas during the intermediary period cheese and eggs were forbidden on Wednesdays and Fridays.[22]

In his poem Nicholas likewise allowed only oil on the days of the highest saints. He introduced, however, a further distinction and restricted the eating of cheese to the feasts of Christ, whereas on the feasts of the Virgin and John the Baptist fish was his only concession.[23] For the period of Pentecost, Nicholas prescribed the same regime as John.[24]

Thus we can conclude that John's and Nicholas's views on fasting were stricter than those held by Athanasios. For a proper evaluation of their position, however, we need to place them in their eleventh-century context. Both the *Eidesis* and the poem reacted against a laxer practice on Mt Athos. Nicholas expected to be criticized by Ioannikios for excessive rigorism and John stressed that the fast was to be broken only on those saint's days that were listed by him.[25]

Eleventh-century sources from Constantinople also point to a lax attitude towards fasting. The *Typikon* of the Evergetis Monastery, which dates to the 1060s, probably represents the lowest ebb since it does not even mention a special regime for Wednesdays and Fridays.[26] In trying to tighten the fasting practice John and Nicholas are following a similar trend. Whereas

[18] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 137.18–22.

[19] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 138–42.

[20] Ibid., 138.6–16; 146–50.

[21] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 145.24–31.

[22] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 138.10–21; lines 19–21, however, are not found in Clarke 2, fol. 206v.

[23] Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 220, 222.213–233.

[24] For the pentecostal period see Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 224, 226.281–304. The passage about the week after Pentecost on 232.390–401 is possibly an interpolation.

[25] Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 222.235; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 145.24–31.

[26] P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', *REB* 40 (1982), 39–45.

Athanasios had only known either feast or fast, we now find a hierarchy of feasts demarcated by a gradual limitation of food from cheese and eggs to fish and then oil. The system that emerged was complicated and special lists were compiled to help monks establish the dietary status of a particular saint's day – a phenomenon which is paralleled by the evolution of the liturgical *typika*.[27] To judge by other texts on fasting from about 1100, however, this complexity was not an end in itself but the result of concessions to current practice. What their authors were striving for was a homogenized fasting practice throughout the year. Niketas Stethatos, the abbot of Stoudios, for example, would not even allow cheese on feasts of Christ, and the *typikon* of the Phoberou monastery stopped at oil regardless of the type of feast.[28] This rigorism culminated in the first answer of Nicholas's *Lysis* to John's *Hypomnema*. Here Nicholas stated categorically that the fast on Wednesdays and Fridays should be broken on the dominical feasts but not on those of saints.[29]

The attitude of these men was characterized by an anxiety which is in stark contrast to the laxity of the preceding decades. There was a recognition that standards were declining in monasticism and the breaking of the fast on feast days became the symbol for this decline. According to the *Diegesis Merike*, Nicholas complained about the lack of strictness and said that proper fasting was only to be found among a few recluses and hermits.[30]

Having looked at the actual regulations, I will now discuss how these authors established authority for their views. In his *Lysis* Nicholas presented the canons of the apostles as the only valid authority in matters of weekly fasting and quoted from the sixty-ninth canon in which saint's days are not cited as a reason to break the fast. Thus he concluded, 'The apostles did not say that we should fast on some Wednesdays and Fridays and not on others but on all!'[31] This statement seems to contradict the teachings in his own poem. A closer look, however, reveals that Nicholas had already made it clear there that everything he was about to say represented a concession to the weakness of the addressee and that the norm was in fact completely different, as defined by the writings of the apostles and the fathers. According to Nicholas they had established a fearsome *akribeia* or strict regime for Wednesdays and Fridays: only bread, salt, vegetables and water were to be consumed at the ninth hour. Moreover, this was a rule

[27] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 148–50. Other examples can be found in the Phoberou *Typikon*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St Petersburg, 1913), 36.13–37.10; and in the *Typikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, V. N. Beneševič, ed., *Taktikon Nikona Chernogorca*, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta 139 (St Petersburg, 1917), 61.30–63.20.

[28] For Niketas's treatise see Cod. Bodleianus Clarke 2, fol. 205; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes*, 27.8–38.3.

[29] Pitra, *Spicilegium* IV, 477–78.

[30] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 179.25–180.5.

[31] Pitra, *Spicilegium* IV, 476.6–13.

for all Christians and not just for monks, who should live an even stricter life and observe this diet on every day except on Saturdays and Sundays.[32] If the rules of the poem represented a concession to weakness, then their value was considerably diminished and they could be abrogated at any time, as Nicholas did in his *Lysis*. Nicholas advised the readers of his poem to investigate the writings of the fathers instead of clinging to unfounded customs.[33] And, indeed, a new investigative spirit had seized those who wrote on monastic discipline. The texts on fasting from the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century without exception display similar argumentative strategies. The author of the Phoberou *Typikon*, Niketas Stethatos, Nikon of the Black Mountain and John the Oxite all had recourse to florilegia of Patristic texts to justify the rules they prescribed.[34] This method differed radically from what had been customary in the centuries before.[35] Athanasios, for example, used the *Hypotyposis* of Stoudios as a model for his regulations, but he did not refer to Theodore as an authority to justify his choice. He simply turned to the text that encapsulated the rules for the type of cenobitic monasticism in which he had been trained.

Athanasios also introduced innovations which may have resulted from his own ascetic experience.[36] He did not, however, feel the need to spell this out: his personal, charismatic authority was obviously considered a sufficient justification. Athanasios still lived in an exclusively middle Byzantine monastic context and he was uncritical of its traditions. The authors of the late eleventh century, on the other hand, had left this closed world behind them. They no longer stopped at Theodore but went back to late antique texts, extracting passages from them to prove their cases. Unlike Theodore's *Hypotyposis*, which was the rule of a functioning monastery, these texts had no connection with contemporary monastic practice. Their importance rested on abstract rules. This reopening of monastic discourse had drastic consequences for the traditional sources of authority. Authors who spoke about monastic discipline could no longer rely on their own personal authority.

The same was true for the texts that until then had been considered authoritative – that is, the *typika* and *hypotyposeis* of individual monasteries. Now they had to compete not only with each other but also with more ancient texts. The Stoudite and the Athanasian *hypotyposeis* were still

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[32] Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 218.172–88.

[33] Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 228.323–27.

[34] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes*, 33.17–35.23; Cod. Bodl. Clarke 2, fol. 205; Beneševič, *Taktikon*, 36–42; for John the Oxite, see Pitra, *Spicilegium* IV, 481–87.

[35] So far it had been reserved to the theological discourse.

[36] For example, the introduction of *xerophagia* on Wednesdays and Fridays during the lesser Lenten periods: see Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 137.7–14.

preferred to other rules because of their age and wide distribution[37] but, compared with older and stricter texts, they were now open to criticism.[38]

Again, it was Patriarch Nicholas who drew the most radical conclusions. In his poem he had still referred to Theodore as an authority on fasting.[39] This was, however, no longer the case when he issued his *Lysis* to John. John, who clearly had been shocked by Nicholas's first *Lysis*, submitted a second petition to the patriarch asking for clarification, asking whether there had been a misunderstanding since Nicholas would surely know the regulations of the *Typika Synaxaria* of Theodore of Stoudios and Athanasios about the breaking of the fast on saints' days. Nicholas, however, was unperturbed and simply reiterated his answer from the first *Lysis* without even taking the trouble to mention Theodore and Athanasios.

John's consternation is understandable, since he had not addressed his questions to Nicholas out of scholarly interest. From the petition it is obvious that the matter of the saints' days had been discussed by the monks of his lavra and that John had hoped that Nicholas would lend his authority to the Athonite traditions. That these traditions were at stake can also be seen from the letter preceding the *Eidesis* in which an anonymous monk seems to have been thoroughly confused. According to him, some said that one should obey the abbots of the day and others that one should observe the *akribeia* of the canons. He also wanted to know whether the *Typika Synaxaria* or the older decrees, the *'archaiotera diatagmata'* of the apostles and fathers, represented the norm for fasting.[40] Such controversies could clearly threaten the breakdown of monastic communities.

With his *Eidesis Eusynoptos* John set out to defend the authority of the contemporary abbots and of the authors of the *typika* against the attacks of the rigorists. In a first step he quoted Basil to prove that the ancient fathers had given specific regulations only for hesychasts whereas for cenobitic monks there was only one rule: total obedience to their abbots.[41] As a consequence he restricted the quest for *akribeia* and the investigation of the sources to hesychasts, thus linking access to the new discourse to advancement within the traditional charismatic hierarchy.[42]

However, John must have felt that the problem was more complex, because he then went on to examine the value of the actual teachings of the abbots and the *typika*. John's opponents argued that there had been a

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[37] They were quoted in the Phoberou Typikon, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes*, 28.37–29.1; and by Nikon, Beneševič, *Taktikon*, 23.5–7, 28.16, 29.14.

[38] When Nikon came across these discrepancies he tried to explain them away: see Beneševič, *Taktikon*, 49.17–27.

[39] Koder, 'Fastengedicht', 222.255.

[40] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* III, 136.1–3 and 9–12.

[41] Ibid., 137.3–27.

[42] Ibid., 143.32–144.2.

break in the development of monastic discipline which separated a golden age of *akribeia* from a period of decline and thereby justified a return to the original high standards. To counter this model, John had to prove that this first break had never occurred. He asserted that not only the ancients, the *archaioi*, but also the later fathers, the *metagenesteroi pateres*, were inspired by God. By later fathers John meant Theodore and other authors of *typika*, such as Athanasios, whom he characterized as founders of great monasteries and directors of many souls.[43] Later in his text he extended this divine inspiration to all good abbots.[44] By presenting all bearers of spiritual authority throughout the centuries as equally close to God, John managed to neutralize the tripartite historical model of his adversaries.

In the second part of his treatise John presented the specific regulations which the later fathers had laid down in writing. This is the revision of the Athanasian *hypotyposis* which I discussed above. As we have seen, John inserted stricter rules into the Athanasian text but did not indicate his modifications. Obviously, he could only hope to gain acceptance for his own attempts at reform from the Athonite community at large if they were almost imperceptible. Had he turned Athanasios into a model of *akribeia* he would have separated him from the Athonite tradition and thus aggravated the conflict. Therefore even the revised *Hypotyposis* fell short of what the rigorists were demanding. Foreseeing their criticism, John set out to defend the supposed laxity of the rules he had presented.

First he praised the later fathers for their high degree of discretion. They had left aside the more difficult parts of the spiritual law because they understood the weakness of their generation and feared that they might do more harm than good by enforcing the canons.[45] This is, of course, a traditional argument. John could not stop here, however, for he would then have admitted the notion of decline which he had previously rejected. Instead, he went on to prove that the ancient fathers had not only defined *akribeia* but had also admitted concessions to individual needs.[46] Again, John accepted the rules of the discourse defined by his opponents – the recourse to late antique authorities – and again he argued his case by showing complete continuity between the ancients and moderns. He even used a historical precedent to threaten with anathema those who did not accept *oikonomia* by referring to the fate of Theodore and the Stoudites during the Moechean affair.[47] Moreover, he proved that the breaking of the fast on high saints' days was canonical and in fact decreed by the synod of Gangra.[48]

[43] Ibid., 137. 6–7 and 137.27–138.2.
[44] Ibid., 144.3–10.
[45] Ibid., 138.2–7; 144.10–13; 144.33–145.2.
[46] Ibid., 142.11–14 and 144.13–32.
[47] Ibid., 145.2–6.
[48] Ibid., 142.10–31.

Using a text which was accorded the highest authority by the rigorists, he thus came to exactly the opposite conclusion from that argued by Nicholas in his *Lysis*. It was obviously John's aim to provide his addressee with an arsenal of arguments to counter those produced by monks who would only accept the texts of the fathers. This spirit of controversy is already present in the Life of Lazaros of Galesion, in which constant discussions seem to have taken place and Lazaros's authority was challenged by referring to quotations from the Bible.[49]

What is new at the end of the eleventh century is the involvement of the Church hierarchy in settling disputes. When John realized that his spiritual status was insufficient to settle the question he appealed to the patriarch although, according to the rules of the discourse not even the patriarch could close the debate, as is admirably illustrated by John's *Eidesis*. As an aristocrat and spiritual leader, however, John seems to have been an outstanding figure. Other texts on monastic discipline from the twelfth century invariably show monks as passive figures asking for advice, turning increasingly to the patriarchal *chartophylakes* who established themselves as specialists in canon law.[50] Thus it seems that the loosening of the structures of authority within monasticism ultimately led to a greater dependence on the secular Church.

[49] Edited in *AASS Novembris III* (1910), 508–88; see esp. ch. 140, 549 C–D.

[50] See H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 655–62.

6. Women and Mt Athos[1]

Alice-Mary Talbot

The principle of abaton *on Mt Athos*

In the mid-fifteenth century, an elderly man named Markellos, a generous benefactor of Xeropotamou on Mt Athos, decided to become a monk at the monastery. He left his wife Nymphodora behind at a nunnery near Hierissos and just outside the boundaries of Athos because 'Mount Athos is unapproachable (ἀνεπίβατον) by the female sex except for the all-holy Mother of God', as Nymphodora stated in her final will and testament.[2] Her words are unambiguous testimony to the exclusion of women from Mt Athos – the principle of *abaton*, a practice which seems to have been in force from the time when hermits first arrived on the deserted peninsula in the ninth century.[3]

The prohibition of the presence of women on Athos represents an extension of the traditional monastic rule of *abaton*, observed with various degrees of rigour at different institutions, that prohibited men and women from entering a monastery housing monastics of the opposite sex. In the case of Athos, the mountain came to be regarded as one large monastic complex, and hence it seemed proper to impose a total prohibition on women. Justification for the practice was found in legendary traditions of uncertain date to the effect that Christ had granted Athos to his mother, and thus the peninsula became off-limits to all other women.[4] Another

[1] My thanks to Alexander Kazhdan who read an earlier version of this paper, and suggested improvements; also to Dušan Korać, with whom I discussed some of the Serbian material in this article.

[2] *Xeropot.*, no. 30, 16–17 [a. 1445].

[3] The most recent extensive discussion of the question is found in S. Papadatou, *Τὸ πρόβλημα τοῦ ἄβατου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους* (Thessalonike, 1969).

[4] See, for example, the late tenth- or eleventh-century *Vita* of Peter of Athos in K. Lake, ed., *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), 25.

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legendary tale recounted that, when Galla Placidia visited Vatopedi (a chronological impossibility), a voice came from an icon of the Virgin ordering her to leave and stating that only one queen, the Virgin, was allowed on Athos, and that no other woman was to set foot on the peninsula.[5] A parallel to the Holy Mountain may be found in the sanctuary of a Byzantine church to which no women except the Virgin were admitted.[6]

Athos was not unique in its exclusion of women. A Chrysobull of the Emperor Alexios I forbade women to live on the island of Patmos where Christodoulos was establishing the monastery of St John, but Christodoulos was forced to change the rule in order to persuade construction workers to come to the island. He compromised by requiring the workmen's families, especially the women, to remain confined to one corner of the island.[7] At Meteora, the fourteenth-century *Typikon* of Athanasios ordered that women were not to enter the Holy Mountain, nor were they to be given any food to eat even if they were dying of hunger.[8] On other holy mountains attempts were made to control the presence of women by permitting the establishment of a single nunnery which often housed female relatives of the monks.[9]

It should be emphasized that the ban on women at Athos was an unwritten rule; no legislation or monastic rule of the Byzantine era explicitly states that women were prohibited to set foot on the Holy Mountain, although such an exclusion is implied in some of the regulatory Acts. For example, the *Typikon* of Athanasios for the Lavra, dated *c.* 973–75, states: 'You will not own any animal of the female sex, for the purpose of doing any work which you require, because you have absolutely renounced all female beings.'[10] The almost contemporary document called the *Tragos* – the *Typikon* for Athos issued by John Tzimiskes *c.* 972 – makes no mention of women or female animals but does specifically forbid the tonsure of beardless youths and eunuchs. To quote from the relevant passage: 'I order you not to receive young and beardless men and eunuchs who come to the [Holy] Mountain to be tonsured', although exceptions were possible with the permission of the *protos* and all the abbots. The *Tragos* continued:

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[5] E. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos* (Amsterdam, 1972), 48; R.M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London, 1936), 113.

[6] This parallel was suggested to me by passages in an unpublished paper by Henry Maguire on the location of images of the Virgin in Byzantine churches.

[7] E. Vranousse and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, eds, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου* I (Athens, 1980), no. 6, 60, lines λγ'-λδ', 1–8.

[8] N. Bees, 'Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων', *Byzantis* 1 (1909), 251, canon 7; cf. also 259, 6–7.

[9] A.M. Talbot, 'A comparison of the monastic experience of Byzantine men and women', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985), 2–3.

[10] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 113, 15–16. A similar prohibition is found in an eleventh-century act of the *protos* Paul for Xenophon which states that no female animals are to be brought *within* the monastery; cf. *Xenoph.*, no.1. 175 [a. 1089].

> If any abbot or *kelliotes* disregards my injunctions and introduces into his domain or his cell a eunuch or a boy, and although he receives one or two warnings does not demonstrate the suitable amends [to his behaviour], we believe it is best to expel him from the Mountain.[11]

Less than a century later the *Typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos, issued in 1055, lists the prohibition of eunuchs and beardless youths right at the beginning; evidently this rule had not been obeyed, and consequently the emperor ordered the expulsion of all such individuals from the Holy Mountain. Constantine noted that, despite earlier regulations, sheep, goats and even cows were to be found on Athos. All monasteries agreed to get rid of these animals or pasture them outside the peninsula; exceptionally the Lavra was permitted to keep its cows (whose milk was necessary to make cheese for monks), but they had to be pastured twelve miles distant from any monastery.[12] Women are nowhere mentioned in this document.

Manuel II's *Typikon* of 1406 is somewhat more specific on the issue of women. The emperor reiterates the injunction against the admission to the Holy Mountain of beardless youths or eunuchs as servants or novices for fear that 'a woman wearing masculine dress and pretending to be a eunuch or beardless youth might dare to enter the monastery'.[13] This is an interesting indication that the rule against eunuchs and boys was not designed to prevent homosexuality (as other *typika* suggest), but to prevent the pollution of Athos by women in disguise. The next clause forbids female animals of any sort – a prohibition which is not 'foolish or irrational', according to Manuel, but designed so that the monks will be pure in all respects and 'not defile their eyes with the sight of anything female'.[14] Even here the prohibition of women is implied rather than explicitly formulated.

How can we explain the fact that no official document of the Byzantine era specifically forbids women to set foot on Athos? The answer seems to be that the principle of *abaton* was so ingrained in Athonite custom law and tradition that it seemed unnecessary to put such a rule in writing. The tradition was so universally respected that in fact virtually no women ever dreamed of attempting to enter the sacred peninsula; hence there was no need for a specific written prohibition. It proved much more difficult, on the other hand, to keep out young boys, eunuchs and female animals; hence the frequently repeated injunctions against their presence.

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[11] *Prot.*, no. 7, 101–106. It should be noted that the allusion in my *ODB* article on 'Athos, Mount' (A. Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 1 [New York, 1991], 225) to 'John I's prohibition of the presence of eunuchs, beardless youths, women and even female animals on the peninsula' is erroneous; women and female animals are not mentioned in the *Tragos*.

[12] *Prot.*, no. 8, 45–53, 78–93.

[13] *Prot.*, no. 13, 71–72.

[14] Ibid., 72–74.

The two documented instances of women visiting Athos in the Byzantine era – cases very different in their nature – are the exceptions that prove the rule. The first violation of *abaton* occurred around 1100 with the influx of several hundred Vlach families on to the Athonite peninsula. These Vlachs were nomadic herders who sought good pasturelands for their sheep and goats and found a ready market for their dairy products and fleeces at the Athonite monasteries. But as a twelfth century source recounts:

> The Devil entered into the hearts of the Vlachs and they had with them their wives wearing men's clothes[15] ... and the [women] pastured the flocks and served the monasteries, carrying to them cheeses, and milk and wool, as well as making bread for meals at the monasteries, and in short they were like servants to the monks and were desired by them. And it is shameful both to narrate and to hear what they did.[16]

When news of these goings-on reached Constantinople, *c.* 1105, the Patriarch Nicholas III urged the expulsion of the shepherds; soon all temptation was removed from the monks, although reverberations from the scandal continued to rock the Holy Mountain for years afterward.[17]

In addition to the Vlach shepherdesses, only one woman is reliably attested to have visited Athos during the Byzantine period. This was the wife of the Serbian tsar Stefan Dušan, Jelena, who is known to have accompanied her son and husband to the Holy Mountain for a lengthy stay of several months in 1347 and 1348. A Chrysobull of Dušan states that he came to Athos with his wife and that they prayed at the tomb of St Symeon in the church of the Virgin at Chilandar. He goes on to say that he and Jelena made donations to all the monasteries on Athos and that they also visited numerous hermitages. After touring the peninsula, they then returned to Chilandar.[18] It has been suggested that one explanation of this unprecedented visit by the tsar and his family might be that they were seeking refuge from the Black Death which was ravaging the Balkans at that time.[19] It should also be remembered that, only two years previously, Dušan had conquered Serres and subjugated Athos. No doubt the monks felt they could not refuse entrance to the wife of their overlord and benefactor.

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[15] M. Gyóni has explained that the Vlachs were not attempting to disguise their wives and daughters as men in order to sneak them onto the peninsula, but that Vlach shepherdesses normally wore trousers in mountainous areas ('Les Vlaques du Mont-Athos au début du XIIe siècle', *Etudes slaves et roumaines* 1 [1984], 39).

[16] *Διήγησις Μερική*, Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 163, 22–28; see also 167, 21–6.

[17] *RegPatr* I, fasc. 3 (1947), nos. 980–981, 62–3.

[18] For full bibliography, see M. Živojinović, 'De nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos', *ZRVI* 21 (1982), 119–26; G. Soulis, 'Tsar Stephan Dušan and Mount Athos', *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), 125–39.

[19] Živojinović, 'De nouveau ...', 124.

Evidence about women in the vitae of Athonite saints

Let us now turn briefly to the evidence of the *vitae* of saints from the Holy Mountain, with regard to attitudes towards women. Some of the Lives of earlier Athonite monks do occasionally mention women and present them in a positive vein. Thus the early tenth-century *Vita* of Euthymios the Younger, one of the founders of Athonite monasticism, provides a certain amount of information about his female relatives – his mother and sisters, as well as his wife, daughter and granddaughters, since he was married for a time before taking the monastic habit. Most of his kinswomen eventually became nuns and, towards the end of his life, he appointed one of his granddaughters abbess of a convent he founded near the Holy Mountain.[20]

Vita B of Athanasios of Athos, written at the Lavra between 1050 and 1150,[21] also contains some passages featuring pious and admirable women. Thus the hagiographer praises the piety and affection of the noblewoman who raised Athanasios when he was orphaned at a tender age.[22] And when he recounts the tale of Nicholas, a cook at the Lavra, who performed the extraordinary ascetic feat of remaining standing for 45 days, fasting the entire time, he makes clear that the monk was emulating the feat of a fifth-century saintly nun named Eupraxia.[23]

Particularly interesting is the anonymous hagiographer's inclusion of the posthumous miraculous cure of a haemorrhaging woman performed by St Athanasios far beyond the boundaries of Athos. He recounts that some monks, while visiting Smyrna, were entertained by a hospitable couple. The wife was lighting candles and burning incense in thanksgiving to Athanasios whose relic had just healed her sister. The sister, who suffered from an issue of blood, had received into her home an Athonite monk. When he was told of the woman's illness, he produced a piece of cloth, soaked with the blood of Athanasios, which he was carrying with him as an amulet. He instructed the woman to place the rag in water and drink the bloody potion, while invoking the name of the saint. This tale shows how the fame of Athanasios had spread to Asia Minor: a woman in Smyrna would pray to him and her sister, who could not visit the saint's tomb, could still derive benefit from his miraculous powers of healing through the relic of the bloody cloth.[24]

It is noteworthy that *Vita* A of Athanasios, written in Constantinople by Athanasios of Panagiou, includes none of these three passages. Like so many *vitae* of Athonite saints, especially those of the fourteenth century, it scarcely mentions women, with the exception, of course, of the Virgin; and when

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[20] L. Petit, 'Vie et office de St Euthyme le Jeune', *ROC* 8 (1903), 202, 13–21.

[21] J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnhout, 1982), cxxviii.

[22] *Vita* B, 2, 20–25.

[23] Ibid., 44, 9–13, 27–29.

[24] Ibid., 72.

women do appear in the narratives of the lives of these holy men, it is often in a negative light. For example, the devil may appear in female guise as in Niphon's *Vita* of Maximos Kausokalybites (the 'hutburner') in which Maximos sees a woman sitting in front of his cave. Realizing, however, that she is the devil, he causes her to disappear by making the sign of the cross three times.[25]

Women in the Acts of Mount Athos

The texts of the *typika* for Mt Athos and the *vitae* of Athonite saints represent the Athonite ideal that the monks who resided on the Holy Mountain were to be totally isolated from contact with living women. And, indeed, it seems certain that, during the Byzantine centuries, women were effectively excluded from setting foot on the holy peninsula.

But to paraphrase a well known dictum, 'If women could not go to the mountain, the mountain would go to women'. For the monasteries of Athos were by no means entirely cut off from the outside world, and thus from the female sex. We learn from the *Typikon* of Constantine IX that monks travelled as far as Thessalonike, Ainos and Constantinople to sell wood, surplus produce and wine, and to purchase necessary provisions.[26] Monks might also leave the peninsula for medical treatment, pilgrimage, attendance at a synod, or visits to godchildren.[27] It is not surprising that, occasionally, some of these travelling monks fell into temptation and committed acts of fornication.[28]

One of the most common reasons for 'business trips' by Athonite monks was in connection with negotiations concerning monastic properties. As major landowners of vast estates within and without the peninsula, the monasteries were frequently involved in transactions regarding the purchase or donation of properties and in litigation over ownership of land. The Acts from Mt Athos shed much light on such negotiations, and reveal that a significant percentage of the transactions into which the monks entered involved women. Of the Acts published to date, recording the sale or donation of land or immovable assets to the Athonite monasteries by private individuals, 57 per cent represent transfers of property by men alone, 27 per cent by men and women acting together, and 16 per cent by women

[25] F. Halkin, 'Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)', *AB* 54 (1936), 45, 27–30.

[26] *Prot.*, no. 8, 53–77, 99–101, 102–6.

[27] Medical treatment: cf. *Vita* B, 71; pilgrimage: Athanasios, the future patriarch of Constantinople, left Esphigmenou to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; cf. *Vita Athanasii* by Theoktistos the Stoudite, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., 'Žitija dvuh' Vselenskih' patriarhov' XIV v., svv. Afanasija I i Isidora I', *Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskago fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta* 76 (1905), 7, 9–15; attendance at a synod: *RegPatr* 6, no. 2805; visits with godchildren and other spiritual relatives: *Prot.*, no. 7, 92–94.

[28] *Vita* B, 61, 1–4.

alone. Thus 43 per cent of the acts of sale or donation involved women of various ages and marital statuses. Sometimes the women were acting on their own behalf, transferring properties they had inherited or purchased; at other times women appended their sign of the cross to an act of sale or donation of their husband's property to indicate their consent to the transaction and their agreement not to contest the transfer of property at a later date.[29]

The documents involving the sale and donation of properties to the monasteries of the Holy Mountain indicate that Athonite monks engaged in face-to-face negotiations of terms with female donors and vendors. When the eleventh-century nun Glykeria gave her property on Skyros to the Lavra, the ecclesiarch of the monastery came to the island to negotiate and draft the act of donation.[30] When Maria Tzousmene gave a *metochion* at Hierissos to Zographou, the *hegoumenos* of Zographou visited her to discuss the terms of her gift.[31]

In the case of a sale, representatives of the monastery were present for the conclusion of the transaction during which they paid the women directly, usually in cash, and in return received a document of sale signed by the vendors and confirmed by witnesses. These legal proceedings usually took place at an ecclesiastical court in one of the cities of Macedonia. A series of documents of the 1320s from Chilandar demonstrates particularly vividly the extent of the travels of the 'businessmen' of the monastery to make land purchases or conduct other financial affairs, often with women. To take one example, Gervasios, abbot of Chilandar, was in Kaisaropolis in February 1320, in Thessalonike in November 1322, in Serres in September 1323 and again in September 1324, in Thessalonike in January 1326, in Serres two months later, and in Thessalonike in January 1327 and July 1328.[32] Another monk from Chilandar, named Kallinikos, is also frequently mentioned as a principal party to transactions during these years. Sometimes the monks became involved in prolonged litigation with women over property, as in the case of Xene Isarina who engaged in an eleven-year dispute with Chilandar. The lawsuit was finally resolved in 1374 when Chilandar gave her 200 ounces of ducats and she handed over to the monastery all the title deeds to the disputed property.[33]

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[29] For a detailed analysis of the juridical distinction of the role of husbands and wives in the sale or donation of property, see V. Kravari, 'Les actes privés des monastères de l'Athos et l'unité du patrimoine familial', in D.Simon, ed., *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Munich, 1992), 77–88.

[30] *Lavra* I, no. 20, 77–78 [a. 1016].

[31] *Zograph.* no. 5 [a. 1142].

[32] *Chil.*, nos. 53, 84, 93, 99, 106, 107, 112, 117.

[33] *Chil.*, no. 154. For another example of a woman in litigation with an Athonite monastery, see *RegPatr* 6, nos. 1984, 2998, regarding the complaint of Sophia of Melenikon against the monks of Vatopedi who had appropriated her mill.

Most of the acts of sale are perfectly straightforward and simple: a woman and her husband, or a widow (with or without children), or perhaps two sisters, sell a field, an orchard, a vineyard or houses to one of the wealthy Athonite monasteries, such as Chilandar, Iviron, Lavra. Usually the sellers received cash payment for the property but, on one occasion, a woman named Irene Panagiotou and her daughter Maria were given a cow and calf in exchange for a field.[34] Some documents suggest that women sold land against their will because of desperate financial need. Such is the case, for example, of Eudokia, the daughter of a *patrikios* and wife of a *protospatharios* (Stephanos Rasopoles) whose family had fallen on hard times. She stated that, because of a series of crop failures, her husband was unable to support his family, and thus she was forced to sell land that formed part of her dowry (and was normally inalienable).[35] Another case involves the nun, Eulogia, whose family borrowed 50 hyperpers from Chilandar in 1325, offering as collateral three houses which Eulogia had inherited from her father. The contract states that, if the family failed to pay off the mortgage loan within one year, the monastery could purchase the houses outright for an additional payment of 90 *hyperpers*. Two years have now passed, and, since Eulogia and her family cannot pay off the mortgage, they sell the houses as agreed. Apparently the properties were in poor condition, for the act of sale notes that Chilandar had already paid for the reconstruction of courtyard walls which were about to collapse.[36] Particularly interesting is an early eleventh-century document from Iviron, describing the sale of a field to the monastery by the widow Kalida who needed money to ransom her son Basil who had been captured by the Arabs. She notes that the field had once belonged to her uncle who had subsequently taken monastic vows at Iviron where he died. Hence when Kalida needed to raise money, she turned to the Athonite monastery with which she had family ties through her uncle's monastic profession.[37] Already we begin to see a pattern in which the monasteries serve as important financial institutions, to which women (and men) turned when they needed money. For the wealthy monasteries had sufficient liquid cash at their disposal to make significant investments in land, to make capital improvements on the property, and to lend money. An Act of 1329 from Chilandar illustrates yet another banking function of the large monastery, as a safe place for the deposit of money. This document describes the sale of property to Chilandar by a certain Theodora for 260 *hyperpers*, with the proviso, however, that the monks should retain half the sale price in

[34] *Lavra* II, no. 88, 10–11 [*c.* 1290–1300].

[35] *Docheiar.* no. 3 [a. 1112].

[36] *Chil.*, no. 112.

[37] *Ivir.* I, no. 16 [a. 1010].

safekeeping until such time as her daughter should marry and receive the money as her dowry.[38]

It should also be noted that the land being sold is frequently described as being near or adjacent to properties already owned by a given monastery. I will cite a couple of examples, both from the fourteenth century: Anna, the wife of Tobrainos, and her daughter Maria sold Chilandar a garden and fruit trees together with a field 'which is close to and in the middle of your other fields',[39] while Stamatike *tou* Papaioannou and her husband sold to the Serbian monastery an ancestral house at Serres which was in the midst of houses 'previously purchased by the same monastery'.[40] One wonders how much pressure the monasteries put on these women, especially if they had no husband, to sell adjoining lands or houses. Although all acts of sale include the standard disclaimer that the vendor was not forced to sell the property, there can be no question that the sellers sometimes felt they had no choice. Thus the nun Marina who sold property at Kaisaropolis to Chilandar comments that she felt she had to sell it to the Serbian monks, since 'they were neighbours [that is, owned adjacent properties] and had the right of preëmption (προτίμησις) over it'.[41] The monks had already bought lands from her brother-in-law, Basil Modenos, as well as the lands she had given to her son-in-law at the time of his marriage.

A second principal category of transactions involving women was acts of donation. They in turn can be divided into two groups: donations in exchange for an *adelphaton* and donations in exchange for prayers or commemoration. An *adelphaton* or 'fellowship' in a monastery was a type of annuity which monasteries granted to generous donors, normally involving the provision of foodstuffs for life. For example, the above-mentioned nun Marina, a widow, made an agreement with the monks of Chilandar to receive for the rest of her life an annual allotment of 24 measures of wheat in addition to wine and oil.[42] An *adelphaton* granted by

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[38] *Chil.*, no. 118.

[39] Ibid., no. 98, 9 [a. 1324].

[40] Ibid., no. 108, 11–12 [a. 1326]. Cf. also Ibid., no. 99, 14 [a. 1324], in which Kale, the widow of Pardos, sold a vineyard 'near your other vineyard', and no. 142 [a. 1355], in which Theodora Asimina and her children sold a field at Zichna which they had inherited and which was near the land which Chilandar had bought from Palaiologina Chortatzena.

[41] *Chil.*, no. 69, 37–38 [a. 1321].

[42] Loc. cit., 42–43. In this case the *adelphaton* was included as part of the purchase price of Marina's property. She received 210 *hyperpers*, a horse and the *adelphaton*. An *adelphaton* was normally valued at 100 *hyperpers* in the 14th century; cf. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 59. See also *Chil.*, no. 143 [a. 1355], an act of donation of Theotokes Koudoupates and his wife Eudokia, who gave Chilandar two vineyards, a field and a house at Zichna in exchange for an *adelphaton*. Ibid., no. 117 [a. 1328], records the receipt of an *adelphaton* by Maria and her first husband John Dragoumanos, in exchange for donation of Maria's ancestral properties, including a chapel, *kellia*, a vineyard, a garden and fields.

Docheiariou in 1404 to Maria Deblitzene consisted of wheat, dried legumes, oil and cheese.[43]

Much more common, however, was the donation of property to Athonite monasteries in exchange for spiritual benefits – the prayers of the monks for the salvation of one's soul. This kind of donation was sometimes called a ψυχικόν[44] or ψυχικὴ δωρέα.[45] The donor could specify the names of the individuals he or she wished to be commemorated, and they were inscribed in a register variously called a βρεβεῖον,[46] δίπτυχα[47] or ψυχοχαρτίον.[48] Normally the donor requested prayers and commemorative services for him or herself, his or her spouse and parents, but occasionally asked that more distant relatives be remembered. For example, Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene offered an entire village to Philotheou on behalf of the souls of her recently deceased nephew (whom she had raised) and his children.[49] The requests for commemoration varied from generic formulas such as χάριν μνημοσύνου,[50] χάριν μνήμης,[51] and ἐπὶ μνήμῃ,[52] to elaborate and precise instructions for the frequency and nature of the prayers and commemorative services. Particularly detailed were the conditions of donation set forth in 1445 by the nun Nymphodora, the eighty-four-year old widow of the monk Markellos, with whom I began this paper. Her husband was the so-called 'second *ktetor*' – that is, a major benefactor of Xeropotamou monastery. She specified in her will that, in return for the properties she donated, the monks were to say a prayer to the Virgin at vespers on Monday, to say the liturgy in her honour on Tuesday, to drink a cup of wine in the refectory on her behalf and to provide her with an *adelphaton* for the rest of her life. After she died a liturgy was to be celebrated on the anniversary of her death.[53]

Another woman and her husband, donors of land to Iviron, noted that their gift was in exchange for daily commemoration in religious services plus annual commemoration on the anniversary of their death. At the

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[43] *Docheiar.*, no. 51, 15–18.

[44] *Ivir.* II, no. 47, 14 [a. 1098].

[45] *Chil.*, no. 59, 20 [a. 1321], no. 147, 6–7 [a. 1362].

[46] Ibid., no. 117, 34 [a. 1328]; *RegPatr* 6, no. 2990, unpublished act from Vatopedi; *Xenoph.* no. 28, 4, 22 [a. 1348]; no. 30, 35 [a. 1364]; *Dionys.* no. 19, 27 [a. 1420]; *Docheiar.* no. 58, 5, 14 [a. 1419].

[47] *Lavra* I, no. 18, 21–22 [a. 1014]; *Lavra* II, no. 98, 27–28 [a. 1304].

[48] *Ivir.* III, no. 81, 22.

[49] V. Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou', *TM* 10 (1987), no. 6, 315–23.

[50] *Chil.*, no. 147, 6 [a. 1362]; *Ivir.* III, no. 71.

[51] *Dionys.* no. 19, 26.

[52] *Zograph.*, no. 7, 19, 16–18.

[53] *Xeropot.*, no. 30, 28, 34–38.

μνημόσυνον the hieromonks were to be in full vestments, carry candles and distribute *kollyva*.[54]

In the late eleventh century the nun Maria (better known as Kale Pakourianc) gavc an cstate at Radolibos to Iviron in return for the eternal commemoration of her husband, Symbatios Pakourianos, for whom she had previously arranged burial at the monastery. The revenues from the estate were to provide sufficient income for the annual services: specifically 100 *modioi* of wheat, 10 sheep and 100 measures of wine to cover the expenses of the actual μνημόσυνον, of a festive meal (πνευματικὸν συμπόσιον) and distributions to the poor. The same amount was to be used for her own commemoration after her death.[55] It should be noted that these commemorative services were especially important for Maria who had been widowed as a young woman and was childless.

A variant on an outright donation of property to a monastery was the combination of a sale with a donation. The normal procedure was for the vendor to charge the monks only half the current market price and to write off the other half as a donation in exchange for commemoration. Thus an eleventh-century nun named Maria, together with her nieces Anna and Agathe, sold to Iviron fields worth 40 *nomismata*, but the monks only had to pay 20 *nomismata*. The women noted that they were donating half the sale price in return for μνημόσυνα for themselves and their parents.[56]

Several acts of donation explicitly reveal women's strong yearning for spiritual links with the Holy Mountain which they could never visit. The nun Glykeria, a childless widow, gave the Lavra all her property on the island of Skyros, and called Eustratios, the abbot of the Lavra, her spiritual father.[57] Maria Tzousmene writes wistfully in her act of donation: 'When I heard about the Holy Mountain, my soul thirsted for the living God, whether I too might have a share in the Holy Mountain ... and I too wanted to be commemorated on the Holy Mountain.'[58] Or consider the case of Maria Lagoudes, who together with her husband Constantine donated property to Theodoretos, abbot of the Lavra, whom they call their spiritual father. She begins the act by stating: 'I Maria, wife of Kyr Constantine Lagoudes

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[54] *Ivir.* III, no. 81, 5, 27. Another Act with very specific instructions for commemorative services is *Docheiar*, no. 58, 4–8 [a. 1419].

[55] For Pakourianos's burial at Iviron, see *Ivir.* II, no. 44, 14–15 [a. 1090]. For instructions about the commemorative services, see ibid., no. 47, 16–18 [a. 1098].

[56] *Ivir.*, no. 26 [a. 1042]. Likewise, in the fourteenth century, Basil Modenos, his wife and other kinswomen gave half their inherited property to Chilandar 'for the sake of their spiritual salvation', and sold the other half to the monastery for 150 hyperpers; cf. *Chil.*, no. 53. For other examples of sales of property at half price, see *Xenoph.* no. 10 [a. 1315], *Docheiar*, no. 42, 22–6 [a. 1373], and *Lavra* III, no. 148, 11–12 [a. 1377].

[57] *Lavra* I, no. 20 [a. 1016].

[58] *Zograph.* no. 5, 9–12 [a. 1142].

here present, from of old and from the beginning, and, so to speak, from the time I was in my mother's womb was raised by the [monks] of Lavra,' probably meaning that she was supported by an *adelphaton* from Lavra. She continues:

> During our entire life we have been devoted to [the Lavra] and have much faith ... in it, because of the virtue of the fathers [who live] there and their compassionate and soul-loving disposition ... Therefore since we have now reached old age and have no son nor anyone else to take care of our souls, we have sought refuge at the holy Lavra as at a harbor of salvation, so that ... [the monks] may inscribe our [names] in the holy diptychs of the church, to be commemorated at the holy liturgy in atonement of our sins.

The couple stipulated that they were to retain life interest in their properties which represented their only source of income. 'From now on we will be united with the [monks] in spirit, having become one soul [with them] and being brethren of the Lavra, since it is our mother from now on and we are her children.'[59] It is noteworthy that, although she was physically removed from Athos, Maria viewed the abbot as her spiritual father, the Lavra as her mother, and herself as one of the brethren and children of the Lavra. As in the case of Kale Pakouriane it must have been a source of great spiritual comfort to the childless Maria to ensure that the monks of her beloved Lavra would commemorate her after her death.

Another woman who called herself a 'brother' of the Lavra monastery was the widow Thomais who gave the Lavra various objects, shares in property and cash worth 50 *hyperpers*, so that 'we [Thomais and the two co-owners of the property] may be commemorated as brethren of the monastery both while living and after our death'.[60] Paul Lemerle has suggested that perhaps some sort of honorary confraternity existed, to which both men and women could belong. In exchange for the contribution of a certain sum, a donor would be entitled to be numbered among the 'brethren' of Lavra, and to be commemorated by the monks.[61]

Time does not permit any discussion of objects of art given by women to the monasteries of Mt Athos, but I would suggest that this is an avenue of research that might well repay investigation. Where such objects bear inscriptions, they sometimes reveal a motivation similar to that which inspired the female donors of landed properties to the Holy Mountain: the desire for a spiritual bond with the Athonite monasteries and the prayers of the monks for themselves and members of their families. Men too, of course, gave fields, houses and *objets d'art* to these monasteries for the

[59] *Lavra* I, no. 18 [a. 1014].
[60] *Lavra* III, no. 173, 10–11 [a. 1471].
[61] P. Lemerle in *Lavra* III, 197.

same reasons; the difference was that the men could make pilgrimage to Athos or retire there as monks. For women with special devotion to Athos the only way in which they could establish a connection with the Holy Mountain was through pious donations which at the same time enriched the monasteries and comforted the donors with assurance of continual prayers for the salvation of their souls.

7. Athos: a working community

Archimandrite Ephrem Lash

Sir John Masterman tells the story of how he was once working in his study at Worcester College, Oxford, when an American child looked in at the window and ran back to his parents shouting, 'Gee, these ruins are inhabited!'. What follows is not intended as a learned discourse, but simply as an account of what it feels like to be an inhabitant, if only briefly, of 'these ruins' of the Byzantine world, of what it is like to live as an ordinary monk in one of the great Athonite *koinobia*. I hope such an account, personal and unscientific though it is, has a place even in such a learned assembly as this one.

A preliminary word of warning is necessary, because although there is in all the cenobitic houses on the Mountain an overall similarity of *typika*, each monastery has its own distinctive style – its own particular ethos. Since the revival of the majority of the great monasteries which began in the early 1970s this ethos has been even more strongly marked by the personality of the abbots of these communities. What is typical of one house may be quite unusual in another. The four houses that depend ultimately on Abbot Ephraim of Philotheou, namely Philotheou, Karakallou, Xeropotamou and Kastamonitou, have a strong family likeness, but their atmosphere is very unlike that of Simopetra under Abbot Aimilianos and even more unlike that of my own monastery of Docheiariou under Abbot Gregorios.

In the late 1970s Docheiariou was still an idiorrhythmic house inhabited by half a dozen elderly gentlemen, including a former abbot of Xenophontos, Father Evdokimos, who was born in 1905, and Father Benjamin, who had been tonsured in 1935. At this period the 'zealot' monks were looking for a second ruling monastery to take over. They already held Esphigmenou, the 'banners on whose outward wall' proclaim the message 'Orthodoxy or death' and whose monks are convinced that the world is the scene of a

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vast conspiracy by the Roman Catholics, Jews and Freemasons, who include the pope and the ecumenical patriarch, to subvert and destroy Orthodoxy. Very large numbers of the small *kellia* and hermitages are inhabited by zealots. A group of these zealots occupied the guest quarters of Docheiariou, intending to take over the whole monastery. The handful of old men were clearly unable to dislodge them by force, and so the police were called in to evict the intruders, who later produced an icon depicting the various groups of monks martyred by the supporters of the Latins in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, which is still on sale in the pious repositories in Athens and Thessalonike.

One result of this episode was that the Sacred Epistasia urgently needed to find an abbot who could take over the monastery and ensure its revival and future stability. Finally Abbot Gregorios of Pruso in western Greece accepted the task and arrived in 1980 with his small *synodia* of gifted and lively young monks. Abbot Gregorios himself is from the island of Paros, where in his youth he had known Father Philotheos of Longavarda. From boyhood he had always wanted to be a monk and, after attending the monastic school on Patmos, he joined Father Amphilochios in his *hesychasterion*. The elder sent him to Athens to study theology and he was his chosen successor. On Father Amphilochios's death the tiny brotherhood was unable to remain on Patmos, so Father Gregorios left for Pruso with a fellow priest, Father Gabriel and Monk Joseph. Experts in hagiographical literature will recognize a number of standard *topoi* in this account, which leads me to wonder whether scholars do not sometimes too readily imply, even if they do not actually say so, that *topos* equals pious fiction.

The Epistasia offered Abbot Gregorios a choice of either Vatopedi, Xeropotamou or Docheiariou. He chose the third and, when an elderly Athonite expressed his surprise at this, exclaiming, 'The place is a ruin and also practically penniless,' he replied, 'What could be better for a brotherhood of young monks than a life of strenuous physical work, no money, and the guardianship of one of the greatest miraculous icons of the Mother of God on the Mountain?' The icon is the *Gorgoypikoos*, or 'She who responds quickly', the title that the Mother of God had given herself in the initial vision to the monk Neilos. Something of Abbot Gregorios's style comes through in the following apothegm. A frequent visitor to the monastery was a very learned Athenian priest, a classical philologist by training. One day I was escorting him down to the landing stage with his luggage, and, as we came to the monastery's fishing boat, newly painted with her name, *Gorgoypikoos*, clearly legible round her prow, he remarked, somewhat loftily, 'Philologically a most ill-formed word'. Later I told the abbot of his remark, to which he answered, 'Ah well, she was only a Jewish village girl, so perhaps her Greek wasn't very good'.

The first task of the new brotherhood was to get the place into order – a task of Herculean dimensions. The old *trapeza*, which is very large, was in places knee-deep in bags of rotting flour. The buildings, apart from the katholikon, were in a lamentable state and needed entirely reroofing; the gardens, vineyards and oliveyards were almost entirely deserted and overgrown. Abbot Gregorios threw himself energetically into this task with his company of less than a dozen monks. When I first visited the monastery in 1981, I was somewhat surprised one evening to be asked to read the *Akathistos* at compline. Only later did I realize that by doing so I had released a monk to work in the garden until darkness fell. Some years later, as the porter of the monastery, I had the task of shutting and barring the great gate every night at sunset. Frequently, though, I had to wait until well after dark, until the abbot brought back a working party from outside. As I remarked on one such occasion, 'The sun knew the hour of its setting, but the elder didn't agree'. The abbot himself was one of the hardest workers in the monastery and was often found doing the dirtiest jobs and wearing the scruffiest and most tattered of habits. One day he was supervising the cement mixer just outside the main gate, when a very superior Athenian visitor arrived. He explained that he was 'known to the elder', in the tone of voice that meant that he therefore expected preferential treatment. I refrained from remarking that he had just walked past his good friend the abbot without, apparently, recognizing him.

Soon after Abbot Gregorios arrived the Mother of God sent him a young monk who was a professional builder. Father Neilos, as he was tonsured, had been driving in his van with his wife and small son when they were involved in a terrible accident, in which both his wife and son were killed. After this he decided to become a monk (*topos*) and joined the brotherhood of Docheiariou, where he devoted his professional skills to the restoration of the building. One by one he restored the forest of tall chimneys that are one of its striking features, finishing off each one with a top of a different design. The re-leading of the roof of the bell tower, however, required specialists. For this the abbot invited the monks of a small *kellion* whose particular trade this is. In the tradition of Orthodox monasticism no one owes the monk a living – as the Apostle says, 'If anyone is unwilling to work, they should not eat'. The monks of many of the small sketes and *kellia* specialize in various trades and skills and earn their livelihood by working for the other monasteries. They may, for example, be icon painters, builders or singers. There is, however, a difference in social standing among these groups. The monk in charge of the kitchen said to me one fast day, when there was no permission for wine, 'Give a pitcher of wine to the workmen'. I could see no workmen, until I realized that he was referring to the group of monks who were leading the roof. Although monks, they were treated as workmen. On the great annual *panegyris* of a monastery it is usual to

employ one or more of the groups of specialist singers to lead the chanting at the *agrypnia*.

The heavy work of restoration in no way diminished the liturgical life of the monastery. As St Benedict, whom the abbot quoted frequently with approval, says, the principal work of the monastery is the *opus dei*, the daily round of the divine office. This is the centrepiece of the common life and attendance at *orthros* was rigorously enforced. We were roused by a 'warning' bell at 2.30 am and the office began at 3.00am. When I first joined the monastery we were permitted to arrive at any time before the Creed at the midnight office. Since, on most days, this was preceded, among other things, by the reading of the whole of Psalm 118 (119), the drowsy had about half an hour's grace. Later the abbot changed this to 'by Psalm 50 (51)', which reduced it to five or ten minutes. The abbot also instituted in the refectory a 'Table of the Idle', the *trapeza ton rathymounton*, at which those who had been late for *orthros* had to sit at the meal after the Liturgy. They were, moreover, only allowed the main dish with no 'extras'. Persistent offenders might find, on uncovering their dish, that it was empty. The abbot always imposed these penances with a twinkle in his eye, and there was absolutely no feeling of vindictiveness about them.

The monastery maintains a high standard of liturgical observance, and is one of the three monasteries – the others being the Great Lavra and Dionysiou – that retain the practice of singing the full canon every day at *orthros*. Few mistakes escaped the abbot's close attention, and they were usually corrected on the spot. I once, inadvertently read the word *parangelia* ('order'), instead of the word *epangelia*, ('promise') only be cut short by a familiar voice from the abbot's stall, 'That's what we give for onions in the market'. The reader in the refectory would often to be told to interrupt the reading so that the abbot could cross-examine someone on what had just been read. He did this, he told me, to make sure that we were actually listening to the reading.

Docheiariou still follows what is now the older *typikon*, by which the liturgical day is divided into two groups of offices. The morning group consisted of all the offices from the midnight office through to the Divine Liturgy. On non-fast days – that is, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday – the Liturgy was immediately followed by the office of supplication, or *paraklesis*, to the Mother of God. The main meal of the day followed immediately, at between 7 and 7.30 am. After this there was a break of an hour or so until the main work of the day began. On fast days the one meal was taken in the middle of the morning. The ninth hour and vespers were celebrated three hours before sunset. At sunset compline, including the *Akathistos* to the Mother of God, ended the day. The reason for this arrangement, which displeases some liturgical purists, was to enable the monks to put in a full working day, without having to break off at intervals to return to the

church, especially since some of the work of the monks was often very dirty and frequently at some considerable distance from it. The matter was put in a vivid nutshell by an old peasant one afternoon, as he sat with some friends sipping coffee in the porter's lodge: 'Really the monks are just like us: they do a full day's work. The only difference is, they spend three or four hours in church before they start.' Under Greek social security arrangements, monks are placed in the category of 'agricultural labourers'. The DHSS would, I think, be unlikely so to classify the members of the English Benedictine Congregation. The days when the monks employed lay workmen for the heavy physical work are long gone. One day I was, as porter, sweeping up the courtyard near the main gate when Father Benjamin came up to me and observed, 'There *was* a time when the porter swept the whole courtyard every day'. Feeling that I was not measuring up to the high standards of my predecessors, I asked the abbot's forgiveness for my shortcoming. 'What the old man didn't tell you', he replied, 'was that in those days the porter was a paid lay servant.' Once upon a time the wish of the fairy godmother for boys born in the villages in the hinterland was, 'May he grow up to be the head muleteer of the Great Lavra' – but no longer.

Work in the monastery falls into three categories. There is first of all the individual monk's 'service', *diakonima*. These 'services' were allocated every year on 1 January, at a solemn meeting of the brotherhood, when the *vasilopita* is cut. Since the brotherhood was still quite small, about twenty-five in all, a number of monks had more than one 'service', and few could have a second or third brother to assist them, although the cook, the refectorian and the gardener were normally given helpers. On the other hand the abbot expected any brother who was free to offer others his help, particularly in the kitchen, where there were many simple tasks, such as peeling and chopping onions and garlic, to be done. A monk from another monastery once came for a number of days to work on a manuscript in the library. When he left, he told the abbot with some feeling how much he had enjoyed his meals and how tasty they had been. 'All we ever seem to get is boiled spaghetti.'

'That', replied the abbot, 'is because you all sit in your cells all day writing books, and the poor cook gets no help. Here I expect the brothers to help the cook when they can'.

Many of the monks had 'services' connected with the church, which were, for obvious reasons, usually combined with other services. The celebrants of the offices and the sacristans worked on a weekly basis, which changed at the beginning of vespers each Saturday evening. A monk's 'service' took precedence over the other forms of work, although finding work for one's service in order to avoid some unpleasant general task was usually unmasked and might be punished.

The second form of work was allocated each day by the abbot. About an hour after dinner, or on fast days after the end of the Liturgy, each monk would report to the abbot to be given his task for the day. Frequently it would be to assist one of the other monks who had a particularly heavy workload. There might be a large order from a church for incense, or a load of beeswax, offered by the local beekeepers to the Mother of God, to be turned into candles. Sometimes he would say to me, 'I have nothing for you today, Father. Go to your cell and write a book.'

The third type of work was work in common. On these days the abbot would ring the bell outside his quarters and we would all assemble in the courtyard below to receive instructions. On Mt Athos this form of work is called *pankoinies*, the spelling of which is not guaranteed, since I have never seen it written down. Dr Dimitri Conomos tells me that its etymology, according to the monks of Simopetra, is from *pan*, 'all', and *koinos*, 'common', which seems plausible. While I was at Docheiariou this summons was extremely frequent. Apart from work on the buildings, we cleared a sizeable plateau on the mountainside in preparation for a future vineyard. Although we were assisted in the task by a massive bulldozer, given to us by some German friends, most of the scrub clearance and removal of the boulders had to done by hand. Philologists may be interested to note that, despite its size, the bulldozer was frequently referred to by the affectionate diminutive *to bulldozaki*. While this work was in progress, Father Benjamin told the abbot that, some distance further up the mountain, there was an old oliveyard with a chapel in the middle of it. When we got there it was wholly overgrown with no building visible, but after several days hard work clearing scrub and brambles we uncovered its ruins. We celebrated the discovery by bringing out one of the relics of the Cross and holding an *agiasmos* by the ruins. The whole work of clearing the area took a number of weeks and on fast days the cook and the refectorians would ferry out the food out by mule so that the brothers could picnic where they were working.

The year was marked by the seasonal *pankoinies* for the olive harvest, the lemon harvest and so forth, but the most important event was the preparation for the monastery's dedication festival on 8 November, the Assembly of the Archangels, our patrons. Since the second great festival in the monastery is that of the icon of Mother of God, which falls on 1 October, the preparations were carried out during the last weeks of September. First the whole katholikon was stripped down. The appearance of a great Athonite katholikon stripped to its essentials is impressive, and the lines of the architecture stand out, uncluttered by the lamps and other furnishings. All the brassware was taken outside the main gates, including the great *polyeleos* and all the lesser ones, which were lowered and dismantled. Then every smallest piece was polished and burnished. The

numerous hanging lamps, some of them made of the most delicate filigree silver were all taken down and polished. For this latter task a supply of Goddard's foam silver polish was ordered from England and adjudged a success. This work took the whole community the best part of two weeks, after which the rest of the monastery was systematically cleaned. Whitewash brushes on long poles were much in evidence, and the abbot himself made a speciality of hosing down, with considerable gusto, every available nook and cranny. Finally each monk was expected to clean his own cell. The abbot remarked that he often thought the founders had instituted the annual festival to make sure that the monastery got a thorough going over at least once a year.

The festival itself began at the usual hour for vespers with small vespers followed by the first of the festal meals. At Docheiariou we had the added problem of providing two different meals, since our visitors from 'the world', who followed the new calendar, had already begun the pre-Christmas fast. Later in the evening, one hour after sunset, in accordance with Athonite custom, all the bells and the *simandra* sound for the great vigil, or *agrypnia*. The vigil begins with compline, including the usual *Akathistos*, followed by great vespers and the liti. This part of the service might last anything up to six or seven hours, and the whole *agrypnia*, including the Liturgy, from between twelve to fifteen hours without a break. This can seem overlong even to some holy mountaineers. An old monk remarked to me during a vigil at the Great Lavra, 'I think ten to twelve hours is very reasonable for a vigil; fifteen is rather overdoing it'.

But what of the monk's private prayer? 'We do not go to church to pray,' Abbot Gregorios used to tell us, 'but to make a joyful noise to the Lord. Praying we do in the privacy of our cells, with the door shut, as the Lord commands in the Gospel.' Since the abbot is the spiritual father of his monks, he imprints on them his own particular style. Abbot Gregorios is not, in an important sense, a hesychast. Each monk was given his own *kanona*, or rule of prayer, consisting of a set number of *komvochoinia*, or prayer ropes, together with a set number of full and lesser prostrations to be made each day. The abbot was most insistent on the performance of this *kanona*. On the other hand, he did not, unlike some abbots, encourage the use of the Jesus Prayer, muttered half aloud, while going about one's daily tasks and even during services in church. Instead he recommended the silent use of just *Kyrie, eleison* or of prayers, particularly psalms, that one might have learnt by heart. One priest, who came hoping to join the community, had been taught to use the Jesus Prayer while going about his work. This began to irritate some of the brothers. His cell was near mine, and I was somewhat taken aback one afternoon, as I passed him on the stairs, to hear him muttering *'pornos eimi'* ('I am a fornicator'). Later I learnt that the abbot had

said to him, 'If you must go round muttering half under your breath, say *"pornos eimi"*'. And being a properly obedient monk he did.

Abbot Gregorios believes that the essential work of the monk is the cutting off of the will and the eradication of the passions by absolute obedience and hard work. One day a passing hermit visited the monastery. Some Athonite hermits are distinctly peripatetic and spend much time travelling from monastery to monastery – indeed, if you want to know what is going on, ask a hermit! This particular hermit was extolling to the abbot the value of contemplative prayer.

'Come with me', said the abbot, and led him to the front of the church where, on a very hot July day, the brothers were repairing the flagstones and renewing the cement between them.

'That', said the abbot, 'is where my young men are working out their salvation.'

One day in the refectory he took his *komvoschoini* between his fingers, held it up and said, 'How do you think these places got built, if the monks spent all their days in their cells saying *Kyrie, eleison*?' Then he recounted two stories from his younger days on Paros. He once asked one of the old monks if he could help him by painting the old man's cell. The old monk accepted his offer.

'What colour do you want it?'

'I don't know what colour it is, my boy, because I haven't been inside my cell during the hours of daylight for years'.

On another occasion he was walking round the monastery during siesta time, when he heard a noise coming from inside a great barrel for olives that was lying in the courtyard. He stopped to listen and heard a voice from inside reciting the Jesus Prayer. Stooping down, he looked in to see the abbot lying on his back scraping the barrel clean.

'What are doing here, *geronta*?'

'Well, the young men want to pray in their cells, and somebody has to get this barrel clean'.

For Abbot Gregorios the ideal monastery is the *koinobion*, the communal life. Like St Benedict, he believes that the monastery is a school for the Lord's service in which most monks are still at a fairly elementary level. He once said to me, 'Father, I have been even to the foot of Mt Tabor'. A working community may not have many members who have seen the uncreated light; and many monks, I suspect, go through their lives trying simply to live in obedience to their abbot and their brothers and to go about their daily tasks of prayer and work so that, at the end, they will be able to say, 'I am an unprofitable servant; I have done my duty'.

Section III

Economy and Patronage

8. The monastic economy and imperial patronage from the tenth to the twelfth century

Alan Harvey

The monasteries of Mt Athos accumulated property by a variety of means – donations and bequests, purchases and the absorption of other monasteries. The crucial factor in the build-up of their landed wealth was aristocratic and, especially, imperial favour. This is most evident in the case of the two best documented monasteries, Lavra and Iviron. Iviron benefited from the political importance of relations with Georgia early in Basil II's reign and in 979–80 it swallowed up the monastery of Kolovos through an imperial Chrysobull. Kolovos itself had previously absorbed other monasteries and had become a major landowner. It was located in the eastern Chalkidiki and one of its dependent monasteries, Leontia, was situated in Thessalonike.[1] Thus, at a stroke, Iviron became the largest landowner on Mt Athos, the extent of the land which it received through Basil II's Chrysobull having been estimated by Lefort at 80,000 *modioi* (approximately 8,000 hectares).[2] How intensively it was cultivated at this time is not known. A little before 1029 Iviron also acquired the large property of Dovrovikeia from the state.[3] The importance of the connection with Constantinople is demonstrated by the confiscation of five of Iviron's properties following the treason of its abbot, George, in 1029. Some landowners exploited Iviron's difficulties to usurp other estates belonging to the monastery. Although the confiscated properties were restored by Michael IV around 1035, reclaiming the usurped lands proved a more lengthy business and one at Ezova was not recovered until 1062. A Chrysobull of 1079 lists twenty-three major properties belonging to Iviron.[4]

[1] *Ivir.* II, no. 32, lines 13–15. For the privileges granted to Kolovos and its subordinate monasteries, see *Ivir.*, I, no. 2, and for the importance of Georgia during Basil II's reign, see J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 330–31.

[2] *Ivir.* I, 31.

[3] *Ivir.* II, no. 32, lines 19–20, no. 52, lines 220. Ibid., I, 45.

[4] For the confiscations, *Ivir* I, 49; For the monastery's lands in 1079, ibid. II, no. 41.

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Lavra also increased its lands by taking over other monasteries. Much of its property in the western Chalkidiki was acquired with the monastery of St Andrew at Peristerai, which itself had received fiscal privileges from Constantine VII. In 989 Lavra acquired the monastery of Gomatou, which had suffered in Bulgar raids.[5] One reason that Lavra was able to absorb other monasteries was that it had the resources to restore some prosperity to them and to bring land back into cultivation. Again, imperial support was an important factor. Both Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes had granted Lavra *solemnia* – annual payments from fiscal revenues. In 1057 Michael VI confirmed the full amount of Lavra's grants from previous emperors at eight pounds and twenty *nomismata*, and added a further three pounds.[6]

Although the Athonite archives contain many instances of land purchases, these did not account for the bulk of the land acquired by the monasteries. Occasionally, there were exceptional purchases. The Amalfitan monastery brought an estate, Platanos, in eastern Macedonia for twenty-four pounds in 1081,[7] but purchases were usually on a smaller scale and largely confined to areas where the monastery already owned property.

Donations by powerful benefactors were a much more important source of wealth. In the late eleventh century Leo Kephalas received four properties through imperial grants. He also received a complete fiscal exemption for three of them, entitling him to all the revenues from those estates. When his son transferred all but one of these properties to Lavra, the monastery also received the Chrysobulls enabling it to claim the same privileges for these properties.[8]

Imperial favour was crucial not only for accumulating land, but also for protecting it from the demands of the tax-collector and other imperial officals. Influential monasteries enjoyed extensive privileges, but they were rarely complete. Generally, they had to pay the *demosion*, the basic land tax, although at a much more favourable rate than ordinary taxpayers, and the state relinquished its claims to a range of other obligations which are listed at great length in the Chrysobulls of the eleventh century. These consisted of payments in cash, labour services from the *paroikoi* and payments in kind which were usually intended to maintain officials while they performed their duties. Irregular exactions, which occurred when a high-ranking official with a large retinue was in the region, and the billeting of soldiers presented the most serious problems for landowners. The regularity with

[5] *Lavra* I, nos. 8, 33. For the acquisition of the monastery of St Andrew, see Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, CCSG 9 (Louvain, 1982) 166.

[6] Noret, *Vitae duae*, 56, 166, 169. *Lavra* I, no. 32.

[7] *Lavra* I, no. 42

[8] Ibid., nos 44, 45, 48, 49, 60 and the notes on p. 337.

which Lavra and Iviron obtained new documents confirming old privileges reflected their concern to protect their estates from such impositions.[9]

While imperial favour was vital to the monasteries, they also benefited from the general pattern of economic expansion between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Three main factors can be identified:

1. population increase;
2. expenditure on agricultural improvements;
3. increased commercial activity by the Athonite monasteries.

The first of these factors, population growth, was crucial because the most straightforward way for any landowner to increase revenues was to have more peasants working the land. There is evidence of an increase in the number of peasants settled on the estates of both Lavra and Iviron during this period. In 1047 there were 247 *paroikoi* installed on the properties of Iviron and, by the beginning of the twelfth century, the figure had risen to 294 even though the extent of Iviron's estates had in the meantime been reduced by confiscation during the reign of Alexios I.[10] In the tenth century the monastery of St Andrew at Peristerai, which later came into Lavra's possession, was given a fiscal exemption to establish one hundred *paroikoi* on its properties provided that they were not registered as taxpayers elsewhere. In 1079 Lavra obtained an exemption for another hundred on condition that they were descendants of *paroikoi* already established on its estates.[11] The establishment of peasants on Lavra's estate at Chostiane can be followed over a period of about a hundred years. In 1086 it was given by Alexios I to Leo Kephalas who received an *exkousseia* for twelve *paroikoi* on the estate. In 1115 Chostiane came into Lavra's ownership and by 1181 there were sixty-two *paroikoi*, each possessing a pair of oxen.[12] The implications of a steady increase in the number of peasant cultivators are that labour was available to cultivate the properties more effectively and, obviously, the income which the monasteries received from payments of rent grew substantially.

To move on to the question of agricultural improvements, there is considerable evidence of landowners, including the Athonite monasteries, spending money on their properties. Although no significant technological

[9] For the payment of the demosion, at very low rates, by Lavra and Iviron, *Lavra* I, nos 50, 52, 58; *Ivir.* I, no. 29. for their *exkousseia* relating to a range of other obligations, *Lavra* I, nos 33, 38; *Ivir.* II, no. 41.

[10] *Ivir.* II, p. 33. J. Lefort, 'Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale, IX^{e}–XV^{e} siècle', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, eds, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin II* (Paris, 1991), 63–82; J. Lefort, 'Rural economy and social relations in the countryside', *DOP* 47 (1993), 101–13; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), 47–67.

[11] *Lavra* I, nos 33, 38.

[12] *Lavra* I, no. 65.

improvements were made to Byzantine agriculture, cash could be spent effectively within existing technological constraints. A fundamental consideration was the supply of water to the properties. One of the best-known irrigation works was undertaken on Athos by Athanasios. In this scheme, water was brought from the higher parts of the mountain to Lavra to irrigate the gardens and fruit trees. Even allowing for possible exaggeration by the hagiographer, the important factors were that Athanasios had rights to the water, controlled the land through which it was channelled and had the financial resources to carry out the project.[13] Most of the expenditure on agriculture, which is documented in the Athos archives, was linked to vineyards, fruit trees and gardens – produce that was relatively easy to transport to markets. Lavra provided the monastery of Bouleuteria with the substantial sum of 500 *nomismata*, part of which was spent on new vineyards. When the monastery of Xenophon was restored by Symeon, new vineyards and gardens were planted. The archives of Chilandar reveal that in 1193 Sabas paid 300 *hyperpyra* for unexploited land on Athos which he intended to plant with vines. This land was situated next to a vineyard which he had already planted.[14]

This expenditure on agricultural improvements by the Athonite monasteries was linked to the greater commercial opportunities presented by urban expansion from the tenth century onwards. It is difficult to determine the full extent of the monasteries' trade, because the documents are, for the most part, prescriptive, being the product of imperial attempts to restrict their trade to specific ports or to limit the extent of their maritime privileges. It is probable that the monks were buying up produce in smaller ports and shipping it for resale to larger markets such as Thessalonike, but solid documentary evidence is lacking. John Tzimiskes stipulated that the monks should sell wine to laymen only in exchange for supplies in which the monks were lacking, but soon they were selling wine and other produce in Constantinople and other major towns. The attempts by different emperors to curtail this trade are a clear indication of the regularity of monastic commerce. Besides trying to restrict the size of their boats Basil II restricted the sale of the monk's surplus produce to Thessalonike and the ports en route. In 1045 Constantine IX limited the capacity of the Athonite boats to 300 *modioi* and allowed them to sail only as far east as Ainos. The effect of these restrictions was undermined by the privileges of

[13] Noret, *Vitae duae*, 37, 152. For agricultural production during this period see M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle. Propriété et exploitation due sol* (Paris, 1992); Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 120–62. For the administration of monastic properties, see M. Kaplan, 'The Evergetis Hypotyposis and the management of monastic estates in the eleventh century', in M. Mullett, A. Kirby, eds, *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, BBTT 6.1 (Belfast, 1994), 103–23.

[14] *Lavra* I, no. 26; *Xénoph.*, no. 1; *Chil.*, no. 2.

individual monasteries which were not affected by these regulations. A special exception was also made for the Amalfitan monastery which was allowed to send one boat to Constantinople to obtain supplies from the Amalfitan community there, but was not permitted to use it for general commercial purposes. How closely they adhered to this condition is, of course, unknown,[15] since most of the Chrysobulls relating to the monasteries, maritime privileges do not survive and detailed information is limited. Those which do survive contain exemptions from impounding the boats for the state's own purposes, which was an important consideration for landowners attempting to sell their produce. In 1199 the monastery of Chilandar, whose large expenditure on improving its lands has already been noted, received an exemption for a boat of 1,000 *modioi* which was allowed to operate along the coast of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike. In 1102 Lavra received a Chrysobull from Alexios I entitling it to operate four boats of a total capacity of 6,000 *modioi* and was granted an exemption from the *dekateia*, a tax on the produce which they transported. At the end of the twelfth century the administration in Constantinople attempted to circumvent the terms of Alexios's Chrysobull and to impose a tax on the wine which Lavra was transporting to the capital. The administration's preoccupation with the tax on wine over other produce suggest that it was the most important cargo shipped to Constantinople by Lavra.[16]

While monastic landowners benefited from the economic trends of this period, they remained vulnerable to political vicissitudes. Their dependence on imperial favour was most apparent in the reign of Alexios I, who urgently needed revenues for his military expenses and estates for members of his family and other aristocrats whose lands in Anatolia had been lost to the Turks. He used fiscal procedures to confiscate land. Tax rates were adjusted and, instead of simply raising the tax payment, fiscal officials left landowners in possession of the land which corresponded to their existing tax payment, and the remaining land was confiscated by the state. The fortunes of the Athonite monasteries varied sharply according to their influence in Constantinople. Lavra and Docheiariou were able to avoid an increase in their tax payment and at the same time retain their land, whereas Vatopedi and Iviron lost possession of some of their properties. After a higher rate of taxation had been imposed on a large estate belonging to Docheiariou, the monks successfully approached Anna Dalassena who waived the increase.

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[15] *Prot.*, no. 7, lines 95–100, no. 8, lines 54–77, 99–101. For the urban economy during this period, see Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 198–243; M. Angold, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine "city"', *ByzF* 10 (1985), 1–37.

[16] *Lavra* I, nos. 55, 67, 68; *Chil.*, no. 5; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 304–6; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 238–41.

Lavra was a very special case. Its lands were not assessed according to the general ordinance by which a new rate of taxation was imposed on other landowners. Furthermore, it benefited from a much more favourable rate of taxation, 535½ *modioi* for each *nomisma*, than other landowners enjoyed, and the standard fiscal surcharges were not imposed on its properties. A detailed sequence of Chrysobulls show how Lavra was able to retain the majority of its estates during Alexios's reign and actually succeeded in getting its payments reduced by obtaining a number of donations from the emperor. Successive enquiries found that Lavra was holding more than the land to which it was entitled by its tax payments and privileges. It obtained further privileges enabling it to retain 47,052 *modioi* (about 10–12,000 acres) and eventually it surrendered only two properties to the state.[17] The documents, which give a great deal of detail about this process, were issued because Lavra was a special case and give a misleading impression of fiscal conditions at this time. It is likely that only a very limited number of highly privileged landowners did so well at a time of general fiscal pressure.

In contrast Iviron did much worse out of the tax assessments. In 1079 it possessed twenty-three properties in Macedonia. By 1104 eleven had been confiscated and were never recovered. The former empress Maria is credited in the *Synodikon* of the monastery with helping the monks to retain some of their land by paying five pounds to meet the administration's claims on the estate of Mesolimna. The recovery of the property was, however, only temporary and it had been permanently lost by 1104. Maria also made representations to the emperor about other properties which remained in Iviron's possession.[18]

Iviron attracted substantial gifts in cash and valuables from aristocratic benefactors during this difficult period. Information about these gifts is contained in the *Synodikon* of the monastery. This document, written in Georgian, was drawn up in 1074 and revised regularly up to the 1180s. It gives a list of benefactors to be commemorated by the monastery with details of their gifts or services to Iviron. The monetary gifts recorded up to 1074 amounted to 9⅔ pounds. The *Synodikon* was next updated between 1120 and 1140, and the payments for this period amounted to just over 51 pounds,

[17] *Lavra* I, nos. 50, 52, 58; *Docheiar.*, no. 2. For the technical fiscal procedures, see N. Svoronos, 'L'épibolè à époque des Comnènes', *TM* 3 (1968), 375–95. For Vatopedi's loss of properties, M. Goudas, 'Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου', *EEBS* 3 (1926), no. 4. See also A. Harvey, 'The land and taxation in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos: the evidence of Theophylakt of Ochrid', *REB* 51 (1993), 139–54; idem, 'Financial crisis and the rural economy', in M. Mullett, D. Smythe, eds, *Alexios I Komnenos* (Belfast, 1996), 167–84.

[18] *Ivir.* II, nos 45, 50 and 52, and pp. 27–33. The intercession of the former empress Maria is referred to in the monastery's *Synodikon*, ibid., no. 133, 8.

many of the entries relating to Alexios's reign. The sharp increase in gifts to Iviron during this period may have been a response by its aristocratic supporters to the confiscation of its estates. Kale Pakouriane gave several pounds after the confiscation and the former empress Maria gave six pounds in *nomismata* to be distributed to the monks.[19]

The loss of some of Iviron's properties was partially offset by the acquisition of the large village of Radolivos which was bequeathed to the monastery by Kale Pakouriane. The lands which had been confiscated amounted to about 45,000 *modioi*, and Radolivos consisted of about 20,000 *modioi*. More importantly Iviron took possession of 122 *paroikoi* in this village. Despite its losses Iviron was still a large landowner, its estates early in the twelfth century having been estimated at over 90,000 *modioi*.[20] Significantly, the number of *paroikoi* on Iviron's land was greater at the start of the twelfth century than it had been in the middle of the eleventh, even though the amount of land which it owned had been reduced.[21] Consequently, Iviron's revenues in 1104 were likely to have been substantial despite the loss of a number of its estates. Favourable economic conditions and the support of its aristocratic benefactors gave it some degree of protection from the vagaries of politics.

[19] The French translation of the *Synodikon* by Metreveli, published in *Ivir.* II, 4–11, has been used here; among the relevant entries are nos 56, 60, 103, 111, 120, 133.

[20] *Ivir.* II, nos 51, 53. J. Lefort, 'Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103), les géomètres et leur mathématiques', *TM* 8 (1981), 269–313; idem, 'Radolibos: population et paysage', *TM* 9 (1985), 195–234.

[21] *Ivir.* II, 33.

9. Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos

Nikolaos Oikonomides

Late Byzantine times were a high point in the history of Mt Athos; the Holy Mountain was at once the source of the prevailing hesychastic doctrine and a cosmopolitan pole of attraction for Greek and non-Greek monks and donations. Its economy, based firmly on immense domains protected by all Christian rulers, provided large surpluses that could be commercialized or given away as pensions (*adelphata*) to those who made further donations to the monasteries.[1] With an improved educational level, the Holy Mountain enjoyed an unlimited prestige among all Orthodox populations. The Serbian domination in Macedonia, although not uninterrupted, added to the properties and to the prestige of the monastic peninsula.[2]

The monasteries and their properties had twice been seriously threatened by the Turks;[3] first, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, at the time of the major raids by the coastal emirates of Asia Minor, particularly by Umur Aydinoğlu (d.1348) and once again by the Ottomans, after their victory of Maritza (1371). After that, the monasteries and their properties remained immune to the raids of the Ottoman *gazis*, probably because they had submitted to the sultan in advance and had obtained his protection.[4] This was a considerable advantage in a period of general upheaval and it

[1] See M. Živojinović, 'Adelfati u Vizantiji i srednevekovnoj Srbiji', *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 241–70; idem., 'Monaški adelfati na Svetoj Gore', *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* 12/1 (Belgrade, 1974), 291–303. See also my remarks in 'Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane', *Südost-Forschungen* 35 (1976), 6–8.

[2] See D. Korać, 'Sveta Gora pod Srpskom vlašću (1345–1371)', *ZRVI* 31 (1992).

[3] I have stressed this factor in *Dionys.*, 7–9. See also M. Živojinović, 'Concerning Turkish assaults on Mount Athos in the 14th century, based on Byzantine sources', *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 30 (Sarajevo, 1980), 501–16. On the emirates see now E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* (Venice, 1983).

[4] Cf. my 'Monastères et moines', 1–6; and the remarks of P. Lemerle, in *Lavra* IV, 46.

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made Mt Athos a safe place. Donations increased, as did, most significantly, the sales of *adelphata* pensions, much sought by all those who viewed the future with apprehension. Thus in the second half of the fourteenth century, cosmopolitan Mt Athos was only moderately affected, if at all, by the vicissitudes of the times, and it attracted those who longed for security, including some who fought for the emperor and for their faith.

Spiritual aspirations had always worked in favour of the Holy Mountain as had its prestige. It would be interesting to try to evaluate the role that these two factors played in the foundation of new monasteries, as well as that of a third, economic factor, which might be termed the 'Switzerland sydrome'.

Seven major monasteries were founded or renovated in the second half of the fourteenth or the very early fifteenth centuries. All of these immediately became leading institutions of the monastic peninsula and all survive among the twenty monasteries that govern Mt Athos today. In fact, the list of monasteries attested in the fifteenth century by two Russian pilgrims, the deacon Zosima (1420) and the monk Isaïa (1489), has remained practically unchanged until today.[5] It seems that the situation that prevailed when the Turks took Mt Athos in the early fifteenth century became frozen during the Tourkokratia, and that the monasteries which were powerful then kept their position in the centuries which followed.

The monastery of Simonopetra seems to have existed already in the mid fourteenth century. A persistent and probably reliable tradition, supported by the seventeenth-century certified copy of a document (dubious in its present form), attributes its restoration to the Serbian despot of Serres, John Uglješa (1365–71), a pious man attached to Mt Athos, whence he expected spiritual support in his struggle against the Turks and particularly in the battle of the Maritza where he was killed.[6]

The origins of the monastery of Gregoriou are even more obscure due to the lack of sources. It certainly did not exist in 1400 and it appears for the first time in the list of Deacon Zosima in 1420. Its founder, perhaps a certain Gregory 'from Syria' (ἀπὸ Συριάνων), maintained relations with Serbia. Gregoriou is termed as a Serbian monastery in 1489.[7]

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[5] B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 208, 260–63. Both pilgrims naturally omit the monastery of Stavronikita, which was founded in the sixteenth century. Zosima also mentions Alopou (absorbed by Koutloumousiou in 1428) and 'the Tower of Basil', i.e. the tower of Chilandar. See D. Papachryssanthou, *Prot.* 90, note 299; M. Živojinović, 'Hilandar i pirg u Hrusiji', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 6 (1986), 59–82.

[6] Cf. *Dionys.*, 6–7. For the biographies of the founder: Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης, κτίτωρ τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας (Athens, 1987); for the history and the holdings of the monastery see Σιμωνόπετρας (Athens, 1991). The 'founder's document' is published with commentary by D. Kašić, 'Despot Jovan Uglješa kao ktitor svetogorskog manastira Simonpetre', *Bogoslovije* 20/35 (1976), 29–63.

[7] *Dionys.*, 7.

The history of the monastery of Dionysiou is better known. It was founded between 1356 and 1362 by a Greek from Kastoria who, taking advantage of the position of his brother who was metropolitan of Trebizond, obtained in 1374 the support of Emperor Alexios III Grand Komnenos and increased the dimensions and ambitions of his monastery. The imperial patron expected the monastery to be called after him, *'tou Megalou Komnenou'*, but this never materialized; moreover, he had obtained the guarantee that all Trapezuntines would be provided with hospitality in the monastery if they were visitors or pilgrims, or would be accepted as monks if such was their desire, provided that they complied with the cenobitic rule.

The emperor's main reason for supporting Dionysios was prestige: 'All emperors,

> kings or rulers (βασιλικῶς, ῥηγικῶς, ἀρχικῶς) of some fame have built monasteries on Mt Athos for their eternal memory; since the emperor of Trebizond surpasses many of them, he should also add a new foundation in order to survive eternally in the memory of the people and to enjoy unending pleasures of the soul'.[8]

Significantly the list of sovereigns, emperors, kings and undefined rulers, is organized in decreasing order of importance.

The monastery of St Paul was one of the oldest on Mt Athos but was abandoned for a long period. Two Serbian nobles from Kastoria, Gerasimos Radonias and Antonios-Arsenios Pagasis, who seem to have had some contacts with the Ottomans, bought it, probably in the 1380s, and gradually, attracting donations from Byzantines as well as from the Serbs, turned it into a major new Serbian monastery.[9]

The monastery of Koutloumousiou is also fairly well known. Founded before 1169, it was in dire straights when its *hegoumenos* Chariton contacted the *voevoda* of Wallachia Alexander Basarab (1352–64) and his successor John Vladislav (1364–74) and obtained the material means to rebuild it. Chariton undertook the obligation to receive Romanian monks into his institution; when these complained that the cenobitic rule was too harsh, he switched to the idiorrythmic one and the monastery was soon filled by Romanians.[10]

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[8] *Dionys.*, no. 4, l. 22–5.

[9] S. Binon, *Les origines légendaires de Xéropotamou et de Saint Paul* (Louvain, 1942). The diplomatic edition of the Greek archives has been undertaken by J. Bompaire. Some early Slavic and Ottoman documents have also been published: D. Sindik, 'Srpske povelje u svetogorskom monastiru Svetog Pavla', *Miscellanea* of the Historical Institute 6 (Belgrade, 1978), 181–205. An Ottoman document of 1386 has also been published but its authenticity has been contested (without serious reason): V. Boškov, 'Jedan originalan nišan Murata I iz 1386. godine u manastiru Svetog Pavla na Svetoj Gori', *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 27 (Sarajevo, 1979), 225–46; N. Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'Un faux document Ottoman concernant Radoslav Sampias', *Turcica* 12 (1980), 161–8.

[10] P. Lemerle, *Kutlum.*

Prestige was also the argument submitted to the *voevoda* by Chariton of Koutloumousiou. John Vladislav was told[11] that:

> ... he should act in the same fashion as many other rulers (αὐθένται) have acted before him, that is Serbs and Bulgarians, Russians and Georgians, who obtained the right to be commemorated and honoured in this admirable Holy Mountain, the eye of the Universe one might say, and who acquired the right to rest body and soul for their people (τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν).

Chariton and Dionysios used similar arguments to convince their patrons. Dionysios, when addressing a Greek sovereign, spoke of the hierarchy of rulers, while Chariton, addressing to a Romanian, spoke of the nations that were already represented on Mt Athos thanks to 'ethnic' donations. Both stressed the right of the patron's compatriots to visit the monastery and stay therein. In fact, Chariton proposed the creation of a Romanian monastery while Dionysios proposed a Trapezuntine one. Is it possible that none of these promises materialized?

The monastery of Kastamonitou, an eleventh-century foundation, was also in difficulty in the early fifteenth century. It was rescued thanks to significant donations obtained by its *hegoumenos* Neophytos from a wealthy Serbian noble, the grand Čelnik Radić, who also possessed some silver mines at Novo Brdo and who ended his days as a monk in Kastamonitou. The monastery thus passed to the Serbs.[12]

The foundations of the monasteries that we have described so far conform to a predictable pattern. Prestige is a predominant motive of the patrons – a motive well known from previous centuries. But the fourteenth century added a second motive – competition between nations – which contributed to the cosmopolitan character of Mt Athos. With the threatened collapse of the empire, all neighbours – and even non-neighbours – could force or buy their entrance into the holy community without any hindrance from the haughty Byzantines. And this they did, the Serbs thanks to their military might, others because they were ready to foot a bill. All this took place in a pan-Orthodox atmosphere, where anyone was welcomed by the Athonites themselves.

A third motive was material security. The patrons made certain that they and their people would be accepted in their foundation if they wished or needed it, for the salvation of their souls or of their bodies. Keeping an open door into an Athonite monastery was obviously seen as a good insurance in the face of a most uncertain future. This point will be further illustrated below.

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[11] *Kutlum.*, no. 26, l. 8–10.

[12] N. Oikonomides, *Kastamon.* For more important information, see Elizabeth Zachariadou, infra, p. 129.

The case of the foundation of the monastery of Pantokrator is in some ways different and requires longer discussion.[13] I shall try to show how a band of Bithynian adventurers took hold of some strategic points on the eastern Macedonian coast, created their own mini-state, became high imperial officials and ended by founding the Athonite monastery of the Pantokrator.

The identity of these adventurers remains obscure because our only knowledge of them comes from several unrelated sources which in their actual presentation may be misleading: scholars have conjectured that these were two gangs which fought with each other, when in fact they belonged to one and the same gang. The confusion results from the fact that the first text that we have about them comes from their enemy, John Kantakouzenos, who describes them in very negative hues, while all other sources speak of them positively.

When describing how he sailed to occupy Thessalonike in 1350, Kantakouzenos relates how he stopped on his way at the fortified port of Anaktoropolis (today Limen Eleutheroupoleos, at approximately 15 km to the south-west of Kavala).

> On his way [Kantakouzenos] attempted to storm the walls of Eion, a city on the sea of Thrace, which is now called Anaktoropolis.[14] This city had as lord a certain Alexios, who originated from Bithynia, from a town called Belikome [that is, Bilokoma, Bilecik]; during the [civil] war and for quite some time, he was a mercenary of the grand *doux* Apokaukos at the head of a pirate ship; later, after the latter's death [11–12 June 1345], because of the anarchy [that prevailed], he started pillaging, as did others, and not only did he take Anaktoropolis and hold it for himself, but also he afflicted Christoupolis as much as possible, and caused pain to the inhabitants of Thasos and Lemnos, as he sought to cut away the area from Roman rule and place it under his sway. This is why [John VI Kantakouzenos] sailed in and attacked Anaktoropolis and fought the walls of the city for two or three days; he did not manage to storm the walls, because the men of Alexios defended them valiantly; but he consumed by fire all the boats, that were [there], including the piratical ships, that [Alexios] was using for his robberies'.[15]

Thus in 1350 we have a company of adventurers, originating from Asia Minor, led by someone named Alexios without a family name, active in eastern Macedonia, having occupied for its own account Anaktoropolis and trying to extend his territories in the neighbouring Christoupolis and Thasos; we shall see that the future founders of the Pantokrator, who appeared before 1357, correspond very precisely with all these points. But let us turn to the texts that concern them, which are related with the foundation of the Athonite monastery of the Pantokrator.

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[13] See the excellent study by V. Kravari, *Pantoc.*

[14] The identification of Anaktoropolis with ancient Eion is a mistake.

[15] *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum Libri* IV, L. Schopen, ed., III (Bonn, 1832), 114–15.

The two brothers who founded the monastery of Pantokrator are mysterious figures.[16] Alexios, grand *primikerios* (since mid-1357, grand *stratopedarches*), and John, *protosebastos* (since mid–1357, grand *primikerios*), who never held a family name,[17] first appear in a Chrysobull of John V Palaiologos dated 9 March 1357. The emperor granted them the fortified cities (*castelli*) of Chrysoupolis (at the mouth of the Strymon), Anaktoropolis and Thasos, as well as the whole island of Thasos, which they already possessed, with the right to transmit these holdings to their children and to other legal successors.[18]

What were their origins? In documents that they issued, the two brothers very clearly state that they did not come from the littoral of eastern Macedonia, and that their arrival there was the result of military conquests: 'We migrated to this country (τοῖς ἐνταῦθα τόποις ἐπιδεδημηκότες) and captured, with the help of God's hand, castles and countries ...';[19] or '[God] installed (ἐγκαταστήσας) us in this part of the world and up to now leads our affairs ...'.[20] Matters are made much clearer in a letter that John sent to the *doge* in 1373:

> 'All of our family (*sclatada*), we are from the parts of the Levant [that is, Asia Minor] and we are members of the gentry, three of us, who left our country and came to this place, where we still are. And with our Lord and God's grace and will, and with our sword, we conquered some castles from the infidel Turks, and some from the Serbs; and the emperor conceded to us what we already possessed, that is what we had taken ourselves, us and our men [*fiioli*]. I send to your lordship this act of concession to see [that is, the Chrysobull of 1357 mentioned above]. My two brothers died, and I remained with my men [*fiioli*]. Our only work (*servixio*) has been and still is to be always against the Turks.[21]

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[16] Their careers have been outlined by P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine* (Paris, 1945), 206–13; in *Lavra* III, 68–70; and in *Pantoc.*, 7–15.

[17] Many attempts have been made to find the family name of the founders of Pantokrator with no success; the various hypotheses, none of which is convincing, are analysed in *Pantoc.*, 11–12.

[18] This Chrysobull, preserved in an Italian translation in the Venetian archives, is dated 9 March, Indiction 10, anno mundi 6864 (G. Thomas, R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* II [Venice, 1894], 166–67). The year corresponds to 1356, the Indiction to 1357; it has generally been assumed that the date of the Indiction is the correct one (F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* V [Munich and Berlin, 1965], no. 3061).

[19] *Lavra* III, no. 137, l. 4–5 (1357).

[20] *Pantoc.*, no. 10, l. 5 (1384).

[21] *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* II, 165:

> Nui tuti de la nostra sclatada se da le parte di leuante, et si semo zentil homeni, et si straniassemo tre zentil homeni et vegnissemo in questo luogo, che semo al prexente. Et Domenedio ha voiudo per la soa gratia et so voler, et cum la nostra spada hauemo prexo castelli alguni de li Turchi pagani, et alguni de li Serui; et si ne ha facto lo imperador la concession d'oro, che nui habiamo, zo che nui hauemo aquistado, et nui et li nostri fiioli. Io ve mando la nota de quella concession ala signoria uostra per vederla. Se morti li mie do fradelli, et io remasi con li mie fioli; e no era, ni no è altro lo nostro servixio, se no esser sempre contra li Turchi.

The word *sclatada* (family) does not appear in any dictionary. It seems to be a deformation of *schiatta* (old German *slahta*), which means family, ascendance or race. It is not clear whether the word here has the precise meaning of a group of persons related to each other by blood, or whether it also includes their men and companions at arms.

The word *fiioli* (sons) repeatedly mentioned here, should be understood as 'my men' and not literally as 'my male offspring'. In his Greek documents, this same John speaks several times of his 'children' (παιδία) but it is clear that these were his companions at arms and not his own children (actually, neither he nor any of his brothers seems to have had any children).[22] In his will, he speaks about his 'children ... whom he raised and who worked hard and assisted and collaborated with us to the degree possible, and who appeared to be most faithful and favorable to us, even risking their own lives [for us] in several dangerous moments'; who are 'my children, and my brothers, and part of my soul', and to whom 'he has been a common father and brother'.[23] Patriarch Neilos, who confirmed this will, refers to them in a quite unambiguous fashion: 'his men, whom he calls his children'.[24]

We thus have a group of men from Asia Minor who left their country and moved to the shores of eastern Macedonia. The leaders are three brothers who pretend to a relatively high social standing (*zentil homeni*); there are also an unspecified number of men faithful to them who belong to a lower social level. They consider themselves to be members of one family and they say so, but in fact they are a gang, each member of which has to rely upon the others – a 'family' as in the Mafia. They are armed, brave and adventurous, and attack fortified cities held by the Turks or by the Serbs. During these operations, one of the brothers somehow dies and is not mentioned anywhere else. The team is successful. When the Chrysobull of 9 March 1357 was issued, they were under the command of Alexios, and had occupied, by means of their own forces, Chrysoupolis, Anaktoropolis and Thasos. It is a similar story to that of Alexios of Belikome, with the difference that it is told in 1357 and not in 1350.

It is not difficult to imagine what happened between 1350 and 1357. The civil war between John V Palaiologos and Matthew and John VI Kantakouzenos had flared up again in 1352. John Palaiologos had the

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[22] *Pantoc.*, 10.

[23] Ibid., l. 35–37, 38, 43, 46:

τὰ παιδία ... οὓς ἀνέθρεψα καὶ ἐκοπίασαν πολλὰ καὶ συνέδραμον καὶ συνήργησαν ἡμῖν ὅσον ἦν δυνατὸν καὶ ἐφάνησαν πιστότατοί τε ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐνούστατοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. προθέμενοι πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὰς ἐν διαφόροις κινδύνοις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, ... εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι καὶ παιδία μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὥσπερ ἔφην ψυχῆς ... κοινὸς πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφός ... .

[24] Ibid., no. 11, l. 23: ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ, οὓς παιδία καλεῖ.

support of the Serbs while John Kantakouzenos depended on the Ottomans. During this phase, both sides needed all the help that they could get. John V Palaiologos attracted to his side the lords of Anaktoropolis (who had already fought for him during the civil war of 1341–47), offered them imperial titles and a bride from the imperial family: before 1357 John married Anna Asanina Kontostephanina, a cousin of the empress, who died, childless, before him (between 1374 and 1384).[25] This marriage explains why John is described as an in-law (*gambros, cugnado*) of Emperor John V and an 'uncle' of his son, Emperor Andronikos IV.[26] In addition, John's brother Alexios is described as the *sympentheros* of John V.

The victory of John V in 1354 was naturally followed by largesses for the victors, his partisans. The two brothers had, in the meantime, increased their holdings in eastern Macedonia: they had taken the castle of Chrysoupolis at the mouth of the Strymon from the Serbs (who occupied it in 1350),[27] probably taking advantage of the death of Stephen Dušan (20 December 1355). They also took Thasos (this had been one of their objectives since 1350), perhaps from the Turks, the constant allies of Kantakouzenos.[28] In 1357 both brothers visited Constantinople and legitimized their whole situation by obtaining the Chrysobull of 9 March 1357.

Moreover, in April 1357, the two brothers, who had previously obtained from the *protos* of Mt Athos, the *kellion tou Rabdouchou*, had this acquisition confirmed by the Emperor John V Palaiologos and by the Patriarch Kallistos.[29] This property was attached to their monastery of the Pantokrator, the construction of which must have started before April 1357, and which was to be inaugurated in 1362–63.[30] Probably on this occasion, a luxurious (Constantinopolitan?) icon of the Christ Pantokrator with *orant* portraits of the two brothers was also given to the monastery.[31]

During the 1357 visit to Constantinople, the two brothers were also promoted. Alexios became grand *stratopedarches* (tenth rank in the overall order of precedence) and John grand *primikerios* (eleventh rank out of

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[25] Ibid., 10.

[26] *Lavra* III, 70.

[27] *Ioannis Cantacuzeni* III, 116.

[28] We know nothing about the history of Thasos at that time. The island seems to have stayed, for some time at least, on the side of John Kantakouzenos who was notorious for using the help of the Turks. Nevertheless, the presence of Turks on an island of the Aegean in the fourteenth century is not extraordinary, even without the intervention of Kantakouzenos. I suggest that they may have taken Thasos from the Turks because in the document of 1357 (supra, note 18) John says that they had taken castles from the Serbs and from the Turks, and we know with certainty that they took Chrysoupolis from the Serbs.

[29] *Pantoc.*, nos 4 and 5.

[30] Ibid., 12–13.

[31] Several publications: cf. for example, A. Bank, ed., *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (New York and Leningrad, 1978), pl. 281–4.

fourteen of the *protosebastos*). In June 1357 they signed a privilege for the monastery of Lavra with these titles.[32]

In 1358, they continued to govern the lower Strymon in the name of the emperor; following his orders, they acted as judges and were called 'our saintly lords' by the local peasants.[33] They also tried to increase their domain by conquering territories to the north at the expense of the Serbs, and acted once again as semi-independent lords. In August 1358 a noble lady, the *pinkernissa* Anna Tornikina, who had lost to the armies of Stephen Dušan a domain situated close to the river Aggites (a tributary to the Strymon approximately 15 km upstream from Chrysoupolis), declared that she was impressed with the two brothers' military successes. As she expected them to recapture her domain, she promised, with their prior agreement, to give them half the property for their monastery of the Pantokrator while keeping for herself the other half. In the document, it is clearly stated that this agreement (which seems never to have materialized) would be valid only if the two brothers captured the domain with the forces that they could muster by themselves, but not if this region came back to the empire in some other fashion.[34] In other words, the two brothers, although imperial officials, conducted war in the region on their own behalf, and their forces were clearly distinguishable from those of the empire. The priorities of their operations could conceivably be changed by the offer of private financial incentives. They also collected rents from their lands and those of their monastery, taxes from their territories, and tolls from the via Egnatia, two critical points of which they controlled – namely, the ford of the Strymon (which they also fortified with two towers, one in the domain of the Pantokrator and another in the properties of Zographou)[35] and the straits of Kavalla. They also practised a form of banking: they received money and precious objects for safekeeping and deposited part of this capital in even safer places, such as the monastery of Vatopedi.[36]

In 1363 Alexios exercised perpetual authority over the island of Thasos.[37] The two brothers had also meanwhile extended their authority over

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[32] *Lavra* III, no. 137.

[33] "Αγιοι ἡμῶν αὐθένται', *Zograph.*, nos 41 and 42.

[34] *Pantel.*, no. 12.

[35] I. Papaggelos, 'Ο πόρος τοῦ Μαρμαρίου, Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν 'Αρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη [Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη]' (Thessalonike, 1990), 333–51. Further information is to be found in the paper of N. Zekos, 'Βυζαντινοὶ πύργοι στὸ κάτω τμῆμα τῆς κοιλάδας τοῦ Στρυμόνα', to appear in the Acts of the 1993 symposium on Serres; cf. also my paper, 'The medieval Via Egnatia', to appear in *The Halcyon Days in Crete II: The Ottoman Via Egnatia*, a symposium organized by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of Rethymnon (Crete) in January 1994.

[36] V. Mošin, 'Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva', *Spomenik* of the Serbian Academy no. 91 (Belgrade, 1939), 158–63.

[37] *Pantoc.*, no. 6.

Christoupolis (Kavalla), and were installed therein as imperial governors with a lifetime (?) mandate: this was called a πρόσκαιρος ἀρχή.[38] Nevertheless, they still acted as semi-independent lords with the ambition of controlling even the clergy on their lands: their preference went to Peter, the bishop of Polystylon, an old and virtuous monk, whom they allowed to exercise authority over their territories – even though these were outside his see – as a suffragan of Philippoi.[39] In late July or August 1363,[40] they took advantage of the passage of Patriarch Kallistos from Christoupolis on his way to the Serbian court of Serres and had him consecrate their favourite bishop as metropolitan of Christoupolis.[41] As Kallistos died soon thereafter (August 1363), the synod never confirmed this episcopal transfer; Patriarch Philotheos, an enemy of Kallistos, who succeeded him after 8 October 1364, reversed the consecration. But this state of affairs did not last long. After obtaining some financial concessions,[42] the patriarch and the synod reversed their decision and in August 1365 nominated Peter once again to the metropolis of Christoupolis. They did it at the insistence 'of the lords who govern Christoupolis' (ἄρχοντες οἵτινες ἄρχουσι τῆς Χριστοπόλεως), our beloved sons the grand *stratopedarches* and the grand *primikerios*, the Alexioi (τῶν Ἀλεξίων).[43] It should incidentally be emphasized that this is the only document which attributes to the two brothers a collective name – in fact, the first name of the elder brother which had obviously come to represent a collective name for the group.

In March 1368, Alexios was still alive and making donations to the monastery of Pantokrator.[44] But by February 1369, he had died,[45] most

[38] Ibid., no. 9, l. 17; cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 211.

[39] *Pantoc.*, no. 6.

[40] The date is based on the fact that sometime in July 1363 Peter was still in Thasos and signed a document in his quality as bishop of Polystylon (*Pantoc.*, no. 6). On the other hand, Kallistos died in Serres in August 1363.

[41] J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* I/5 (Paris, 1977), no. 2457.

[42] In June–July 1365, Patriarch Philotheos gave to the archbishop of Maroneia the right to collect the revenues of the bishopric of Polystylon 'which was vacant since some time' (Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2495), but we know that, according to this same patriarch, Peter remained bishop of Polystylon, although he claimed to be metropolitan of Christoupolis: it is clear that the patriarchate considered that the see of Polystylon was vacant as long as the bishop was the metropolitan of Christoupolis and that it recuperated then the revenues of Polystylon and used them to finance one of its destitute prelates. In July 1365, the patriarch nominated the same archbishop of Maroneia as patriarchal exarch of Thasos, with the right to collect the *kanonikon* and send it to the patriarchate (Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2496). One can safely hypothesize that the revenues of Thasos were one of the bargaining chips that made the patriarch comply with the requests of Christoupolis.

[43] *MM* I, 475-76 = Darrouzès, *Regestes* V, no. 2501.

[44] *Pantoc.*, no. 7.

[45] Ibid., no. 7 and p. 9, note 25.

probably while unsuccessfully defending the island of Thasos against the Turks; this must have happened in the summer of 1368.[46]

John took over the family's territories, reorganized and fortified Thasos and built a flotilla that allowed him to collaborate with a Venetian squadron and defeat the Turks who attempted an attack on Mt Athos shortly after the battle of the Marica (26 September 1371). But the Turkish threat was becoming more serious, and John consequently requested Venetian citizenship and a place in the gentry (*zentil homeni*) of the Signoria (August 1373) as a means of insuring his own future. The request was granted in January 1374.[47] It should be noted that in all the Venetian documents, including the text of the *doge's* answer, he is mentioned as Alexios and not as John. This has been explained as a mere mistake; I would rather tend to relate this usage to the patriarchal document mentioned above, in which the two brothers are called 'the Alexioi' and consider that the *doge* used the collective name of the group or gang as a quasi-family name.[48]

John remained active in the region, making several donations of property to the monastery of the Pantokrator and each time reserving for himself half the revenues.[49] He does not seem to have been affected either by the revolt that brought Andronikos IV to the throne of Constantinople (1376) or by John V's return to power (1379). But he could not stop the Ottoman onslaught. His territories must have capitulated to the sultan more or less at the same time as Serres (1383).[50] In 1384 he had already retired to the Pantokrator, where he died some time between May 1386 and May 1387.[51] Obviously, he chose not to use his Venetian citizenship.

This was the end of the adventure. A company of soldiers of fortune,[52] like so many others in the fourteenth century, ended by creating a semi-independent principality – a Greek 'emirate' combining piety with aggressive greediness. The phenomenon was not unique and was too small in scale to influence the course of events. But it left a permanent legacy: the monastery of the Pantokrator.

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[46] The grand *primikerios* John remembered in 1384 how the emperor had given them the island of Thasos (in 1357) and how this island was almost completely detroyed by the Turks 'when my late brother ended his life' and how he took the island over and rebuilt it: *Pantoc.*, no. 10, l. 13–16.

[47] *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* II, 165–66, 164–65.

[48] Would this originate from a signature or a seal in which John would qualify himself as ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξίου?

[49] *Pantoc.*, nos 8 and 9; unpublished document of Vatopedi.

[50] This is also the opinion of G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 318–19; Loenertz thought that the city might have held until 1387.

[51] *Pantoc.*, 11.

[52] N. Oikonomides, 'A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats', *TM* 8 (1981), 353–71.

It must be noted, however, that the two brothers' principality did not disappear completely with their capitulation. Like Thessalonike, Christoupolis, although considered to be a base for the Ottoman fleet in July 1387,[53] obviously enjoyed a special status that guaranteed certain liberties, and it maintained its own naval forces. In August 1390 a galley of Christoupolis supported Manuel II Palaiologos in his successful bid to dethrone John VII, the sultan's protégé, from Constantinople.[54] Shortly afterwards, during the year 1390–99 – probably in spring or summer 1391 – the Ottomans stormed the city, destroyed it and scattered its Christian inhabitants. It is clear that the city had maintained a special status until 1391 (under whom? its own elite? another member of the Alexioi group?), as did Thessalonike. We know that both cities were 'reconquered' by the Ottomans in 1391, which no doubt means that they were brought under direct Ottoman administration, as according to the general policy of Sultan Bajazid at that time. But for Christoupolis, there was also an act of reprisal for the military initiative taken by the Christoupolitai against John VII; this explains the destruction of the city.[55]

The first half of this paper dealt with pious monks who appealed to social or national feelings in order to shake some money from the powerful of the day. With the monastery of the Pantokrator we entered a completely different world – that of adventurers. From the world of spiritual achievement and the refined mendacity that sometimes accompanies it, we passed to that of the pious but calculating self-made men. It may be presumed that, when Dionysios spoke to the emperor of Trebizond about the low-level rulers (ἀρχικῶς) who founded monasteries on Mt Athos, he may have had the founders of the Pantokrator in mind.

These men created their own mini-state and probably had major ambitions which did not materialize. They nevertheless successfully faced the challenge of founding an important monastery with their own money, thus joining the powerful of their day and assuring for themselves the salvation of their souls.

They also took good care of their finances. They donated some domains to the monasteries which they knew would remain productive (or, at least, not be hindered by the Turks). Consequently, they knew that half the revenue that they kept for themselves would be forthcoming every year,

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[53] This is attested in a decision of the Venetian Senate: R. Loenertz, ed., 'Démétrius Cydonès', *Correspondance* II (Vatican City, 1960), 438–39.

[54] P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* I (Vienna, 1975), 69; cf. II (Vienna, 1977), 342–43.

[55] Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* I, 683 and II, 343–44. The chronology proposed by Schreiner, September 1390, is not supported by any source and is rather unlikely. The destruction of Kavalla and the dispersal of its population is obvious in later documents, which have been discussed by O. Kiel in a paper presented at the Rethymnon symposium (cf. *supra*, note 35).

whatever might happen. This was another, and more sophisticated, form of personal insurance. The primary insurance that they obtained was the right to retire to the protection of the monastery. We do not know under which conditions John took the monastic garb. But we know that he had previously fought the Turks with some success and that when he was forced to abandon the struggle, he went to the monastery where no one seems to have disturbed him, even though Mt Athos was then under Ottoman domination.

Paradoxically, therefore, on one hand, the two brothers fought for the emperor and for the faith against the Turks, while on the other, they financed an institution that, by an act of submission to these same enemies, guaranteed their revenues and their personal security.

It is clear that patronage on Mt Athos had its own peculiarities and was distinctly different from what has been described for the rest of Macedonia.[56] Athonite donors belonged to the top ranks of society and were attracted by the monks into making their donation in a variety of ways. Moreover, besides its spiritual attraction, fourteenth-century Athos was perceived as a secure place for those who bought, one way or another, a place in it. This was indeed a 'Switzerland syndrome'.

[56] M. Rautman, 'Aspects of monastic patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia', in S. Čurčič and Doula Mouriki, eds, *The Twilight of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1991), 55–74.

10. The buildings of Vatopedi and their patrons*

Stavros B. Mamaloukos

The building complex of the Vatopedi monastery represents one of the largest and undoubtedly one of the most important monastic complexes on Mt Athos. The various buildings of the monastery – about thirty-five inside and fifty outside the main building complex – date from the end of the tenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. The patrons of many of these structures are known to us thanks to inscriptions and literary sources. This paper attempts a preliminary presentation of the history of the architecture and decoration of the Vatopedi buildings in association with their patrons. The monastery's katholikon will be presented first, and in some detail, to be followed by a brief presentation of the other buildings.

The Katholikon

The imposing katholikon complex is located at the north-east corner of the monastery courtyard, close to the east wall. The complex consists of the imposing main church, the katholikon *par excellence*, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Theotokos, a two-storey inner narthex, known as the *'mesonyktikon'*, with *catechumena* and two chapels on the upper floor, a two-storey outer narthex known as the *liti*, with a narrow vaulted passage attached to the north, a chapel of St Demetrios north of this passage, a chapel of St Nikolaos south of the *liti*, a chapel of the Panayia Paramythia built on the top of a *diabatikon* (a vaulted passage) north of the chapel of St Demetrios,

* Thanks are owed to Archimandrite Ephrem, abbot of Vatopedi Monastery for the permission to study the inscriptions of both the katholikon, whose history and architecture is the subject of my doctoral dissertation, and the other buildings which have been studied by my colleagues, architects Ploutarchos Theocharides, Petros Kouphopoulos and Diomides Myrianthefs. Special thanks are owed to Fr Lazaros Vatopedinos and Mr Florin Marinescu for their valuable help with the sources.

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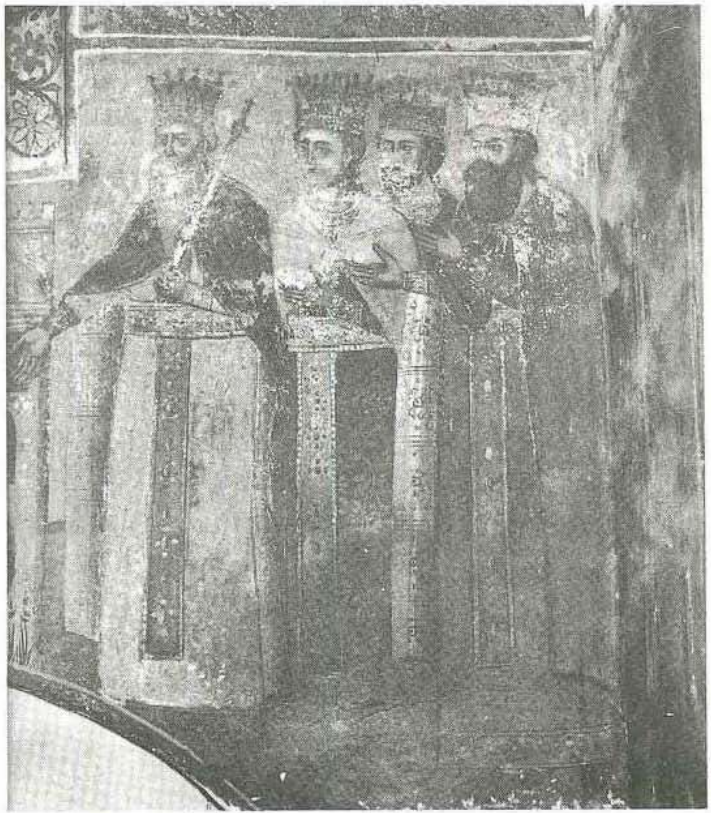

Figure 10.1 Vatopedi Monastery: katholikon. Depiction of the Emperor Theodosius, his sons Arcadius and Honorius and John Kantakouzenos on the south wall of the *mesonyktikon*.

Figure 10.2 Vatopedi Monastery: katholikon. Depiction of the three *ktitores* from Adrianople: Nikolaos, Athanasios and Antonios.

an exonarthex with a clock tower attached to the south end and a staircase to the north, a *phiale* west of the clock tower, a two-storey *skeuophylakion* (vestry) attached to the sanctuary of the katholikon and a huge stove for the heating of the main buildings of the complex.

The Vatopedi katholikon, like all the large Athonite katholika, gradually took its present form over its 1,000 year history, with a succession of repairs, renovations and additions to the structural shell. The original core of the complex, including the katholikon of the Athonite type with its two-storey inner narthex, can be dated on the basis of structural features to the late tenth or the early eleventh century.[1] There is no clear historical information regarding the katholikon's date of construction and its ktitors. Monastic tradition states that the church's founders were the emperor Theodosius and his sons (see Figure 10.1). Later three noble brothers from Adrianople, Nikolaos, Athanasios and Antonios (Figure 10.2) who in the time of St Athanasios, and at his urging, refounded the ruined monastery and renovated the katholikon.[2] The tradition of there having been three founders (not, however, of contemporary date), was recently confirmed on the opening of the founder's tomb in the *mesonyktion* of the katholikon.[3] Modern historians date the foundation of the monastery to between 972 and 985. Its first known *hegoumenos*, a certain Nikolaos, may be identified with one of the three founders mentioned by tradition.[4] It could be argued, although this cannot be proved, that it was he who erected the initial core of the katholikon.

The two-storey outer narthex (the so-called 'liti') and the vaulted passage[5] constitute the oldest structural in addition to the katholikon. On the basis of structural elements, the *liti* can be dated to a period not much later than the katholikon, namely within the eleventh century. It is most likely that the structure should be associated with the *hegoumenos* Athanasios (*c.*1020–48), the second person to have been buried in the founders' tomb (as attested by a small inscribed lead plaque found by Theocharis Pazaras).[6]

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[1] It is hoped that a more accurate date for the monument will soon be established through the study of its morphological elements, thanks to a recent precise architectural survey and the works for its conservation recently undertaken by the monastery.

[2] Sp. Lambros, 'Τὰ Πάτρια τοῦ 'Αγίου "Ορους', *Neos Hellenomnemon* 9 (1912), 127–29, 210; John Komnenos, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ 'Αγίου "Ορους τοῦ "Αθωνος* (Karyes, 1984), 44–47.

[3] Theocharis Pazaras, 'Ο τάφος τῶν κτητόρων τῆς μονῆς Βατοπεδίου', *Byzantia* 17 (1994), 407–40.

[4] Denise Papachryssanthou, *'Ο 'Αθωνικὸς μοναχισμός, ἀρχὲς καὶ Οργάνωση* (Athens, 1992), 235–7; P. Christou, Τὸ "Αγιον "Ορος (Athens, 1987), 87.

[5] The passage appears originally to have served as a stairway.

[6] Pazaras, 'Τάφος'.

The mosaic *deesis* above the western entrance of the inner narthex is probably to be associated with the hegoumenos Ioannikios who took part in the Athonite deputation that visited Alexios Komnenos in 1094.[7]

Structural evidence shows that the chapels of St Demetrios and St Nikolaos are later than the *liti*. A date in the late eleventh century is most likely for the chapel of St Demetrios, although nothing is known of the circumstances surrounding either the construction or the founders of this structure.

Certain formal features, not encountered elsewhere in the katholikon complex, may date the chapel of St Nikolaos to the late eleventh or to the twelfth century. Despite the different structural type and small size, the chapel clearly betrays an intention to imitate elements of the katholikon in its articulation of mass, the general arrangement of the facades and the characteristic dome. The architect may have been following the dictates of an ambitious *ktitor* who had arranged that his tomb be placed in the chapel's narthex. Nowadays this tomb is blocked up with masonry and we do not know whether it was ever used. The sources provide no information as to the identity of the *ktitor*. It may be that he was the third *ktitor* mentioned by tradition, identified by Papachryssanthou as the *hegoumenos* Antonios, known from a document of 1142.[8] His building activity in the katholikon complex may explain his association with the two earlier *ktitores*, and thus his burial in the founder's tomb in the *mesonyktikon*.

The first part of the 1819 inscription on the south wall of the *liti* copies an older inscription, which recorded the decoration with wall-painting of at least a part of the katholikon and the *liti* in 1312 through the contributions of the 'hieromonk Arsenios'.[9]

The building activity on the katholikon complex of John-Joasaph and Matthew Kantakouzenos, as well as of Manuel Kantakouzenos (not Komnenos) remains an enigma.[10] The column capitals of the *phiale*, on which John Komnenos and Barsky had seen the monograms of Kantakuzenoi, together with another unreadable one, are now lost.[11] The central dome, the only section of the *phiale* that survived the reconstruction of 1810, can be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century on the basis of its wall-paintings.[12]

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[7] Millet, Pargoire, Petit, *Recueil*, 15, no. 47.

[8] Papachryssanthou, *Ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμός*, 237.

[9] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 15–16, no. 48.

[10] According to the monastic tradition John Kantakuzenos is one of the main *ktitores* of Vatopedi (see Gerasimos Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος* [Athens, 1903], 433). He is depicted among other *ktitores* on the south wall of the *mesonyktikon* (1760) (Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 17, 52) and on the south wall of the exonarthex (end of nineteenth century) (ibid., 14, 45).

[11] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 34, no. 111.

[12] There is great similarity between the wall-paintings of the *phiale* of Vatopedi and those of the *phiale* of Great Lavra, dated by an inscription in 1635 (Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 391).

The 1426 inscription on the cornice of the doorway of the west door of the *liti* mentions the *hegoumenos* Theophanes and the craftsman Methodios.[13] It possibly refers to repairs made to the building, and, perhaps, to the installation of new bronze-plated doors.

In 1517 the *voevod* of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab, replaced the late tiles of the katholikon roof with lead,[14] the original lead roof probably having been removed by the Catalans at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[15]

In 1652, a certain Theodore 'the Peloponnesian', probably an important member of Vatopedi brotherhood, paid for new wall-paintings in the sanctuary of the katholikon.[16]

In 1678 the Metropolitan Gregory of Laodicaea, who had been in charge of the properties of the monastery in Romania,[17] paid for the erection and the wall-painting of the chapel of the Panayia Paramythia.[18]

We have no information concerning the building date or *ktitores* of the impressive exonarthex and clock tower of the katholikon. But study of the successive building phases appears to point to a late seventeenth-century date for this two-storey arcade. The wall-paintings of its east wall were executed in 1704 and funded by a certain monk named Gabriel.[19]

Although the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries saw no large-scale building projects within the katholikon complex, important wall-painting programmes were undertaken and furnishings supplied. In 1734, the *skeuophylax* Paisios paid for the wall-painting of the dome of the katholikon along with additions to, and repainting of, the older 1312 wall-paintings at various locations in the vaults.[20] This may have been necessitated by earthquake damage. In 1760, the ex-*hegoumenos* Leontios of Adrianople paid for the wall-paintings in the *mesonyktikon*,[21] and in 1780 the ex-*hegoumenos* Paisios and the *geron* Pachomios provided funds

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[13] Ibid., 14–15, no. 46.

[14] Teodor Bodogae, *Ajutoarele Romanesti la manastirile divsfantul munte Athos* (Sibiu, 1940), 117. Bodogae corrects the chronology of 1526 given by the sources to 1517 (Codex 293, p. 61, Codex Vatopedinus 690, fol. 74 r.).

[15] The monastic tradition attributes the removal of the original roof to the Arab pirates (Komnenos, *Προσκυνητάριον*, 45, Codex Vatopedinus 293, 34; ibid., 690, fol. 54 r.).

[16] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 18, no.55.

[17] M. Gedeon, *Ἄθως* (Constantinople, 1885).

[18] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 30, no. 91.

[19] Ibid., 16, nos 50a and 50b.

[20] Ibid., 18, nos 54a and 54b.

[21] Ibid., 16–17, no. 51. The name of the *ktitor* is not preserved in the barely legible inscription. However the ex-*hegoumenos* Leontios is depicted at the south end of the west wall of the *mesonyktikon* accompanied by the unpublished inscription: 'ΠΡΟΙΓΟΥ-ΜΕΝΟΣ/ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ'. According to Theophilos Vatopedinos ('Χρονικὸν περὶ της ἱερᾶς καὶ σεβασμίας μονῆς Βατοπεδίου 'Αγίου "Ορους', *Macedonika* 12, 81–83) a certain ex-*hegoumenos* Stephanos contributed towards the wall-painting of the *mesonyktikon*.

for the decoration of the chapel of St Nikolaos.[22] In 1789 the wall-paintings of the katholikon were repainted with funds from the priest John of Isvoros and his sons Chritodoulos and Basil. The inscription with this information intentionally copies that on the *Deesis* mosaic.[23] In 1791 funds for the decoration of the narthex of the chapel of St Demetrios were provided by a group of laymen headed by a certain priest Panos (Figure 10.3), and with contributions by the ex-*hegoumenos* Theophilos and the *geron* Makarios.[24] In 1802, the narthex of the chapel of St Nikolaos was decorated courtesy of funds from another group of laymen headed by the priest Kostas from the province of Meleniko and with contributions from monks of the monastery.[25] Finally, in 1819 donations from 'certain Christ-loving Christians' paid for the repair of the *liti* wall-painting decoration.[26] In 1788, the priest John from Isvoros provided funds to remove the old wooden iconostasis and the Byzantine marble templon, then still *in situ*, and replace them with the wood-carved templon that still exists.[27]

In 1842 the archimandrite Philaretos paid for the rendering of the outer surfaces of the building complex of the katholikon and the remodeling of its morphological elements.[28] A few years later, in 1847–48, the same archimandrite paid for the repair of the marble *proskynetarion* of the Bematarissa,[29] as well as for a new altar table and floor for the sanctuary.[30] In 1842 the metropolitan of Serres, Jacob, later patriarch of Alexandria, paid for the painted decoration of the *phiale* of the katholikon[31] which had been substantially repaired in 1810.[32]

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, building works were undertaken on the initiative of influential Vatopedi

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[22] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 30, no. 90.

[23] Ibid., 17, no. 53.

[24] Ibid., 29 no. 86. According to this inscription the names of the – obviously slavophone – laymen are : Dimitri, Thodore, Michali, Neiko, Stouila, Georgi Zetzo, Thodore, Zlate, Rate, Stantzo, Georgi Joannou, Voulko, Nesio, Stojiani, Pezo. There is, however, an interesting, unpublished depiction of the *ktitores* in the blind arch at the north end of the narthex. The inscriptions which accompany the depictions of the *ktitores* are: [ΠΑΝ]ΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ, ΝΕΙΚΟΣ, ΒΟΥΛΚΟΣ, ΜΙΧΑΛΗΣ, ΓΕΩΡΓΗΣ, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΡΑΤΕΣ, ΓΕΩΡΓΗ ΖΕΤΖΟΥ, [...], Ο ΚΥΡ ΝΕΣΟΣ, Ο ΚΥΡ ΣΤΟΓΙΑΝΗΣ, Ο ΚΥΡ ΠΕΙΟΣ, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΣ ΚΑΡΒΟΥΝΑΣ, ΣΤΟΙΚΟΣ, ΣΤΕΡΓΙΟΣ, ΚΟΤΖΗ ΝΙΤΕΛΟ.

[25] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 30, no.89. The names of the laymen are : Pagos Tsorbatzis, Stojianos, Tomos, Milios, Tasos and Chistos.

[26] Ibid., 15–16, no. 48.

[27] Ibid., 21, no. 66.

[28] Ibid., 14, no. 43.

[29] Ibid., 27 no. 79.

[30] According to an unpublished inscription on the east façade of the altar which finishes: '... 1848, Δεκεμβρίου 20 /... Φιλάρετος Αρχιμανδρίτης'.

[31] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 35, nos 112–113.

[32] Ibid., 35, nos 112–113 and Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 83–84.

'proistamenoi', providing the complex with its present shape. These works included the renovation of the chapels of the catechumens by the archimandrite Pangratios in 1882[33] and the renovation of the staircase to the *synodika* in 1893,[34] as well as the building of a two-storey *skeuophylakion* for the sanctuary in 1894 on the site of the patriarchal tombs by the archimandrite Chrysanthos from Imvros.[35]

The Buildings

The investigations undertaken by Ploutarchos Theocharidis[36] have shown that the enclosure of the Vatopedi monastery had already achieved its present size prior to the end of the Byzantine period. Until the mid-nineteenth century the enclosure was preserved intact with its impressive walls fortified with nine towers, as recorded by the sources and old illustrations. According to Theocharidis, at least the north rectangular section of the enclosure walls date to the period of the monastery's foundation.

Apart from the katholikon, the oldest buildings of the Byzantine period for which literary information exists are those erected in the monastery by the Serbian saints Symeon and Sabas at the end of the twelfth century. These include the six or seven chapels mentioned by name in later *proskynetaria* of the monastery.[37] Unfortunately, none of these preserves a Byzantine building phase which could substantiate the literary evidence.

In 1320, according to an unpublished inscription now in the west façade of the katholikon, the refectory and the oil-press installations of the monastery were restored by a certain hieromonk Niphon.[38]

A Chrysobull of John Ugleš issued for the monastery of Simonopetra in 1364 states that the Serbian despot had built a hospital at Vatopedi.[39] This building was probably located near the southern corner of the enclosure wall, where the existence of a hospital is attested at least until the eighteenth century.[40] This hypothesis is supported by the chapel of the healing

[33] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 31, no. 96 and 97.

[34] Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 85.

[35] Ibid., 87, Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 432.

[36] Pl. Theocharidis, 'Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ περίβολοι τῶν μονῶν Βατοπεδίου καὶ Μεγίστης Λαύρας', Society for Macedonian Studies, International Conference 'Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος', Thessalonike 29 October–1 November 1993, Abstracts of Communications.

[37] Komnenos, *Προσκυνητάριον*, 47; Codex Vatopedinus 293, 48–49; Codex Vatopedinus 690; l.60 r,v. See also Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 429.

[38] The inscription, on a round marble slab 55cm in diameter, decorated with a cross, is as follows: 'ΑΝΕΚΕΝΗΣΘΗ / Η ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΕΝ / ΕΤΕΙ ΣΤΩΚΗ / ΙΝΔ[ΙΚΤΙΩΝΙ] Γ ΕΠΗΣΤΑΤΟΥΝΤΟ[Σ] / ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟ[ΜΟΝΑ]ΧΟΥ / ΚΥΡΟΥ Ν[Η]Φ[Ω]Ν[Ο]Σ / ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΛΕΤΡΙΒΙΟΝ [sic] / ...'.

[39] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 93, Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 80.

[40] The inscription 'το νοσοκομεγον' [sic] accords the depiction of a two-storey building in an engraving of 1792–1803, printed in Venice (D. Papastratou, *Χάρτινες εἰκόνες. Ὀρθόδοξα θρησκευτικὰ χαρακτικά, 1665–1889* [Athens, 1986], 416–19, no. 445).

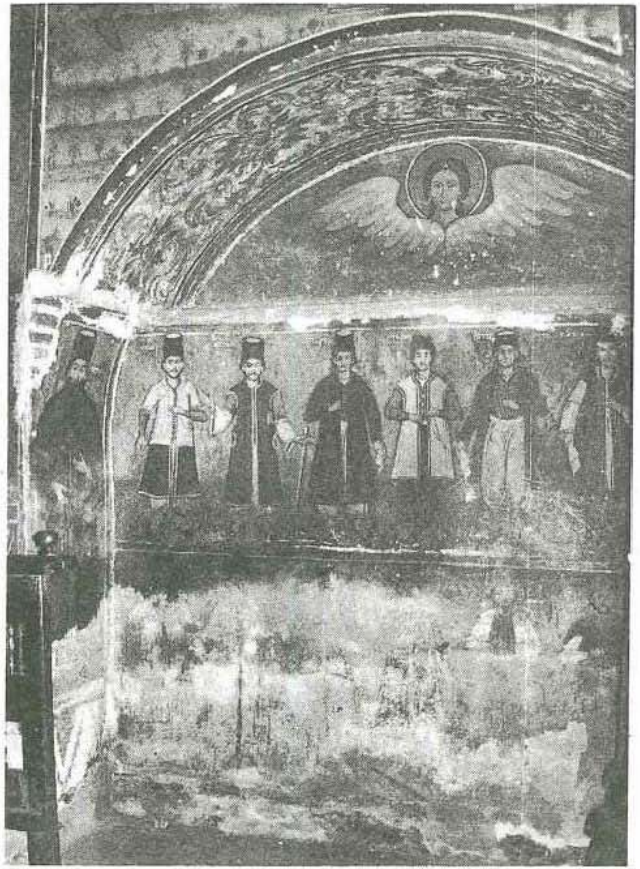

Figure 10.3 Vatopedi Monastery: Chapel of St Demetrios. Depiction of the *ktitores* of the narthex wall-paintings.

Figure 10.4 Vatopedi Monastery: Chapel of the Holy Anargyroi. Depiction of the Serbian despot John Ugleš.

Anargyri, also considered a building of the same despot,[41] which exists in the immediate vicinity. A depiction of John holding a model of the church (Figure 10.4) exists in the narthex of the chapel.[42]

In 1496 the monastery's boatshed, the *'arsanas'*, was built by the *voevod* of Moldavia, John Stephen the Great.[43] Some years later, in 1517, the great Athonite patron *voevod* of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab, was responsible for the building at Vatopedi of a number of buildings within the enclosure.[44]

In 1638 the structure attached to the north of the *docheion* was built with funds provided by the ex-*hegoumenos* Theophanes and the monk Joasaph.[45] In 1644, the *hegoumenos* Romanos from Galatista and the monk Gregory from Ioannina paid for the construction of the central building of the north wing of the monastery.[46] Of this structure, destroyed by fire in 1966 and later rebuilt,[47] only the façade on the side of the courtyard is preserved. A few years later, in 1654, the west building of the north wing of the monastery was erected, according to an inscription, as a hospital with funds from the tsar Alexios and contributions from the hieromonk Romanos.[48] In 1672 the *arsanas* was probably repaired with funds from the ex-*hegoumenos* Dionysios Xeniotes.[49] According to information available to Uspensky, in 1683 the funerary chapel of the Holy Apostles was 'repaired and decorated with wall-paintings' with funds from the monastery's *skevophylax*, Christopher.[50] An unidentified building, which its ktitoric inscription (now in the Old Library of the monastery) calls an 'ευκτήριον', was built in 1681 with funds from the ex-*hegoumenos* hieromonk Luke.[51]

In 1708 significant alterations were made to the north-west tower of St Onouphrios or the Guesthouse, with funds from the ex-*hegoumenos* Philotheos of Paros.[52] An unknown building, probably the 'pressoir, près de l'entrée du monastère',[53] was built in 1726 by Neophytos, the *hegoumenos*

[41] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 33, no.105.

[42] "Αγιος Σίμων ὁ 'Αθωνίτης (Athens, 1987), 35, fig. 6.

[43] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 42, no. 139.

[44] See supra, note 14. The buildings of Basarab, according to Codex 293, 61 were the tower of the Panayia, the Church of the Holy Girdle, the wine cellar, the granary, the kitchens, the bakery and, possibly, the oil store. According to Codex 690, fol. 74 r. the buildings were the tower of the Panayia, the Church of the Holy Girdle, the wine cellar, the granary, the kitchens, the bakery and a bath.

[45] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 37, no. 120.

[46] Ibid., 39, no. 128.

[47] Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 86.

[48] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 39, no. 127.

[49] Ibid., 43, no. 140.

[50] Ibid., 41, no. 135.

[51] Ibid., 46, no. 150.

[52] Ibid., 38–39, no. 125.

[53] Ibid., 41, no. 137.

of the Golia monastery in Romania.[54] In 1740 the fountain between the great *arsanas* and the granary, by the seashore, was renovated with funds from the monastery's *skevophylax*, hieromonk Paisios.[55] Nine years later the hieromonk Meletios Vatopedinos coordinated the fund raising and the building works for the erection of the imposing building complex of Athonias on a hill east of the monastery.[56] According to an inscription, now in the Old Library, an unidentified *arsanas* was built in 1759 with funds from the ex-patriarch of Constantinople Cyril V.[57] In 1750 the inner gate of the monastery was remodeled by the *skevophylax* Stephanos.[58] In 1761 a certain monk Sergios of Corfu repaired the monastery's hospital of which nothing remains and, the ktitoric inscription of which is also kept in the Old Library.[59] In 1780 the monk Cosmas built the kiosk outside the outer gate of the monastery.[60] An unidentified church was built in 1782 by the monk Sergios of Corfu, according to its ktitoric inscription, now in the Old Library.[61] One of the most important works of the eighteenth century was the refectory built in 1785 and consequently decorated with funds provided by the active *skevophylax* Philotheos from Moudania in Bithynia.[62] At a slightly later date, Philotheos also funded the drinking fountain outside the monastery's kitchens.[63] After the demolition of this building, the fountain was moved to a new location, next to the bell tower. The chapel of St Andrew was built in 1788 under the supervision of, and with contributions from, the ex-*hegoumenos* Philotheos and funds from the Metropolitan of Drama, Gerasimos.[64] Ten years later, in 1798, the chapel was decorated with wall-paintings by Philotheos.[65] In 1794 the ex-*hegoumenos* Theophilos from Sozopolis on the Black Sea provided funds for the construction of the chapel of the Holy Girdle in the form in which it is preserved today.[66] At approximately the same time, possibly with funds provided again by Theophilos, a wing was built on the west side of the

[54] Ibid., 46–47, No. 151.

[55] Ibid., 45, no. 145.

[56] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 442

[57] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 47, no. 152.

[58] Ibid., 39, no. 129.

[59] Ibid., 39, no. 153.

[60] Ibid., 41, no. 136.

[61] Ibid., 47–48, no. 154.

[62] Ibid., 36–37, nos 117 and 119.

[63] Ibid., 43, no. 143.

[64] Ibid., 33–34, nos 107 and 108. See also Chr. Cheilas, 'Το παρεκκλήσι του Αγίου 'Ανδρέα στη μονή Βατοπεδίου', *Churches in Greece 1453–1850* III, 65.

[65] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 34, no. 109 and Cheilas, 'Τό παρεκκλήσι του Αγίου Ανδρέα', 65.

[66] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 32, no. 100.

enclosure. A letter preserved in the monastery archives states that this wing, named 'of Theophilos', was destroyed by fire in 1852.[67]

In 1813, funds were provided by the ex-*hegoumenos* Jeremiah probably for the repair of the chapel of Prodromos.[68] The same ex-*hegoumenos* is the *ktitor* of the huge building which stands between the towers of St John Chrysostom and the three hierarchs in the east wing, according to three unpublished inscriptions in the chapel of St Thomas.[69] Funds from the brother archimandrites Methodios and Gregory, hegoumenoi of the *metochi* of Golia in Romania, were provided for the erection of the building and cells in the south-eastern wing of the monastery.[70] In 1820 funds provided by the Moldavian prince, Skarlatos Kallimachis, on the urging of the archimandrite Jacob from Karpenisi were used to build the granary on the monastery's quay.[71] Extensive repair work on the funerary chapel of the Holy Apostles was undertaken by the *skeuophylax* Jacob in 1841.[72] Discovered during these repairs were the relics of Hosios Eudokimos of Vatopedi.[73] According to an unpubished inscription, now in the Old Library, the archimandrite Philaretos built the enclosure wall of the orchard

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[67] The letter was recently found by Fr Lazaros Vatopedinos.

[68] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 39–40, no. 130.

[69] a) Narthex. Marble plaque on the south wall:

Ο ΠΡΟΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ + ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΑΣ / ΒΑΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ – ΤΗΣ ΕΚΤΕΛΟΥΣΗΣ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ / ΕΚ ΜΟΝΔΑΝΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΥΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ / ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚΤΙΤΩΡ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΙΔΙας ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΟΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ / ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΤΙΡΙων ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΥΜαΣΙων / ΜΕΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΩ ΝΑΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙων / ΔΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΕΥΞΩΜΕΘΑ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΩΝΙων / ΤΥΧΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡαΝΙΩΝ ΩΣ ΖΗΛΩΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΑΞΙΩΝ / ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΑΩΙΕω ΕΝ ΜΗΝΙ / ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ

b) Narthex. Lintel of the north door:

ΠΡ(ΟΗ)ΓΟΥ(ΜΕΝΟΣ) ΙΕΡ(Ε)Μ(ΙΑΣ) 1815

c) Narthex. Lintel of the south door:

ΠΡ(ΟΗ)ΓΟΥ(ΜΕΝΟΣ) ΙΕΡ(Ε)Μ(ΙΑΣ) 1815

[70] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 38, no. 123.

[71] Ibid., 43, no. 141. However, an unpublished inscription on the north façade of the building mentions as *ktitor* just the archimandrite Jacob: '+ ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΠΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ / ΒΑΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ / ΚΑΡΠΕΝΗΣΙΟΥ + ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ + 1820 +'

[72] Ibid., 41, no. 135, Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 84–85. The inscription on the north wall of narthex is unpublished: ΙΣ + ΧΣ / ΣΚΕΥΟΦΥΛΑΞ / ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ / 1841

[73] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 189–90, 447.

in 1844.[74] The following year he renovated the chapel of St Andrew.[75] The chapel of the Anargyrti was redecorated by funds from *'domnitza* Elengo Chantzerli' in 1847.[76] It is probable during these works that the chapel took its present form. In 1858, the colonnaded *propylon* of the monastery's outer gate was built with a donation of the archimandrite Ioannikios the Cypriot.[77] According to two unpublished inscriptions, now in the Old Library, in 1870 Archimandrite Ananias from Ioannina added a new vault and a storey with a chapel of St Nikolaos to the *arsanas* of the monastery[78] and an *arsanas* for himself[79]. In 1877 the roofed well to the west of the building complex was built 'by funds from this holy monastery of Vatopedi'.[80] In 1890, with funds from the same source, a new impressive aqueduct was constructed by the German engineer Muller.[81] During 1894–95, important work was carried out in the monastery by the archimandrite Chrysanthos of Imvros. This included the opening of a new inner gateway, the building of the new kitchens and bakery in the west wing and a series of extended works in the north wing, such as the addition of the arched butresses along the north facade of the north wing, the remodelling of the Guesthouse, an additional storey to the east building of the north wing and the construction of an upper storey to serve as new *synodika* in the central building on the same side.[82] In 1896 the new flour-mill was built[83] and in 1899 a second storey was added to the granary[84] using monastery funds.

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[74] '+ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΤΟΙΧΙΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ / ΝΕΡΑΤΖΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ / ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΕΚ ΝΕΟΥ / ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ / ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡ/ΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑ / ΡΕΤΟΥ ΒΑΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΝΟΥ / 1844 Φευρουαρίου κ'

[75] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 34, no. 110.

[76] Ibid., 33, no. 104. The surname of the *ktitor* is 'Χαντζερλη' not 'Χαντζέρλη'.

[77] Ibid., 40, no. 133.

[78] 'ΤΙ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΤΙΣ Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΚΤΗΤΩΡ ΝΕΩΡΙΟΥ / ΙΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ ΓΕΝΝΗΜΑ ΘΡΕΜΜΑ ΒΑΤΟΠΕΔΙΟΥ / ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ Ο ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΗΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ / ΙΔΙΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΥΓΕ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΠΟΙΙΑΣ / ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΝΥΝ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΜΥΡΟΙΣ / ΤΩ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ ΑΝΑΚΤΙ ΟΦΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΙΣ / ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΡΙΟΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΑΥΤΙΛΙΑΣ / ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΕΙΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΩΡΑ ΤΡΙΚΥΜΙΑΣ / ΝΙΚΟΛΑΕ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΕ ΣΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΙΣ / ΛΑΤΡΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΣΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΤΑΞΟΝ ΧΟΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑΙΣ ΘΕΙΑΙΣ / ΕΝ ΔΙΣΧΙΛΙΩ ΑΡΙΘΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΔΕΚΑ ΕΠΤΑΚΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣ ΠΛΗΝ ΔΙΣ ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΚΙΣ'

[79] 'ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΣ Ω ΘΕΑΤΑ / ΝΑ ΜΑΘΗΣ ΤΙΣ Ο ΚΤΙΤΩΡ / ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΙ Μ'ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ / ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ Ο ΔΟΜΗΤΩΡ ; / ΒΑΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ / ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ / ΟΣ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΚΕΚΛΗΤΑΙ, ΠΑΤΡΙΑ' ΙΩΑΝΝΙΤΗΣ / ΕΙΣ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΘΕΡΙΝΗΝ ΚΙ' ΑΝΑΨΥΧΗΝ ΙΔΙΑΝ / (ΚΑΙ) ΕΙΣ ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΜΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ, ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΙΕΙΑΝ, 1870'

[80] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 45, no. 146.

[81] Ibid., 44–45, no. 144.

[82] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 441–42 and Theophilos, 'Χρονικὸν', 85–87.

[83] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, 41–42, no. 138.

[84] Ibid., 43, no. 142.

Conclusions

On the basis of the above, the following observations may be presented.

It should be noted at the outset that it is often difficult to discern the precise role of those monks mentioned as *ktitores*, especially in inscriptions. It is often unclear whether they themselves provided the funds for construction or whether they undertook to secure resources and coordinate the building work.

The sources which refer to the conditions under which the Vatopedi monastery was founded and to the *ktitores* of the more important of its buildings are sparse for the earliest part of the monastery's 1,000-year history. Thus many questions remain open concerning how and why the monastery flourished from its earliest beginnings. This progress is particularly discernible in building activity, including the impressively large enclosure wall and the imposing katholikon. Nevertheless, the evidence that does survive, despite the attempts of monastic tradition to associate the monastery with imperial *ktitores*, shows that building work, especially in the mid-Byzantine period, was the result of activities of notable *heguomenoi*. In the late Byzantine period, a few important secular aristocrats are mentioned as *ktitores*, even though the precise nature of their work is not always known. This contribution by secular aristocrats to the monastery's building activity is also evidenced during the early post-Byzantine period. From the period immediately afterwards, however, initiative for building work is mostly attributed to notable members of the monastic fraternity whose funds came either from their own family property or were earned by them from the management of the monastery's extensive landholdings, along with the long-standing practice of regular or irregular contributions. Noteworthy amongst the more recent buildings of the monastery are certain facilities bearing inscriptions naming the monastery as *ktitor*.

11. 'A safe and holy mountain': early Ottoman Athos

Elizabeth A. Zachariadou

The privileges granted by the early Ottoman sultans to the Greek Orthodox monasteries are reported by official documents and by legends; the latter, however, include segments of truth. The sixteenth-century Ottoman historian Müne*djdj*imbas*hı* narrates that the monks of the Prodromos monastery, near Serres, visited the court of Sultan Or*kh*an (1326–62) in order to obtain his protection by getting a *firman* from him. It is possible that the mention of Or*kh*an is not accurate but it is certain that the monastery was granted privileges by his son and successor Murad I (1362–89). An Athonite tradition reports that Sultan Or*kh*an graciously offered his protection to the Holy Mountain.[1]

The early recognition of the status of the Athonite monasteries by the Ottoman sultans is confirmed by Patriarch Philotheos. In a homily written no later than 1360 he stated that the Turks respected and admired Mt Athos, and the monks were charitable towards the Turks.[2] This is probably an indirect reference to the relations established between Mt Athos and the Ottoman court, apparently in the days of Sultan Or*kh*an. It is also possible to postulate a mediator, namely Or*kh*an's father-in-law, Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

The Ottoman sultans were fairly willing to satisfy the monks demands. While adhering to the principles of their own religion – that is, tolerance towards Jews and Christians – they could increase their prestige in the Greek

[1] P. Wittek, 'Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (VI)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58 (1962), 197; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Early Ottoman documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)', *Südost-Forschungen* 28 (1969), 10–11; Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 109.

[2] D. Kaimakes, *Philotheou Kokkinou Dogmatika Erga* I (Thessalonike, 1983), 482, 484.

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Orthodox world. Thus they offered protection to monasteries and tax exemption to monastic property; when full exemption was not granted a privileged method of paying taxes was allowed.[3]

Equally, the monks or their prestige could offer a variety of services to the sultans. According to the anonymous Turkish chronicle known as *Gazavat-i Sultan Murad*, (the Holy War of Sultan Murad) the Byzantine emperor sent an envoy to the emir of Karaman inciting him to invade the Ottoman territories in 1443; the envoy was a monk.[4] Bayezid II sent a spy to western Europe to obtain information about his brother *Djem*'s subversive activities; again, the spy was a monk or at least wore the monastic robe.[5]

The sultans' protection also provided the monasteries with another function – as a refuge in which people could save their souls not only in heaven but also on earth. The case of St Nektarios[6] is instructive with respect to the monasteries in the years of Ottoman expansion. Given that Nektarios is not a famous saint of the Greek Orthodox church, it is perhaps useful to recall some dates. He died in 1500 in Mt Athos and a *protos*, Daniel, is mentioned in his *Vita*, who according to an Athonite document, held the office of *protos* in 1472.[7] Nektarios's parents were farmers living in the region of Monasteri or Bitola. When the Turks were about to conquer that region[8] his mother had a dream in which the Virgin revealed to her that the Turks were coming to enslave them and that her family must find a place of refuge. In fact, the Turks came and devastated the whole region, but the family was well hidden and survived. After these sad events Nektarios's parents discussed matters, trying to determine the best course for survival. Eventually they decided that their best option was to join the monks of a monastery. The father took his two boys and went to the monastery of Sts Anargyroi, which I could not identify. The three of them lived there peacefully and the father became a monk. Later one of his sons, Nektarios, went to Mt Athos and entered the service of Dionysios Iagaris, the son of a senator who had been the most prominent citizen of Constantinople. Nektarios was distinguished there for his pious way of life, serving as model for other monks, and he became a holy man. I underline

[3] Cf. the case of Dionysiou in E.A. Zachariadou, 'Early Ottoman documents from the archives of Dionysiou (Mt Athos) 1495–1520', *Südost-Forschungen* 30 (1971), 27–30.

[4] H. Inalcik and M. Oguz, *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân* (Ankara, 1978), 33–34.

[5] J. Lefort, *Documents grecs dans les archives de Topkapi Sarayi* (Ankara, 1981), 42–46. For an earlier period cf. M. Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc. Histoire d'un espace d'ambrication gréce-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), 37–38.

[6] Nikodemos Hagioreites, *Νέον Ἐκλόγιον* (Athens, 1874), 347–50.

[7] *Dionys.*, 162–64; cf. Denise Papachryssanthou, *Ὁ Ἀθωνιτικὸς μοναχισμός, ἀρχὲς καὶ ὀργάνωση* (Athens, 1992), 381.

[8] The town of Monasteri/Bitola was conquered by the Ottomans in the 1380s. The narrative of the *Vita* is confused with respect to this point; its anonymous author probably means a march of irregular Ottoman troops through the region, which could have taken place during one of the numerous campaigns of Mehemmed II.

the fact that, according to the *Vita*, both father and sons entered the monastery to save themselves from the Turks.[9]

Others went to Mt Athos to save not only their lives but also their money. The life of a monk should be quiet and free from the daily worries of this world, but this was not to be the case for some of the fifteenth-century individuals who chose to settle on Mt Athos. Their activities are known through records of the Turkish tribunals in which Athonite monks played a significant part, as Nikolaos Basileiades remarked when describing his childhood years in the district of Phanari, in Constantinople. His recollections include three important dependencies or *metochia* in his neighbourhood not far from the patriarchate: that of the Holy Sepulchre where the patriarch of Jerusalem used to stay whenever he visited Constantinople; that of Sinai, a glorious one thanks to the learned archaeologist and Patriarch Konstantios; and finally that of Athos, which used to feed the Turkish tribunals with litigations brought by the monks.[10]

It is worth examining the activity of a prominent monk, Radić, the great Čelnik or general-in-chief of the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević and, after the latter's death in 1427, of his son-in-law and successor George Branković.[11] Radić did not remain in the latter's service for long and, shortly after 1433, he decided to retreat to Mt Athos, to the monastery of Kastamonitou. This monastery, destroyed by fire and almost deserted, was now restored and reorganized thanks to the generous donations of Radić which included part of the revenues of a silver mine in Serbia. He also made donations to the monastery of Vatopedi.

The circumstances of his settling in Athos are interesting in themselves. Radić and his fortune were threatened as Serbia experienced a turbulent period after the death of Stephan Lazarević. More precisely, Serbia, which was a vassal state of the Ottoman sultan, became an enemy territory because of the problems of succession and the intervention of the Hungarians. In contrast, Athos had been an Ottoman territory since 1423. Radić therefore moved to Athos, where he was not affected by the military events disrupting his own country, and was able to defend his interests in Serbia from there, after having placed himself among the sultan's non-Muslim subjects by

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[9] It is not inappropriate to recall the case of Georgios Sphrantzes, the *protovestiarios* of the last Byzantine emperor who, in 1460, was persecuted by the Ottoman army which was conquering the Morea. He sailed to Corfu and there envisaged two possibilities: either to move to Crete, an island under Venetian rule, or enter the monastery of St Nicholas in Beroia, which was an Ottoman territory. See R. Maisano, ed., *Giorgio Sfrantze, Cronaca*, CFHB 29 (Rome, 1990), 164.

[10] Nikolaos Basileiades, Εἰκόνες ἀπὸ τὸ Φανάρι, ἑταιρεία τῶν σχολικῶν ἀποικίων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Athens, n.d.), 4.

[11] See E.A. Zachariadou, 'The worrisome wealth of the Čelnik Radić', in C.J. Heywood and C. Imber, eds, *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, (Istanbul, 1994), 383–97.

becoming a *dhimmi*. Finally he was able to defend his fortune through his close relationship with a very influential political figure of the Ottoman state, *Sh*ahin or *Sh*ihab ed-din pa*sh*a, the *beglerbegi*, or military commander-in-chief, of Rumelia.

We can gain some idea of Radić's wealth through a Turkish judicial document issued by the judge of Serres in 1440. As far as I know, this document is, the oldest Ottoman document recording a lawsuit. The story begins with two brothers, Yakub and Dimitri, the sons of Ieremia, who made a deposit to Radić; consisting of one sealed purse containing 35,000 silver coins (*akče*) and another containing 6,000 golden florins (*filuri*) together with six silver goblets and twelve golden crosses. It was usual to deposit objects of value, including icons, in monasteries, which were protected by the sultans and furthermore well fortified. Nevertheless, in this case, the amount of money involved was more substantial than usual – at least by Ottoman standards.

The motive which induced the sons of Ieremia to deposit this sum of money and valuables with Radić is not stated. Was it just for deposit, for safekeeping, as a guarantee or as a loan? Nor is it stated where and when the event took place. We may assume, however, that the depository was the monastery of Kastamonitou where Radić lived and which was considered a safe place. What we know is that the sons of Ieremia applied to Radić asking for the return of their deposit. When he restored it to them they allegedly extorted 1,000 florins from him. Hence the trial.

In court Radić refused to admit that he knew the amount of coins contained in the two purses while the defendants claimed that it was he who gave them the 1,000 florins as a *musalaha*. The term is not clear in this case: it could either mean 'in order to make peace' or 'as a compromise for a loan' – the latter meaning is probably the correct one. It is important not to forget, however, that neither party could make reference to interest or usury in an Islamic court. Despite the presence of several monks, of the metropolitan of Serres and of the *protogeros* of the town's Christian community, who came to testify for Radić, the judicial decision was not entirely in his favour. Outside the court, before a mixed group of people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, the two parties reached a compromise, and Radić was obliged to be satisfied with a settlement of only 400 florins. The signatures of the witnesses show that, although the trial took place between 'infidels', the whole affair was followed by the cream of the Muslim community of Serres; three of the witnesses are sons of *imam*s.

This did not mark the end of Radić's efforts to preserve his great fortune. Two years later, in 1441, the Ottomans conquered Novobrdo where he had a house and silver mines. His friend, the *beglerbegi Sh*ahin, had conducted the military operations. Radić thought that, since he himself was already a *dhimmi* – a non-Muslim subject of the sultan – his property should not

be affected by the Ottoman conquest; in addition, he claimed his share from the silver mines. As a document preserved in the archives of Kastamonitou reveals, *Sh*ahin temporarily satisfied Radić's demand regarding the share from the mines and promised to bring the delicate case of the house in Novobrdo to the attention of the sultan, whom he was going to meet.

The case of the Čelnik Radić indicates that Mt Athos had become a place of refuge not only for poor Christians, but also for rich aristocrats, all of whom wished to escape the warfare and pillaging which had become such a feature of life in the fifteenth-century Balkans.

The second case to be examined is connected with Maria-Helena, daughter of the last Serbian despot Lazar and granddaughter of the despot of the Morea, Thomas Palaiologos.[12] At twelve years of age Maria-Helena was married to the last king of Bosnia, Stephan Tomasević. In 1463 the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and the sultan executed the king making Maria-Helena, a widow at the age of seventeen. She moved to Croatia, Ragusa, and to Spalato, finally settling in the Ottoman territories. The sultan granted her a generous annual revenue and she remained in touch with two paternal aunts who were also living in the Ottoman territories. One of these was Mara Branković, widow of Sultan Murad II and stepmother of Mehemmed the Conqueror. The second was Katerina Kantakouzena Branković, countess of Cilly. When these two ladies died, no one was found in the Ottoman territories to inherit their fortune apart from their niece Maria-Helena. Although inheritance problems among Greek Orthodox Christians were usually resolved by their own ecclesiastical authorities, Maria-Helena appealed to the Muslim authorities and appeared in the Turkish tribunal in which the Islamic law of inheritance was applied to members of other religions if they so chose. She obtained a *firman* from Sultan Bayezid II who thought it appropriate to despatch the document with a high official of the janissary corps (a *caush*). The sultan's command was that 'whatever of the states, garments, money and various things of the late ladies Mara and Katarina can be found, must be delivered to his *caush*'. It was difficult to trace the entire inheritance because the ladies had left some of their belongings dispersed among the various churches and monasteries of Mt Athos with which Mara had maintained good relations but which Maria-Helena could not enter as a woman. Maria-Helena, escorted by the *caush*, went to Beroia or Karaferye, where Mara had land. There, in 1491, she kept the *kadi* of the town busy by claiming her rights. A monk of the Lavra monastery, Gabriel, who had probably heard of the sultan's command, came spontaneously and delivered two icons to her; the icons had been deposited at his monastery by Mara in return for the monks' prayers.

[12] See V. Demetriades and E.A. Zachariadou, 'Serbian ladies and Athonite monks', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (1994), 35–55.

Then Maria-Helena forced a monk of Xeropotamou, Athanasios, to appear in the tribunal and accused him of holding a sum of 30,000 florins which she claimed had been stolen from Katerina, countess of Cilly, by Anastas, a faithful servant of her aunt. The amount of money involved in this case is significant and it is worth trying to identify Anastas. The countess of Cilly had a chaplain, Nastase, who participated in some negotiations in Venice *c.* 1481 concerning a castle in Friuli which she considered as one of her possessions. This Nastase could well be Anastas, the monk of Xeropotamou, whom Maria-Helena suspected of stealing her aunt's money. Be that as it may, her accusation could not be proved before the *kadi* because the representative of Xeropotamou denied the accusation by answering: 'Certainly Anastas came to the monastery of Xeropotamou and died there, but he had not a single florin or even a silver coin; he died poor and penniless.' Evidence was demanded from Maria-Helena, but she was unable to prove her allegation.

The case was dismissed, but it had apparently terrified monks of Xeropotamou who decided to have the decision of the *kadi* of Beroia confirmed. The same monk, Athanasios, went to meet the sultan who was encamped near Philippoupolis and obtained a *firman* addressed to the *kadi* of Thessalonike, the town where the Ottoman authorities controlling the affairs of Athos were established. By this *firman* the sultan forbade any further investigation regarding the 30,000 golden coins. Although it was the Ottomans' policy to favour the monasteries, in this case the sultan permitted an investigation against Xeropotamou possibly because the sultans also accorded a social status to members of the old Balkan royal and aristocratic families. Once again, however, Maria-Helena was unable to defend her rights so the sultan reverted to the old policy and offered protection to the monasteries.

In the ninth century a very pious and fanatical Arab scholar, al-*Djahiz*, remarked that if a Christian hated work he turned monk and wore wool, trusting that in these clothes he would be supported by the rich and wealthy.[13] In the fifteenth-century Ottoman world, some of the rich and wealthy became monks because they trusted that, in these clothes and with the support of faithful monks, they would be able to save their lives and also their fortunes.

[13] A.S.Tritton, 'Islam and the protected religions', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1931), 328.

Section IV

Music and Manuscripts

12. The libraries of Mt Athos: the case of Philotheou

Robert W. Allison

Introduction

The invitation to present a paper on the case of Philotheou suggested two alternative topics to me. First, what we have learned about Philotheou itself and its library, treating them as generally representative of the larger picture of Athonite libraries, or second, what this project is contributing to our methods of studying Mt Athos, and its libraries in particular. In the course of over a decade's work on this project, I have presented a series of papers to the American Byzantine Studies Conference and at the International Byzantine Studies Congresses chronicling what this project has revealed about the history of the monastery and its library. Most recently I have made these available by establishing a communications centre for the Philotheou project on the World Wide Web via our Web server at Bates College. (This is a good option for prompt publication when the material in question is continuously being revised and updated as a result of new information, in this case from progress in the cataloguing project.) Consequently the second alternative seems more appropriate here – that is, to focus on the methodological side. I therefore begin by summarizing very briefly 'the case of Philotheou,' after which I offer observations on what we may learn from this case to apply to the study of the other Athonite libraries.

I should observe at the outset that the perennial question in cataloguing – how much to describe – is involved here, and that the Athonite libraries represent a special case in several respects. First, there are special needs because half of the human race is barred from studying these libraries at first hand. Second is the fact that the catalogue is meant to accompany the archive of microfilms at the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessalonike, which continues to grow, despite its history of funding and administrative problems. Most important, however, is the fact that many

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of these monastic libraries have been intact for half a millennium or more. Unlike museum collections, where manuscripts have been collected as bearers of text or art, many of their manuscripts may be organically related to the life of the monastery itself, not only because they were written there, but also because they are books commissioned or purchased in order to meet particular needs or interests in the monastery. Cataloguers must take this possibility seriously and incorporate into their catalogues the data necessary to establish those relationships.

I should also mention by way of preface that the Philotheou library includes approximately 400 manuscript books, some of them fragmentary. The 249 listed by Lambros[1] are all present and accounted for. Most of the fragments which Lambros collected in an envelope and which he assigned the shelf number 81, have been returned to their respective codices and accounted for in the descriptions of those codices. The remainder of the volumes are modern manuscript books, mostly service books, many of them probably copied from printed editions. Many of these volumes are still in use in the katholikon, and were presumably there when Lambros surveyed the collection. A few older, but post-Byzantine codices now in the library were probably missed by Lambros because they were then in the cells of individual monks or located in *metochia*.

Summary history of the library and of book production and collection at Philotheou

The earliest reference to the library of Philotheou known to me is that of Cyriac of Ancona, who visited the monastery on 22–29 November 1444 and noted seeing a copy of Eustathios's commentary on Homer, a volume no longer to be found there.[2] But, today, we can work back much further than that from the evidence preserved in the library and archives of the monastery itself.

The history of the present manuscript library at Philotheou is inseparably linked to the question: how far back can we trace the continuous existence of the monastery? Philotheou Monastery had its beginnings in the last decade of the tenth century as a small *hesychasterion*. Identified in documents variously by the toponym Pteris or Phteris (for the ferns which still flourish in great abundance there), or by the name of its current abbot, it gradually came to be known for its founder, Philotheos.[3] Small *hesychasteria* come and

[1] Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* I–II (Cambridge, 1895, 1900). For Philotheou: I, 151–69.

[2] Hans Graeven, 'Cyriacus von Ancona auf dem Athos,' *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 16 (1899), 209–15.

[3] This interpretation of the toponym, Phteris, is my own. For the history of unfounded speculation which the name has occasioned, and for a convenient summary of the evidence for the history of the early *hesychasterion*, see Vassiliki Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou', *TM* 10 (1987), 273–4.

go, however, and this one only lasted until about 1051, judging by its attestation in surviving Athonite archival documents. For the next ninety years, from 1051 to 1141, Philotheou is not mentioned in any archival document.[4] This silence suggests that the *hesychasterion* had been abandoned.[5] Documentary attestation resumes in the year 1141,[6] when a new foundation was established on the site of the earlier *hesychasterion* and apparently consolidated with some additional property under an abbot named Arsenios. By its identification of the abbot, Arsenios, this document corroborates the tradition represented in a lost wall-painting of the old Philotheite katholikon that an Arsenios was one of its founders.[7] Until now, the inclusion of Arsenios in this painting of the founders of Philotheou has mystified interpreters. This identification in turn gives added probability to our own thesis that Arsenios's hegoumenate represents a new foundation rather than a continuation of the preceding *hesychasterion*.

The possibility of a second period of abandonment is raised by the lack of documentary attestation for the monastery for more than a century, from 1169 until the mid-1280s.[8] D. Bogdanović[9] concluded from this silence that

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[4] The tradition that the monastery was renewed by the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81) is attested only in modern sources. It seems to be derived from accounts of his donation of the precious nail to the Philotheite *metochion* of the Prodromos on Thassos, which itself is attested only since the eighteenth century (cod. Athos, Phil. 89 = Lambros 1908,144, written by the Hieromonk Ignatios Philotheitis in 1796; cod. Athos, Panteleimonos 5788, 281, 19th century, 95–96). Cf. Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 584–85.

[5] Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents', 278 and n. 67, concludes that the monastery probably continued to function, but did not maintain a high profile on Mt Athos during this period. She argues that lack of attestation in documents is not sufficient evidence for abandonment in this case, citing the two examples mentioned by J. Lefort, *Esphig.*, 20, namely, Esphigmenou (only two documents 1095–1399) and Xeropotamou (no twelfth-century documents) and additionally the example of Xenophontos. While the principle may be valid later for the period of the Latin occupation and for the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos, whose policies were opposed by the Hagiorites, there is no general lack of Athonite documents during the eleventh century to justify its application to this period. The case of Xenophontos is not analogous to that of Philotheou because, although that archive lacks any documents from 1090–1299, signatures of abbots of the monastery are attested throughout this period (except for the era of the Latin occupation) in documents from other monasteries. See D. Papachryssanthou, *Xénoph.*, 47.

[6] *Lavra*, I no. 61 records the terms by which the ruined *moni* of Kalyka and its *agros* at Karyes called Tavla were transferred to Philotheou and put under Arsenios's control.

[7] John Komnenos (1657–1719) described in his *proskynetarion* the wall-painting of the Philotheite founders which he tells us was located in the katholikon of his day (ed. B. Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca, sive De ortu et progressu literarum graecarum* ... [Paris, 1708], 497). The present katholikon dates from 1746, as attested in two inscriptions (Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 296 and an inscription of the year on upper west face of the bell tower).

[8] This period is bracketed by attestation of the kathegoumenos Gabriel Hieromonachos in August 1169, *Panté.*, no. 8, and attestation of the *hegoumenos* Theophanes Hieromonachos in August, 1287, *Lavra* II, no. 79.

[9] D. Bogdanović, *Zilije svelog Save* (Belgrade, 1984), 245.

the monastery had again been abandoned, and that the renovation under St Savas amounted to a complete reconstruction. V. Kravari is unconvinced, noting that the monastery was well organized in the middle of the twelfth century. She leaves the matter unresolved with the comment, 'Il n'y a pas de raisons qui nous obligent à accepter cette hypothèse.'[10] Our own study of the library has yielded no definitive solution to this problem; nevertheless, our findings, referred to below, suggest that some of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century service books at Philotheou were probably originally purchased new for the monastery during this period.[11] For practical purposes, then, we may consider Philotheou Monastery as a separate entity from the early *hesychasterion* whose name it adopted, and treat it as a single, continuously existing monastery founded in 1141. The library, likewise, can be traced back no earlier than the monastery's 1141 foundation date.

What does the case of Philotheou reveal to us about the growth of its library? A review of its history shows that significant book collecting activity and/or writing occurred roughly every hundred years until the Turkish conquest, and then once again in the sixteenth century. These periods of activity include the initial impetus associated with the founder, Arsenios (mid-twelfth century);[12] its renovation under St Savas (early thirteenth century);[13] formation of a scriptorium by the monks Gerasimos and Ignatios (mid-fourteenth century), following the renewal of the monastery associated with the donations of the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (first quarter of the fourteenth century)[14] and with the

[10] Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents', 280, n. 69.

[11] Iakovos Batopedinos, Archim., Ἡ ἐν Μοσχᾳ Συνοδικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῶν χειρογράφων Ἐπιτομὴ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Βλαδημίρου Ρωσσιστὶ ἐκδοθέντος καταλόγου τοῦ Τμήματος τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν τῷ Κρεμλίνῳ βιβλιοθήκης (Moscow, 1896) indicates erroneously that Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal Library cod. 50 bears a note of dedication of that manuscript to the monastery in the year 1203, which would have confirmed the continuous existence of the monastery through this period of lacking documentary attestation. The catalogue description of Archim. Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie rukopisei Moskovskoi Sinodalnoi Biblioteki* (Moscow, 1894), on which Iakovos based his catalogue, makes it clear, however, that the codex is a composite of two manuscripts, and that the dedicatory note (undated) occurs at the end of the first manuscript on fol. 306 verso, while the date, 1203, occurs at the end of the second one, on fol. 318 verso. I have been unable to see this or the other Philotheite codices now in Moscow.

[12] The thesis of the monastery's refoundation by Arsenios presented in this paper is my own; for a convenient summary of the speculation surrounding this heretofore mysterious figure, see Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents', 273.

[13] Theodosije Hilandarać, *Zivot Sveloga Save*, Dj. Danicić, ed. (Belgrade, 1860, repr. 1973), 66f.

[14] The donations are attested in two authentic documents, *Phil.*, no. 6, copied from a lost Chrysobull of October, 1326 confirming to Philotheou its possessions in Macedonia and mentioning that the monastery was under the *ephoreia* of the emperor's nephew, and Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents' no. 1, a *prostagma* datable to June 1326 relating to Tzainou, a *metochion* of Philotheou located near the Strymon River south-east of Serres. In addition, three documents

hegoumenate of Theodosius (second quarter of the century), who later became archbishop of Trebizond; and the scriptorium and school of the Gallipolite monks, Maximos, Gabriel and Makarios (spanning the mid-sixteenth century), associated with the renewal of the monastery as a Greek koinobion by the abbot Dionysios, later known as Dionysios on Olympos. Their work was also associated with the installation of a calligrapher, Kallinikos from Dionysiou, as abbot of Philotheou.

The uninterrupted history of the monastery since its foundation by Arsenios in 1141 suggests that the library must also have existed continuously since that time, when books were surely part of the needs supplied by its new founder. Arsenios's own scholarly interests may also have played a role in shaping the early library. The Arsenios in question is to be identified with the Philotheite author who composed a *Synopsis Canonum*: Ἀρσενίου μοναχοῦ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει μονῆς τοῦ Φιλοθέου Σύνοψις τῶν Θείων Κανόνων.[15] We may suppose that, as a scholar of canonical history, Arsenios probably collected at Philotheou at least some of the sources for his compendium of canon law. No copy of the synopsis itself survives at Philotheou, but two codices currently in the library are probably associated with him by reason of their relevance to his interests in canon law, a topic otherwise unattested in the Philotheou library: Phil. cod. 216 (Lambros 42), a source book on canon law written in the mid-twelfth century, and Phil. cod. 38 (Lambros 52), a compendium chiefly of hagiographical texts dating from the eleventh century, the last part of which consists of *erotapokriseis* dealing with questions of canon law.[16]

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forged in Andronikos's name and asserting the monastery's rights to its possessions on Thassos depended for their credibility on the authentic donations: *Phil.*, no. 4, a falsified (?) copy of a Chrysobull dated 1287 (cf. Dölger, *Regesten* IV, no. 2122 for arguments against its authenticity), *Phil.*, no. 5, dated 1292 (cf. Dölger, *Regesten* IV, no. 2146) and Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents,' appendix 1 – a briefer and poorly executed forgery probably based on the preceding document. A document of Theodora Palaiologina dated 1376 records her donation to Philotheou of the village of St George of Mperzitzikon near Serres, and identifies her parents as *ktitores* of Philotheou (Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents,' no. 6; cf. M. Goudas, Βυζαντιακὰ γράμματα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Φιλοθέου 2, 2 (Athens, 1925) 13–17. Finally, a false Chrysobull preserves a Philotheite tradition of the fifteenth or sixteenth century recounting how the emperor donated the right hand of St John Chrysostom to the monastery, inspired by the (otherwise unattested) Philotheite abbot and hieromonk, Makarios, who became confessor to the emperor (*Phil.*, no. 2; cf. Dölger, *Regesten* IV, no. 2101.)

[15] H. Justel, ed., in G. Voellius, *Bibliotheca iuris canonici veteris* . . . II (Paris, 1661) 749–84; repr. *PG* 133, 62 ff.). This work was dated *c.* 1255 based on its erroneous attribution to Arsenios Autoreianos; this dating is still found in H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959) 711; cf. E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–), 1429. E. Lousse, 'Arsène', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1912), 749, redated it *c.* 1150 without citing any basis for his hypothesis.

[16] Marcel Richard, 'Les textes hagiographiques du codex Athos Philothéou 52,' *AB* 93 (1975), 147–56. For the arguments regarding its relation to Arsenios, see Robert W. Allison, 'The growth of the manuscript library of Philotheou Monastery in the Byzantine period' (hereafter cited as 'Growth of the manuscript library'), forthcoming in the papers of the International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Moscow, August 1991.

Table 12.1 Summary acquisition history for the thirty-eight twelfth-thirteenth century manuscripts

A: List of 12th–13th c. Mss by Philotheou shelf numbers

Phil. Cod. No. 12th c.	13th c.	Lambros. No.	Summary content description
2		1	*Evangelion*
3		18	*Evangelion*
	4	3	*Evangelion*
9		21	*Tetraevangelon*
10		46	*Tetraevangelon*
11		45	*Tetraevangelon*
12		48	*Tetraevangelon*
13		51	*Tetraevangelon*
14		41	*Tetraevangelon*
	15	47	*Tetraevangelon*
	16	53	*Tetraevangelon*
	18	22	*Tetraevangelon*
27		17	*Praxapostolos*
	28	38	*Tetraevangelon*
37		7	Gregory of Nazianzus, 16 treatises
	40	23	Gregory of Nazianzus, 16 treatises
	41	56	Anthology of ascetical treatises
	44	93	Theodoret, Commentary on Psalms
	45	119	John Scholasticus, Ladder
71		12	Metaphrast (Sept)
73		24	Basil of Emesa, Life of Theodore of Emesa
91		35	*Menaion* (June)
92		30	*Menaion* (June)
93		26	*Menaion* (June)
	94	14	*Menaion* (Nov.)
95		28	*Menaion* (Nov.)
96		31	*Menaion* (Dec.)
97		43	*Menaion* (Feb)
	98	27	*Menaion* (Jan, Feb)
99		40	*Menaion* (May)
100		37	*Menaion* (March)
	135	216	*Paraklitiki*
174		49	Psalter
175		50	Psalter
176		54	Psalter
	177	29	Psalter
	206	34	*Prophetologion*
216		42	Collection of kanons

cont'd

B: Summary of acquisition history (Lambros nos in parentheses)

Acquisition category	Total Mss	12th c. Mss	13th c. Mss
1. Written at Philotheou	–	–	–
2. Probably acquired new	7 mss	71 (12), 91 (35), 95 (28), 96 (31), 99 (40), 100 (37), 216 (42)	–
3. Acquired by the 14th c.	1 mss	73 (24)	–
4. Acquired by the 16th c.	11 mss	2 (1), 9 (21), 12 (48), 27 (17), 92 (30), 93 (26), 174 (49)	40 (23), 98 (27), 177 (29), 206 (34)
5. Acquired 16th c. or later	8 mss	3 (18), 10 (46), 37 (7), 97 (43), 176 (54)	4 (3), 14 (41), 15 (47), 28 (38), 94 (14)
No conclusive evidence	11 mss	11 (45), 13 (51), 175 (50)	16 (53), 18 (22), 41 (56), 44 (93), 45 (119), 135 (216)
Totals	39 mss	23 mss	15 mss

Note: I earlier included Phil. cod. 100 (Lambros 37) among the manuscripts which I believed were most probably acquired in the fifteenth century or later, based on the presence of restorations on paper not attested in any other Philotheite codices, and which I could therefore not demonstrate to be associated with Philotheou (Growth, tables). Codicological evidence, however, links this menaion with the set of *menaia* referred to in the same study as acquired new by the monastery in the twelfth century. The restoration papers in question can now be included in the list of paper types used in restoration either carried out at Philotheou or commissioned by the monastery.

What does the present library of Philotheou preserve from these moments in its history? None of the manuscripts dating from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries can be proven to have been written at Philotheou. It is possible, however, to identify seven or eight manuscripts written during that period which may have been acquired new for the monastery, and perhaps some of the older manuscripts may have been acquired at that time second-hand (see Table 12.1).[17]

In the Palaiologan period the Philotheite monks extended the library's resources both by writing and acquiring from other sources volumes of pre-Metaphrastic hagiological texts and homilies. The monks Gerasimos and Ignatios, with assistance from other anonymous Philotheite monks, worked at this project, producing a series of volumes constituting a new, specifically Philotheite, *panegyrikon*. The disorganization and cross-referencing are clear evidence of their recensional work. The volumes acquired from elsewhere during this time were almost all hagiological volumes. The

[17] Allison, 'Growth of the manuscript library'.

single exception is one *tetraevangelon* written by a Philotheite monk contemporary with the scribe Gerasimos apparently for personal use.[18] (See Table 12.2 for a summary of production and acquisition of books in the Palaiologan period.)

Table 12.2 Summary acquisition history for the forty-nine fourteenth-century manuscripts

Acquisition category	Total Mss	14th c. Mss
1. Written at Philotheou	9 mss	22 (71), 54 (84), *61(82)*, 75 (62), *76(65)*. 78 (64) 79 (66), 80 (87), 85 (59)
3. Acquired in the 14th c.	2 mss	43 (91), 52 (67)
4. Acquired by the 16th c.	5 mss	20 (74), 47 (88), 105 (145), 106 (212), 136 (215)
5. Acquired 16th c. or later	13 mss	17 (5), 21 (80), 23 (72), *39(20)*, 42 (86), 50 (249), 53 (68), 56 (95), 58 (107), 137 (16), 150 (165), 156 (177), 158 (185)
No conclusive evidence	17 mss	5 (25), 19 (39), 24 (78), 48 (90), 49 (110), 51 (103). 55 (85), 77 (63), 81 (60), 83 (149), 103 (202), 109 (141), 117 (158), 196/1 (55), 196/2 (55), 208 (97), 211 (199)
Not yet fully described	3 mss	102 (189), 210 (104), 234 (129)

Notes: Listed by Philotheou shelf numbers (Lambros nos in parentheses).
Italicized nos: acquisition category uncertain.

The Philotheites of the sixteenth century collected and wrote mostly liturgical manuscripts. A remarkable group of monks from Gallipoli wrote numerous liturgical books for the monastery, and conducted an 'underground' school in which they trained priests in literacy and the liturgy. Some of these priests also wrote codices which survive in the monastery. A second focus is discernible in addition to liturgical volumes among the books which they acquired during this time – namely, volumes

[18] The evidence for this summary of Philotheite book production and collection in the Palaiologan period is presented in R.W. Allison, 'The fourteenth-century scriptorium of Philotheou', Byzantine Studies Conference (BSC) paper, Chicago, 1982 'The Fourteenth Century *Panegyrikon* of Philotheou and Albert Ehrhard's Assessment of the Post-Metaphrastic Tradition', International Byzantine Congress (Washington DC, 1986) and Allison, 'Growth of the manuscript library'. This material will be published in full in the introduction to the forthcoming catalogue of Greek manuscripts at Philotheou Monastery. In the meantime, copies of the BSC papers can be obtained from the author or from the Information Center for the Philotheou Project on the World Wide Web.

which can be characterized as sources for Orthodox theology and biblical interpretation. Most of these volumes were acquired as donations or purchases.[19]

Methodological contributions from the case of Philotheou

The approach The preceding very brief account of the phases in the growth of the Philotheou library summarizes the 'case of Philotheou'. I now turn to the central subject: what is to be learned from this case that we can apply to the study of the Athonite libraries in general.

I concentrate here on four topics corresponding to discrete projects which I have undertaken in the course of this catalogue project to resolve issues raised by the manuscripts themselves. From each of these, we can extrapolate implications either for our understanding of the Athonite libraries in general, or what we can expect to learn from these libraries and how we need to adapt our ways of studying them.

Collection and production of books The first topic is a double one, and my first conclusion is that both the collection and the production of books are significant factors, to be given serious attention not only for understanding the growth of the library but for also understanding the internal history of the monastery.

It came as something of a surprise that such a poor and remote monastery as Philotheou should have supported a scriptorium at two different times in its history. It was the more surprising because the prevailing wisdom at the time I began this project was that the Athonite libraries were more or less random accumulations of books produced elsewhere – a perception which perhaps still lingers among us. The few documented cases of book production were at the major monasteries – the Lavra, Iviron and Vatopedi – or during the seventeenth century at the cluster of monasteries on the south-west coast, and were thus seen as exceptional.[20] There is certainly

[19] R.W. Allison, 'The sixteenth-century scriptorium of Philotheou and the Athonite resistance to Islamization' (BSC paper, Cincinnati, 1984), and idem., 'Growth of the manuscript library'.

[20] Jean Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie Byzantine,' *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 208–27 and 13 (1958), 177–209 (the Great Lavra and Iviron); Dimitri Conomos, 'Mount Athos: its significance in the musical tradition of Byzantium', paper delivered at the Symposium on Mt Athos under the direction of Nicolaos Oikonomides, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, 1–3 May 1987 (Vatopedi); Linos Politis, 'Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν 'Οδηγῶν', *BZ* 51 (1958) 282, 'Αγιορείτες βιβλιογράφοι τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα', *Hell* 15 (1957), 355 (Dionysiou Monastery), and 'Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι χειρογράφων 'Αγίου "Ορους', 24, (Thessalonike, 1973), 15; cf. *Hell* 24, (1971) 36 (Xeropotamou Monastery and the Athonite calligraphers' movement centred in the monasteries along the southwestern coast of the peninsula). For an overview, Boris Fonkich, 'Scriptoria et bibliothèques du Mont Athos, 10e–15e ss.', (excerpted from his larger study, 'La production des livres grecs et les bibliothèques de l'Athos aux Xe–XVIIe ss.') Symposium on Mt Athos under the direction of Nicolaos Oikonomides, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, 1–3 May 1987.

some degree of truth in this perception. The number of books which can today be shown to have been written at Mt Athos may still prove to be a small proportion of the whole. But these figures should no longer deceive us into thinking that there was no significant book production or other creative activity taking place there. Rather, the pattern that emerges at Philotheou is one in which a very small number of monks – two or three at a time – laboured in small workshops on what we might call a part-time basis, writing and perhaps binding books. They were the educated segment of a population which typically numbered about twenty monks who were mostly farmers, waggoners, fishermen and woodcutters.[21] Only a very few of them, when the monastery was flourishing, were priests.

My study of the growth of the Philotheite library through collection or the monastery's acquisition programmes, which will soon be published in the papers of the 1991 International Byzantine Studies Congress in Moscow, covers the second half of this topic. From this work I would repeat one point here. Close study of this library has identified numerous kinds of evidence for dating Philotheite acquisition and use of their manuscripts. The Philotheite monks documented the additions of books to their library with various kinds of accession notes at different periods in their history; it is possible to trace much of their restoration work through written notes and codicological evidence; and in some cases distinctive Philotheite bindings give us dates *ante quem* for acquisition. As a result, the case of the totally 'anonymous' codices takes on new significance. We can no longer make the easy assumption that they represent random acquisitions signifying nothing about the monastery's history. Some of these 'anonymous' volumes conform to otherwise attested patterns of acquisition; others (liturgical books) exhibit codicological patterns that identify them as sets of books, lending probability to the thesis that they were purchased new for the monastery. In a number of these cases, then, the very anonymity of these codices suggests that they never belonged anywhere else. This issue comes down to something like a 'burden of proof' question, and the probabilities are shifting as we look more closely at these libraries. I would not be so bold as to base a general principle on silence, but I do believe, from what the Philotheou library is showing us, that close study of these libraries will lead to the recognition of codicological traits which are characteristic of

[21] This estimate is based on an Ottoman *Tahrir Defter* (tax survey) for Mt Athos of *c.* 1520 which reports for the Philotheou Monastery a brotherhood of eighteen members, published by Heath W. Lowry, 'A note on the population and status of the Athonite monasteries under Ottoman rule (ca. 1520)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981) 115–35. Cf. *Lavra* I, no. 63 from the year 1154, signed by the full membership of that brotherhood, also numbering eighteen. The population figures for Philotheou in the *Tourkokratia* are confirmed by other Ottoman surveys for Mt Athos as a whole, which are close to the total figure for the Holy Mountain in the *Tahrir Defter* of 1520, in contrast to the figures given by travellers, which vary rather widely and inconsistently.

Athonite book production, and that we will find many of these 'anonymous' manuscripts to be productions or programmatic acquisitions of the monasteries which still possesses them. The conventional wisdom at the time I began this project was grounded not on any real evidence, but on silence. The case of Philotheou is beginning to break that silence, giving us a new sense of perspective on this whole question.

Intellectual activity My second topic might be characterized as intellectual activity within the monastery. It is an old axiom that it is not really possible to gain any insight into the internal life of a medieval monastery. Yet we have witnessed a significant change in that regard in recent years, through the close socioeconomic analysis of the Athonite archival documents and through the study of the surviving monastic *typika*, to mention two pre-eminent examples. The case of the library of Philotheou suggests that there is yet much more to be learned on this front, too. The gain comes from studying the manuscripts not simply as bearers of literary or theological texts or of notes containing historical or linguistic or economic evidence, but as libraries which have a distinct character and history and can tell us something about the institutions to which they belong. The case of Philotheou is a good one because the library is small enough for one person to be able to see the whole, observe patterns in the history of the library's growth as well as paleographical and codicological patterns, and grasp the significance of individual manuscripts or groups of manuscripts as parts of that larger picture.

A case in point is the set of fourteenth century hagiological manuscripts written by the monks Gerasimos and Ignatios which I mentioned above. I have characterized this set as an integrated *panegyrikon*.[22] Most of these manuscripts were studied by Albert Ehrhard,[23] who distributed them among the classes of hagiological collections which he developed for his history of the hagiological tradition – an abridged Metaphrast here, an expanded Metaphrast there, a late copy of a pre-Metaphrastic quarter-

[22] Allison, 'The fourteenth-century *Panegyrikon* of Philotheou'. The set of manuscripts in question includes six large volumes:

Phil. cod. 75 (Lambros 1826,62) Metaphrast for October,
Phil. cod. 85 (Lambros 1823,59) Metaphrast for November,
Phil. cod. 78 (Lambros 1828,64) encomia for December–mid-February,
Phil. cod. 54 (Lambros 1848,84) encomia for the end of February (lost), Lent, March, and Holy Week
Phil. cod. 79 (Lambros 1830,66) encomia for April–June
Phil. cod. 80 (Lambros 1851,87) encomia for July–August.

[23] Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* I–III, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 50–52 (Leipzig, 1937–52).

year collection somewhere else. The manuscripts of this Philotheite set appear scattered through his volumes, but none of them really fits the categories to which he assigned them; each was an exception forced into whichever category seemed to fit it best. For Ehrhard, the manuscripts were bearers of texts. His methodology attempted to classify the trees, but gave him no way of understanding the forest. In fact, these volumes were a creative project of the Philotheite monks to integrate the encomiastic and hagiological works of the movable and fixed ecclesiastical years, collecting texts from older patristic sources and pre-Metaphrastic hagiological collections. As for the content of these books, my hypothesis is that they imply a programme of work on the part of the monastery's educated monks, who were probably searching in the nearby libraries of the Lavra and Iviron for the patristic literature which supported Palamite theology. Their purpose was to share with their own brotherhood the foundations of Gregory Palamas's position through a systematic programme of reading in the *trapeza* and the services of the *liti*. We could say their mission was to build understanding and support for Palamism within their own monastery. The Metaphrast (three volumes of which they copied at the beginning of their project) was no longer sufficient for their purposes.[24]

The history of the manuscript library is traditionally a major component of the introduction to any manuscript catalogue and part of the work of the cataloguer. For museum collections, this often means documenting the acquisition of the manuscript, or the history and acquisition of entire collections of manuscripts, and to the extent possible the history of the earlier ownership of each codex. But for intact medieval monastic libraries, the task is a different one. Thinking in terms of libraries rather than manuscripts leads us to realize that we need to approach a cataloguing project as we would the writing of an archaeological report – a comparison not new to paleography and codicology, but in the past applied to the study of individual codices. Our approach, like that of archaeologist, must be diachronic, and our goal to reconstruct a picture of what the library was like at various times in its history. This means that, in cataloguing monastic libraries, we should try to determine when the various books entered the collection and, if possible, under what circumstances and why. This objective, in turn, must inform the process of collecting data for the catalogue proper, so that the end-product will include the kinds of information necessary to answer these questions.

The evidence of paper for the history of the library The case of Philotheou has been very instructive with respect to refining our objectives in cataloguing,

[24] The evidence is collected in Allison, 'The fourteenth-century *Panegyrikon* of Philotheou'.

as well as in suggesting what we can expect to learn from the present Athonite manuscript libraries about book collection and production on Mt Athos, and the diverse histories of these libraries. This leads to my third topic: how does the case of Philotheou change the way we use descriptive data, and what data do we need to include in our manuscript descriptions to achieve this diachronic history?

The history of Philotheou, after its first century, coincides with the era of paper manuscripts. One of the most important advances for the study of the Athonite libraries from the case of Philotheou has to do with the use of paper in codices produced there and what it can tell us. A principal factor in this respect was, again, the small size of this library, which enabled me to notice patterns in the use of paper in codices produced there. The Philotheite library contains a large number of fourteenth-century books[25] written in characteristic, conservative or archaizing Palaiologan book script – script so uniform in its general appearance that it is difficult, without close study, to notice and remember separate hands. But codices written at Philotheou in the fourteenth century utilized numerous types of paper – in some cases as many as twenty or more in a single codex.

The mixing of paper types in codices raises several issues which only time and close study of other Athonite libraries will resolve. It seems likely that this mixing of paper types is due the warehousing of papers by the monastery and by its suppliers. The large number of surviving books produced elsewhere written on a single type of paper makes it seem unlikely that suppliers normally sold mixed batches of papers. This observation leads to the hypothesis that paper suppliers sold off remnants of paper stocks at a discount. What is the significance, then, of codices written on such mixes of papers?

One explanation might be economic. Monasteries of limited financial means might order such discounted remnants. At many times in its history Philotheou was poor enough to resort to such a cost-saving device. But in the fourteenth century, when the monastery enjoyed Palaiologan support, this would not seem to have been the case, unless a corresponding growth in size of the brotherhood dictated that all of the proceeds from new endowments and cash gifts had to go into subsistence needs.[26]

Another possibility is a more specifically codicological one. It may also be that remnants of paper stocks were purchased or that the monastery itself

[25] The number of fourteenth-century manuscripts is far larger than generally recognized. Of the forty-nine manuscripts datable to the fourteenth century, twenty-two were misdated by Lambros. (See Table 12.2.)

[26] See Kravari, 'Nouveaux documents', 281–84 for an assessment of the monastery's increased wealth based on analysis of its archival documents. That Philotheou was a busy and bustling place at this time in its history is also attested in Mitrofanis's *bios* of Dionysios, the brother of the Philotheite abbot Theodosios, who mentions that the commotion and bustle of the

retained remnants from earlier projects for *'procheira,'* – that is, for ephemeral needs. When such mixed papers are found in books it suggests that the books in question were conceived as 'first drafts' or 'for internal use only' (to use contemporary terms). Either of these conceptions of their work might be applicable to the integrated *Panegyrikon* project, whose volumes show clear evidence of the recensional activity which produced them. Until such close study of other Athonite libraries has been undertaken, and some parallel cases found, it is not possible to be sure what to make of this phenomenon.

One important methodological point is clear, however. The profiles of paper types found in such codices are unique to the centres of book production which produced them, and even to the particular time in its history when that particular mix of types of paper was in its supply closet. Consequently, when we find a group of codices with matching or overlapping profiles of paper types, we can be assured that those codices were produced in the same place about the same time. All we need is one bearing a signature and date to establish the origin of the entire group. This is what happened at Philotheou. We can also establish in some cases the sequence of writing of a series of such volumes on the basis of the 'chain' of overlapping profiles of paper types.

This phenomenon of paper mixture, resulting in profiles of paper types as characteristics of the codices, is, however, also found in other Philotheite manuscripts, of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. In these manuscripts we lack either written notes or profile overlaps with other codices to specify the place and time of writing, and the manuscripts exhibit no evidence of recensional work. The evidence from the case of Philotheou suggests, then, that this pattern may be more general in nature, and that we must look for this kind of evidence in all the monasteries of Mt Athos. We should expect to find scattered throughout the Athonite libraries other groups of fourteenth through sixteenth century codices with matching or overlapping profiles of paper types. A starting hypothesis should be that such books were likely to have been written on Mt Athos, where it may have been necessary to warehouse paper, and more difficult to make special purchases for each new project as might have been done at centres of book production located in cities. It may be that some of the fourteenth through sixteenth century codices exhibiting this trait, if not

monastery was the reason why, only a short time after being tonsured by his brother, Dionysios chose to escape to the relative quiet of a nearby cave, from where eventually he moved to the opposite side of the peninsula to found the monastery of Dionysiou. See Mitrofanis, Monk and Presbyter, 'Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Διονυσίου τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ ὑποκάτω τοῦ Μικροῦ Ἄθω', B. Laourdas, ed., *ArchPont* 21 (1956) 43–79, 498–503.

demonstrably Philotheite products, were written at the Lavra or Iviron simply because they were nearby. On the other hand, this pattern may be more typical of smaller monasteries with more limited endowments, smaller programmes of book production and smaller facilities for warehousing paper. As these libraries come under closer scrutiny, we will be identifying other distinctive patterns of paper usage unique to these monasteries, which will allow us to become much more specific both about what books were being produced where and about the book trade in the era of paper manuscripts.

This use of the evidence of paper type has important implications for the way we describe manuscripts, and for what we can expect to learn from the libraries of Mt Athos in particular. Because the case of Philotheou shows us that overlapping profiles of specific types of paper are evidence for establishing precisely where and when a book was written, more is at stake in the description of paper than approximate datings of codices. It is therefore no longer sufficient for cataloguers simply to trace a watermark on translucent paper as we have done in the past in order to get that approximate dating of a codex or a part of a codex. The case of Philotheou shows that the paleographical task for the libraries of Mt Athos is moving beyond considering manuscripts as mere bearers of texts, toward the study of the libraries as organic entities, just as the paleographical project in general has moved toward reconstructing the work of particular centres for manuscript production now scattered through museums and manuscript collections worldwide. This means that cataloguers are, of necessity, in the business of looking for identical watermarks (which means in fact pairs of watermarks corresponding to the two forms used in tandem by papermakers) and for matching or overlapping profiles of watermarks in different codices. A descriptive catalogue, therefore, needs to give exact and specific identifications of papers found in manuscripts.

How are we do it? How can we be sure that we have found identical watermarks? The need happily coincides with the emergence of some new technologies for making and manipulating prints of watermarks – technologies which, as it happens, make the job of cataloguing easier and quicker, are harmless to the codex, and allow the cataloger to do other work while the watermark print makes itself. Contact prints of watermarks can be made on light-sensitive DuPont Dylux™ Proofing Paper, using a simple fluorescent lamp with blue daylight tubes, and a black light to bring up the image on the proofing paper after it is removed from the manuscript. The process requires a few minutes of set-up time, and anywhere from seven to fifteen minutes' exposure time per print. While the exposure is in progress, the cataloguer can work on the description of another codex. Compare the task of hand-tracing the watermark on translucent paper

which took just as long, if not longer, and required the cataloguer's undivided attention.

The Dylux contact print, unlike the tracing done by hand, registers a precise image of chain and wire lines, knots and other details in exactly the same size as the original. This precision makes it possible to declare with certainty whether or not two similar watermarks are identical. It also makes it possible to record the features which distinguish the matching watermarks of pairs – something rarely possible with hand tracings. In fact, it should be kept in mind that a paper type is defined not by a single watermark, but by a matched pair of watermarks corresponding to the two forms used in tandem by the paper-makers.

Even more to the point, however, is what we can then do with these images. I have scanned three-hundred images of watermarks which I produced from Philotheou codices 1–100, the first volume of the Philotheou catalogue, and saved them as grey-tone TIF files. It was a simple process then to enhance these images by reducing the tone of the writing which is also recorded on the contact print, in order to make the watermark more obvious to the eye. I experimented with this using Adobe Photoshop™ working at Bates College, then subcontracted the job of scanning and enhancing my Dylux contact prints to a local firm, which is completing the work in about eighty hours at a cost of under $2,000, covered by the National Endowment for the Humanities research grant which is supporting the Philotheou project. These images will be published in traditional format as a supplement to the Philotheou manuscript catalogue. But before the catalogue is published, the images will be accessible on an electronic archive of images on the Philotheou Information Center on Bates College's World Wide Web server, a project in progress at the time of writing of this paper. Imagine that someone is working on a manuscript of suspected Athonite provenance found somewhere in a museum. That person can, from anywhere in the world, call up these images via the World Wide Web, and import an image to his or her own computer if it looks like a match for a print in the suspected Athonite manuscript. The *final* step, which still lies in the future, is to locate programs which can compare these electronic images to identify potential matches of paper types.

Service books and the monastic library My fourth topic is particularly relevant to this section of the volume with its emphasis on Byzantine music. Monasteries exist for the purpose of the services conducted by their priests and monks. Foundations of monasteries always included provisions for the necessary service books. The case of Philotheou raises a question about methodology in descriptive manuscript cataloguing with respect to service books which has been largely ignored, perhaps because it is a daunting task for anyone but a monk or a priest to understand these books, but also

because for the most part our manuscript catalogues have been finding aids for museum collections, which means that the monastic context for which these books were produced was for the most part overlooked by cataloguers'. Nor, I suppose, did the services themselves interest most of the scholars who have carried out cataloguing projects for museums and university libraries. Nevertheless, the question is relevant to manuscript cataloguing in general, since so many of the volumes in our museums came from monastic libraries. The case of Philotheou reminds us, simply by being a monastic library intact since the twelfth century, that our methods of cataloguing service books are deficient.

The case of Philotheou is of special interest because of its large collection of early *menaia*, which is significant in the Athonite manuscript tradition of the *menaia*. By chance, the *menaia* were the first liturgical volumes on which I worked for this catalogue. When I started describing them, I consulted with a number of scholars both in Greece and in the United States and read numerous earlier catalogues to determine what to look for in the manuscripts, what to include in my descriptions and how to organize the descriptions. I identified what seemed to me to be two major problems.

First, the conventional wisdom was that a manuscript description should include primarily the identification of the service (*akolouthia*) for each day of the month by reference to its saints or festivals as identified in the manuscript, and identification of the canons and the *synaxaria* included in the manuscript for those days. It seemed clear to me that this convention of cataloguing was determined by the history of scholarly work on canons and on hagiological texts and traditions. It left out most of the *menaion*'s content, which meant a large number of musical or poetic texts.

Second, this abbreviated mode of description excluded not only a significant portion of the textual content of the service books, but also the organization of that content. If the codex is perceived of as nothing but a bearer of texts, then it is perhaps understandable that the organization of those texts is irrelevant. But if the codex is important because it is part of a library, part of a monastic liturgical tradition, or part of a manuscript tradition, then the organization of its content is crucial, because that is an essential part of what characterizes the book, the liturgical tradition and the manuscript tradition, and what accounts for the presence of the book in the library. In collections of saints' lives or literary texts, the organization of the book is simply the sequence of texts, often numbered. In service books, the manuscript tradition and the liturgical tradition behind it are expressed in, and defined by, the organization of the hymns, canons and other texts as patterns that repeat from day-to-day in the services and thus in the book, or which are broken for particular major feast days, for *proheortia* and *metheortia*. If there are recognizable Athonite traditions to be discovered, or historical shifts in the tradition, they will be noticeable in these patterns

– but only if they are recorded in the manuscript catalogues. It seemed to me, then, that the description of service books ought to include both a full accounting of texts and indication of the liturgical structures by which the texts in the books were organized.

Even a cursory review of the content of the liturgical books at Philotheou makes it clear that, over time, the monastery made its own contribution to the Athonite manuscript tradition of the Greek liturgical books. Earlier volumes were used in the production of some later ones, and Philotheite ways of conducting the services can be detected here and there in these volumes. In his copy of the *Paraklitiki* written in 1580, for example, the Philotheite scribe Gabriel of Kallioupolis requests the reader's forebearance on him for his 'omission of certain *kathismata* and *troparia*' which, he says, 'was at the urging of the abbot'. The abbot in question was the calligrapher from Dionysiou Monastery, Kallinikos. Here we have clear evidence that the content of his *Paraklitiki* was a direct expression of his abbot's guiding vision, and represents a shift in the liturgical tradition of the monastery under the influence of the tradition associated with Dionysiou.[27] Those Philotheite volumes which contain the services for the Annunciation, to which the monastery is dedicated, may turn out to be of special interest to scholars of liturgical history. At least one important shift in the monastery's tradition was defined in terms of the services. When Dionysios on Olympus ousted the earlier Bulgarian idiorrhythmic regime at Philotheou at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the institution of Greek services was central to how the monastery redefined itself.[28]

Finally, I have felt since the beginning of this project that the catalogue should serve the needs of the monks at Philotheou themselves, who put much time and effort into supporting this project and whose interest in the texts was just as great if not greater than that of the scholars. They are interested not only in the existence of a particular hymn as a text identified by its incipit, or on what folio they can find it; they also want to be able to see from the catalogue what it is – that is, its function in a particular service. They want to see if a particular codex has, for example, *kathismata* for special occasions or *hesperia* for saints or martyrs whom they want to commemorate, missing from contemporary editions but sung at the monastery in the past. These are the same kinds of questions which interest the liturgical historian or (I suppose) the historian of Byzantine music.

I decided, therefore, to do a full description of the poetic and musical texts in the *menaia*. This meant that the description would include not only

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[27] Phil. cod. 141 (Lambros 1916,152), the first volume of Gabriel's two-volume *Paraklitiki*, fol. 440v.

[28] *Synaxarion* of Dionysios on Olympus (24 January), Victor Matthaios, ed., 'Ο μέγας συναξαριστὴς τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου 'Εκκλησίας' (second edn, Koubara, Monastery of the Metamorphosis, 1956), 601–21.

identifications of every text (except rubrics and the *theotokia)*, but also the organization of the book (so as to identify the use of any particular hymn). Working with Fr Loukas, the librarian at Philotheou and a graduate of the Theological School at the University of Thessalonike, I developed a set of intuitive mnemonic abbreviations for the component parts of the services which monks and scholars alike could immediately recognize. Adopting the 1888 Roman edition of the *Menaia* as a standard,[29] I give the full contents and structure of a *menaion* simply by abbreviations, citing specific texts by incipits or alternate abbreviations only when they diverge from the standard edition. By this method, a full day's services can often be described in as few as four to six lines.

The case of Philotheou is an exceptional one with respect to its *menaia;* if we can judge from the Lambros catalogue, Philotheou is surpassed only by the Lavra in the number of surviving old *menaia* in the library. These *menaia* are not chance acquisitions by the monastery. Philotheou did not begin preserving the liturgical books of the Greek Orthodox Church until the sixteenth century. They are, rather, an archive documenting the history of the ways in which the services have been carried out at Philotheou since its foundation in 1141. Aside from their interest for the case of Philotheou itself, I can report from my list of incipits of rare or unpublished texts that the *menaia* preserve over 200 hymns not attested in Follieri's *Initia Hymnorum,* only a handful of which are clearly variants of other incipits which she cites.

What does the case of the *menaia* of Philotheou contribute to the question of how much should be included in a catalogue? It cannot be denied that these full descriptions of service books have made the catalogue fatter. The descriptions of *menaia* which diverge extensively from the standard editions may run, in extreme cases, to as much as fifteen pages. Cataloguers have not hesitated to devote that many pages to describing volumes of *apophthegmata patrum.* Should we not do as much for Byzantine hymns and services?[30]

In conclusion, I might say that there is a certain irony with respect to the subject of this paper. When I started this project, I looked forward to working at one of the great and famous libraries of Mt Athos. I was initially more than a little disappointed to find myself at Philotheou, a monastery about which I knew practically nothing, except that its library was small and that for most of its history has been impoverished. But only at a library like Philotheou – small, intact since the mid-twelfth century, and integrally

[29] Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ I–VI (Rome, 1888–1901).

[30] I used the occasion of this Symposium to circulate a copy of my 'method' and a sample description in order to obtain criticisms and suggestions for improvement from the Symposium's participants. Limitations of space prevent inclusion of the method in this paper, and present lack of international alphabetical standards for electronic communication render it unavailable via the World Wide Web. I will be happy to send copies out in response to requests directed to me at Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, USA, 04240.

related to the life of the monastery through those centuries – could an individual scholar have gained the overview which made it possible to recognize new patterns of codicological evidence and grasp their significance. The importance of the case of Philotheou for the study of the Athonite libraries has been its revelation of these patterns which will apply to the great libraries as well, and its challenge to the cataloguer to refine our methods of cataloguing in order to record these new kinds of data. The result will be increased ability to discover connections among codices in the large Athonite libraries, to recognize anonymous products of those monasteries or even related codices which once belonged to monastic libraries but are now scattered around the world in museums and research institutions.

13. Hesychasm and psalmody

Alexander Lingas

Fr. John Meyendorff – *Вечная память*

One might logically expect that Byzantine hesychasm would have very little to do with psalmody (ψαλμωδία). The biblical Psalter, of course, has always been the prayerbook of Christian monasticism, but serious cultivation of ἡσυχία (literally 'quietude') would seem to presuppose constraints on psalmody in its more general sense of ecclesiastical chanting. Nevertheless, the fourteenth century, which witnessed the triumph of hesychast theology in the Orthodox Church, was also a time of such unparalleled musical creativity that one scholar has even labelled it a 'Byzantine *ars nova*'.[1] For the first time in the history of Byzantine chant, the names of composers – as opposed to hymnographers – appear in manuscripts alongside their musical works,[2] many of which belong to an ornate new repertory of 'beautified' or kalophonic chant. Even more remarkable in this regard is the identity of the outstanding musical figure of this time: St John Koukouzeles, a monk of the Great Lavra on Mt Athos who, according to his *Vita*, would spend weekdays outside the monastery walls practising *hesychia*.

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[1] Edward V. Williams, 'A Byzantine *ars nova:* the 14th-century reforms of John Koukouzeles in the chanting of Great Vespers', in Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis, Jr., eds, *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change* (The Hague, 1972), 229; and idem., 'John Koukouzeles's reform of Byzantine chanting for Great Vespers in the fourteenth century' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968), 388.

[2] A representative list of these fourteenth-century composers and their fifteenth-century successors are provided by Milos Velimirović in his study 'Byzantine composers in ms. Athens 2406' in Jack Westrup, ed., *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford, 1966), 7–18.

The apparent peculiarity of a hesychast monk contemporary with Gregory Palamas leading the way toward greater musical virtuosity has not entirely escaped musicologists,[3] but the spiritual and liturgical context of the Koukouzelian reforms has thus far remained largely undefined.[4] This study will therefore be devoted to a preliminary exploration of the relationship between late Byzantine monasticism and psalmody broadly defined in an attempt to provide some tentative answers to two fundamental questions:

1. What do the writings and *Vitae* of hesychast fathers tell us about chanting?
2. What was their worship really like?

The hesychast fathers and psalmody

Monastic enthusiasm for chanted psalmody has fluctuated over the centuries according to the general spiritual climate and the particular form of asceticism being practised. The vehement opposition of early Christian monks to the urban practices of chanting and non-scriptural hymnography is well known.[5] By the early fourteenth century, however, liturgical chanting seems to have been regarded in a generally positive light by monastic authors. Metropolitan Theoleptos of Philadelphia, whom Gregory Palamas mentions as one of his forerunners in hesychasm,[6] frequently stresses the value of listening to psalmody in his writings. In a homily for the Sunday of the Paralytic,[7] Theoleptos speaks strongly of the need for the faithful to keep the feasts of saints 'by going off to the churches of God and faithfully keeping the vigils of psalmody', further instructing his congregation to 'perform the services for the saints with night-long stations and patient entreaties'.[8] As a result of participating in worship and listening to the psalmody, he writes, one's soul will find 'healing and salvation'.[9]

[3] See Williams's discussion of 'The hesychast question', in Williams, 'John Koukouzeles's reform', 348–52.

[4] Despite his recognition of hesychast influence on Koukouzeles's life as a monk, Williams associates his musical innovations either with the 'Byzantine humanism' of the 'Paleologan renaissance' (ibid., 379–83) or simply as a 'vehicle for prodigious singers' to practise their 'virtuoso art' (298).

[5] See Johannes Quasten's chapter on 'The doctrine of Katanyxis. Oriental monasticism as inimical to artistic singing. The character of Oriental piety', in his *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Washington, DC, 1983), 94–99.

[6] John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (2nd edn, London, 1974), 17.

[7] The fourth Sunday after Orthodox Easter. Included as *Monastic Discourse* (*MD*) 19 in Robert E. Sinkewicz, ed. and trans., *Theoleptos of Philadelphia: The Monastic Discourses* (Toronto, 1992).

[8] Theoleptos, *MD* 19, 317–19.

[9] *MD* 19, 323.

Similarly convinced of its therapeutic effects, Gregory Palamas himself, during his tenure as archbishop of Thessalonike, devoted an entire sermon to explaining 'How unremitting supplication to God through prayer and psalmody is the seat and assurance of all good and the averting and redemption from all evil and difficulty'.[10] On the pretext of admonishing his congregation for their poor church attendance during the recent harvest, Palamas speaks at length in this homily of the vital necessity and potentially miraculous benefits of liturgical psalmody.[11] He even goes a step further than Theoleptos by warning his flock of the dire ills that will befall them should they neglect sung worship.[12]

Contemporary writings directed specifically towards a monastic rather than a lay audience refine this favourable view of psalmody by emphasizing the ascetic component of psalmodic vigils. In the instructional treatises on the monastic life written for Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina and the nuns of the monastery of Philanthropos Soter, Metropolitan Theoleptos lists regular psalmody (τῇ εὐρύθμῳ ψαλμῳδίᾳ) as one of a 'decalogue' of monastic virtues that also include 'freedom from possessions, flight from people, abstinence from willed pleasures, patient endurance of unwilled afflictions, ... reading with concentration, attentive prayer, moderated denial of sleep, genuflections performed with compunction, and eloquent silence'.[13] Elsewhere he classifies it – along with 'vigils, prayer, ... reading and constant meditation on the divine scriptures'– as a practice that will 'root out the attachment to the world and raise high the discursive intellect', revealing thereby 'the pure air of divine contemplation'.[14]

A further qualification found in monastic literature is the differentiation of private and congregational forms of psalmody. Theoleptos, who sees a need for both in cenobitic life, recommends that psalmody should be performed both in choir during services as required,[15] and alone in one's cell at night with a quiet voice.[16] In either case, he counsels that the discursive intellect (διάνοια) should always be focused on prayer,[17] for the primary danger he sees in vocal psalmody is distraction.[18] If it is not

[10] 'Ομιλία ΝΑ', 'Οτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν συνεχὴς διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ψαλμῳδίας ἔντευξις ἕδρα καὶ ἀσφάλειά ἐστι παντὸς καὶ λοῦ καὶ ἀποτροπὴ καὶ λύτρωσις πάσης κακίας τε καὶ δυσχειρείας', in Gregory Palamas, *Ὁμιλίαι KB* (Athens, 1861), 108.

[11] Palamas, 114 and 116.

[12] Ibid., 115.

[13] Theoleptos, *MD* 3. 163.

[14] *MD* 14 ('On humility and the different virtues'). 271–73.

[15] *MD* 1, 107.

[16] *MD* 1, 105.

[17] *MD* 1, 101 and 107.

[18] *MD* 1, 97; *MD* 9. 225–27.

performed in the right spirit, or especially if there is hatred in the soul,[19] all effort expended in psalmody will be meaningless.

St Gregory of Sinai (*c.* 1265–1346), a hesychast ascetic who pointedly avoided the positions of public leadership that so many of his disciples and colleagues accepted, provides a slightly different perspective. Like Theoleptos, he classifies psalmody as a monastic virtue, suggesting lengthy sessions of it both for novices and for more experienced monks.[20] In several mildly defensive spiritual chapters dealing specifically with the issue of psalmody and hesychasm,[21] however, the Sinaite introduces a seemingly radical distinction between cenobitic and anchoritic practice by declaring that lengthy sessions of chanting are a form of prayer appropriate only for the 'πρακτικοί' of the cenobitic monasteries. While not lacking in eremetical smugness, Gregory is still gracious enough to admit that, over many years and through much ascetic labour, such chanting can in fact lead to true contemplation if practised in the right spirit. Despite this possibility, however, he instructs solitaries and skete-dwellers to chant only a little and ideally not at all, for their goal is the attainment of a state of silent contemplation in which vocal psalmody of any sort is rendered superfluous.

Of course, even among practising hesychasts, unbroken communion with God in this earthly life is a very rare thing indeed. Evidently cognisant of this reality, Gregory provides the individual ascetic with a more practical solution – namely that psalmody in moderation, like reading or physical work, should be employed as relaxation from the rigours of hesychastic contemplation.[22] When necessary, a solitary should rise, say the *Trisagion* with proper care and, if overtaken by *akedia*, follow it with two or three psalms and a pair of penitential *troparia* performed ἄνευ μέλους. If accompanied by a disciple, the elder monk should meditate upon the meaning of the words as the student reads the psalms.

[19] *MD* 7, 207.

[20] St Gregory includes psalmody as an integral part of the recommended daily regimens for three grades of hesychast monks that appear in chapters 99 and 101 of the so-called Κεφάλαια πάνυ ὠφέλιμα (*Philokalia* IV [3rd edn, Athens, 1960], 47–48). Although David Balfour has interpreted these rules as inclusive of the liturgical offices, it remains open to question whether the latter were to be sung privately or in common at each of the three stages. In any case, given the Sinaite's general avoidance of the subject of communal worship (including the Eucharist!) in his writings, his failure to provide aspiring hesychasts with specific instructions regarding the offices does not necessarily exclude their common celebration. See Balfour, 'The works of Gregory the Sinaite', *Theologia* 54 (1983), 175–81; and Bishop Kallistos Ware, 'The Jesus Prayer in St Gregory of Sinai', *Eastern Churches Review* IV (1972), 10–11.

[21] *Philokalia* IV, 73–76 and 82–84. Listed in Balfour's classification of Gregory's works as Κεφάλαια Δ', 4–9 and E', 5, these chapters were presumably composed in response to unnamed critics who valued psalmody very highly and were therefore suspicious of those claiming to achieve contemplation through the psychosomatic method of prayer. See Balfour, 'The works of Gregory', 172–73.

[22] Balfour, 'The works of Gregory', 75–76.

Although the Sinaite's discussion noticeably fails to address participation in the choral offices,[23] one does not have to look far for monks who balanced the solitary life with choral chanting, for fidelity to community life and the sacraments was, as Fr John Meyendorff pointed out, a general trademark of fourteenth-century hesychasm.[24] Gregory Palamas and John Koukouzeles, to choose the most obvious examples, were both cantors at the Great Lavra during the first half of the fourteenth century. According to their respective *Vitae*, they were also the recipients of supernatural visitations that helped assure their continued liturgical participation. St Antony admonished Palamas not to neglect worship in common out of any belief in the superiority of mental prayer,[25] whereas the Theotokos not only commanded Koukouzeles to sing for her, but also healed him of illnesses resulting from too many hours of standing in choir.[26]

More important for our present purposes are the parallel descriptions of exactly how the two saints balanced solitude and community life: each would spend his weekdays in *hesychia* at a hermitage outside the monastery wall and join their brethren on weekends for liturgical worship.[27] This weekly cycle is immediately identifiable as the old lavriote form of Palestinian monasticism that had recently been revived throughout the Orthodox world with the dissemination of a revised '*Typikon* of St Sabas'.[28] First adopted on Athos at Chilandar in the year 1190, this flexible 'neo-Sabaitic' usage accommodated a variety of monastic forms of life, and was therefore arguably better suited in the long run to the realities of the Holy Mountain than the tightly organized Stoudite monasticism that had been imported by St Athanasios the Athonite. In place of a daily cycle of choral offices attended by the entire community, neo-Sabaiticism, like its ancient forebear, allowed for solitary prayer during the week and maintained a sense of community primarily through its liturgical centrepiece: a weekly vigil of the Resurrection known as the *agrypnia* that would culminate in the Sunday Divine Liturgy.[29] Because this vigil is unquestionably the office that

[23] Cf. note 20 supra.

[24] Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, 39.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Williams, 'John Koukouzeles's reform', 346–48, 351 and 504–6.

[27] Ibid., 350–51.

[28] Robert Taft, 'Mount Athos: a late chapter in the history of the Byzantine rite', *DOP* 42 (1988), 187–90. See also Miguel Arranz, 'Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine–Byzance–Russie: Essai d'aperçu historique', *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle. Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia* 7 (Rome, 1975), 67–70.

[29] For the history of the *agrypnia* and its diffusion throughout the Greek-speaking world, see N.D. Uspensky, 'Chin vsenoshchnogo bdeniia (ἡ ἀγρυπνία) na pravoslavnom vostoke i v russkoï tserkvi', chs. I–V, *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 18, (1978), 5–117, esp. ch. V, 'Chin vsenoshchnogo bdeniia na Afone', 100–17. See also Arranz's extended discussion of an earlier draft of Uspensky's study, 'L'office de la veillée nocturne dans l'église grecque et dans l'église russe', *OCP* 42 (1976): 117–55, 402–25; trans. into English as N.D. Uspensky, 'The office of the all-night vigil in the Greek and in the Russian Church', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980), 83–113, 169–75.

Palamas and Koukouzeles regularly returned to the Great Lavra to attend, it is now appropriate to take a brief look at this fourteenth-century liturgical counterweight to the private cultivation of *hesychia*.

Psalmody and monastic liturgy

In its original form, dating from the era of profound monastic hostility to ecclesiastical poetry and cathedral styles of chant, the Palestinian *agrypnia* was an ascetic exercise featuring the recitation of the entire biblical psalter in the course of a single night.[30] Since that time, eastern monastic liturgy had undergone extensive development, most prominently at the hands of St Theodore and his successors at the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople. The Stoudites had forged their own rite by combining the offices of the Palestinian *Horologion* or 'Book of the Hours' with the *Euchologion* of the Great Church, the latter being the collection of prayers used in the imperial cathedral rite, otherwise known as the *asmatike akolouthia* or 'sung office'.[31] Simultaneously, they absorbed the Constantinopolitan lectionaries of the Great Church together with their related repertories of elaborate chant, including the complete cycles of melismatic *prokeimena*, *alleluiaria*, and communion hymns, as well as the capital's unique repertory of *kontakia*.[32] The Stoudites subsequently proceeded to enlarge the pre-existing Palestinian collections of hymnography ornamenting the psalms and canticles of the *Horologion*, adding newly composed cycles of hymns for every day of the week to the original Sunday Resurrectional *Octoechos* while simultaneously compiling the *Triodion* and the *Pentekostarion* for the yearly Paschal cycle. By the time their creative activity had run its course, each day of the calendar year had been provided with a complete set of propers to complement the Byzantine *Synaxarion*, thereby forming the Orthodox Church's twelve-volume set of *Menaia*.

On the whole, it seems that the music for this vast corpus of hymnography remained unobtrusively tied to the text, for the books containing musical notation that begin to appear in the eleventh century reveal a repertory of chant that was overwhelmingly dominated by textual concerns rather than any concept of 'music for music's sake'. The two major collections of notated hymns for the monastic offices, the *Heirmologion* and the

[30] Taft, 'Mount Athos', 188.

[31] The history of this 'Stoudite synthesis' is summarized in Arranz, 'Les grandes étapes', 49–55, 62–67; and Taft, 'Mount Athos', 180–87, the latter of which also provides extensive bibliographic references.

[32] These chants appear in the *psaltikon* and the *asmatikon*, respectively the solo and choir books of the cathedral rite. Almost all the surviving copies of these musical mss were produced for the Stoudite monasteries of Southern Italy. See Oliver Strunk, 'S. Salvatore di Messina and the musical tradition of Magna Graecia', in his *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), 45–54.

Sticherarion,[33] employ relatively simple and essentially syllabic melodies constructed out of standard melodic formulae for each mode.[34] Thanks to an elaborate system of model melodies, known in Greek as *automela* (in the case of *stichera*) or *heirmoi* (in the case of canons), the purely musical impact of these chants is further diluted by the large number of contrafacta texts to which they were applied. Elaborate music, while it did exist, was largely confined in the Stoudite rite to the solo and choral chants that had been absorbed from the *asmatike akolouthia*,[35] none of which were as virtuosic as the later kalophonic repertory.

As one moves to consider the relationship of music to liturgy in the fourteenth century, it is important to remember that Stoudite forms of worship, which had arrived on Athos with St Athanasios and cenobitism, persisted as the foundation for its neo-Sabaitic successor. With regard to its official texts – that is, those transmitted in the canonical service books – the restored *agrypnia* is essentially a combination of Stoudite vespers and matins that includes all of their ecclesiastical poetry, together with an additional *kathisma* from the Psalter during certain parts of the year.[36] Moreover, as codified by Gregory Palamas's friend and biographer, Philotheos Kokkinos, during the latter's tenure as abbot of the Great Lavra,[37] this service not only maintains much of the cathedral-style ceremonial that had been adopted by the Stoudites, but also continues to require considerable personnel for its performance.[38]

Interestingly, the most radical innovations of the hesychasts' all-night vigil are almost undetectable in the standard liturgical books, for they appear in a vast new repertory of music transmitted primarily in a musical collection attributed to John Koukouzeles with the title of *akolouthiai* or

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[33] The *Heirmologion* and the *Sticherarion* contain, respectively, model melodies for canons and *stichera*. On these and other Byzantine liturgical books, see Kenneth Levy, 'Liturgy and liturgical books. III. Greek rite', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 11 (London, 1980), 86–88.

[34] Levy, 'Byzantine Rite, music of the, 10. Syllabic hymn settings', *The New Grove Dictionary* 3, 557–59.

[35] Ibid., 559.

[36] On the use of the Psalter, see Taft, 'Mount Athos', 190.

[37] 'Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας' printed in Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, (2nd edn, Venice, 1730), 1–8; and PG 154, cols 745–66. Philotheos subsequently promulgated this document throughout the Orthodox world while serving as ecumenical patriarch, thereby setting the stage for the *agrypnia*'s further development in Russia. See Taft, 'Mount Athos', 191–93.

[38] An all-night vigil celebrated according to the Philothean *Diataxis* requires the following personnel: a priest, a deacon, a canonarch, two readers, and a pair of antiphonal choirs. In addition, the musical manuscripts call for a minimum of two additional soloists, namely the two *domestikoi* leading the choirs.

'orders of service'.[39] Surviving today in dozens of copies, this anthology was the primary vehicle for a musical revolution that brought forth named composers with distinct personal styles cultivating a new 'kalophonic' vocal idiom which was generally distinguished by vocal virtuosity, but could also include textual troping, highly melismatic passages, and even textless vocalizations on nonsense syllables called *kratemata*.[40] These new techniques were applied most prominently to the chanted psalms of the all-night vigil, which appear in the *akolouthiai* as compilations of through-composed individual psalm-verses.[41] Kalophonic compositions are also regularly provided by these manuscripts as optional codas for more traditional settings of the evening *prokeimenon*, the matutinal responsory 'Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον', and the *megalynarion* following the ninth ode of the canon.

The salient features of the kalophonic style and its liturgical application quickly become apparent in the following comparison of an anonymous *'Hagioritikon'* setting of the *agrypnia*'s ordinary *megalynarion* – the verse and *troparion* 'ἄξιον ἐστιν ... Τὴν τιμιωτέραν ...' – with two alternate codas for this hymn by John Koukouzeles.[42] Set in mode plagal II, the Athonite chant possesses the generous melodic compass of an octave and a simple structure (ABB'CC') based on the recurrence of opening phrases (Example 13.1).

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[39] A good introduction to these mss (including a representative list and brief discussions of their composers) is provided by Dimitri Conomos in *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 21 (Washington, DC, 1985), 68–82.

[40] The most comprehensive account of this new style and its application to the Divine Office (together with numerous music examples) is still Williams, 'John Koukouzeles's Reform'.

[41] The following psalmodic chants of the vigil are transmitted by the mss in this form: Psalm 103, the First *Kathisma* of the Psalter (Ps. 1–3), the *Amomos* (Ps. 118), and the *Polyeleos* (Ps. 134–35 with the possible addition of a proper festal psalm). For detailed information about these chants, see the following specialized studies: Maureen Morgan, 'The musical setting of Psalm 134 – the Polyeleos', *Studies in Eastern Chant* 3 (Oxford, 1973), 112–23; Diane Touliatos-Banker, *The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Analecta Vlatadon 46 (Thessalonike, 1984); Milos Velimirović, 'The prooemaic psalm of Byzantine vespers', in L. Berman, ed., *Words and Music, the Scholar's View* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 317–37; and Edward Williams, 'The treatment of text in the kalophonic chanting of Psalm 2', in E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović, eds, *Studies in Eastern Chant* 2 (Oxford, 1971), 173–93; idem., 'The kalophonic tradition and chants for Polyeleos Psalm 134', in M. Velimirović, ed., *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4 (Crestwood, 1979), 228–41.

[42] All three chants were transcribed from Athens 2458, a ms. dated 1336 and the earliest copy of Koukouzeles's *akolouthiai* known to have survived. A thorough description of this important ms (including a complete inventory of its contents) is given by Gregorios Th. Stathes, 'Ἡ ᾄσματική διαφοροποίηση ὅπως καταγράφεται στόν κώδικα ΕΒΕ 2458 τοῦ ἔτους 1336', *Christianike Thessalonike – Palaiologeios Epoche* (Thessalonike, 1989), 167–211. Occasional corrections were made from Athens 2622, an *akolouthiai* ms. dated by Strunk as '1341 to *ca.* 1360' in 'Antiphons of the Oktoechos', *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, 170–71.

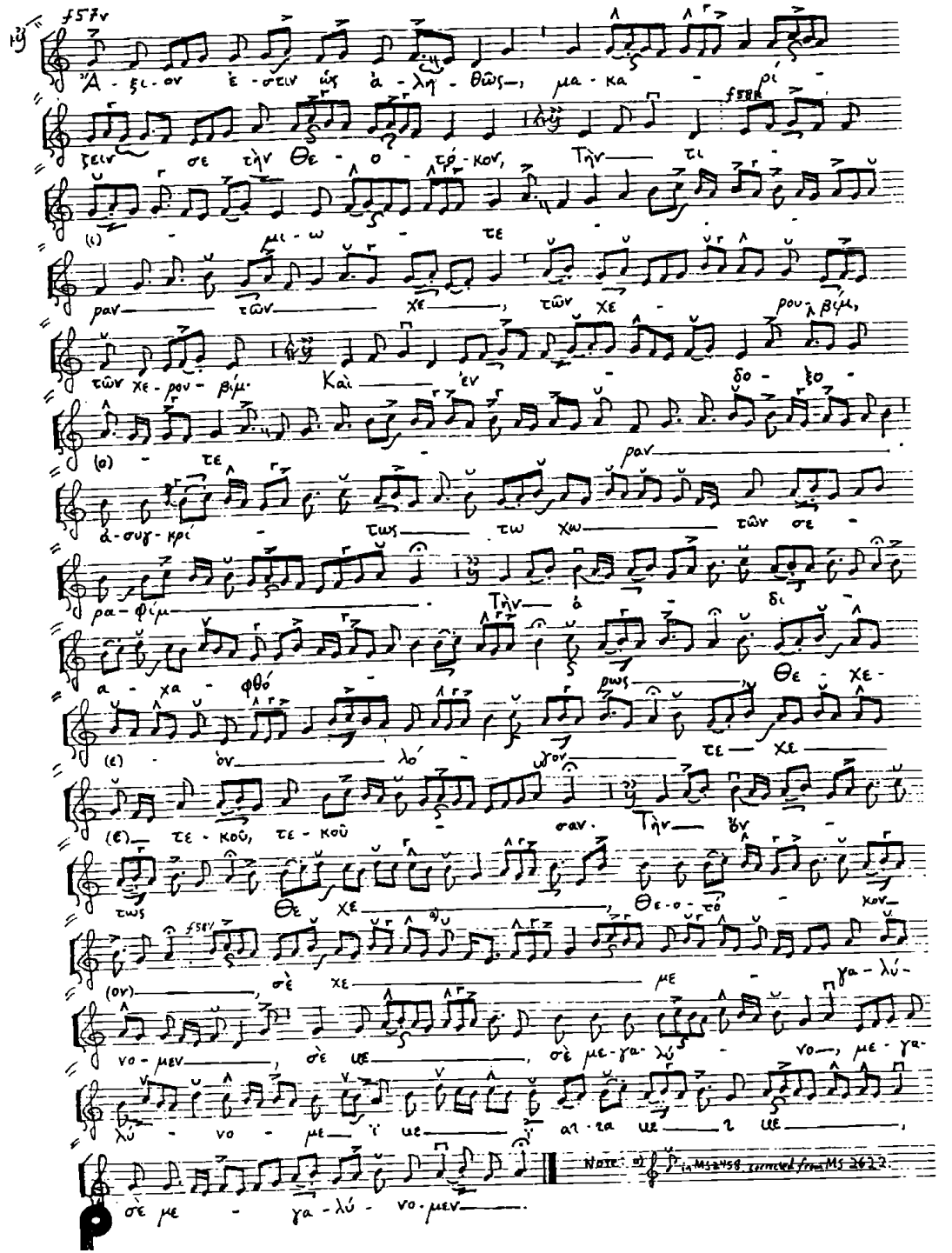
Significantly, the *troparion*'s concluding two words ('σὲ μεγαλύνομεν') are repeated several times in the work's extended final section (C') which, although not particularly short or easy, provides a point of reference for its more elaborate substitutes.

Both of the kalophonic compositions by Koukouzeles from the same manuscript begin with the phrase 'Τὴν ὄντως Θεοτόκον', and are presumably designed for insertion after the medial cadence that proceeds these words in shorter settings of the entire hymn. The first of these codas is, like the anonymous Athonite chant, in the second authentic mode. It begins with repetitions of the canonical text that are soon interrupted by a breathless series of epithets for the Virgin Mary: 'τὴν στάμνον, τὴν ῥάβδον, τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑψηλοτέραν, τὴν γέφυραν ...' (Example 13.2), after which a set of triumphant proclamations of the *troparion*'s final words serves to conclude the work. Appropriate to the coda's novel form and text, its melody is much more expressive than that of the traditional setting, ranging over the interval of a tenth. Syllabic passages alternate with melismatic ones as the opposite extremes of its melodic compass are employed in the service of word-painting.[43] Overall, this work is reminiscent of an ecstatic confession of love for the Mother of God which bursts forth unexpectedly and yet organically from the official hymn in praise of her.

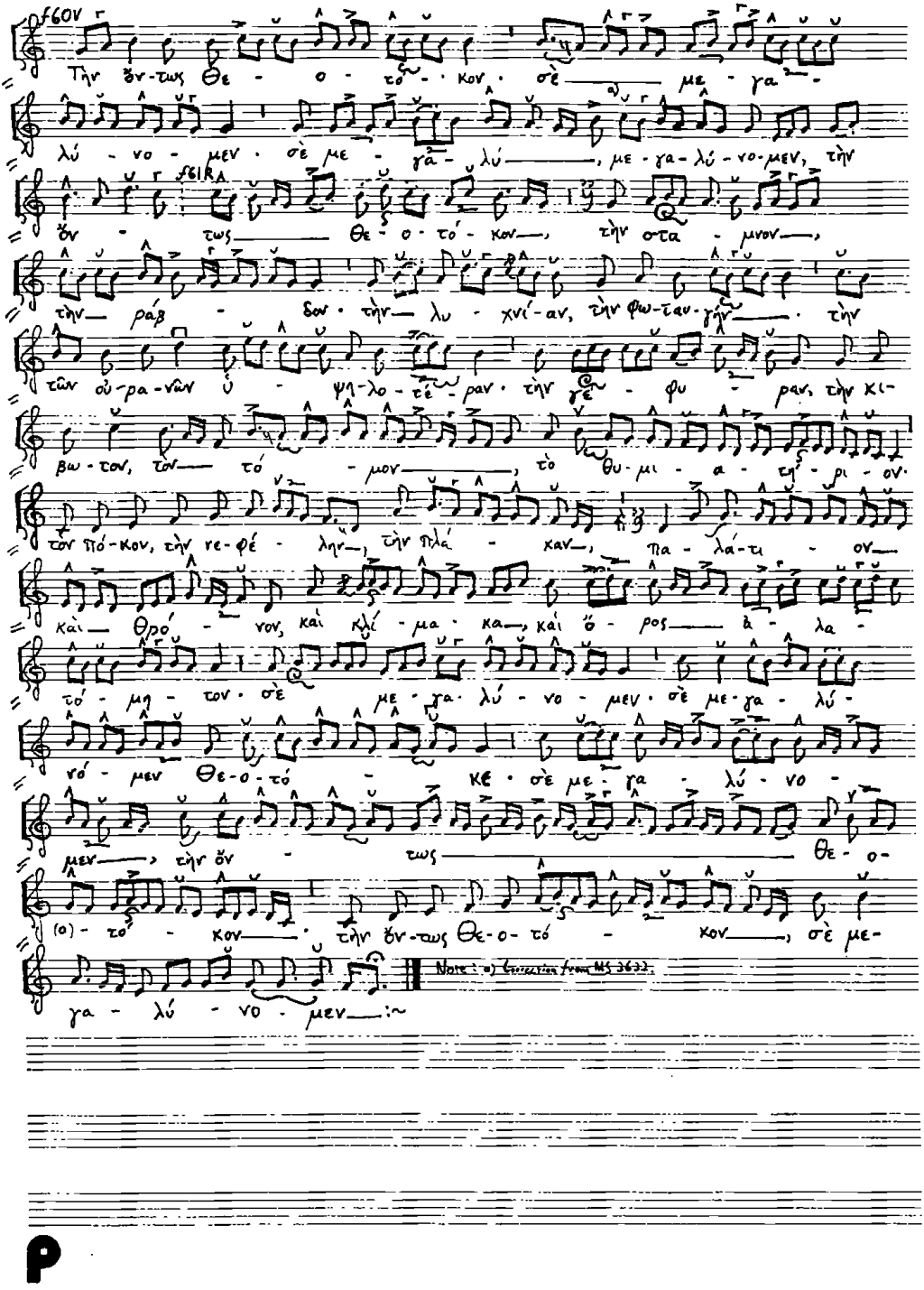
A similar result is achieved through slightly different means in Koukouzeles's other coda, which begins on the same starting note as the previous settings but proceeds in the fourth plagal mode. In this case, the text 'Τὴν ὄντως Θεοτόκον' gives way to repeated fragments of earlier verses from this same *troparion* (Example 13.3). As before, the vocal compass is a tenth, but here the phrases are longer and the melody includes dramatic leaps as wide as an octave. Towards the end of the work, rational speech gives way to the sequential vocalizations of a *kratema*. This episode of institutionalized pentecostalism starts with short bursts of 'to-to-to-to' that develop into increasingly extended passages of 'te-re-re'. A series of melodic sequences then spins the *kratema* into successively lower vocal registers until it reaches the work's lowest note (d), whereupon it startlingly leaps a seventh upwards, after which the hymn concludes with a reprise of its final line of text.

To place these boldly original compositions in their proper liturgical context, one must recall that they existed side by side with the old syllabic repertories of the *Heirmologion* and *Sticherarion*. These venerable collections of Stoudite hymns continued to provide the vast majority of texts for the neo-Sabaitic offices with melodies that had changed relatively little over the centuries. On the other hand, it is also obvious that the presence of works by Koukouzeles and his contemporaries within the restored *agrypnia* had

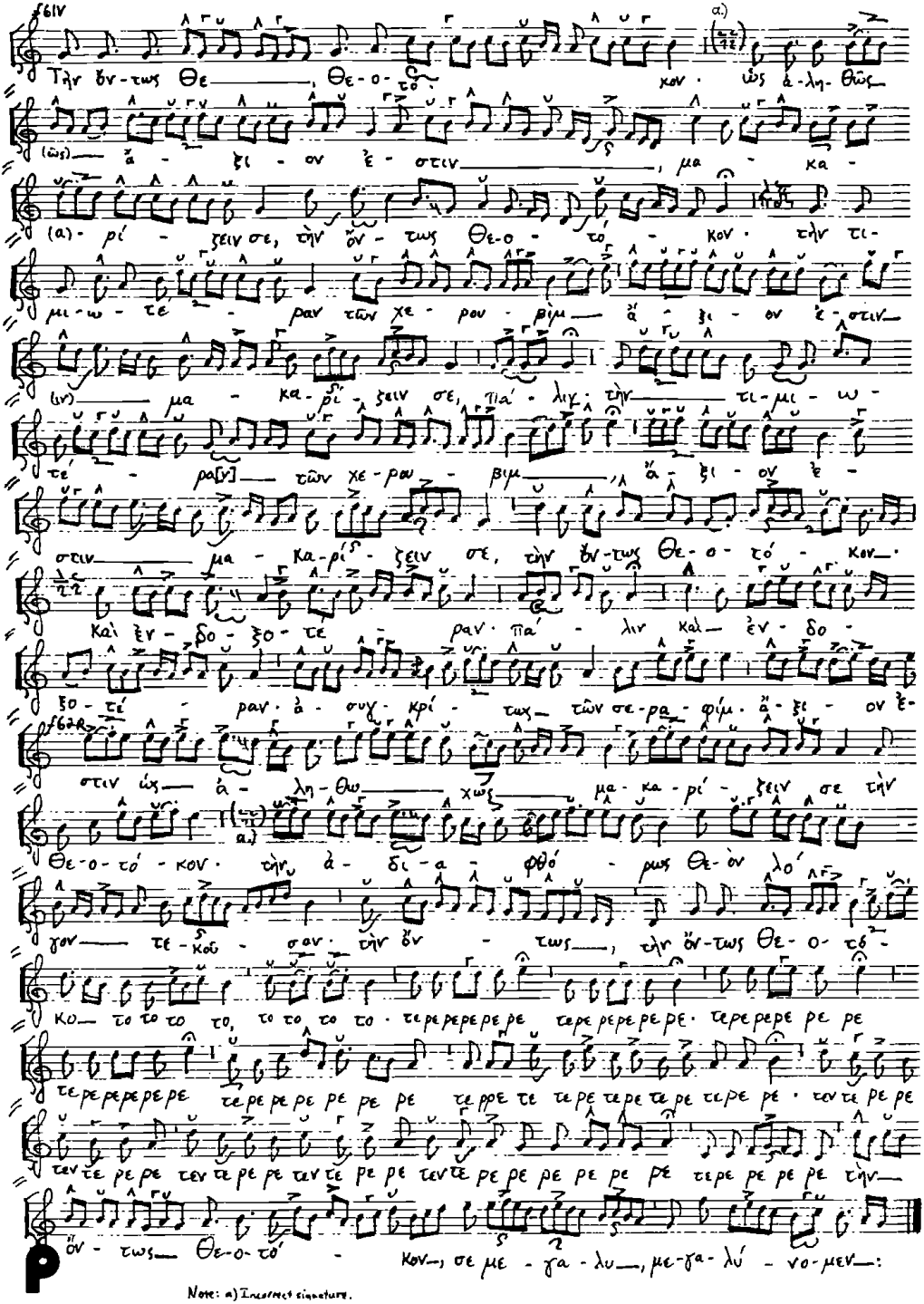
[43] For example, τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑψηλωτέραν in the high register.



EXAMPLE 1
'Τιμιωτένη ἁγιορείτικος'
Athens MS 2458, f. 57v–58v



EXAMPLE 2
Ἁγιοφωνικόν [τοῦ] Κουκουζέλη'
Athens MS 2458, f. 60v–61r



EXAMPLE 3
Ἑτέρα, τοῦ αὐτοῦ κὺρ Ἰωάννου μαίστορος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη
Athens MS 2458, f. 61v–62r

tremendous implications for its liturgical ethos – implications that are only apparent after consultation with the appropriate musical manuscripts. The sheer length and complexity of the newly composed chants for the all-night vigil's ordinary herald not only a shift of emphasis away from the often verbose canons and *stichera* of the 'proper', but also imply an increased confidence in the expressive potential of purely musical techniques, and new attitudes toward their application within Orthodox worship. This latter conclusion is underlined by the production of multiple and often highly individual settings of a single text, profoundly altering the correspondence between words and melody in Byzantine chant.

The preceding overview of the relationship between hesychasm and psalmody in fourteenth-century Byzantium has shown that psalmody in its various forms was considered an important monastic virtue which always held the possibility of being infused with true contemplation, provided that it was practised with the mind and heart set on God. This was true not only for cenobitic monks, but also for lavriote hesychasts, many of whom apparently followed a much more balanced rule of private and congregational prayer than they are generally given credit for today. After spending weekdays cultivating quietude, they would return to the community to help celebrate an all-night vigil that was dominated by the most elaborate chant that Byzantium had ever produced. Significantly, the two leading figures in the musical and liturgical reforms of the day, John Koukouzeles and Philotheos Kokkinos, were both residents of the Great Lavra on Athos with strong hesychast credentials.

In the absence of a fourteenth-century text explicitly establishing a causal relationship between monastic spirituality and contemporary musical developments,[44] it is possible only to present an admittedly circumstantial case linking Koukouzeles's revolutionary style of chanting to hesychasm. Yet it is difficult to dismiss these developments as merely coincidental, for it seems highly unlikely that hesychast fathers would have checked in their spirituality at the gate as they entered the monastery each weekend so that they might spend countless hours following the latest Constantinopolitan (or Thessalonian)[45] musical fad.

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[44] On the other hand, several fifteenth-century mss transmit tropes to Ps. 103 that clearly refer to the Palamite theology of the uncreated light; e.g. the following composition by Manuel Korones 'κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ 'Ακινδύνου' from Athens ms. 2401, f. 50r and Philotheou ms. 122/235, ff. 49v–50r: 'Glory to Thee, O Lord, who didst show the uncreated light to Thy disciples on Mount Tabor, O Holy Trinity, glory to Thee (Δόξα σοὶ Κύριε, ὁ φῶς ἄκτιστον τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἐμφανίσας ἐν τῷ Θαβώρ, Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι)'. See Stathes, 'Ἡ ᾄσματική', 198–99; and Williams, 'A Byzantine *ars nova*', 220; idem., 'John Koukouzeles's reform', 208 (note 9).

[45] On the possible Thessalonian contribution to the birth of the kalophonic style, see Williams, 'The Kalophonic Polyeleos', 234.

On the contrary, I believe that these phenomena are indeed related, and that their common denominator is to be found in the artistic, liturgical, and even spiritual freedom presupposed by the music of the *akolouthiai*. The late Byzantine choirmaster's new-found ability to effect almost endless variations on the length and style of a service by choosing from its large repertory of strongly differentiated compositions was unprecedented. Following a period of relative liturgical standardization, he was once again free to make musical decisions in response to something other than the prescriptions of a *typikon*, whether it be an aesthetic judgement or the operation of the Holy Spirit. More dramatically, music such as the two optional codas by Koukouzeles examined above offered him not only the opportunity of bursting the bonds of Byzantine hymnography, but even, in the case of *kratemata*, human speech.

Artistic freedom derived from a sense of confidence in God's immanence had, of course, been seen before in both the Christian West and East. In the twelfth century the Abbess Hildegard of Bingen composed hymns with ecstatic texts and virtuosic music in response to visions that she had received from the Lord. During the previous century in Byzantium, St Symeon the New Theologian, who was relentless in his attack on complacent spirituality and formalistic religion, wrote vibrant paraliturgical hymns of great beauty. Although it is impossible to prove beyond dispute, hesychasm's insistence on God's direct accessibility to mortal men in this life[46] may well have granted John Koukouzeles and his monastic brethren the power to chant 'with boldness and without fear of condemnation'.

[46] John Meyendorff, 'Mount Athos in the fourteenth century: spiritual and intellectual legacy', *DOP* 42 (1988), 163–64.

Section V

Art and Architecture

14. The architectural development of the Athonite monastery

Peter Burridge

Architecture, perhaps more than any other discipline, grows directly from the life, beliefs and aspirations of the society its serves. This paper sets out to examine the general architectural form of the Athonite monastery, to identify common factors in the positioning of the principal elements of the monastery (but not to explore those individual elements in detail), and to examine any major developments that took place in the general layout of the complex. A broad survey such as this may perhaps demonstrate, at least in general terms, the interaction between life and architecture on Athos.[1]

Monastic life on Athos today is remarkable in that it provides living evidence of the two original forms of Christian monasticism – the Antonian, exemplified by the eremitic and semi-eremitic forms of life, and the Pachomian, by the cenobitic monastery. Whilst the first semi-eremitic communities in Egypt gathered themselves informally in lavras or groups of dwellings around the cell of an eminent anchorite, the cenobitic monastery was strictly regulated from the outset. This highly ordered form of life, combined with the requirement for seclusion and security, necessitated an enclosed architectural plan containing everything that was necessary to the monks' life; the need for defence demanded a fortified enclosure wall and a tower as final refuge. It is essentially this format that we find in the twenty ruling monasteries on Mt Athos.

The early history of Athos and the growth of eremitic and semi-eremitic life is ably described elsewhere in these papers. It is sufficient for our

[1] For a more detailed study see P. Burridge, *The Development of Monastic Architecture on Mount Athos*, (Anne Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1982). Of the many works touching on life on Athos the following are probably the most appropriate: S. Lock, *Athos the Holy Mountain* (London, 1957); F. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos the Garden of the Panaghia*, (Berlin/Amsterdam, 1972); P. Sherrard, *Athos, the Mountain of Silence* (London, 1960). For a bibliography of the Holy Mountain up to 1963 see I. Doens, 'Bibliographie de la Sainte Montagne de l'Athos', *MMA* II, 337–483.

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

present purposes to remind ourselves that, as monastic life developed on Athos and the number of lavras grew, so the need for some form of administration increased, with the office of *protos* probably appearing by the late ninth century.[2] At least by the mid-tenth century an administrative centre had been set up at Mesi (Karyes as it is today). By this time the Holy Mountain had become an organized sanctuary for the eremitic and semi-eremitic monk.

The progress from hermitage to lavra found so often in early monastic sites seems to have occurred on Athos during the ninth century. The *Typikon* of John Tzimiskes (970 or 971) was signed by the superiors of some fifty-five Athonite communities,[3] clearly demonstrating the large number of lavras that had developed by this time. Many of these might have been mere collections of wooden huts surrounding a church as described by St Athanasios,[4] but that some of them were quite substantial seems to be suggested by the burial of St Peter the Athonite at the Monastery of Clement at around 880–90. The form of these lavras as described by St Athanasios is significant. The katholikon, surrounded by the cells of the monks, was the central feature of the community. It would have been a small step to enclose the group of cells with a protective wall and, if further security was needed, perhaps to build a tower. Thus the lavra itself could, in time, adopt a form indistinguishable from the usual cenobitic plan. Indeed, in later years this natural movement towards the cenobitic form is perhaps hinted at in monasteries such as Simonopetra and Dionysiou where the formal *koinobion* was preceded by a community, possible semi-eremitic, on the same site.[5] It seems likely that a similar architectural process took place at Karyes where the church of the Protaton is placed centrally in a square surrounded by ranges of buildings, with a tower dominating one side. Indeed, Zosimos, who travelled to the Holy Mountain in 1420, includes it in his list of monasteries.[6]

The foundation of the Great Lavra in 963 with imperial support, as a strict *koinobion*, marked a point of radical change in monastic life on Athos. The *typikon* which St Athanasios[7] produced for his new community drew its inspiration from the Stoudios and sought to recapture the rigours of cenobitic life as laid down by St Basil. It was surely a fine political touch to name a major *koinobion* founded in the face of opposition from the hermits the 'Pre-Eminent Lavra'. In this *Typikon* Athanasios makes the

[2] J. Darrouzès, 'Liste de protes de l'Athos', *MMA* I, 409.

[3] Mendieta, *Garden*, 66.

[4] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 25–26.

[5] Burridge, *Development*, 214–15, 221–2.

[6] Mme. B. de Khitrowo, tr., *Itinéraires russes en orient* (Geneva, 1889), 208.

[7] See Mendieta, *Garden*, 69. Athanasios's *Typikon* was drawn up shortly before the promulgation of the *Typikon* of Tzimiskes.

common life within the monastery, obedience and manual work the essentials. The total of monks is set at eighty. Up to five of these could leave to become hermits if they had proved themselves to be of the highest calibre. These ideals were to serve as a guide for those who laid down the rules for the many *koinobia* that were to follow. In little more than a hundred years from the foundation of the Great Lavra at least ten of today's twenty ruling monasteries had been founded.

What then was the architectural form of these early cenobitic monasteries? I would suggest that the principles set out in the *typikon* give us a clear indication, for it is the life and aims of the monk that generate the architectural form – the buildings, in a way, are a machine for living. By definition, community is the essence of the cenobitic monastery. The communal activities are the most important, the church – the centre point of the monk's life – and the refectory – the coming together for the common meals. Community implies enclosure, first to define the community itself; second to defend it. Defence demands a strong point: a tower. The essentials of the *typikon*, then, can almost be seen as an architect's brief.

It is hardly surprising that these principles correspond with the traditional cenobitic form exemplified by monasteries such as St Catherine's at Sinai – an arrangement typified by a courtyard plan with a free-standing church at its centre, surrounded by ranges of inward-facing cells and ancillary buildings backing on to enclosure walls guarded by a tower. This form, dictated by both function and tradition, was adopted by St Athanasios for his imperially supported new *koinobion*.

The Great Lavra today illustrates all the essential elements of this arrangement with its free-standing church and *trapeza*, its ranges of cells, the tower at the highest point of the site and the defended entrance. The positioning of the main elements of the monastery – the church, the tower and the refectory – infer that only comparatively small extensions have been made since its foundation. The importance of defence is immediately apparent with its crenellated *enceinte*, massive main tower and strategically placed subsidiary towers. The church and the refectory face each other in the centre of the courtyard, an arrangement seen in a number of the larger monasteries.[8] The cells ranged round the inside of the enclosure walls look inwards, often with open balconies making the most of cooling breezes during the hot summers. Later buildings constructed at a time when security was less essential also have outward-facing windows and balconies.

The present-day skete of St Basil on the north coast of the peninsula, not far from the arsenal of Chilandar, gives us an example of a small complex that has been little changed in its essentials since the Middle Ages.[9] Founded

[8] For example, Iviron and Vatopedi.

[9] For a summary of research on this building see V.J. Djurić, 'Fresques médiévales à Chilandar', *Actes du XII^e Congrès Internationale des Études Byzantines* (Ochrid, 1961), 83–86.

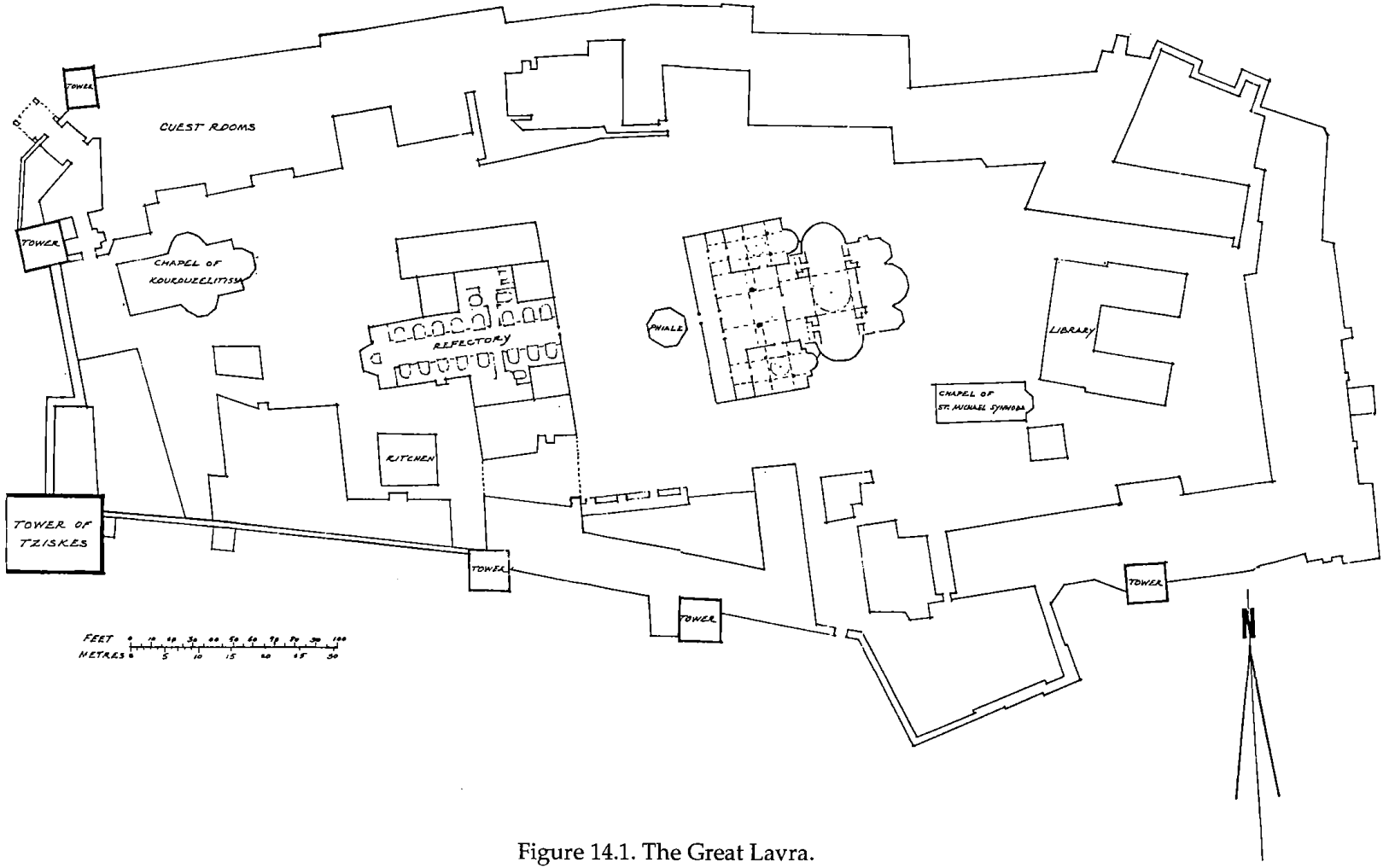

Figure 14.1. The Great Lavra.

in the early fourteenth century, it appears briefly to have achieved monastic status in its own right – Zosimos mentions it in his list of monasteries dating from 1420.[10] Flanked on two sides by the sea and protected on the landward side by a dry moat, it is contained by a crenellated wall. An inner defence encloses the church, refectory and cells, all guarded by the remains of a massive tower. A boathouse was originally sited between the two curtain walls. Whilst, in may respects, this complex owes much to the traditions of military architecture – inspired no doubt by its vulnerable siting on the coast – it does contain all the elements essential to the mediaeval *koinobion*.

The Monastery of Karakallou, which was founded in the late eleventh century,[11] probably best illustrates the typical form of the principal *koinobia* on the Holy Mountain. The monastery is planned around an open courtyard with the katholikon placed in its centre. A massive tower at the highest point of the site dominates the entrance complex. The *trapeza* is within easy reach of the church allowing the monks to process to the refectory after certain services. Outside the wall, irrigated terraced gardens provide the monastery with a regular supply of vegetables; general workshops are also found outside the enclosure. A fortified tower guards a boathouse and jetty on the coast some thirty to forty minutes' walk away. Whilst all the monasteries on the Holy Mountain are linked by paths, the terrain is precipitous in many places, and communication between them is normally easier by sea.

The Great Lavra and Karakallou demonstrate the typical cenobitic form applied to a large and a comparatively small community. This arrangement of buildings could be easily adopted on reasonably level sites and the majority of the twenty monasteries on Athos have space to follow this plan form with ease.

If this standard layout is followed on open ground, what, then, is the situation on more constricted sites? Once again we find a centralized courtyard plan applied. Dionysiou, built on a rock pinnacle, serves as a good example. The approach to this monastery whether it is by boat or on foot is dramatic (Figure 14.5). It is served by a small jetty and boathouse, a track ascending round the side of the rock pinnacle to the monastery entrance. The site is so restricted that only a minimal space separates the church from three of the ranges, the outer narthex forming part of the west range. The refectory, a fine example with mid-sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century paintings,[12] is conveniently placed for procession from the church.

Monasteries such as this, placed on precipitous restricted sites, would face severe problems should their communities outgrow their original

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[10] Khitrowo, *Intinéraires*, 208.

[11] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 577.

[12] C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin* II (2nd edn, Paris, 1922–26), 846. Diehl dates them to 1546, but an inscription records the date as 1603. See also Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 491.

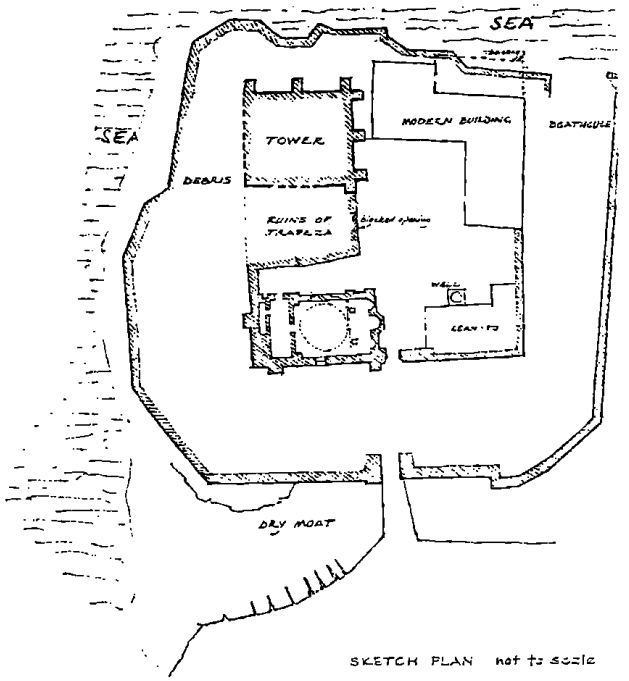


Figure 14.2. St Basil.

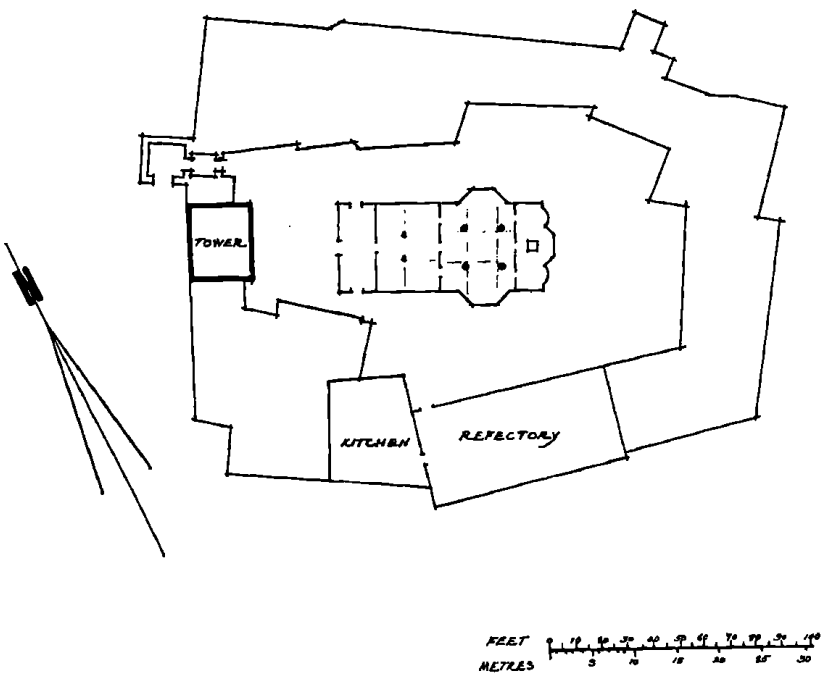
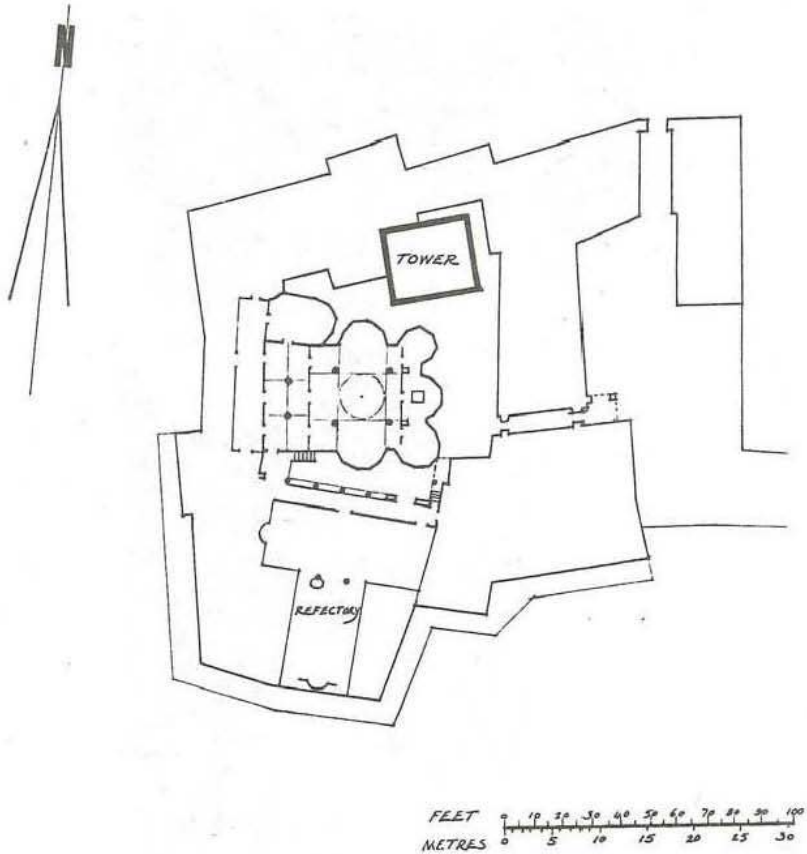


Figure 14.3. Karakallou.



Figures 14.4 & 5. Dionysiou.

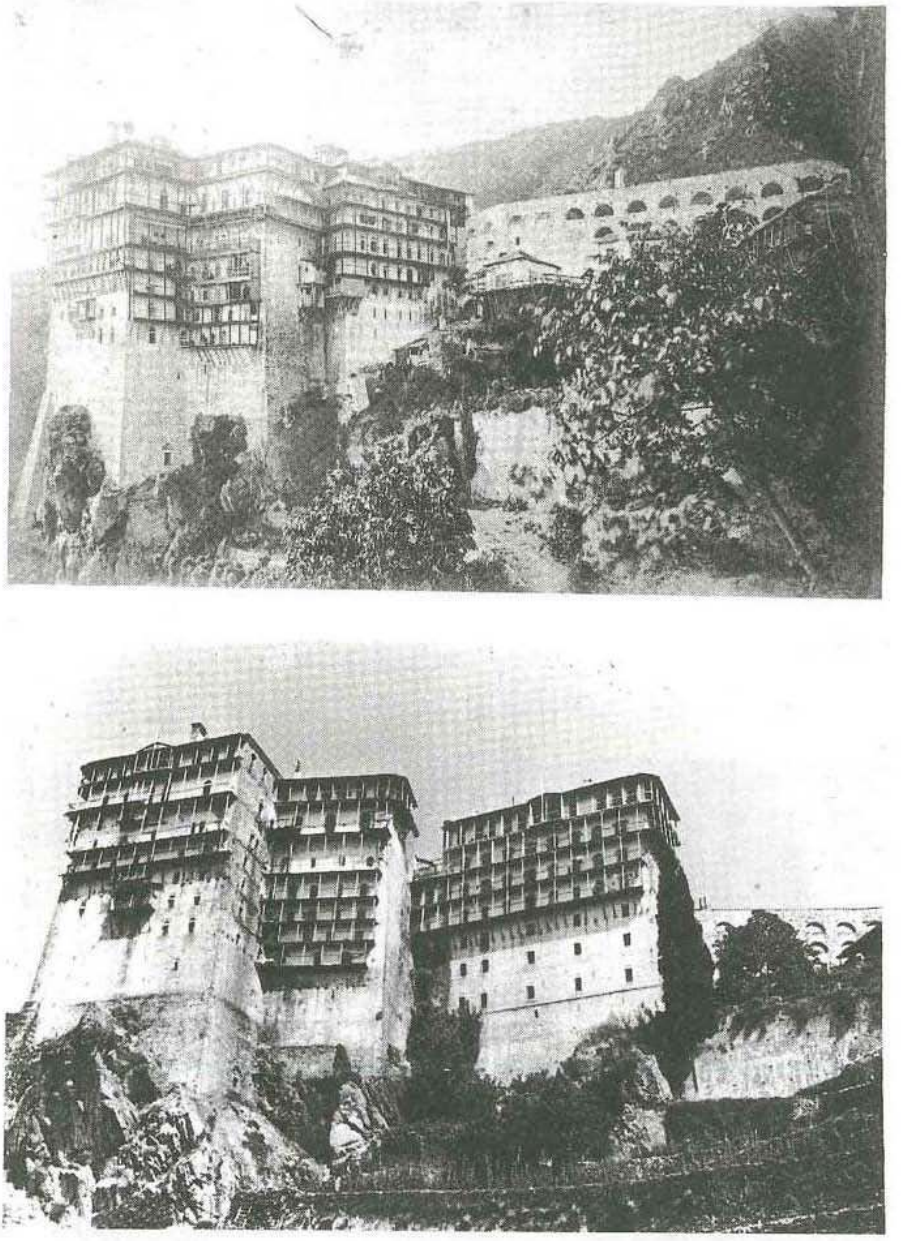


Figure 14.6 Simonopetra.

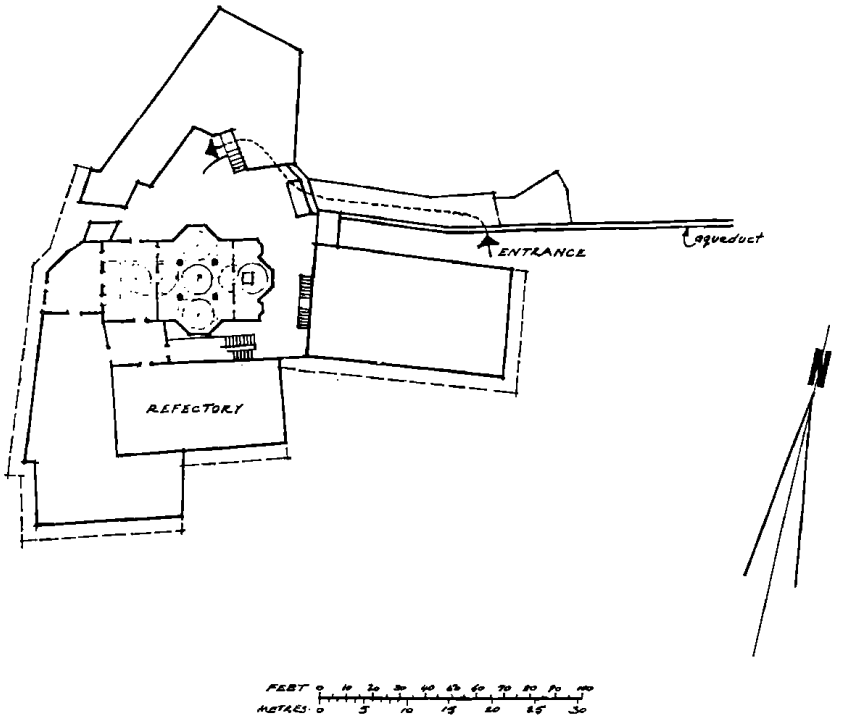


Figure 14.7 Simonopetra.

accommodation. The solution adopted at Dionysiou and Simonopetra, once any adjacent space had been used, was simply to expand downwards, cantilevering rooms outwards well below the courtyard level. In the case of Dionysiou further rooms were then built out from these jettied additions. In these examples defensive criteria are maintained, even with outward-facing cells as long as the lowest balconies are beyond the reach of potential attackers.

Simonopetra illustrates another problem facing the architectural historian. From time to time, parts of many of the monasteries on the Holy Mountain have been destroyed by fire - in some cases even the complete complex has been burnt down. Rycault,drawing on Covel's experiences on the Holy Mountain in 1676 or 1677, tells us that 'Simonopetra hath been thrice burnt, and lastly was repaired about forty years past with great expense, and charge of presents given to the Turks'.[13] What evidence is there for continuity of architectural form in these rebuildings? In the case of Simonopetra a further disastrous fire broke out on the night of 27–28 May 1891 damage was so

[13] P. Rycault, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (London, 1679), 243. For Covel's contribution see S. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey, Paul Rycault at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford, 1989), 222.

great that it took some eleven years to rebuild the monastery.[14] It so happens that Athelstan Riley visited the Holy Mountain in 1883 – a visit he records graphically in his book *Athos or the Mountain of the Monks*.[15] This work contains engravings of Simonopetra that bear a great similarity to its present-day character. The value of Riley's engravings was confirmed by the fortuitous discovery of his inscribed album of photographs taken on Athos.[16] Although the opportunity was taken to build an additional wing to the monastery, the similarity of Simonopetra in its pre-fire and post-fire forms is clear when Riley's photograph is compared with the monastery as it is today (Figure 14.6). Photographs in the Riley album also provide evidence for a high degree of continuity of architectural form in the case of the monastery of St Paul where the west and south ranges were destroyed in 1902. Earlier pictorial evidence – engravings and paintings – can never be as reliable as photographs. This particularly applies to many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stylized representations. However, one set of drawings of the Athonite monasteries – those published by Barsky[17] and dating from 1744 – seem, despite their quaintness, to be reasonably accurate. This is confirmed by comparison with buildings pre-dating Barsky's sketches; the Monastery of the Pantokrator provides a good example of this point (compare Figure 14.8 and Figure 14.9) These eighteenth-century drawings again indicate continuity of general architectural form which can probably be equally applied to earlier rebuildings. In practice this makes sense. If a range of buildings is burnt down, the foundations and lower parts of the walls usually remain structurally sound. Since the outer wall of the monastery has to be rapidly rebuilt for defensive purposes, the line of the enclosure wall will normally be maintained, with any sound standing masonry being incorporated in the new structure. Similarly, standing walling from the internal face of the range is also likely to be utilized. The new buildings might incorporate

[14] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 528; Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 593–94.

[15] A. Riley, *Athos or the Mountain of the Monks* (London, 1887), 308–14.

[16] It seems that two albums were produced from Riley's photographs, one for Riley himself, the other for Arthur E. Brisco Owen, Riley's companion on the Holy Mountain. My copy, acquired some twenty-five years ago, was Brisco Owen's album. A signed inscription in Riley's hand records that Owen died in 1925 and that 'this book was given me by his sister in 1936'. Riley's own copy has been published together with extracts from his diary in J. Leatham, *Monasteries of Mount Athos: The Riley Album* (1993) (Thessalonike, 1994) *Photography on Mount Athos* III (Thessalonike: National Bank of Greece, 1993).

[17] V. G. Barskij, *Stranstvovanija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskago po svjatym městam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747 g.*, 4 vols (St Petersburg, 1885–87). Vol. III, entirely devoted to Athos, bears the subsidiary title, *Vtoroe poseščenie sv. Afonskoj gory Vasiliem Grigorovičem Barskim, im Samim opisannoe, bolče podrobnoe, S 32–mja sobstvennoručnymi ego risunkami i Kartoju Afonskoj gory*. Many of the drawings in this volume are reprinted in P. Mylonas, *Athos and its Monastic Institutions though Old Engravings and Other Works of Art* (Athens, 1963).

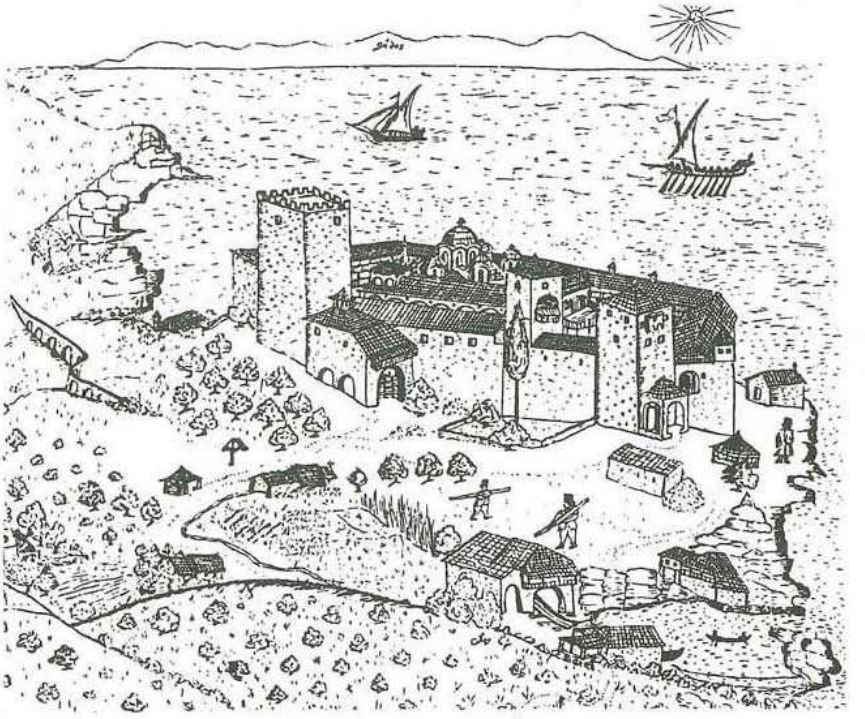


Figure 14.8. Barsky's view of Pantocrator (1744).

Figure 14.9. Pantocrator. General view.

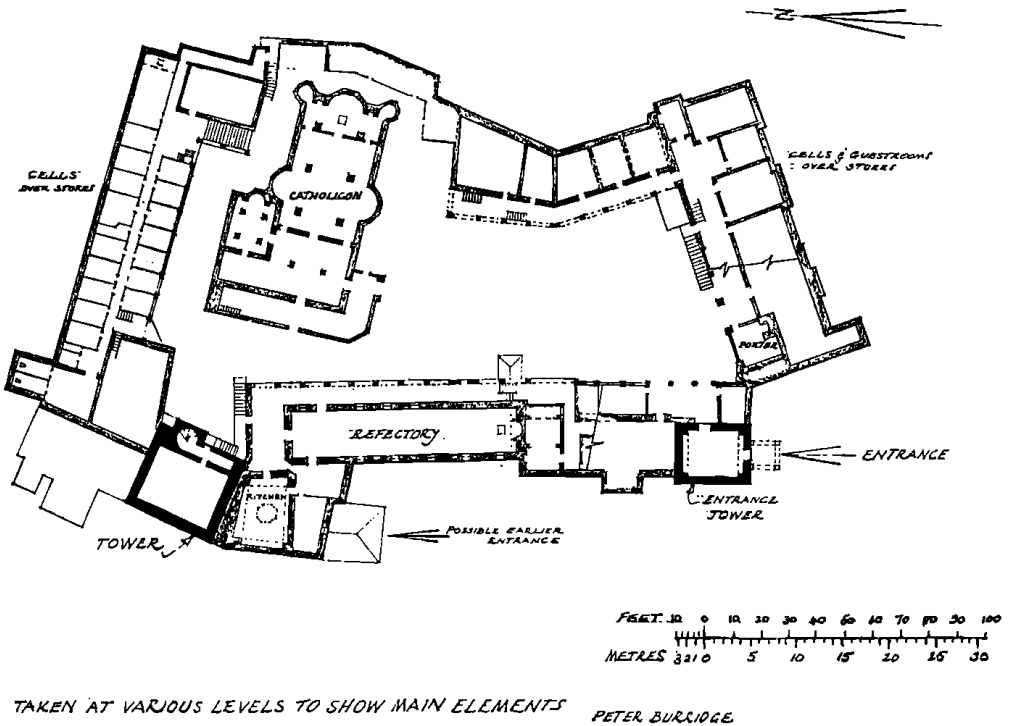


Figure 14.10. Pantocrator.

contemporary vernacular features but will probably be similar in general form to those that were destroyed.

Having examined a number of monasteries in broad terms and drawn general conclusions from their form, a study of two further monasteries in greater depth might enable us to identify more detailed aspects of their development.

The Monastery of the Pantokrator (see Figures 14.8–10) is fairly typical, with a free-standing church, a *trapeza* situated in this case at first-floor level in the range opposite the entrance to the katholikon, and an impressive tower at the highest point of the complex. Close to the monastery are irrigated vegetable gardens. Boathouses adjoin a small harbour.

It is clear from the published *Acts*[18] that the monastery was founded in the mid-fourteenth century. Erection of the buildings commenced in mid-1357, and the foundation was consecrated in the spring or early summer of 1363, at which time the monastery appears to have been granted stavropegiac status.[19] Between 1536 and 1538, the monastery walls were

[18] L. Petit, 'Actes du Pantokrator' (Actes de l'Athos III), *VV* 10, Part 2 (St Petersburg, 1903, repr. Amsterdam, 1964).

[19] For a more detailed study of the foundation and subsequent architectural history of the monastery see Burridge, *Development*, 66–79.

repaired, additional cells built on the western side of the courtyard, a more reliable supply of water was brought in (presumably by the aquaduct that survives to the present day) and the frescoes in the church were painted. However, by 1586, Pantokrator fell into difficulties due to the high level of Turkish taxation, and monks were sent to the West to seek financial support. Around 1591, Pantokrator received a valuable gift in the form of a monastery in Adrianople and its estates. In the seventeenth century, the monastery seems to have been financially sound. It built up a fairly large community and was the sixth largest monastery on Athos. Despite this, the Abbot Dositheos in 1725 was in search of further funds. He petitioned the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and in the academic year 1726–27 the sum of £50 was donated to the monastery. In return a number of manuscripts and a drawing of Pantokrator were given to the University. Dositheos's shrewd financial sense seems to have paid off for, in 1744, the refectory and west range were rebuilt. The nineteenth century was mainly marked by the restyling of the katholikon.

When one considers the planning of the monastery as it is today, one is immediately struck by the placement of the katholikon towards one end of the courtyard. This feature is found at a number of Athonite monasteries and contrasts with the central placement that we saw at Karakallou. It can be argued that this elongation of the courtyard came about due to the extension of the monastery. The original complex was centred around the church, possibly with its entry protected by the tower, just as at Karakallou. At some stage, three additional ranges were built to the south to form a further courtyard. The old southern range was later demolished to create a large single courtyard with the church at its northern end. This process would maintain the defensive integrity of the monastery during building operations. In Barsky's illustration of 1744 it is clear that the southern range was still standing. Hasluck[20] suggests that the extension took place in the year of Barsky's visit, although there are objections to this theory.

The new entrance complex built to serve the extended courtyard is guarded by a tower with machicolations. The characteristics of this tower, with its absence of decorative brickwork, seem more akin to the seventeenth than the eighteenth century. Additionally, Barsky's drawing shows an open domed porch below the machicolations, similar to the one surviving to the present day. This porch would invalidate the machicolations and must surely be a later addition. As Barksy's illustrations are firmly dated to 1744, the construction of the tower and the building of the new courtyard must be earlier. The drawing of Pantokrator presented to Oxford University by Dositheos and dated 1726 still exists and was eventually located in the Bodleian Library. This clearly shows the extension and the new entrance tower without its open porch.

[20] F.W. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries* (London, 1927), 157–58.

To what period then, should the extension of the monastery be assigned? We have seen how the population of Pantokrator increased during the seventeenth century. Millet records building work to the west of the church in 1637 or 1641;[21] this would seem to be a likely period of this extension to the courtyard.

The Serbian Monastery of Chilandar, originally founded in the tenth century, ruined and then refounded in the late twelfth century, provides another example of the typical cenobitic form.[22] The position of its katholikon immediately suggest and extension similar to that of Pantokrator. The original northern range must have run westward from just north of the main tower. Hasluck dates the extension of the monastery to the early nineteenth century.[23] However, the style of the present entrance complex suggest a date scarcely later than the seventeenth century – an assessment confirmed by an inscription dating from 1664 in the Chapel of St Nicholas which is built in part above the gates. The range connecting the main tower to the gate has been dated to 1598.[24] There is a clear straight joint with a marked change of masonry some thirty-five feet to the south of the gate complex; immediately to the south of this the buildings are clearly of eighteenth or nineteenth century origin. The northern part of this range appears to be contemporary with the gate complex. It seems likely then that Chilandar was extended northwards in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

The monastery is dominated by the Tower of St Sava built in 1189, and reconstructed probably in the fourteenth century, with further additions and alterations in the seventeenth century.[25] Portions of walling contiguous to the east face of the tower have been identified as belonging to the tenth-century monastery.[26] The importance of the main tower as a final refuge is underlined by the experience of Daniel of Chilandar who found himself at the Russian Monastery of St Panteleimon during at Catalan attack in 1307. He gives a graphic description of the taking of the monastery and the burning of the church and many other buildings,[27] but significantly the tower, where Daniel and many of the Russian monks took refuge, survived.

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[21] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 193.

[22] The material for this section is largely based on the author's survey and fieldwork at Chilandar (Burridge, *Development*, ch. 4, 80–143). A more recent study of the enceinte is to be found in P. Theocharides, 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure of the Monastery of Chelandariou', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 7 (Belgrade, 1989), 59–70.

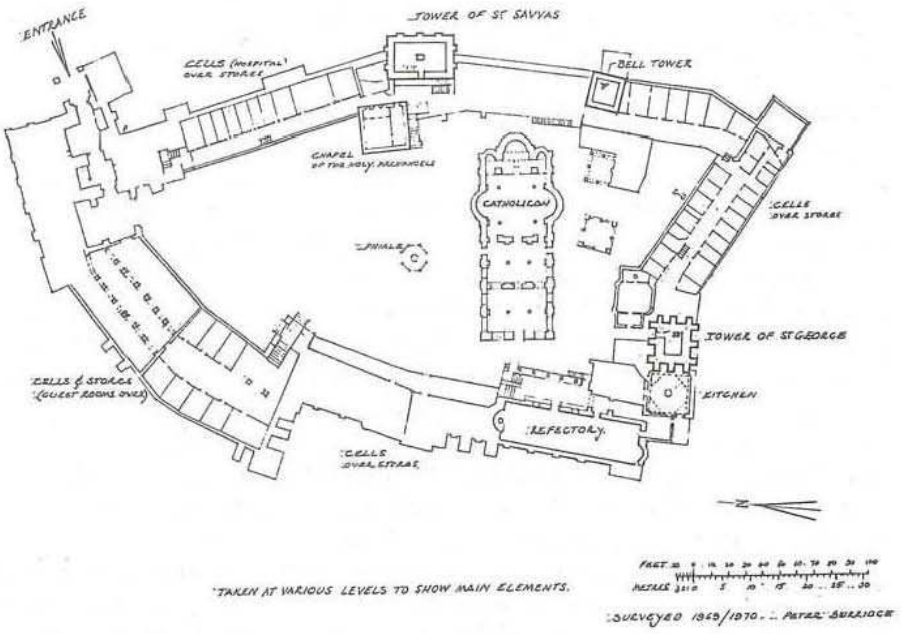
[23] Hasluck, *Athos*, 143–45.

[24] P. Theocharides, quoting Deroko.

[25] The argument for a fourteenth- rather than seventeenth-century date for the reconstruction is put by D. Bošković, 'Svetogorski Pabirci', *Starinar* 14 (1939) and accepted by Theocharides.

[26] Theocharides, 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure', 60–63.

[27] A. Soloviev, 'Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos', *Byzantion* 8 (1993) 223–24.



Figures 14.11 & 12. Chilandari.

The architectural development of the monastery from its earliest form presents some interesting problems. The juxtaposition of the main tower and the Chapel of the holy Archangels might point to this corner of the original enclosure being the approximate position of the early entrance complex. The almost 'lean-to' form of the chapel is suggestive of proximity to a wall to its north (although this could partially invalidate two of its windows) and its dedication is often associated with entrance chapels. In this context one must perhaps question why the north-east range joining the tower to the new entrance actually stops short of the tower. I noticed footings in this space but was unable to gain access. Any entrance at this point would have had to contend with an appreciable change of levels.

A case has been made for dating the floor of the katholikon to an earlier date than the late twelfth-century refoundation of the monastery.[28] equally it has been ably argued that the lower part of the west wall of the refectory dates from the original tenth-century monastery.[29] Bearing in mind that the church was not extended westwards until the late thirteenth century and therefore would have occupied a position towards the east of the court there are implications for the arrangement of some of the tenth- and late twelfth-century buildings, if the general line of the west range is original there would have been a large space between it and the smaller katholikon. This space could conceivably have been filled by an east–west oriented refectory, a feature found in many of the early monasteries. However, at this stage, the possibility of a tenth-century west range sited closer to the church cannot be totally excluded. As with so many problems in architectural history, only excavation will provide the definitive answer.

The south-east corner of the enclosure equally presents problems, its form strongly suggesting that it is a later addition. The level of the site falls quite markedly at this point. The original enclosure would have been unlikely to create the unnecessary structural problem posed by building retaining walls to a considerable height, when a range running roughly parallel to the south wall of the church would have been structurally more sound and easier to build.

We are left with the probability that the original tenth-century monastery had a much smaller and more regular courtyard, perhaps with its western range closer to the more compact katholikon. The late twelfth-century foundation could well have been extended westwards with a new west range, the lower external walls of which would act as retaining walls to an appreciable height.[30] At this stage it is possible that an east–west refectory

[28] P.A. Mylonas, 'Remarques architecturales sur le catholicon de Chilandar', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 6 (Belgrade, 1986), 7–47.

[29] Theocharides, 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure', 65.

[30] Perhaps accounting for the outward inclination noted by Theocharides.

projected towards the katholikon. The new Tower of St Sava might well have guarded the main entrance in the north-east corner of the enclosure. Later, with the westward extension of the church, the new refectory would have to be built on a north–south axis. At around this time the south-eastern corner of the monastery could well have been rebuilt on the line of the present-day ranges. The major extension of the monastery northwards around 1600 and the demolition of the original north range to form the existing elongated courtyard marks the final significant change to the general layout of the monastery. Details of its internal planning doubtless developed to reflect changing influences from the world and differences in the details of the routine of the monks' life. The adoption of the less strictly regulated idiorrhythmic life seems, for example, to have led to the use of suites of cells by individual monks. Equally the reduction in the need for defence has allowed the construction of more outward-facing elements at lower levels. However, the general form of the monastery appears to have remained constant over the thousand years of its history.

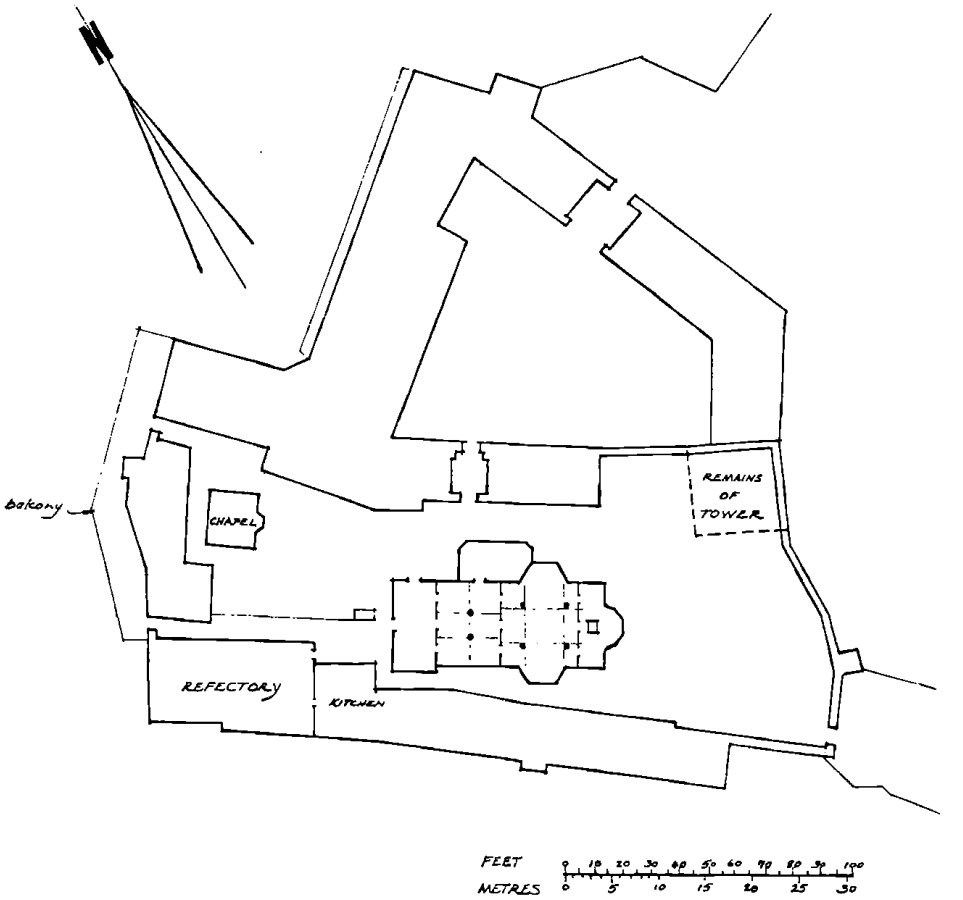


Figure 14.13. Grigoriou.

Thus both Pantokrator and Chilandar followed the conventional layout and adopted a similar strategy when they needed to enlarge the monasteries. This process of enlargement – with a second courtyard being built adjacent to one of the ranges of the existing monastery and the dividing range being demolished once the new courtyard was complete – not only maintained the defensive integrity of the monastery, but also its religious enclosure.

An identical type of extension was carried out at Gregoriou between 1891 and 1900. Here a second courtyard was built to the north. In this case, though, the dividing range was not demolished. Although separated by many hundreds of years from our earlier examples, the same architectural solution was employed to solve the problem of extending the monastery.

In examining the architectural form of the twenty ruling monasteries one is struck by the continuity of general layout. The pan-Orthodox nature of the Holy Mountain must always be remembered; from the earliest times this had added a diversity of style and attitude to Athos that has maintained its vitality and relevance. Over the ages the detailing of new buildings within the enclosure has perhaps reflected changing styles in the world or the national character of the individual community, but the common form and function of the monasteries have always been maintained.

Just as the ideals of monastic life on Athos have changed little in their essentials since the time of St Athanasios, so also has the built expression of that life – the architecture of the Holy Mountain, still following the edicts of function and tradition – maintained its essential character.

15. The 'Tzimiskes' tower of the Great Lavra Monastery

Sotiris Voyadjis

Fortifications testify to the determination of a society to protect itself against potentially or overtly hostile neighbours. This is particularly true in the case of the monasteries of Mt Athos. Being outside the main lines of communications and far away from the stronger garrisons of the Byzantine state, they were vulnerable to attacks from the pirates and bandits who flourished during the unstable periods of their long history and were attracted by their wealth. Therefore the builders of the monasteries took great pains in establishing the siting and the overall defence characteristics, in order to protect them from outside intervention. All of the monasteries, especially the ones situated near the sea, were constructed on easily defensible sites, such as on cliffs. The principal individual defence elements, however, are the tower and the entrance complex. Even if the monastery has a number of towers, one is usually more strongly fortified than the others, acting as the final stronghold should the *enceinte* be breached.

One of the most prominent in Mt Athos is the so-called 'Tzimiskes' tower of the Great Lavra Monastery.

A high rectangular building with outside dimensions of 14 × 11.5 metres (Figure 15.1) and 26 metres in height, it is situated at the south-west corner of the fortified enclosure of the monastery, intersecting its curtain walls (Figure 15.4). On account of both its size and its position on the highest ground, it reigns over the vast area occupied by the monastery.

At the south-west corner, stepped projections define the tower's foundations. Internally it is divided into four levels (Figures 15.2 and 15.3). It is possible that there is also a fifth level, because the lowest floor is still five metres higher than the outside ground level. However, the basement, which probably housed the cistern and can only be seen between the floor planks, is inaccessible today. Access to the tower is gained through a small door on the north elevation (Figure 15.7), eleven metres higher than ground level, and after passing through a maze of other buildings attached to the

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

tower. Nowadays a narrow stone staircase leads to the door. Its upper part, which carries the stone steps, was obviously built later than the lower. It is possible that there used to be a wooden ladder connecting the lower part with the entrance, easily drawn up in case of danger, which was replaced later with the stone one. The jambs of the door are incorporated with the walls. The doorstep is an older marble lintel placed inverted, while a cylindrical stone colonette is used as a lintel. The opening is guarded by a heavy plain wooden door covered with thick iron sheets.

Internally the different levels are defined by timber floors based on a system of superimposed stone arches, with the following pattern: from a central rectangular pilaster spring four arches of almost equal width, which reach the corresponding piers situated at the middle of the walls of the tower. Other arches running parallel to the walls connect them with piers placed at the four corners. The arches are slightly narrower than the pilasters, resulting in the creation of a small step at the base. This is not an unusual method of supporting the timber floors in Byzantine and post-Byzantine towers being also used to minimize the thickness of the wooden beams in St Savas's tower in the Monastery of Chilandar,[1] in the tower of the Monastery of Stavronikita,[2] and elsewhere. In the Tzimiskes tower the arches are built independently and at a later phase than the walls. The dividing line can be recognized very easily at every floor. In addition, the walls are built with grey limestone while the arches are constructed with greenish narrow stone slabs, occasionally mixed with thin bricks. The same method of construction was used for Saint Savas's tower. A layer of dirt lies over the timber floors, and above it were once ceramic tiles thirty by thirty centimetres, now mostly destroyed.

The first floor, apart from the main entrance which has already been described, is lit by two narrow slits with converting side walls, opened on the south wall and once on the north wall. A wooden ladder at the north-west corner leads to the second floor which is almost a replica of the first (Figure 15.5). There are two larger openings on the south wall: one of them is walled up, while the easternmost was enlarged at a later date. Narrower ones appear on the north and east walls. At the south-eastern corner there is a low niche covered by an arch. A small opening at the bottom is probably for drainage, which leads us to believe that it was used as a small lavatory

[1] P. Theocharides, 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure of the Monastery of Chelandariou, A preliminary report', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 7 (1989), 61.

[2] P. Theocharides, 'Οἱ οἰκοδομικὲς φάσεις τοῦ πύργου τῆς μονῆς Σταυρονικίτα', *Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης/Πολυτεχνική Σχολή, Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων* I (Thessalonike, 1990), 682–83.

when the tower was inhabited. All the arches that form the upper parts of the windows and the niche are constructed with thick (5 cm) bricks.

The last storey is somewhat different from the others (Figure 15.6). Access is gained by a south-west staircase. The nine pilasters reach roof level, but one of the arches is cut off and replaced by a timber beam, supported by a post. A light plastered timber-framed wall separates the eastern half in two smaller spaces. The northern one is arranged into living quarters. Two large rectangular windows have been opened on the eastern and northern outer walls, while a timber floor covers the ceramic tiles. The fact that the windows are framed with industrial bricks leads us to suppose that this represents an early twentieth-century arrangement.

The south-eastern corner has been transformed into a chapel. The church belongs to the single-space domed type which is very common in the small-scale churches of Mt Athos. It is entered from the west. To help with the construction the pilasters were connected with light brick walls and a barrel vault was built, covering the bema. The vault and the three arches support the brick dome. The three niches of the bema are dug into the width of the wall (Figure 15.3), which was partially demolished and rebuilt to accommodate them, resulting in a slight bulging on the outside. The niches stop short of the floor, and the middle one is wider and higher (Figure 15.2). Another niche is formed at the northern wall, awkwardly springing from the keystone of the niche of the prothesis, with a similar one dug in the opposite wall. Each niche on the eastern wall is pierced by a small window, while another window is formed in the place of an earlier larger opening of the south wall. A wooden carved iconostasis separates the bema from the main naos. The icons and the paintings on the walls were probably executed in the nineteenth century. The floor is covered by irregularly arranged enamelled tiles. The roof is constructed of timber trusses covered by thick slates, as is usual in most Athos roofs. The chapel dome does not project above the roof line.

Above the western entrance there is a painted inscription stating 1688 as the date of this transformation:

ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΠΥΡΓΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΤΣΙΜΙΣΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΝΑΟΣ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ
ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΣΗΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΩΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ Π
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΝΗΣΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΝ ΕΤ(Ε)Ι ,ΖΡϘΣΤ' (7196=1688)[3]

[3] First published in Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 413, 137.

It can be translated as follows: 'The present tower of Tzimiskes has been repaired and the chapel dedicated to the archdeacon and martyr St Stephen erected at the expense of the Abbot Parthenios from the island of Tinos in the year 7196' (=1688). This inscription, apart from the dedication of the chapel to St Stephen and the name of the founder abbot Parthenios from Tinos, gives us further important information. In fact, it seems that in 1688 extensive renovation works took place on the tower. They undoubtedly included the replacement of the roof trusses, since the dome is connected to them, the arrangements on the last floor, the rebuilding of the eastern wall in order to house the niches and probably several other minor renovations, such as the repointing or enlargement of some windows. Another important piece of information is that the tower has been called ΤΟΥ ΤΣΙΜΙΣΚΗ, since that early date, so the name cannot be a recent innovation.

Outside, on the lower horizontal roof level, there are arched openings – four on each side. From their position we can deduce that they were used to drain the roof, and not for military purposes which could very well be served by the crenellations just above. The roof is formed by ridges between the openings so that rainwater runs off easily. A small ledge of the wall, covered today by tiles, was probably used to support the catwalk. Access to the roof is gained by the usual attic window, common in Athonite buildings.

Externally the tower has a simple rectangular shape with unbroken perpendicular edges (Figure 15.8), sporadically pierced by the openings of the windows. It is built with good-quality rubble limestone masonry and thick mortar. The same grey limestone is used for most of the buildings on the Holy Mountain. Few bricks can be seen among the stones. Semi-dressed stones are used to increase the sturdiness of the corners. At the bottom the foundations project slightly outwards by twenty centimetres and are built with larger stones and less mortar. On the last floor the bulging of the bema of the chapel can be distinguished on the eastern elevation. Here there is a slight differentiation in the pointing, which is thicker, covering most of the stone (Figure 15.9). A piece of a mid-Byzantine marble iconostasis is embedded at the base of the structure and the tower is topped by the crenelated parapet which has six crenellations on the narrow elevations and eight on the wider ones. On the north wall, directly above the entrance, one of the crenellations is transformed into a machicolation: Two stone brackets carry a small brick arch, also surrounded by thin bricks, over which a small stone construction, terminating with a similar brick arch, protects the *machiculi*. Almost identical brick arches surround the four openings of this elevation, while their counterparts on the other three walls are simpler, built mostly with narrow stones. Most of the windows have a simple stone slab as a lintel, except for the enlarged twentieth-century ones at the north-eastern

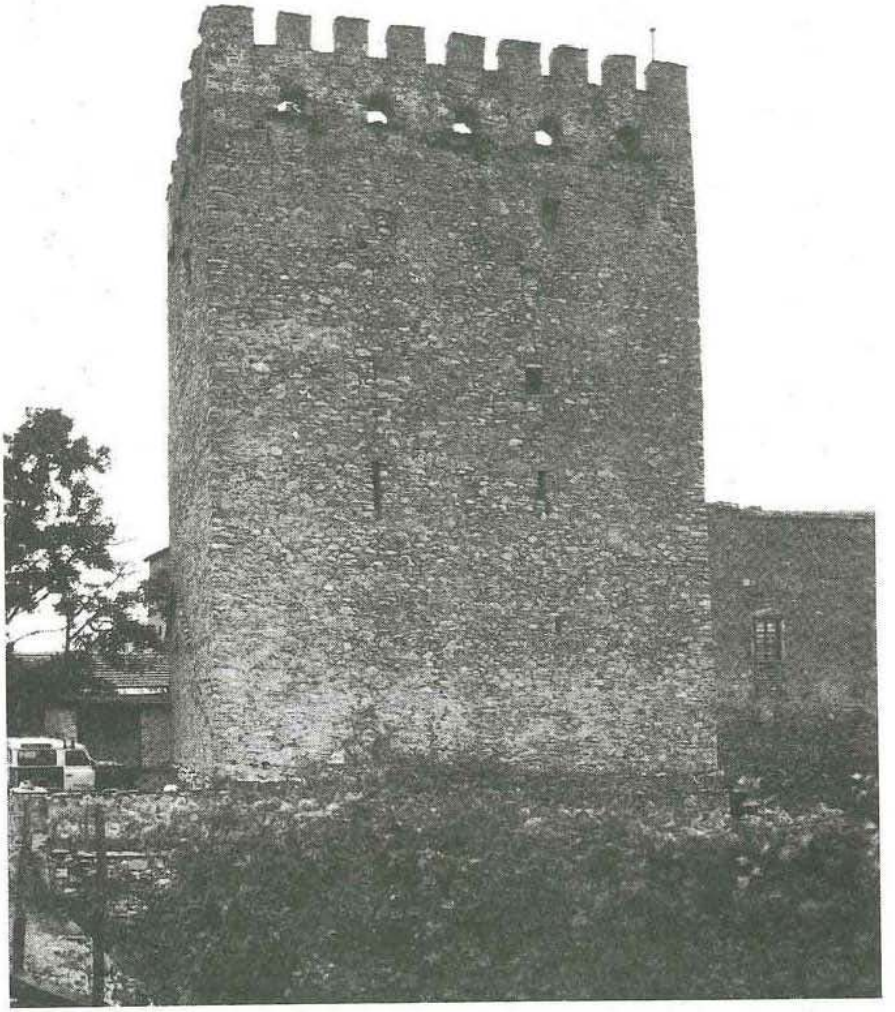


Figure 15.1. The 'Tzimiskes' tower from the south.

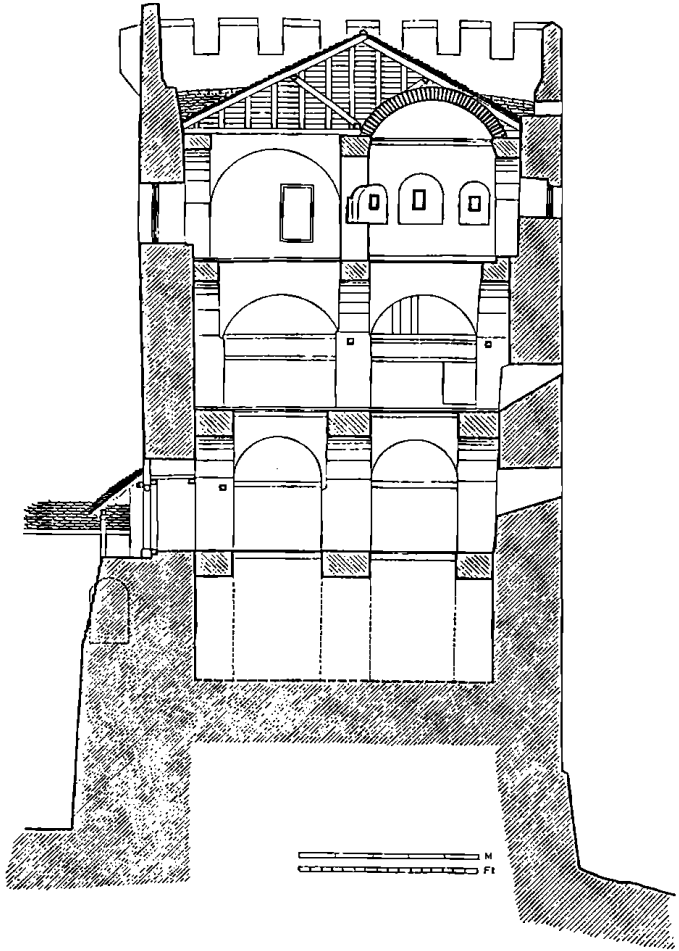


Figure 15.2 Section aa.

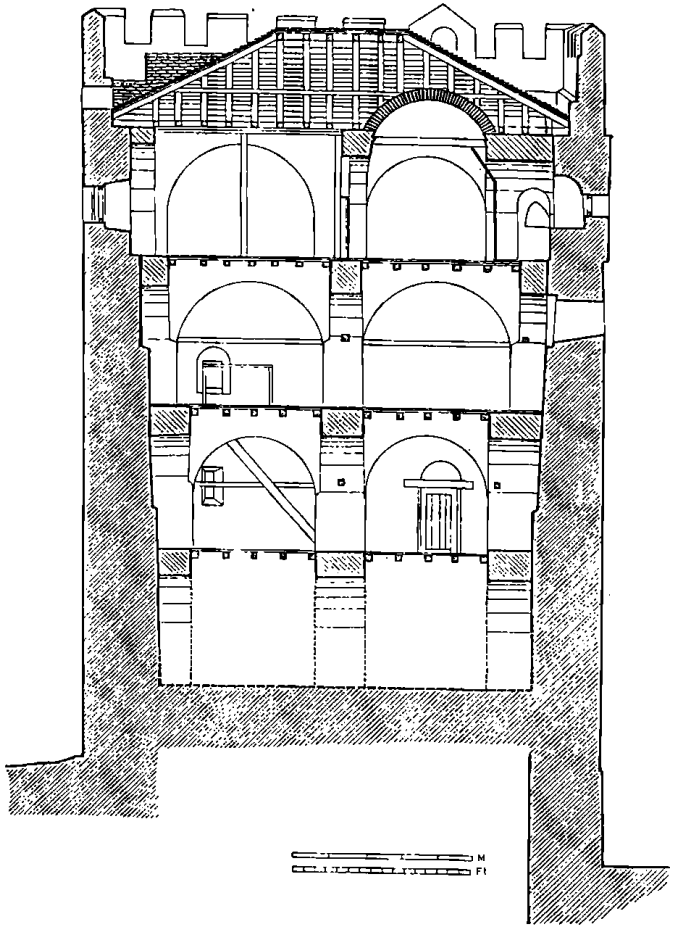


Figure 15.3 Section bb.

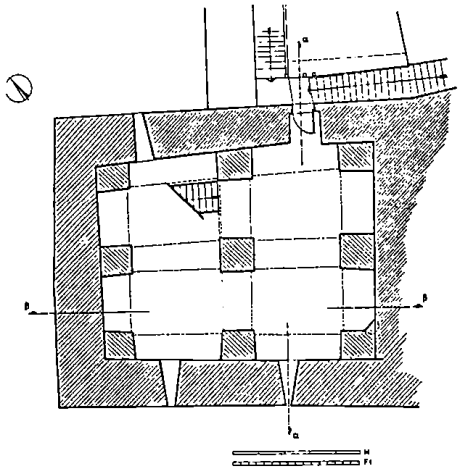


Figure 15.4. Plan of the ground floor of the tower.

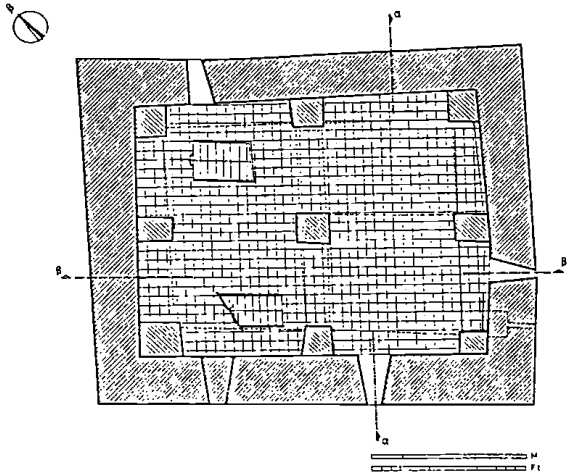


Figure 15.5. Plan of the second floor.

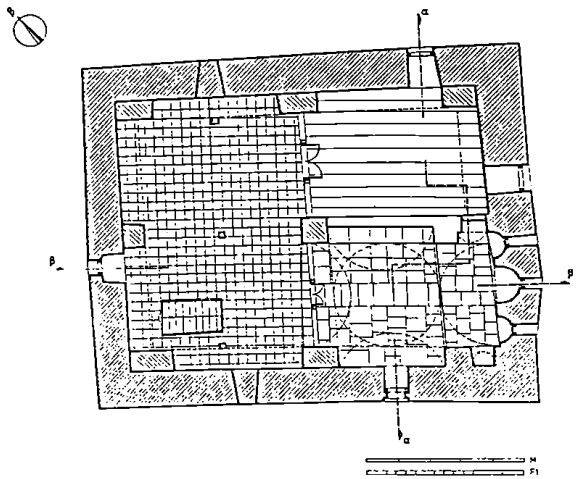


Figure 15.6. Plan of the top floor.

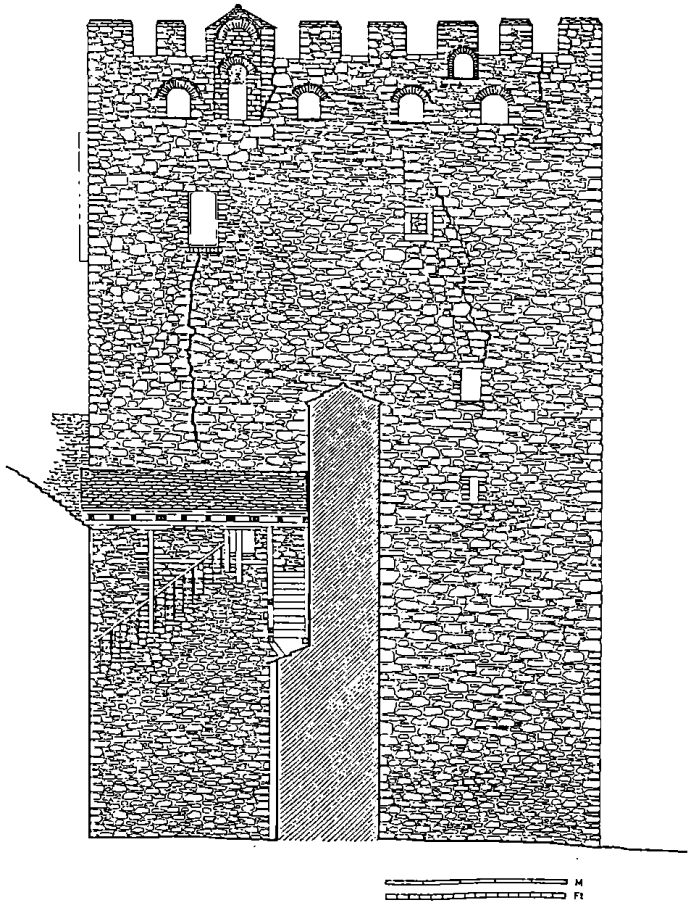


Figure 15.7. North elevation.

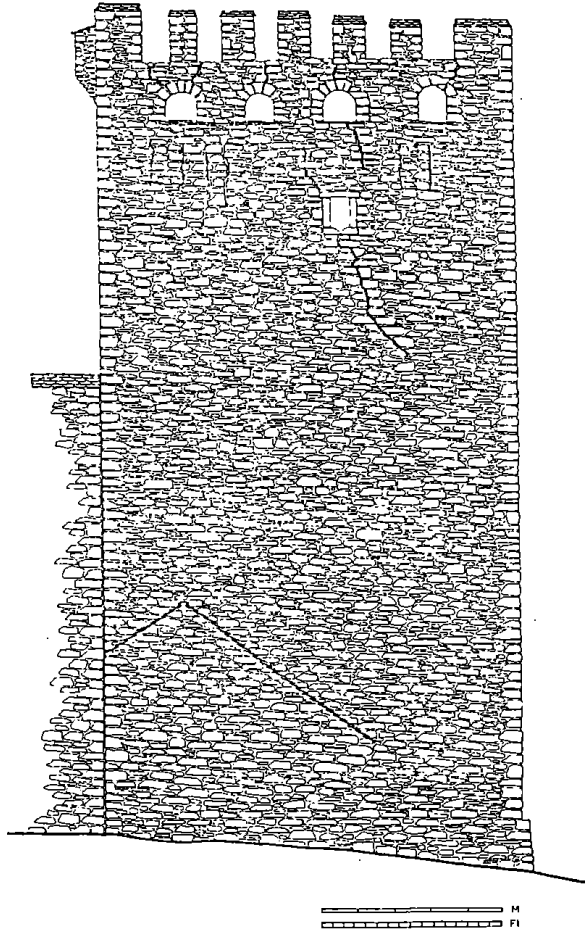


Figure 15.8. West elevation.

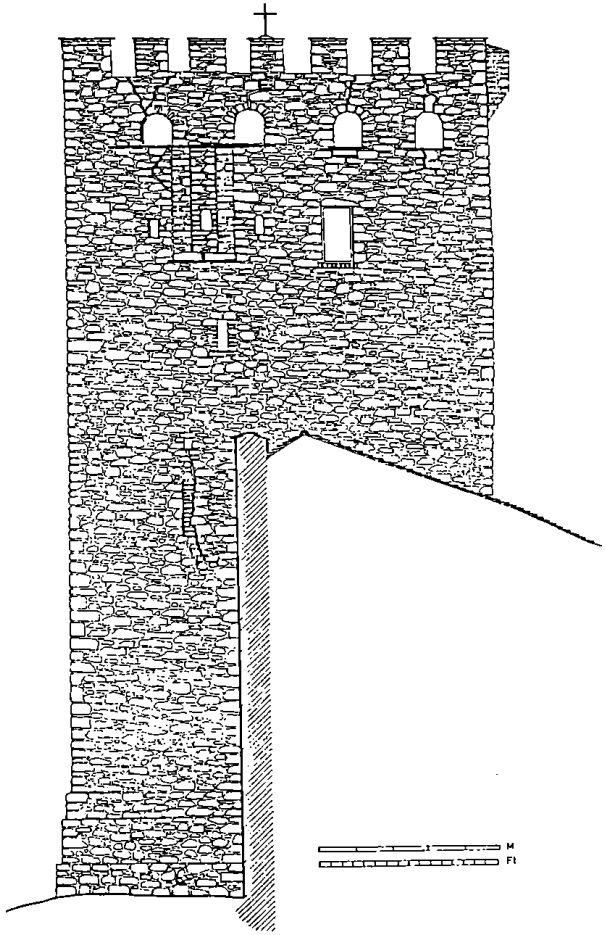


Figure 15.9. East elevation.

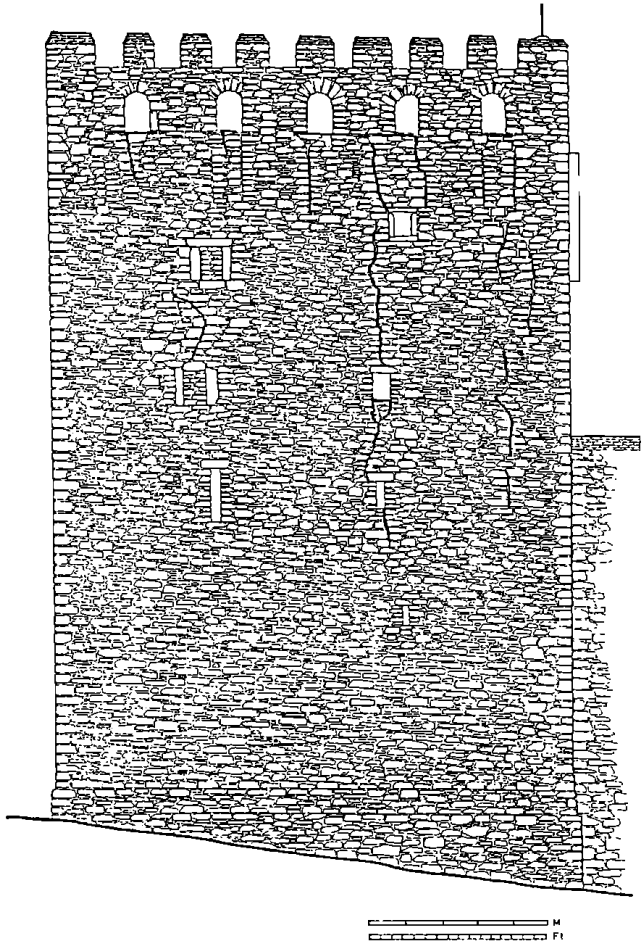


Figure 15.10. South elevation.

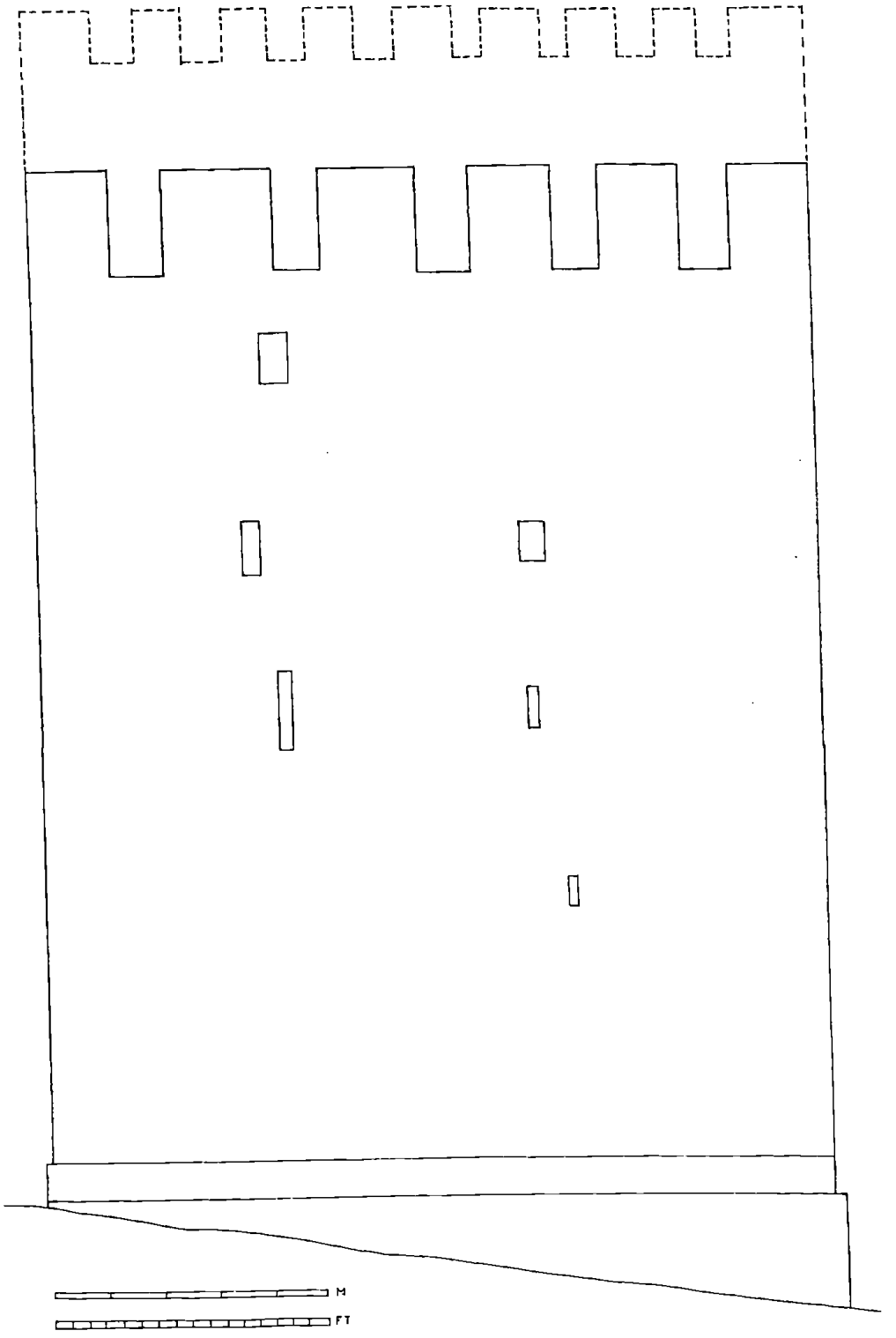


Figure 15.11. Reconstruction of the first phase.

corner room of the top floor. On the eastern elevation a shallow niche can be seen on the right, formed by a brick arch, housing a marble slab which bears the second inscription of the tower:

ΕΤ[ΟΥΣ] ,ζλ' (7030=1522) ιου[λίου]
κ(αι) Ο ΣΕΡΡ[ΩΝ]
ΓΕΝΝΑ[ΔΕΙΟ]Σ[4]
(In the Year 7030 (=1522), July, Gennadeios bishop of Serres)

Gennadeios (d.1541) was the well known bishop from Serres, who in the first quarter of the sixteenth century became a monk in the monastery and financed several building projects, such as the rebuilding of the collapsed (after the 1526 earthquake) dome of the katholikon and the refectory.[5]

The tower was not built in one construction phase. We have already pointed out the fact that the internal vaulting is not contemporary with the outer wall of the tower. Moreover, traces of an older phase can be distinguished on the outer face. Just above the top floor windows there seem to be traces of older crenellations. They are more easily discernible on the south elevation (Figure 15.10), where the pointing is not disturbed, but they can also be seen on the west and north one. The east elevation is disturbed by the building of the chapel and all traces of it are gone. The upper part bears the 1522 inscription, which seems to have been instated there at the time of the construction since the form of its niche resembles the other openings. Therefore it seems that the repair of the tower by Gennadeios actually consisted in the raising of the tower by one storey. Smyrnakis, the early twentieth-century monk-writer, also cites the above-mentioned repairs in his book on the Holy Mountain.[6] In the drawing of Figure 15.11 an attempt is made to reconstruct the first phase.

During another construction phase in 1688 the upper storey was transformed into St Stephen's chapel and the roof was also rebuilt. No fixed date for the construction of the interior vaulting can be defined, but it can be approximately dated between the 1522 addition and the 1688 construction of the chapel. The date coincides perfectly with the date 1682–84 when a similar division, with timber floors based on superimposed stone arches was constructed in St Savas's tower in Chilandar monastery.[7] No trace is left of any older division, and we can only assume that the tower did have one and was not an empty cell.

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[4] Also published in Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 411, 136. Another inscription stating the year 1564 and the abbot Anthimos, also mentioned by Millet (no. 412) could not be found on the tower. It probably represents a mistake on his part or is covered today by later constructions.

[5] M. Gedeon, 'Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει Μεγίστης τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Λαύρας', *EkAl* 22 (1902), 240.

[6] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 391.

[7] Theocharides, The Byzantine fortified enclosure, 61.

Dated sixteenth-century towers are abundant in Athos, since extensive piracy and relative prosperity brought about intensive repair work and construction of fortifications in that century. We can mention the maritime tower of Zographou dated in 1502,[8] Koutloumousiou tower built by Radoul Voivode in 1508,[9] the half-ruined Iviron tower dated by secondary sources to 1513,[10] Dionysiou in 1515, Hagiou Pavlou in 1516–1522, both built by Neagoe Basarab,[11] the maritime fortress of Karakallou dated by inscription to 1534 [12] – but not its tower which is of an earlier date, possibly fourteenth century, if we judge by its resemblance to the fortress of Pythion in Didymoteichon – the first phase of the Docheiariou tower in 1568, the maritime tower of Simonopetra in 1567[13] and the second phase of the tower of Stavronikita between 1546 and 1607 as Theocharides has shown.[14] Towers of this period are characterized by straight edges with no projections, few machicolations guarding the entrance or the walls and a construction method using rubble masonry with few or no bricks. Only two of them escape the general rule: namely, Dionysiou, which was nevertheless built on the remains of a tower of 1364 built by the founder of the monastery, probably following its general plan, and the one at the Monastery of Iviron. In the latter case we cannot be sure whether the dating refers to the building of the whole tower or to repairs of a tower belonging to a former period, as its plan with buttresses suggests, until special research is undertaken. The upper part of Tzimiskes's tower easily fits with the above example, since it has the same plain façade with straight edges, no projections and only one machicolation trained on the entrance. Finally, the enlargements of the north-eastern windows can be dated to the turn of the century.

This leaves us with the most difficult task of dating the first phase. Although it was often mentioned by scholars and visitors, the tower, has not been securely dated because no written source on its building exists. Brockhaus[15] suggests that Tzimiskes built a tower in 970, but that the present tower was built in 1688. Hasluck[16] deduced, solely on the basis of the name, that the tower was indeed built by Tzimiskes. Others, misled by

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[8] G. Tsioran, *Σχέσεις τῶν Ρουμανικῶν ὅρων μετὰ τοῦ Ἄθω καὶ διὰ τῶν μονῶν Κουτλουμουσίου, Λαύρας, Δοχειαρίου καὶ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος* (Athens, 1938), 81.

[9] P. Burridge, *The Development of Monastic Architecture on Mount Athos* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982), 320.

[10] Millet, Pargoire and Petit, *Recueil*, no. 220.

[11] I. Mamalakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος διαμέσου τῶν αἰώνων* (Thessalonike, 1971), 250.

[12] I. Papangelos and J. Tavlakis, 'The Maritime fort of Monastery Karakalou in Mt Athos', in N. Moutsopoulos, ed., *Πύργοι καὶ Κάστρα* (Thessalonike, 1981), 101.

[13] Theocharides, *'Οἱ οἰκοδομικὲς φάσεις'*, 697.

[14] Ibid., 698.

[15] M. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst von Athos Kloistern* (Leipzig, 1925), 36.

[16] P. V. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries* (London, 1924), 45.

the inscription, believe it was built in the sixteenth century by Gennadeios on the site of an older demolished tower built by Tzimiskes, or that the actual tower is the small projection of the walls adjacent to it.

It is true that traditions do not die easily on the Holy Mountain and that, as we have pointed out, the name has been established at least since the seventeenth century. In the *Hypotyposis*,[17] one of the main sources for establishing the history of the monastery, it is stated that Tzimiskes added some building(s) to the monastery, paying the sum of two hundred and forty-four coins for them. However, even this fails to furnish a very secure dating. It is quite obvious that the tower was constructed later than the adjacent castle on its eastern side and, although the remaining part of the fortifications on the north are of a later date, part of an older wall remains instated in the tower wall. Until a date for the construction of the monastery *enceinte* can be established with some degree of certainty, this information is useless. Nor does the physical fabric itself give us many clues for determining its date. The construction with rough stones and mortar can easily be attributed to almost any building period in Athos. The thick bricks, with which the window lintels and the second floor niche are formed, belong to the first construction phase and can definitely be dated to the Byzantine period in general.

Dated late tenth-century constructions are rather rare even in Constantinople. On Mt Athos the tower of the small Monastery of Mylopotamos is attributed to St Athanasios, the founder of Great Lavra,[18] and probably the lower part of the Amalfitan's tower, a ruined monastery founded at almost the same time as Great Lavra, at least in its first phase. However, we do not really know whether the towers which survive today are the original ones. Outside Athos it is worth mentioning the Voukoleon palace built by Nikephoros Phokas in 967[19] and the now demolished Velissarios[20] tower in Constantinople, the keep of the castle Saone in Syria built by Tzimiskes himself in 975[21] and probably the tower near Koumpelidiki in the town of Kastoria. All of these are rather squat rectangular towers with a horizontal dimension of not more than 15 metres, built with rubble. These buildings are recorded as using little or no brick. They have no projections, machicolations or buttresses; all fighting must have been performed from the ramparts, as in the case of the first phase of the tower of Lavra. Unfortunately, most of them are either demolished or inaccessible. However, whereas the tower of Lavra does not differ significantly from the towers of

[17] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 10.
[18] In *Hypotyposis*, ibid., 18.
[19] W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 225.
[20] Ibid., 312.
[21] W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter* (Berlin, 1966), 46–47, figs 18–19.

this group, their characteristics are not sufficiently specialized to justify positive identification with the Tzimiskis tower.

The answer may be provided by a small brick sigla on the north elevation, where the letters M A K and a little further, 'P' can be distinguished. These represent the remains of an inscription stating the name of the tower's founder, which is probably 'MAKAPIOΣ'.[22] Unfortunately the upper part of the inscription is missing, but it is probable that Makarios was an abbot of the monastery. There are three known abbots bearing this name in the Great Lavra, all of them living in the fourteenth century,[23] and they may possibly in fact be the same person. Moreover, inscriptions of this kind usually belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.[24]

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Mt Athos saw the fortifications and other works of the Serbian Nemanids: St Savas's tower in Chilandar, its first phase up to the fourth floor (1198) and the next two storeys built by King Milutin in the beginning of the fourteenth century,[25] St Basil's tower near Chilandar built *c.* 1300,[26] King Milutin's (Hrusija) near Chilandar also in the beginning of the fourteenth century and probably the lowest part of St George's tower in Chilandar.[27] This type of tower has strong buttresses on all sides topped with arches to enlarge the space of the top floor and house the machicolations. It is closely associated with the north-western great tower of Vatopedi, where Symeon and Savas, the founders of Chilandar, lived as monks before moving to their own monastery. It is also directly related to another group of towers which, instead of having two buttresses at each corner, have a single large one which encloses the corner (Iviron, Dionysiou).[28] To these we can also add the tower Hrelio in the monastery of Rila, built in 1334,[29] which has Athonite characteristics, as well as the ones at Bajnska[30] and Tophala[31] in Montenegro. This style is

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[22] I would like to thank Professor N. Oikonomides for helping me to read the inscription.

[23] According to *Lavra*, the following:

i Makarios signing together with *protos* Isaac (Feb 1324, May 1325, Dec 1325), 62.

ii Makarios, later bishop of Thessalonike, 1331, 30.

iii Makarios, probably the same, March 1342, 31.

iv Makarios signing together with *protos* Sabas, Jan. 1371, 35, 46.

[24] For example, A. Deroko, Le chateau fort de Smederevo, *Starinar* 3, 97; A. K. Orlandos, Βυζαντινὸς πύργος παρὰ τὴν Ὄλυνθον', *EEBS* 13 (1937), 395.

[25] Theocharides, 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure', 62.

[26] Ibid., 63.

[27] D. Bogdanović, V. Djurić and D. Medaković, *Chilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), 142.

[28] See note 27 supra.

[29] L. Praskov, *Hrelbosata kula* (Sofia, 1973), figs 3, 5, 6.

[30] S. Mojsilović, 'Elements of fortification of the monasteries in medieval Serbia', *Balcanoslavica* 7 (1978), 179, 184, fig. 10.

[31] P. Mijović and M. Kovacević, *Villes fortifiées et forteresses au Montenegro* (Belgrade, 1975), 143, pl. LXVII, 204.

sometimes called the 'Athos type' by Serbian writers. It does indeed occur especially on Mt Athos and in the surrounding areas of Macedonia, particularly in the Chalkidiki,[32] which was directly dependent on Mt Athos from the tenth and eleventh centuries: examples are the maritime tower of Lavra, the tower of Morfonou and the tower-like base of the refectory in the Docheiariou monastery.[33]

We can trace a second trend in the tower of the Pantokrator monastery, which was probably built in 1364 at the time of the monastery's establishment, which is closer to mainstream fourteenth-century Byzantine architecture, with its regular brick and stone courses like that on the castle in Pythion. The keep of the maritime tower of Karakallou[34] falls into the same category.

Since none of the above-mentioned thirteenth- and fourteenth-century towers have the architectural features of the so-called 'Tzimiskes tower' in Great Lavra, so the precise date of its construction remains a mystery. Was it built in the fourteenth century as its inscription suggests, or was it built in the tenth or eleventh centuries as we have suggested on the basis of its name and overall general characteristics? Given the uncertainty of the dating of the buildings we have mentioned and the strength of tradition on Mount Athos, we tend to support the first hypothesis. Nevertheless, the matter remains open for further research.

[32] For example, the tower of Galatista (unpublished).

[33] P. Theocharides and I. Tavlakis, 'Ερευνες στην παλιά Τράπεζα της Μ. Δοχειαρίου 'Αγίου Ορους', unpublished paper read at the Second Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society (Athens, 1982); summaries, 29–30.

[34] Papangelos and Tavlakis, The maritime fort of Monastery Karakalou, 116.

16. Recent research into Athonite monastic architecture, tenth–sixteenth centuries

Ploutarchos L. Theocharides

From the perspective of the history of architecture, the peninsula of the Holy Mountain is an extremely valuable location, preserving, as it does, hundreds of old buildings and ruins of every description, and providing us with a fairly integrated sample of human activity over the last eleven centuries. Despite the great significance of this material for the study of Byzantine and post-Byzantine architecture, however, research into it is still in its first stages. Scientific publications are comparatively few and far between, and most of these are of a preliminary nature. Very few are based on systematic and in-depth investigation of the building complexes themselves and their evolution.[1] In recent years, a series of studies has been presented by Professor Paul Mylonas on katholika and other major churches; these mainly discuss the issue of the origin and development of the Athonite-type church.[2] At the same time, other research has begun to shed light on the older history of the building complexes – the vast masses of structures within the enclosures of the monastic foundations. This paper will attempt a comprehensive review of the issues we have studied in recent years in the field of monastic architecture in Byzantine and early post-Byzantine times. Material from forthcoming papers and research will also be presented.

Although an official systematic inventory and study of the architectural heritage of Mt Athos has not yet been instituted, these preliminary studies, wherever they have been produced, have shown the series of successive

[1] I. Doens, 'Bibliographie de la Sainte Montagne de l'Athos', *MMA* II, 337–495; J.S. Allen, ed., *Literature on Byzantine Art 1892–1967* I, 1 (Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies, series I), 408–14; D. Bogdanović, V. Djurić and D. Medaković, *Chilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), 208.

[2] P.M. Mylonas, 'Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos', *Cah Arch* 28 (1979), 143–60; P.M. Mylonas, 'Two middle-Byzantine churches on Athos', *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Athens, 1976), II (1981), 545–74; P.M. Mylonas, 'Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la génèse du type du catholicon athonite', *Cah Arch* 32 (1984), 89–112; P.M. Mylonas, 'Remarques architecturales sur le catholicon de Chilandar', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 66 (1986), 7–45; P.M. Mylonas, 'Notice sur le katholikon d'Iviron', *Ivir.* I, 64–68.

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renovations which the buildings have undergone during their long, often thousand-year, history. In many cases, as indeed one would expect, buildings of a more recent general character (or simply a remodelling of their surface) incorporate more or less extensive remains of older phases which retain dense construction stratigraphy. Naturally, the only opportunity for a more detailed and systematic acquaintance with this diachronic evolution of the buildings and the characteristics of their construction is afforded while work on their consolidation or restoration is being carried out. Despite this, the interventions which have been taking place during the last ten years have in most cases been limited to repair work or general renovation, carried out without reference to restoration methods and to the history of architecture and construction.[3] Thus, we are continually being deprived of an increasing number of monuments which could have made a very significant contribution to the topic.

Monastic enclosures

Our researches into the evolution of the size of monastery enclosures – a subject first touched upon some twenty years ago by Peter Burridge[4] – show that the size of the Athonite monasteries until the nineteenth century was, in most cases, considerably smaller than it is today.[5] Exceptions are certain very large monasteries, such as the Great Lavra and Vatopedi, which have been as large as they are today since the Palaeologan era.[6]

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[3] P.L. Theocharides, Ἡ αρχιτεκτονική κληρονομιά του Αγίου Ὄρους', *ο παρατηρητής* 18–19 (March, 1991), 25–33.

[4] P. Burridge, *The Development of Monastic Architecture on Mount Athos* (Anne Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1982).

[5] P.L. Theocharides, Ἡ κτιριακή επέκταση της Μονής Γρηγορίου Αγίου Ὄρους μετά την πυρκαγιά του έτους 1761. Προανασκαφική έρευνα', *Συντήρηση και αναβίωση παραδοσιακών κτιρίων και συνόλων*, ΤΕΕ/Τμήμα Μαγνησίας, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Βόλου, September 1981 (Thessalonike, 1982), 183–209; P.L. Theocharides, Παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία και την οχύρωση της μονής Διονυσίου Αγ. Ὄρους κατά τον 160 αιώνα', *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982), 444–69; idem., Προκαταρκτική θεώρηση των βυζαντινών φάσεων του περιβόλου της Μ. Ξενοφώντος Αγίου Ὄρους', *JÖB* 32(4) (1982), 443–55; idem., Παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία του περιβόλου της Μ. Ιβήρων', 5th X.A.E. Symposium (Thessalonike, 1985), Abstracts, 25–26; idem., Παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία της Μ. Αγίου Παύλου στο "Αγιό Ὄρος', 8th X.A.E. Symposium (Athens, 1988), Abstracts 41–42; idem., 'The Byzantine fortified enclosure of the Monastery of Chelandariou', *Hilandarski Zbornik* 7 (1989), 59–70; idem., 'The architecture of Simonopetra', *Simonopetra, Mount Athos* (Athens, 1991), 76–86; idem., Ἡ εξέλιξη του οικοδομικού συγκροτήματος της Μονής Ξηροποτάμου', forthcoming in the book for the monastery of Xeropotamou (Athens: Daedalos).

[6] P.L. Theocharides, Παρατηρήσεις σε παλιές οικοδομικές φάσεις της Μεγίστης Λαύρας (10ος–16ος αι.) : το ηγουμενείο-σκευοφυλάκιο και η κόρδα του Αγίου Αθανασίου', 13th X.A.E. Symposium (Athens, 1993), Abstracts, 10–11; idem., Οι βυζαντινοί περίβολοι των Μονών Βατοπεδίου και Μεγίστης Λαύρας', Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Το Ἅγιον Ὄρος, χθες-σήμερα-αύριο', Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, Thessalonike 29 October–1 November 1993 (forthcoming).

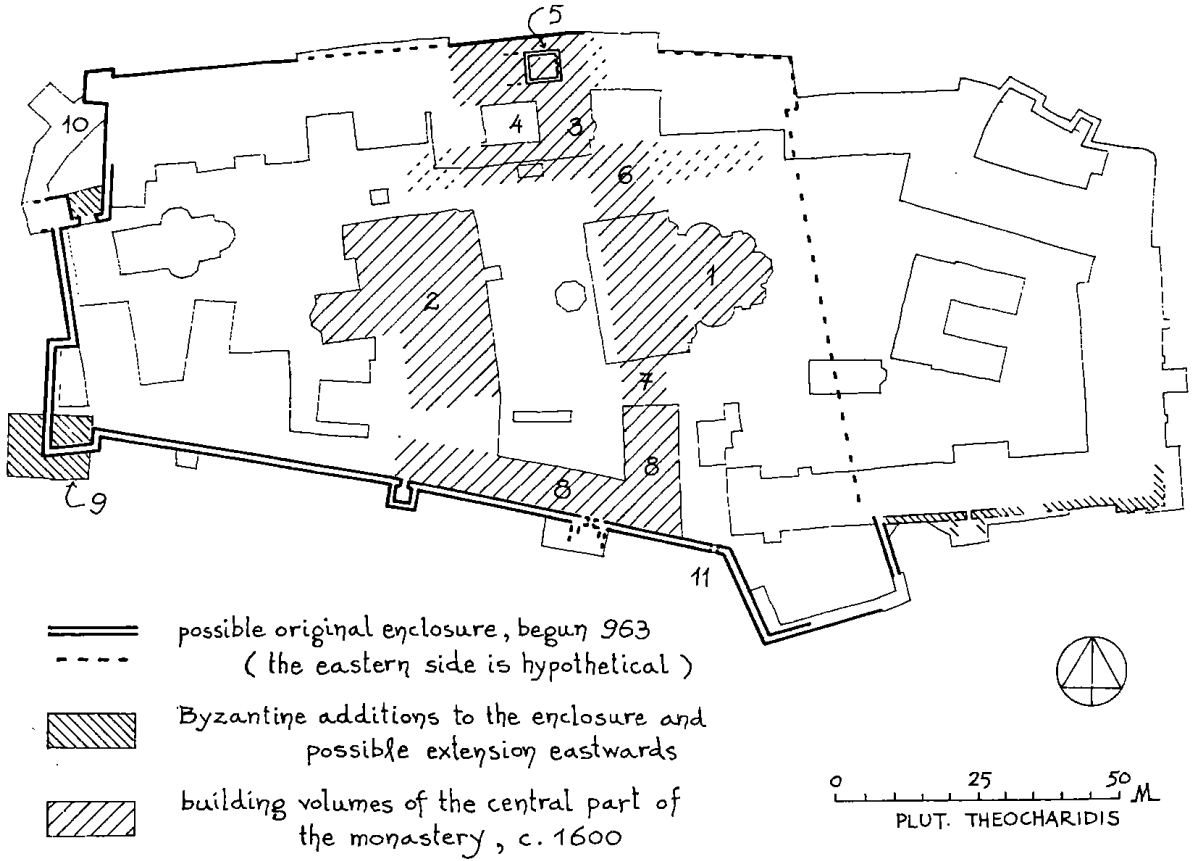

Figure 16.1. General plan of the Great Lavra.
1: Katholikon, 2: refectory, 3: chapel of St Athanasios, 4: small courtyard, 5: church of the 'kellion' of St Athanasios, pre-dating the monastery itself, 6: site of the northern belfry, 7: site of the southern belfry, 8: the so-called "St Athanasios's wing", 9: the so-called Tzimiskes tower, 10: the entrance complex, 11: the postern gate.

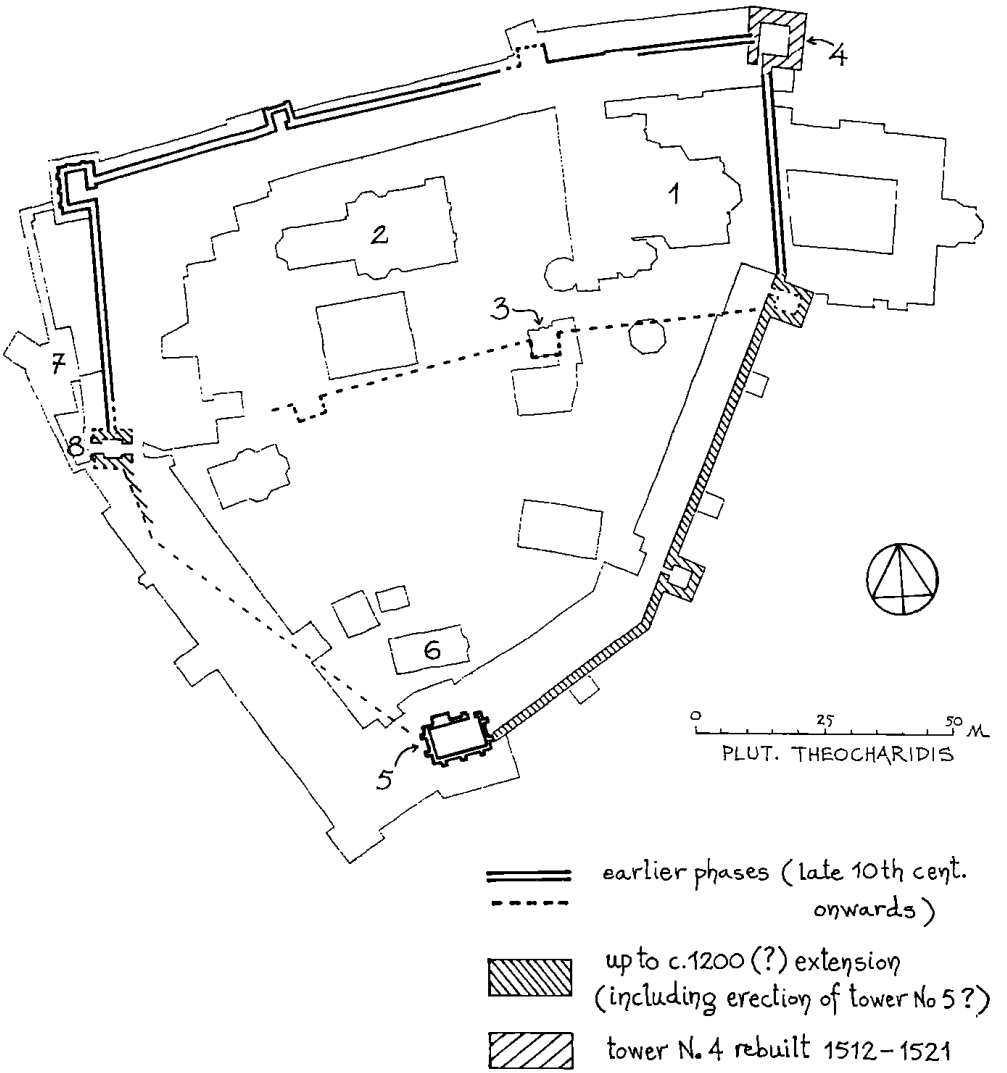

Figure 16.2. General plan of Vatopedi.
1: Katholikon, 2: refectory, 3: belfry of 1427, 4: tower of the Panaghia, 5: tower of the Metamorphosis, 6: church of the Holy Anargyroi, 7: the entrance complex, 8: older entrance.

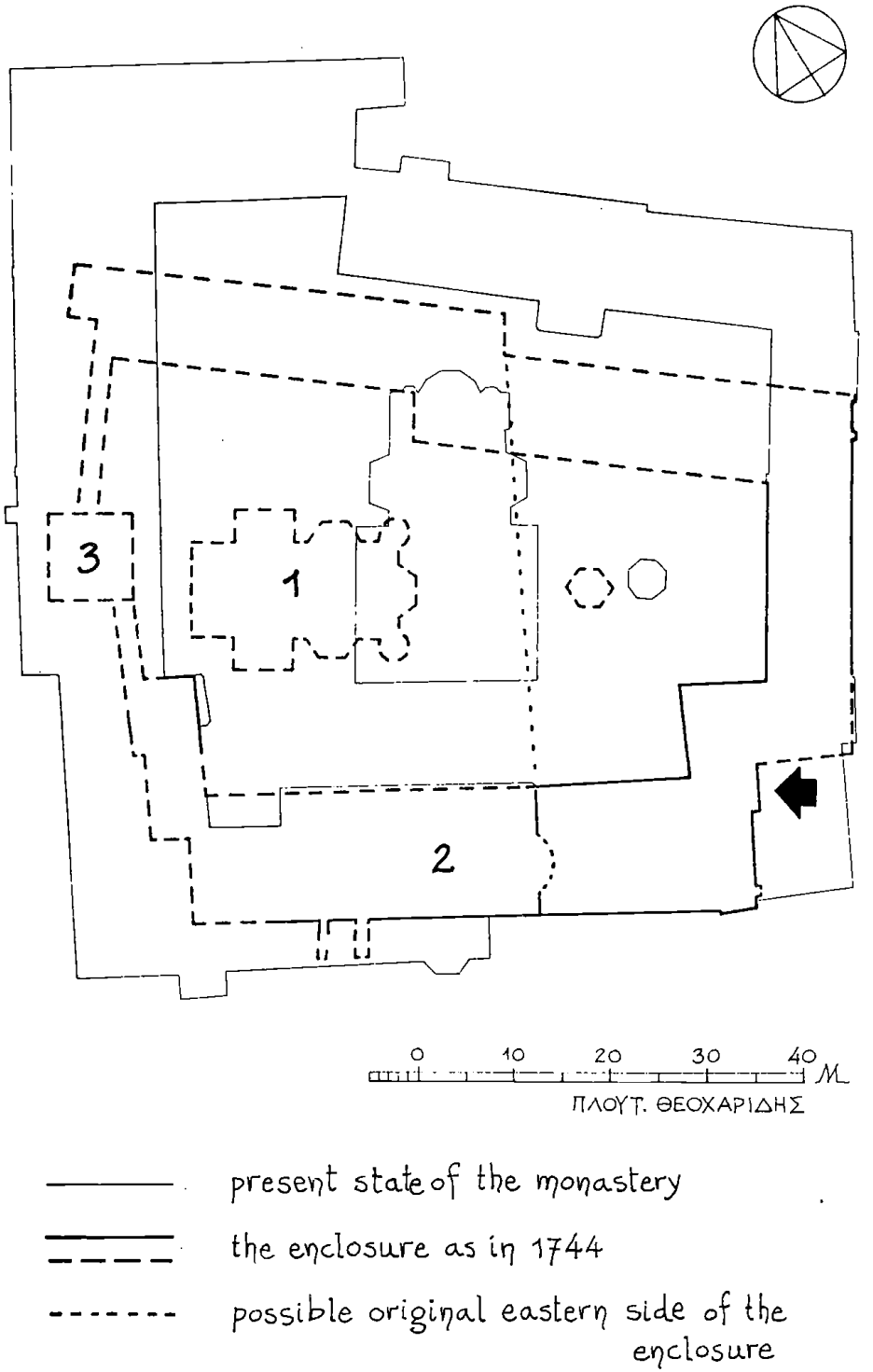

Figure 16.3. General plan of Xeropotamou.
1: older Katholikon, 2: refectory, 3: site of the tower

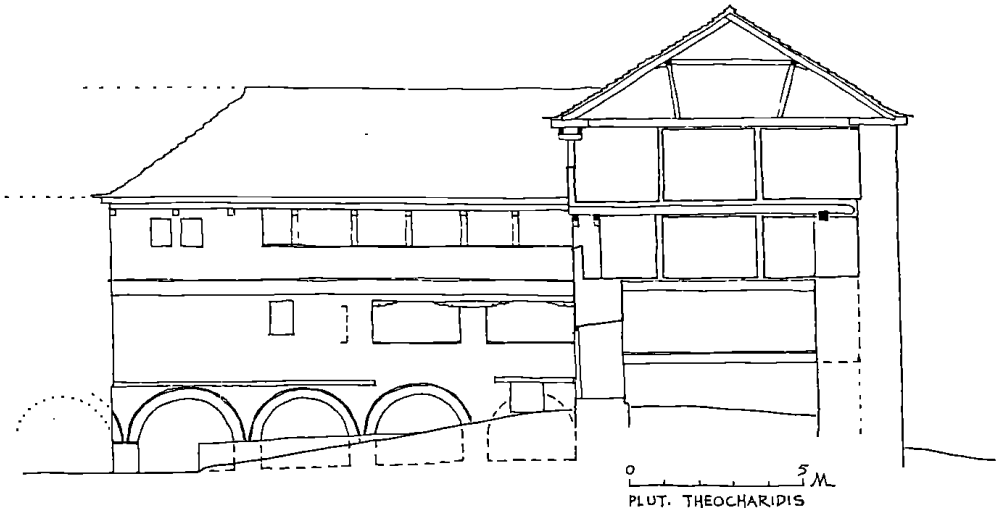

Figure 16.4. The so-called "St Athanasios's wing" at the Great Lavra, main building phase, ca. 1600 or sixteenth century.

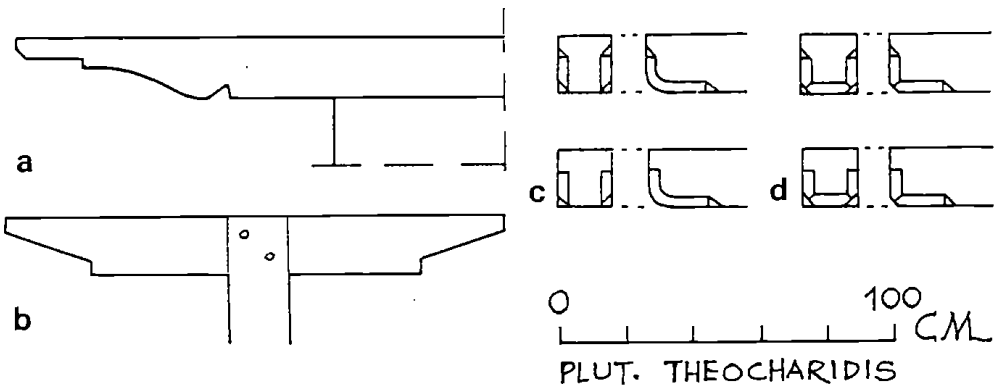

Figure 16.5. Characteristic wooden pieces, sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries. The earliest known examples of d. are in the refectory of Xenophontos, and date from before 1496/7.

Although our knowledge of the enclosure buildings before the seventeenth century is limited, the general disposition of the monasteries cannot have differed greatly from that which we observe in later years, barring the fact that, in former times, many (if not all) of the buildings connected with productive functions, such as mills, stables,[7] forges and olive presses,[8] seem not to have been located around the monasteries, as they are today, but were sited for security reasons, within the walls. Furthermore, in two examples of complexes which were constructed at shore level and which have preserved late Byzantine phases in their landing stages, the boathouse was not independent, as it was in later examples of landing stages, but was added on to the fortified enclosure, with perhaps some internal means of communication between them.[9]

I shall briefly present a few examples of the research carried out so far in monasteries.

In the Great Lavra[10] we have traced the general layout of the central part of the monastery as it must have been at least during the late sixteenth century. The courtyard was divided into two parts, east and west of the katholikon, while at the northern end of this division stood a small complex with it own small courtyard. This small complex, which retains signs of older, dense stratigraphy apparently, housed the abbot's quarters, the sanctuary and a library. As will be discussed below, an early, unrelated small mass, incorporated into the later buildings, has also been identified here. This may have constituted part of the *kellion* where St Athanasios was living in 963, at the time he embarked on the construction of the monastery.

If the Great Lavra had not already attained its present size during the mid-Byzantine period, it had certainly done so in Paleologan times.[11] Yet is does seem possible that the monastery was somewhat smaller at the beginning. The original enclosure may have been four-sided, with ample fortified projections on at least two of its corners: one at the corner where the so-called tower of Tzimiskes was later erected, and a larger one by the postern gate. Among the few, apparently small, towers of this enclosure, there were two by the main entrance and another one in the middle of the south side. It is possible that the Great Lavra, built with funds provided by Nikephoros Phokas, who conceived of it as a future residence, owes its general layout to the experience and skill both of that excellent soldier-

[7] Theocharides, 'Ξενοφώντος', 451 and n.13.

[8] P.L. Theocharides, 'Η αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους στην Παλαιολόγεια εποχή', Β' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο για την Μακεδόνία 'Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων', 14–20 December 1992 (forthcoming).

[9] Xenophontos and St Basil's on the shore of Chilandar, ibid.

[10] Theocharides, 'Μεγιστη Λαύρα' and Theocharides, 'Περιβολοι Βατοπεδιου καί Λαυρας'.

[11] According to the testimony of Ignace of Smolensk, B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en orient* I, 1 (Geneva, 1889), 147.

emperor and some of his *tektones* – the military masons attached to the armed forces for the erection of their fortified camps.[12]

At this point we might mention another mid-Byzantine fortified enclosure on Athos, that of Xenophontos,[13] restored and mostly built around the year 1080 by a high-ranking imperial officer, namely Stephanos, *megas droungarios* of the fleet. This relatively small enclosure, four or five times smaller than the original Great Lavra, again demonstrates a carefully designed layout and walls with few towers.

Vatopedi,[14] founded between 972 and 985, represents another case. If we consider separately the southern part of the enclosure, which seems to belong to a second construction period, the original monastery seems to have been in the shape of an elongated rectangle, punctuated with towers at more or less regular intervals. In the lower part of the belfry of 1427, with identical plan dimensions to the two small intermediate towers of the north side, and corresponding exactly with the position of one of them, there is most probably hidden one of the two intermediate towers of the missing southern side of the original enclosure. The general layout of this enclosure clearly echoes that of late Roman and early Byzantine fortifications, as we learn from the numerous *Kastra* and *Kastella* of the Roman Frontiers.[15] It is fascinating to speculate on the existence, beneath the present-day monastery, of such an earlier foundation; this would support the monastic tradition which attributes the origins of Vatopedi to Theodosius the Great.[16]

Despite their differences, however, the original enclosures of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi demonstrate a striking resemblance: both seem to have had an elongated plan, with the katholikon sited at the end opposite the entrance and the refectory in the centre.

In Xeropotamou,[17] finally, identification of the successive construction phases from the nineteenth century back to the period prior to the sixteenth has enabled us to trace the monastery's likely size in late Byzantine times.

With regard to the smaller monastic foundations of the early post-Byzantine era (*kellia* and other dependencies), we have only very sparse, fragmentary knowledge of their layout.[18] As to the architecture of the

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[12] See, for example, H. Criscuolo, ed., *Theodosii Diaconi de Creta Capta* (Leipzig, 1979), 7, ll.145–48, and 152–56.

[13] Theocharides, 'Ξενοφωντος'.

[14] Theocharides, 'Περίβολοι Βατοπεδίου και Λαύρας'.

[15] See, for example, S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (Totowa, NJ, 1983), 183 (fig. 71), 186 (fig. 73).

[16] See, for example, Sp. Lamprou, 'Τά Πάτρια του Αγίου 'Ορους', *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 9 (1912), 127–29.

[17] Theocharides, 'Ξηροποτάμου'.

[18] P.L. Theocharides, 'Παραδείγματα κατοικίας σὲ 'αγιορειτικὰ ὀχυρά πύργους καὶ ἐξωμοναστηριακα κελλια τῆς πρώιμης Τουρκοκρατιας', *Ἑλληνικὴ Παραδοσιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική* 8 (Athens, 1991), 271–85.

corresponding Byzantine foundations, as well as that of the numerous small monastic houses which covered the peninsula during the mid-Byzantine era, our knowledge today is limited largely to some surviving towers.[19] However, it has been ascertained that a considerable number of today's *kellia* occupy the sites of ancient monastic houses[20]; in this case, therefore, systematic investigation of them in the future should yield valuable data. We shall do no more here than mention a particular kind of small fort, consisting of a tower and small rectangular enclosure outside one or more of its sides,[21] thereby forming one or more residential wings around the tower, with an intervening, narrow courtyard. The surviving examples show that this type was in use both on Mt Athos and in its *metochia*, and it seems to have been associated with many kinds of monastic foundation. Furthermore, even though in most cases the post-Byzantine addition of the enclosure was traced to a pre-existing Byzantine tower, it nevertheless appears that similar arrangements also existed during the Byzantine period.[22]

Fortifications

I shall refer here only to one group of large fortified towers. These towers have their own typology and are characterized by exterior reinforcements of piers – sometimes shallow, sometimes massive – in the form of buttresses. Many examples survive both on Mt Athos and in the broader region of Chalkidiki and the surrounding areas within which its dependencies lie,[23] as well in the Balkan peninsula to the north. In most cases, we know nothing about the original form of the upper parts of these towers but, particularly in the case of these with massive buttresses, it seems that the latter supported a spacious upper floor, through arches (or even half-cones at the corners). In the rare examples where a Byzantine upper floor has survived (as in the tower of St George in the Monastery of Chilandar, or in the tower, dating from 1334–35, of the Monastery of Rila in Bulgaria), its floor plan consists of a chapel enclosed by a corridor in the form of an ambulatory.[24] It has been claimed that this type of Byzantine tower first

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[19] A. Papazotos, 'Recherches topographiques au Mont Athos', in H. Ahrweiler, ed., *Géographie historique du Monde Méditerranéen, Byzantina Sorbonensia* 7 (Paris, 1988), 149–78.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Theocharides, 'Παραδείγματα', 271–75.

[22] See also Theocharides, 'Η αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους στην παλαιολόγεια εποχή', note 7 supra.

[23] Catalogues of the towers are under preparation. See P.L. Theocharides, 'Οι πύργοι του Αγίου Όρους', 17th International Byzantine Congress, Washington DC, 1986, Abstracts of short papers, 342; I.A. Papangelos 'Οι πύργοι της Χαλκιδικής', op. cit. 252–53.

[24] Theocharides, 'Chelandariou', 63–64; idem., 'Η αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους στην παλαιολόγεια εποχή'. For the tower of Rila see L. Praskov, *Hreljovata Kula* (Sofia, 1973).

appeared in the Palaeologan era as a result of western European influence.[25] Examples from the Holy Mountain, however, indicate that this type must have existed there from as early as about the year 1000, although related types had a much older history.[26]

The Byzantine enclosure walls on Mt Athos were also often reinforced at intervals on the exterior by shallow piers.[27] This feature also appears in Byzantine walls beyond the Holy Mountain – for example at Thessalonike, in twelfth-century construction phases.[28]

Fortification activity was intense on the Holy Mountain throughout the early post-Byzantine period too, both in the renovation of the fortified enclosures and the founding of new towers, or in carrying out repairs and modernization of pre-existing ones.[29] We shall concentrate on only one of the characteristics of this period, which clearly illustrates the dynamism of the powerful Athonite foundations. At least in terms of the Orthodox Balkan region, these seem to have remained at the technological front of their age in terms of the use of artillery pieces in a large number of fortified buildings, dating mostly from the final years of the fifteenth century until about 1570, or even until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Specially constructed cannon emplacements in these buildings are found, following a pattern similar to contemporary European, and Ottoman examples.[30] On the Holy Mountain there still remain a few small cannons and parts thereof, which are identical with European examples of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries[31] and which were probably used to arm ships. The Monastery of Dionysiou,[32] has the oldest known fortification work in which gun emplacements were constructed. It was a well-fortified tower, with cannons on at least two floors, abutting the old south wing, which dates from around 1500. As the monastery extended towards the south half a century later, the gun emplacements in the tower, which had since become obsolete, were quickly replaced as new building work was completed. These buildings overlook the monastery's landing stage, and their cannons were turned towards the open sea and the anchorages.

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[25] A. Kazhdan et al., eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* III (Oxford, 1991), 1760–61.

[26] A study on this subject is under preparation.

[27] Theocharides, 'Chelandariou', 65; idem., 'Ξενοφωντος', 446.

[28] J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), 79, pl. XI(2).

[29] Theocharides, 'Διονυσίου'; idem., 'Οι οικοδομικές φάσεις του πύργου της Μ. Σταυρονικήτα', *Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο πανεπιστήμιο* II (Thessalonike, 1991), 681–99.

[30] P.L. Theocharides, 'Αρσανάδες και προστασία των ακτων στό Αγιο Όρος, αρχιτεκτονική και εξοπλισμός', a lecture to be published, Ιδρυμα Γουλανδρή-Χόρν, Athens, 20 May, 1993.

[31] See for example D. Pope, *Guns* (London, 1969), figs at 34–35. A study on cannons and cannon emplacement on Athos is under preparation.

[32] Theocharides, 'Διονυσίου', 448–58.

Residential and auxiliary buildings

We shall now discuss the residential buildings and those with other auxiliary uses which served daily life. A major topic which has been revealed by our research is the recognition of residential buildings which date from the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, as well as their morphological and constructional characteristics.[33] We are dealing here with an architecture which to a large extent uses wooden and wooden lath constructions. The matter is of particular importance because, until now, our knowledge of the relevant architecture of the northern Greek regions was limited almost exclusively to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The evidence at our disposal gives us a general image of the architecture of the wings in the monasteries from the early post-Byzantine period, which is characterized by compact building volumes, with small windows and no special attention paid to the exterior façades of the enclosures. It also appear that *sachnisia* – that is, wooden lath projections to upper rooms – and balconies were rarer (although they did exist), in contrast to the general impression given by the monasteries today.

During this period the wings were usually organized on the interior, facing the monastery's courtyard, with superimposed galleries, or *doxata*. In those older buildings which we have been able to identify and which can be dated to the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the *doxata* are fashioned with built, rectangular piers or, occasionally, with wooden columns, (or with a combination, depending on the storey – elements which bear wooden epistyles to support the floors and roofs; where arcades also exist, they are on ground floor. Conversely, the oldest examples which can be dated with certainty of that type of *doxata* which is very widespread on Mt Athos, with superimposed arcades and brick decoration between the arches, are no older than the first half of the seventeenth century. There is, however, some evidence which indicates the presence of this type on Athos in the sixteenth century as well.[34] Later, through the works carried out on Athos in the eighteenth century, this type reached its zenith with lavish brick and ceramic decoration.

Wooden and wooden lath structures characterize a large part of the monumental heritage of Mt Athos., Their specific morphological and structural elements are polymorphous in character, varying with the chronological period and the particular tradition of the building crews, while their systematic study can supply us with a basis for the dating of the corresponding construction stages of the buildings. The stratigraphic

[33] P.L. Theocharides, 'Οἱ πτέρυγες κατοικίας στὰ 'αγιορειτικὰ μοναστήρια (1500–1900)', *Ελληνικὴ Παραδοσιακὴ 'Αρχιτεκτονική* 8 (Athens, 1991), 255–64.

[34] Ibid., 260.

studies have revealed a multitude of structural remains, sections of buildings or even whole buildings constructed principally from wooden lath which are dated to early past-Byzantine times, both within the monasteries and in the small *kellia* complexes out in the countryside, which, as we have mentioned, often occupy the site of older monastic houses or *kellia*. The wooden constructions of this period are consistent in their style, adhering to particular forms and decoration,[35] some of which go back at least as far as the second half of the fifteenth century, as is shown by the roof of the refectory of the Monastery of Xenophontos, which dates to before the year 1496–97.[36] It may be that we are dealing with an older tradition, which may derive from the late Byzantine era. In particular, the characteristic decoration on the beam ends, which is shown in Figure 16.5 (c,d), is to be found also in wooden or stone corbels in the architecture of Central and Western Europe from the end of the Middle Ages.[37]

On the wooden architecture on the Holy Mountain during the Byzantine era, we are today able to make hardly an evaluation, beyond some remarks on the roofs and floors. In the late twelfth-century phase, for example, of the tower of Saint Savas in the Monastery of Chilandar,[38] second-hand roof and floor timbers were used, which no doubt came from earlier buildings in the monastery. Certainly, any building which retains significant Byzantine phases incorporating timber constructions may provide us with evidence for continuity between the wooden architecture of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries with that of the late Byzantine era. One such example, if it were to be subjected to systematic study, is the tower of the Monastery of Pantokrator. This outstanding building, which dates back to shortly after 1357, preserved in its interior the wooden constructions of the early post-Byzantine epoch, and probably also some remains of the original timbers, as well as of material which may have been used for repairs after the fire of 1392.[39] All these wooden constructions have now been lost due to the renovation and refurbishing work currently being carried out.[40]

In a few instances, we have also recognized some remains of Byzantine residential buildings which were preserved and incorporated into later

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[35] Ibid., 260–62; P.L. Theocharides, 'Ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά στοιχεία των ξύλινων κατασκευών στα μοναστήρια του Αγίου 'Ορους κατά τον 160 και 170 αιώνα', 4th X.A.E. Symposium (Athens, 1984), 21–23. A study on this subject is under preparation, in the form of a catalogue of building.

[36] Theocharides, 'Ξενοφωντος' 446; *Xenoph.*, 24 and n. 5.

[37] See, for example, *Wasmuths Lexikon der Baukunst* (Berlin, 1929), I, 301.

[38] Theocharides, 'Chelandariou', 61.

[39] P.L. Theocharides, 'Η αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου 'Ορους στην παλαιολόγεια εποχή', *Pantokrator*, 16.

[40] The demolition has also taken away some Byzantine elements, such as a large stone and brick arch in the penultimate storey. A study of the tower of Pantokrator is under preparation.

Figure 16.6. The courtyard of Vatopedi from the tower of the Panaghia.

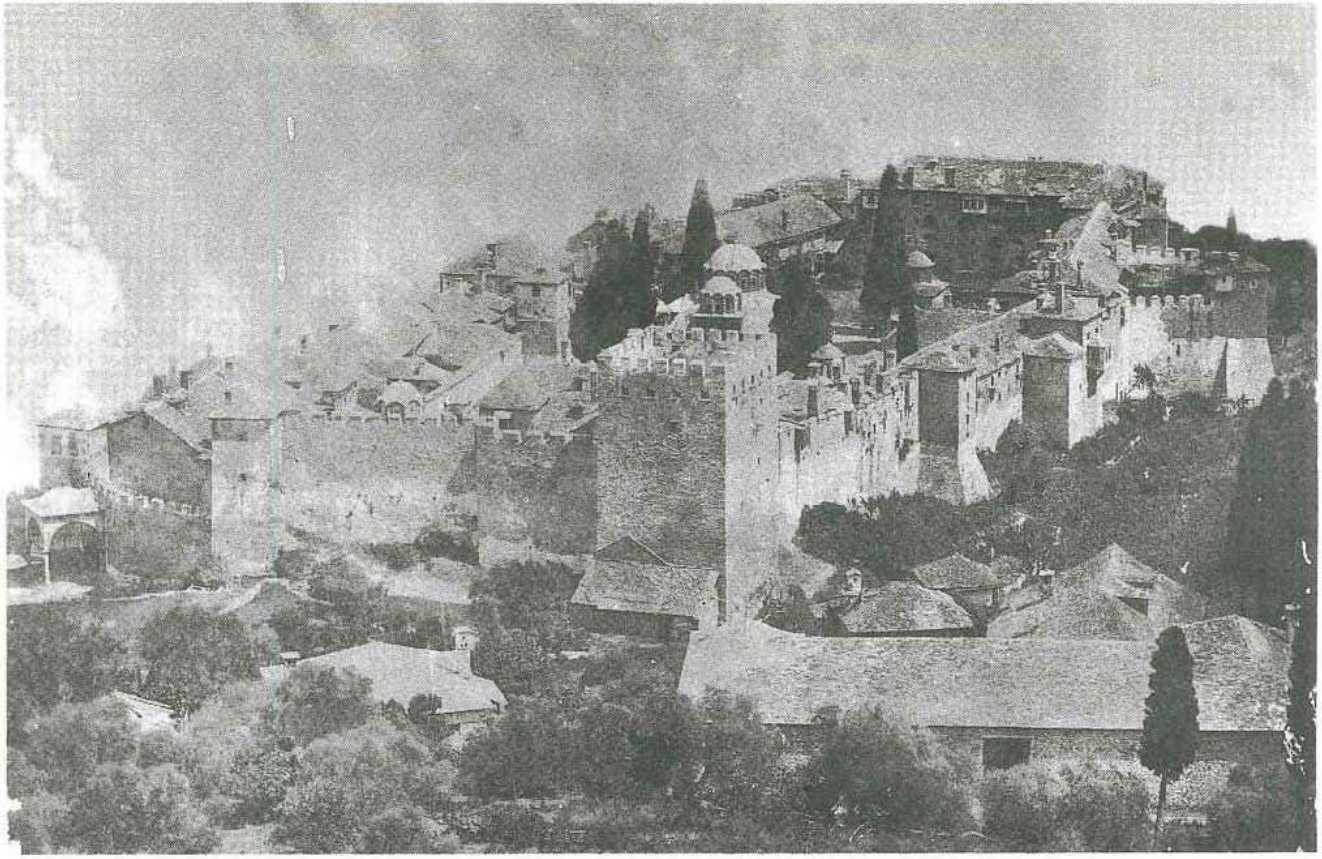

Figure 16.7. The Great Lavra from the west, in 1870.

Figure 16.8. Early cannon in the Great Lavra.

Figure 16.9. 'Doxata' of the southern wing of Koutloumousiou, 1675.

Figure 16.10. Dionysiou from the east. The eastern wing, built in the first half of the 16th century.

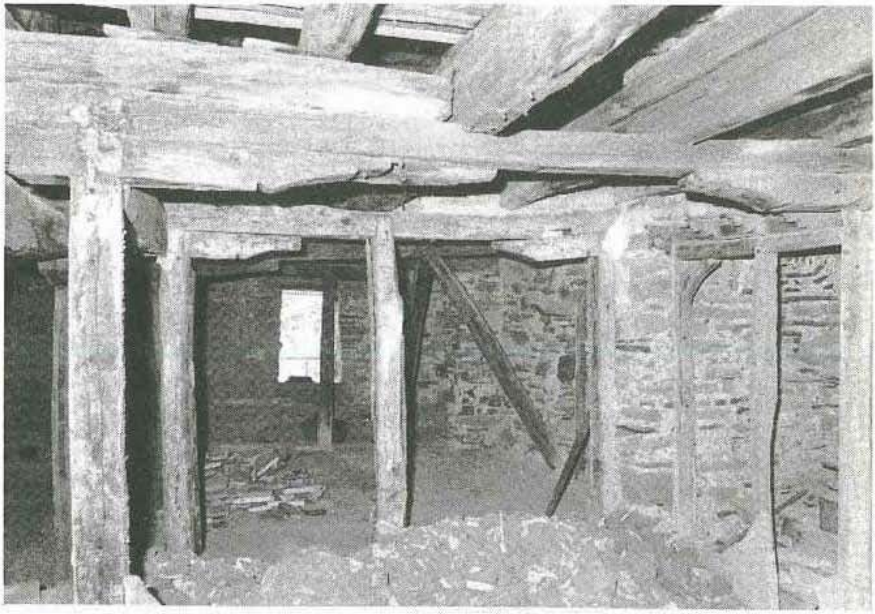

Figure 16.11. Upper floor of the tower at Pantokrator. Wooden interior and remains of ikonostasis, early post-Byzantine period.

buildings. The most important example is in the Monastery of the Great Lavra, in the building around the small atrium of the chapel of St Athanasios which has already been mentioned.[41] The main construction phase of the building belongs to the sixteenth century and incorporates extensive and important parts of older, Byzantine buildings which belong to at least two construction periods. In the later Byzantine phase, it is possible to distinguish, a large room with three bilobed windows and two entrances, which probably belonged to the premises of a complex functioning as the abbot's residence, sacristy and library. Included in the earlier Byzantine phase is the two-storey structure of a small church with a simple square plan, which may well have formed part of the *kellion* in which St Athanasios of Athos lived while he was beginning the construction of his monastery in 963. Today this small building is incorporated into the complex as a separate construction, unrelated to any other part of it. The small church on the first floor is unknown in the tradition of the monastery and had ceased its existence as a church from at least the sixteenth century. On the west side of the ground floor, remnants of the original wooden lintels, cut short in later times, make it clear that the walls continued to the west. If these lost walls were not merely the substructures of a narthex, but part of the residential quarters of the *kellion*, the layout of this small early foundation would present a notable correspondence with the general layout of the *kellia* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these later *kellia*, we almost always find a two-storey chapel with the house attached on the west side. This layout has also been shown to exist in *kellia* of the sixteenth century.[42] As for the form of the tenth century *kellion* of St Athanasios, the final word will rest with the excavations, when and if they ever take place.

[41] Theocharides, 'Μεγίστη Λαύρα'.

[42] Theocharides, 'Παραδείγματα', 276.

17. The painted psalms of Athos

Günter Paulus Schiemenz

In 1845, A.N. Didron published an annotated French translation of the Athonite *Painter's Manual*.[1] On pages 234–36, it contains the description of a composition 'La réunion de tous les esprits' ('the reunion of all the spirits'). In 1909, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus published another version of the *Manual* in its original Greek language, and the corresponding section has the title 'Τὸ πᾶσα πνοή'.[2] These are the first words of the last verse of Psalm 150, 'πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνέσατω τὸν Κύριον' ('let every thing that has breath praise the Lord'), a text which is a sort of summary of the 148th and 150th psalms. Christ sits in the centre of the composition. He holds a scroll with the words of Proverbs 8: 22–23: (Sophia, Wisdom, says of herself) 'The Lord made me the beginning of his ways for his works. He established me before time was in the beginning, before he made the earth.' Next to Christ's throne are the symbols of the evangelists. Christ is approached by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist in the attitude of the *deesis* and surrounded by the nine orders of celestial beings as described by Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, and by an inscription composed of Psalm 150: 6 (as above), 148: 1 ('Praise ye the Lord from the heavens, praise him in the highest') and 64: 2 ('Praise becomes thee, O God [in Sion]') These verses taken from three different psalms constitute the text of a short hymn sung in the service. Below, the holy forefathers, prophets, apostles, fathers of the church, male and female martyrs, hermits, righteous kings and pious nuns praise the Lord. Only the mountains, fruit-bearing trees with birds, and all animals of the earth, domestic and wild, come really close to these psalms:

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[1] A.N. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine* (Paris, 1845; repr. New York, 1964).

[2] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης – *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (St Petersburg, 1909), 128.

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'Mountains and all hills, fruitful trees, and all cedars, wild beasts and all cattle, reptiles, and the winged birds' ('... shall praise the Lord') (Psalm 148: 9–10). Otherwise, the composition is not a pictorial representation of Psalms 148 and 150, but rather a sort of extended *deesis* which resembles the iconography of the Last Judgement and rather superficially incorporates some elements of the last psalms.

Surprisingly one has to turn to Russian icon and wall-painting, rather than to the Athonite monasteries, to find this composition executed.[3] And yet, Didron presented as an example a vast painting in the porch of the katholikon of Iviron which, however, does *not* follow the *Painter's Manual* but rather, quite literally, the complete text of Psalms 148–150. Another five representations of the last psalms had previously been mentioned in the literature: those in the katholika of Docheiariou and Koutloumousiou, in the Koukouzelissa chapel of the Great Lavra, in the bone chapel of Gregoriou, and in the corridor connecting the katholikon of Docheiariou with the *trapeza*. To these four more can now be added: those in the katholika of Karakallou, Philotheou, Gregoriou and Xeropotamou.

The full texts of Psalms 148–150 are sung together with a series of stichera and the Greater Doxology at the conclusion of *orthros* (matins).[4] Their illustration in wall-painting may therefore just be 'painted liturgy'. However, they enjoyed a remarkable popularity whereas other psalms which were also sung in the services, such as Psalms 134 and 135 (the *polyéleos* also sung in *orthros*) or Psalms 103, 140, 141, 129 and 116 sung in vespers[5] were not illustrated. In addition, there is usually a baffling emphasis on Psalm 149, verses 6–8 which have very little to do with the praise of the Lord. The marginal miniatures of illustrated psalters provide ample evidence that the psalms were considered as types for later events such as the baptism (Psalm 113, 3, 5) and the crucifixion of Christ (Psalm 68, 22).[6] It is therefore a legitimate question whether this also may be true for the last psalms.

Although probably already illustrated in Ravenna in the fifth century,[7] Psalm 148 remained a rare subject for a long time. Three wall-paintings of Psalms 148–150 from the time and realm of the Serbian king Stefan Dušan (mid-fourteenth century), Lesnovo, Kučevište and Chrelju's tower in the

[3] Wall-painting: E. Redin, 'Triklinii Basiliki Ursa v' Ravenn', *VV* 2 (1895), 512–20, pl. IX (Jaroslavl); icons: for example, N.P. Kondakov, *Ruská Ikona* 2, Album (Prague, 1929), pl. 97 (left).

[4] N.K. Moran, 'Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting', *Byzantina Neerlandica* 9 (Leiden, 1986), 89.

[5] E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd edn, Oxford 1961), 128–9; Moran, *Singers*, 86–88.

[6] For example, M.V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury Chludovskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977), fol. 67r, 117r.

[7] G.P. Schiemenz, 'Die Sintflut, das Jüngste Gericht und der 148. Psalm', *CahArch* 38 (1990), 159–94.

Rila monastery, are followed only from the second half of the sixteenth century on by a then ever increasing number of monuments in all Orthodox countries. This renaissance coincides with allusions even to secular issues in the iconographically related composition of the Last Judgement.

For example, in Voroneț, Moldavia (mid-sixteenth century), the condemned people include the heretical Latins and Armenians as well as the Jews, Turks and Tatars.[8] The wall-painting thus parallels a charm which was in use even much later on the island of Kos: 'As thou didst banish the devils from paradise, so keep my enemies far from me ... Franks, Armenians, Turks, and every evil and passionate man or woman, young and old, believers or heretics, who hate ... the Christians, poisoners and stranglers'.[9] A monastery church near Vladimir in Russia has a seventeenth-century Last Judgement which depicts the Swedes, the Poles and the Tatars among the condemned;[10] these were the enemies against whom the Russians were currently fighting. Many an icon was carried into battle against unbelievers of one sort or another and miraculously produced a victory. Orthodox Christians hoped for victory in battle over the unbelievers, deliverance from their oppression where their rule was firmly established and for a place in paradise at the end of time.

Psalm 149: 4–9 was highly suitable for conveying a similar message in a non-compromising way:

> (4) For the Lord takes pleasure in his people, and will exalt the meek with salvation. (5) The saints shall rejoice in glory, and shall exult on their beds. (6) The high praises of God shall be in their throat, and two-edged swords in their hands, (7) to execute vengeance on the nations and punishments among the peoples, (8) to bind their kings (*basileis*) with fetters, and their nobles with manacles of iron, (9) to execute on them the judgment written: this honour have all his saints.

'Saints' in verses 5 and 9 is *osioi* in the Septuagint text, but more appropriately, *osios* means 'venerable, the pious one, the believer', and the believers were, of course, the Christians. The nations and peoples of verse 7 obviously were not *osioi* – they were unbelievers, and the unbelievers of that period were, above all, the Muslims. In about 1500 Sultan Bayezid II, in his Greek-language documents, already called himself *basileus*,[11] and it

[8] A. Grabar and G. Oprescu, 'Rumänien. Bemalte Kirchen in der Moldau', *UNESCO-Sammlung der Weltkunst* (Paris, 1962), pl. XVI (not Moldovita), XVIII, XXI; R. Hootz and V. Vataşianu, *Kunstdenkmäler in Rumänien* (Darmstadt, 1986), 464 (Armenians, Jews, Turks, Tatars; for the Latins, cf. A. Grabar, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst Osteuropas* (Baden-Baden, 1968; repr. Zürich), 120.

[9] W.H.D. Rouse, 'Folklore from the Southern Sporades', *Folk-Lore* 10 (1899), 164.

[10] I.E. Grabar, W.N. Lasarew and W.S. Kemenow, *Geschichte der russischen Kunst* 4 (Dresden, 1965), fig. 186 (cf. fig. 248, Jaroslavl).

[11] H. Hunger, 'Ein griechischer Brief Sultan Bajezids II. an Lorenzo de' Medici', *JÖB* 11–12 (1962–63), 115–20.

was therefore easy to apply verse 8 to the rulers of the Muslims. This is depicted in all paintings of the last psalms wherever they go beyond Psalm 148, on the Holy Mountain and elsewhere in the Orthodox world, except in Russia, the only Orthodox country which was not under Muslim rule.

The only painting on Athos known so far which has on Christ's scroll the text of Proverbs 8: 22–23 as prescribed in the *Manual* is in the Koukouzelissa chapel of the Great Lavra. The paintings (Figure 17.1) are likely to date from 1715. Within a circle depicting the signs of the zodiac (illustrating Psalm 148: 4, first part) the nine orders of celestial beings praise the Lord Christ (Psalm 148: 2) who is surrounded by the evangelists and the text of Psalm 148: 1 and the beginning of verse 2. Psalm 150: 6 is not mentioned, and hence, strictly speaking, this is not the πᾶσα πνοή.[12] The praise by the creatures of the earth begins in clock position 4 and runs anti-clockwise. Below the stars, moon and sun of verse 3, there are the dragons and abysses of verse 7 and the fire, hail, snow, ice and the stormy wind of verse 8. The stormy wind is in the shape of an *asomatos*, a bloodless angel within the double square gloriole as in the katholikon of Docheiariou and the related paintings of Roussanou (Meteora) and Dousiko in western Thessaly. Next come the hills and trees of verse 9 and the animals of verse 10. Among them there is a headless man who has his face on his chest, and some other fabulous creatures. Psalm 148 urges the whole of creation to praise the Lord, which includes those peoples of whom one has only rather vaguely heard. The kings, princes and judges of verse 11, the youths and virgins, the old men with the young ones of verse 12 are followed by a group of old men with haloes: the illustration of verse 14: 'and he shall exalt the horn of his people, (there is) a hymn for all his saints (again *osioi*) ..., a people who draw near to him'.

What follows has been misunderstood by G. Millet. Several old men carry the building of a church. Millet believed this to represent the transfer of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem,[13] but this hypothesis is definitively ruled out by the accompanying inscriptions as well as by comparison with other monuments, including the transfer of the Ark and the psalm illustrations.[14] The scene represents, in fact, Psalm 149: 1, 'Sing to the Lord a new song; his praise is in the assembly of the saints', *en ekklesia osion*. The painter took *ekklesia* (the church) literally and depicted a church building. Then he skipped the rest of Psalm 149 and immediately turned to Psalm 150: 3–4: '(3) Praise him with the sound of a trumpet. Praise him with

[12] Cf. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* I, *Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), 58 (pl. 263): 'Lavra, Portaitissa [= Koukouzelissa] 'Que tout ce qui respire loue le Seigneur' [= Psalm 150: 6] ...'

[13] Millet, *Monuments*, 58, pl. 263.

[14] G.P. Schiemenz, 'Gabriel Millet's Ark of the Covenant in the Great Lavra at the Holy Mountain', *Macedonian Studies* 12 (1955), 3–42.

Figure 17.1. Great Lavra, Koukouzelissa chapel: Psalms 148–150. In the spandrel in clock position 11 are the warriors with the two-edged swords; in clock position 1 are the fettered kings and princes.

psaltery and harp. (4) Praise him with timbrel and dance. Praise him with stringed instruments and the organ.'

In order properly to see these paintings in the narthex cupola of the chapel, it is necessary to turn one's head back considerably. If, however, the believer left the naos after the service and raised his eyes only slightly, he would have seen the warriors with the two-edged swords of Psalm 149: 6[15] in the north-western spandrel and also, in the southwestern spandrel, what these swords were good for: the punishment of the impious kings of verse 8.

The psalm paintings in the porch of the katholikon of Koutloumousiou have been dated to the sixteenth century,[16] but this dating is impossible. Below the Old Testament Trinity, there is a dedicatory inscription with the year 1744, but even this is much too early for at least some of the psalm paintings. One of the arguments is palaeographic: the angular sigma is still rather rare in the eighteenth century and becomes frequent only in the nineteenth. All three psalms were illustrated scrupulously (Figure 17.2). Christ, within a circular inscription, the nine orders and the zodiac, holds a book with a text derived from John 14: 6, 'I am the way; the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father,but by me'. The inscription separating Christ from the nine orders is the text of Psalm 148: 1–4 (with omissions in verse 1 and 2), preceded by Psalm 150: 6 and hence, neither the psalm text as sung in *orthros* nor the church hymn composed of Psalms 150: 6, 148: 1, 64: 2. The dragons and abysses (Psalm 148: 7), fire, hail, snow and ice (verse 8) are again accompanied by the stormy wind which, however, is represented as a naked human being emerging from a cave. Among the animals are several fabulous creatures such as the man with his feet turned backwards, the female centaur and the headless man with his face on his chest. They are followed by all the human beings mentioned in Psalm 148: 11–12.

These parts could still date from the eighteenth century, but those in the spandrels certainly could not. They are clearly nineteenth-century paintings. Again, *ekklesia* of Psalm 149: 1 is rendered by a church building. In the adjacent spandrel, again within easy view, there is a detailed and violent illustration of Psalm 149: 6: the warriors with the two-edged swords menacing the fettered kings of the enemies (Figure 17.3). This is followed by the dance of the feast of victory (Psalm 150: 4–5); like *ekklesia*, the word *organon* in verse 4 has been taken literally, although the authors of the Septuagint are unlikely to have had in mind anything similar to the organ depicted here.

The painting in the corridor between the katholikon and the *trapeza* of Docheiariou is rather similar and therefore roughly contemporaneous.

[15] Millet, *Monuments*, pl. 263–1 (the location as given on pp. 58–59, 'côté sud' for pl. 263–1 and 'côté nord-ouest' for pl. 263–2, is in error).

[16] Exhibition catalogue *Music in the Aegean* (Athens, 1987), pl. 10, 11, 13.

Figure 17.2. Koutloumousiou: Psalms 148–150. In clock position 1 are the warriors with the two-edged swords menacing the fettered kings.

Figure 17.3. Koutloumousiou: Psalm 149: A warrior with his two-edged sword menacing a fettered king.

The inscription surrounding Christ is star-shaped, has the angular sigma and consists of Psalms 150: 6, 148: 1 (first part only), 2 and (somewhat abridged) 3. Again, the animals of Psalm 148: 10 include the fabulous creatures. In addition to those depicted in Koutloumousiou is the sciapod. J. Strzygowski,[17] referring to such creatures in the Koukouzelissa chapel and in Koutloumousiou, believed them to be taken from manuscripts of the *Physiologos*, of Cosmas Indicopleustes and from the Alexander romance of Pseudo-Kallisthenes, especially from the manuscript in Venice.[18] In fact, much closer literary sources, especially for the sciapod, are the *Natural History* of Pliny, the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius and the *City of God* of St Augustine.[19] Prototypes are found neither in the common *Physiologos* manuscripts nor in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes in Venice; instead they occur in Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*[20] and Münster's *Cosmographia*.[21] Such Western influences are less surprising when it is considered that Holbein's woodcuts of the Apocalypse provided the prototypes of the corresponding Athonite paintings.[22] On the southern side of the corridor, at a very convenient height with good lighting, there is an extensive depiction of the men with the two-edged swords menacing the fettered kings and of the dance of victory including an organ similar to its counterpart in Koutloumousiou.

The psalm paintings in the *liti* of the katholikon of Docheiariou[23] date from the sixteenth century. Here (and in the contemporaneous paintings of Roussanou and Dousiko), the illustration is restricted to the psalm 148. Correspondingly, the text around Christ is restricted to Psalm 148: 1–2. Psalm 149: 6–9 could not, then, be included, and more than 250 years before the Greek revolution, there may have been little incentive to do so. And yet, there is some equivalent: the text on Christ's scroll, Deuteronomy 32: 39 from the second song of Moses. Moses's song before his death is one of the canticles included into the Greek psalter, and pious folk probably

[17] Pseudo-Kallisthenes: J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München', Denkschr. Kaiserl. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., 52/II (Vienna, 1906), 63 (for Kosmas Indikopleustes and the *Physiologos*, cf. J. Strzygowski, 'Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus', *Byzantinisches Archiv* 2 [Leipzig, 1899], 109).

[18] A. Xyngopoulos, 'Les miniatures du roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le codex de l'institut hellénique de Venise', *Bibliothèque de l'institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise* 2 (Athens/Venice, 1966).

[19] The Loeb Classical Library, H. Rackham, ed., *Pliny, Natural History* II (London/Cambridge, MA, 1961), 512–13, 516–17, 520–23; J.C. Rolfe, ed., *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* II, (London/Cambridge, MA, 1960), 164–67; E.M. Sanford and W.M. Green, eds, *Saint Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans* V (London/Cambridge, MA, 1965) 42–43.

[20] H. Schedel *Liber Chronicaorum*, (Nuremberg 1493).

[21] S. Münster, *Cosmographia*, (Basel, 1543).

[22] L.H. Heydenreich, 'Der Apokalypsen-Zyklus im Athosgebiet und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Bibelillustration der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 8 (1939), 1–40.

[23] Millet, *Monuments*, pl. 244–1. According to Millet, 55,'Que tout ce qui respire loue le Seigneur' [= Psalm 150: 6] which, strictly speaking, is not correct.

knew it by heart. So, when they read 'Behold, behold that I am he, and there is no god beside me; I kill, and I will make to live', they automatically associated with it the verses before and after:

> (31) For their gods are not as our God, but our enemies are void of understanding. (35) In the day of vengeance I will recompense ..., for the day of their destruction is near to them ... (36) For the Lord shall judge his people, and shall be comforted over his servants; for he saw that they were utterly weakened, and failed in the hostile invasion, and were become feeble. (41) For I will sharpen my sword like lightning, and my hand shall take hold of judgement, and I will render judgement to my enemies, and will recompense them that hate me. (43) Rejoice ... and let all the angels of God worship him ...; for he will avenge the blood of his sons, and he will render vengeance, and recompense justice to his enemies, and will reward them that hate him, and the Lord shall purge the land of his people.

These verses are, indeed, very close to Psalm 149: 6–9. Certainly, the *idete, idete* text on Christ's book or scroll was in use even at a much earlier time.[24] The *Painter's Manual* prescribed Deuteronomy 32: 39, together with Isaiah 45: 12, as the text surrounding the Pantokrator in the main cupola of the katholikon. In fact, it is rarely encountered there, but a side chapel of Philotheou has precisely this text. Slightly modified, *idete, idete* became the text of a hymn. E. Wellesz has pointed out, however, that the entire second ode of Moses was suppressed at an early date, possibly because of its threatening character.[25] If it experienced a spectacular comeback in the period of Turkish suppression and in the fight of the Orthodox Christians for independence, it is tempting to conclude that it did so again because of its threatening character. At the time of the Docheiariou painting, it may not yet have meant more than the visual rendering of a hymn but, at a later time, beholders may have inferred a new meaning which could have prompted its renaissance in later church decorations.

Since Didron's visit, it has been known that Iviron, the 'Georgian' monastery, has the painted psalms. Elsewhere in its katholikon are inscriptions with the dates 1795 and 1888. Only a small proportion of the psalm paintings can be attributed to 1795; the majority date from the nineteenth century. As works of art of inferior quality, they are nevertheless bearers of a concealed political message since the treasury of the monastery possesses the garments, gospel book, scepter and hand-written testament of Gregorios V, patriarch of Constantinople who was hanged by the Turks in 1821 in retaliation for the Greek insurrection. Since it is on a flat ceiling

[24] For example, in Slavonic in Bojana, Bulgaria, AD 1259: K. Mijatev, *Die Wandmalereien in Bojana* (Dresden/Sofia, 1961), pl. 27.

[25] Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music*, 141. Wellesz considered it more likely that the second Ode of Moses was suppressed because of its great length. This, however, would not explain its reappearance at a later time.

rather than in a cupola, the central scene is surrounded by a rectangular band which contains both an inscription and the symbols of the zodiac. The inscription has no obvious beginning or end so that Psalm 150: 6 can serve either purpose. Taken as the beginning, it is followed by Psalm 148: 1–2, 64: 2 (first part) and 150: 4, for which 150: 6 is the immediate continuation. The painter ingeniously left it to the beholder whether he preferred to read the inscription as the extended hymn or the abbreviated psalm text.

Within the inscription band, Christ has a globe (?) rather than a book or scroll in his hand. Two warriors of the celestial army surrounding him hold a scroll whose text is essentially Isaiah 6: 3. Outside the inscription, in the praise of the Lord by the earth, Western influence is again obvious. Among the animals, there is a huge leopard (Figure 17.4) which is strikingly similar to a painting by the French painter Jean Baptiste Oudry, executed in 1741 (Figure 17.5). Oudry also painted huge lions, and two lions in Iviron are, again, quite similar. The fabulous creatures are represented by the headless man (although Strygowski insisted that he was absent)[26] and the female centaur. Illustration of Psalm 148: 8 includes the stormy wind as the naked man blowing a trumpet (mistaken by Didron as a personification of the earth, (Psalm 148: 7)). Psalm 150 is illustrated by the dance, the kings Solomon and David, a table with a book showing the text of Psalm 150: 1–2 and some musicians. The only part which can be dated to 1795 is the illustration of Psalm 149: 6–9 in opulent Western baroque style.

In Georgia, the cathedral of Mzcheta has a painting of Psalms 148–150. The inscriptions are in Greek, and it has been suggested that the painters came from Mt Athos.[27] The paintings of Iviron cannot have served as the prototype, because they are too late. There are, however, two more monasteries which had relations with Georgia: Karakallou and Philotheou. Visits to them have revealed that both have psalm paintings. For Karakallou, an inscription of 1707 testifies to the munificence of the *prohegoumenos* Dionysios the Iverite.[28] The psalm paintings date from 1750, have been executed by painters from Ioannina and have, consequently, no relation with Georgia. The upper part resembles rather closely the paintings in the *liti* of Docheiariou (Figure 17.6). Christ holds the *idete, idete* scroll and is surrounded by the text of Psalm 148: 1–2. The stormy wind is the *asomatos* rather than the naked human. Below, the paintings are not well preserved, but inscriptions reveal that Psalms 148: 14, 149: 3, 5–6 had been illustrated. Hence, although iconographically the painter copied Docheiariou, he expanded its painting by an extensive illustration of Psalm 149. No element of Psalm 150 has been identified.

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[26] Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen*, 63.

[27] Schiemenz, 'Die Sintflut', 182–84.

[28] G. Millet, J. Pargoire and L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904), 104, nos 324, 325.

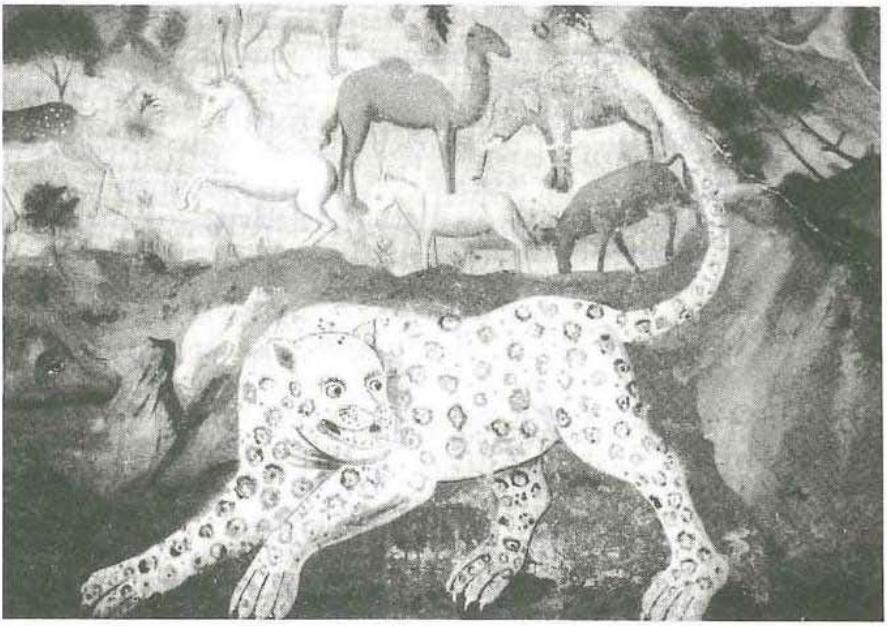

Figure 17.4. Iviron: Psalm 148: 10. The leopard and other animals.

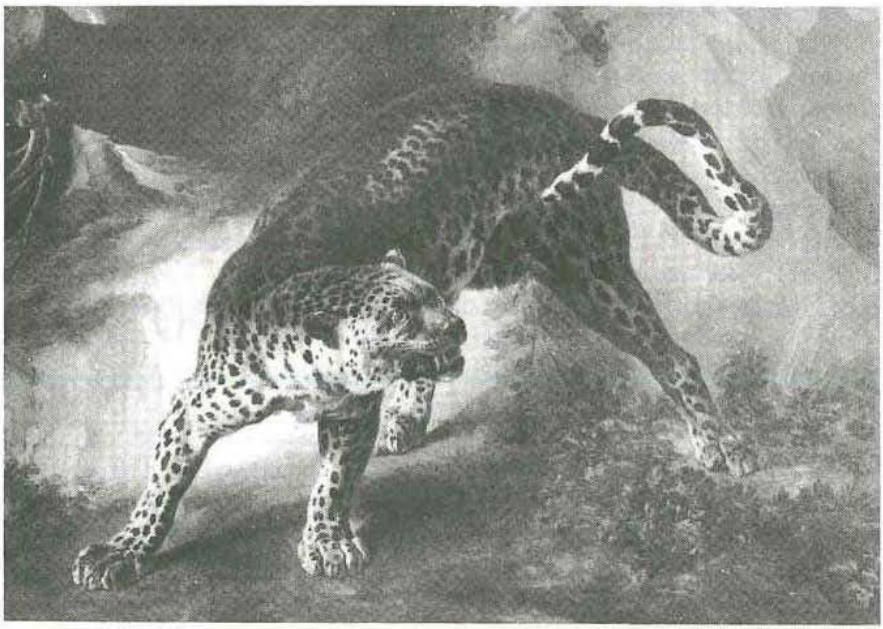

Figure 17.5. Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755): Leopard.
Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.

Figure 17.6. Karakallou: Psalm 148.

Philotheou enjoyed donations from the Georgian King Levon of Kakheti in 1540. A roccoco inscription of 1752 in the katholikon mentions Greek painters from Koritsa (= Korça, Albania). Another inscription, in different letters, dates from 1848 and informs us about work done with donations from the Christ-loving, Orthodox Christians of 'Upper Georgia' which is called Iveria for the memory of themselves and their souls.[29]

The psalm paintings clearly date from different periods, and palaeographic comparison permits us to assign them either to 1752 or to 1848. Unfortunately, neither are pertinent for Mtzkheta, because the inscription of 1752 has no relation to Georgia, and the paintings of 1848 are, again, too late. Except for the illustration of Psalm 148: 7–10 and part of verse 12, the paintings date from the nineteenth century. All three psalms are illustrated; correspondingly, the inscription around the central scene consists of Psalm 150: 6 and part of 148: 2. As in Karakallou, there are no fabulous creatures, but the church building of Psalm 149: 1, the two-edged swords and the fettered kings are depicted.

Similarly, in Xeropotamou, the bone chapel and the katholikon of Gregoriou, Psalm 149: 6–9 is elaborately depicted. The circular inscription

[29] Ibid., *Recueil*, 97, 99, nos 296, 297, 304, 305.

in the katholikon of Gregoriou consists of Psalm 150. 6, 148. 1 (first part), 2 (complete), 64. 2 (first part) and is, thus, close to but not identical with the hymn. Here, there is a particular emphasis on Psalm 149. 6-9 and the feast of victory at the expense of Psalm 148. In the bone chapel, Christ holds a book with the *idete, idete* text. He is surrounded by the nine orders and then by the inscription band which begins with the hymn (Psalm 150: 6, 148: 1, 64: 2) but then continues with Psalm 148: 2, again 64: 2, and 148: 3 (incomplete). A detailed illustration of Psalm 149 concentrating on verses 6–8 is in the arch of the entry and the feast of victory is in the lunette above; hence, again in a prominent position and within easy view of anyone who leaves the chapel.

The presumably rather late painting in Xeropotamou occupies the same eye-catching position as in the Rila monastery in Bulgaria which played an important role for the Bulgarian national revival:[30] It is in the central narthex cupola above the entrance into the naos. Christ holds a book with the *idete, idete* text. The circular inscription band is placed between him and the host of angels who are not grouped in the nine orders; the text consists only of Psalm 150: 6. This is the only allusion to Psalm 150. Outside the zodiac, two of the four spandrels are devoted to Psalm 148: 7–8 and to verses 9, 11. The north-western spandrel is shared by the *neoteroi* of Psalm 148: 12 and the warriors with two-edged swords of Psalm 149: 6, the north-eastern one is left to the fettered kings and princes of Psalm 149: 8: Again, Psalm 149: 6–9 receives particular attention.

It is the essence of any secret message that the initiate will understand it readily but that the inherent meaning cannot be rigorously proven. Hence, the secular significance of the Psalm 149 illustrations necessarily remains a hypothesis. However, no alternative theory explains so well the striking popularity which the topic enjoyed. It is in line with what the minister of the Prussian embassy to the Sublime Porte, Karl Nathanael Pischon, wrote after his visit to the Holy Mountain in 1858:

> With respect to politics, the majority of the monks made no secret of their predilection for the Hellenes and of their hope of a second war, as they call it, in contrast with the past oriental [war], in which the Cross will remain victorious over the Crescent. Many Athonite monks are constantly prepared to raise again the arms, when the hour of the fight for liberation comes, and to lead their compatriots against the Turks ...'.[31]

In the late nineteenth century, the wall of a coffeehouse in Karyes proclaimed it quite openly: 'Long live Greece, long live freedom.'[32]

[30] C. Christov, 'Die Geschichte', in C. Christov, G. Stojkov and K. Mijatev, *Das Rila-Kloster* (Sofia, 1957), 9–17.

[31] R. Billetta, *Der Heilige Berg Athos in Zeugnissen aus sieben Jahrhunderten* 3 (Vienna/New York/Dublin, 1992), 213.

[32] Αγιορειτική Φωτογραφία – *Photography on Mount Athos* 2 (Thessalonike, 1993), fig. 35. In a similar way, the chorus of the captive Israelites in G. Verdi's opera *Nabucco* was understood in Italy as a freedom anthem against Austrian rule.

Section VI

Athos Beyond Athos

18. L'Athos, l'orient et le caucase au XIe siècle

Bernadette Martin-Hisard

Iviron, lieu où la nation géorgienne s'abreuve aux indispensables eaux de la civilisation byzantine; Iviron, gage de l'influence byzantine en Géorgie. Ces deux idées se retrouvent souvent énoncées lorsqu'on évoque la place tenue par le monastère fondé par les Géorgiens sur l'Athos à la fin du Xe siècle dans les relations entre l'empire byzantin et le monde géorgien.[1]

Il est vrai que le monastère a été un des hauts lieux de la traduction de textes grecs en géorgien.[2] Il est vrai que les empereurs byzantins du XIe siècle n'ont pas ménagé leurs interventions en faveur de moines qui s'en montrèrent reconnaissants.[3] Encore faut-il se demander ce que l'empire byzantin représentait exactement pour le monde géorgien au XIe siècle; se demander aussi pourquoi les empereurs de Constantinople choisirent de soutenir Iviron au point de favoriser la minorité géorgienne au détriment de la majorité grecque.[4]

Je tenterai de proposer une réponse à ces questions, à partir des sources géorgiennes principalement, dans le cadre d'une étude en cours sur les relations entre l'empire byzantin et le monde géorgien.

Il est des sources géorgiennes précisément datées qui permettent de constater tout d'abord que l'empire byzantin, utile certes et apprécié, ne constitue pas cependant un point de référence absolu pour les Géorgiens.

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[1] Par exemple, *Ivir.* I, 59.

[2] B. Martin-Hisard, 'Christianisme et église dans le monde géorgien', in J.-M. Mayeur, Ch. et L. Pietri, A. Vauchez and M. Venard, 'Evêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)', *Histoire du Christianisme* 4 (Paris, 1993), 549–603, et notamment 574–75.

[3] La partie du 'Livre des Commémoraisons' du monastère, compilée en 1074, en porte témoignage; on se reportera aux exemples cités dans *Ivir.* I, 7.

[4] B. Martin-Hisard, 'La Vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos', *REB* 49 (1991), 67–142, et notamment 70–79.

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

On pourrait à première vue croire le contraire. La Vie de Georges de la Sainte Montagne, écrite entre 1066 et 1072 par un disciple du saint à la gloire de celui qui fut l'un des plus importants traducteurs de textes grecs, est caractérisée par l'emploi assez fréquent de tout un vocabulaire grec translittéré en géorgien.[5] Il s'agit de termes techniques byzantins – *roga, solemnion, démosion,* protonotaire, drongaire de la flotte, sébaste, curopalate, *nobilissime, follis, argyron* etc – tels qu'on les trouve aussi dans le 'Livre des Commémoraisons' du monastère d'Iviron.[6] Que les Géorgiens de l'Athos maîtrisent ce vocabulaire, indispensable pour la saine gestion de leurs biens situés en terre byzantine, est compréhensible; il est plus remarquable de noter qu'un simple moine comme l'hagiographe de Georges les connaissait et ne répugnait pas à les utiliser. On trouve même sous sa plume des termes plus courants – *proasteion, larnakon, epistolé, hésychastèrion* – dont il existe des équivalents géorgiens, ainsi que des expressions byzantines.[7] L'auteur est tout heureux aussi d'enregistrer l'exclamation admirative qui échappe à l'empereur Constantin X Dukas reçevant le moine Georges: 'Bien qu'il soit d'origine géorgienne, il est totalement imprégné de nos usages'![8]

On peut croire trouver un phénomène analogue dans des colophons des manuscrits géorgiens écrits au XIe siècle pour la plupart dans l'empire et surtout à Iviron.[9] Les copistes qui ont travaillé dans l'empire datent assez souvent leur travail par référence au règne des empereurs de Constantinople; ils en citent le nom, parfois le surnom ou le nom de famille pris pour un patronyme.[10] La référence n'est pas de pure convention: tel copiste espère ardemment le succès de la campagne de Romain Argyre en Saracénie,[11] tel autre, qui exalte en forme de laudes l'orthodoxie des empereurs, souhaite la victoire d'Isaac Comnène sur les ennemis turcs.[12] Constantinople apparaît comme 'ville gardée de Dieu, Nouvelle Rome', comme 'la royale'.[13] Les dignités byzantines portées par le souverain

[5] *Vie de Georges*, éd., *Monuments de la littérature hagiographique géorgienne ancienne* II (Tbilisi, 1967), 101–207.

[6] *Ivir.* I, 7–8; *Ivir.* II, 4–11.

[7] *Vie de Georges*, 157: 'Il ne te dissimulait même pas un iota de ses pensées'.

[8] Ibid., 177.

[9] J'ai exploré principalement les fonds A, Q et Athos, en ne retenant que les manuscrits précisément datés; je cite les colophons d'après catalogues de manuscrits édités à Tbilisi (Fonds A, Q et Athos), en les complétant pour le fond athonite par R.P. Blake, 'Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos', *ROC* 28 (1931–32), 289–361; 29 (1933–34), 114–59, 225–71.

[10] 'Zoé et Théodora, femmes orthodoxes' (A 96); 'Constantin qui était aussi appelé Monomaque' (Iviron 60 dans Blake, 249); 'Michel l'Ancien' (A 96); 'Michel fils de Doukas' (Iviron 54 et 24, dans Blake, 138, 245): 'Nicéphore Botaniate et Alexis Comnène' (Athos 20).

[11] Athos 21, daté de 1030.

[12] A 96 de 1057–1059, où Constantin Monomaque est qualifié de 'roi des orthodoxes'.

[13] A 96; A 484.

géorgien sont notées.[14] Enfin les copistes, certains du moins, utilisent, explicitement ou non, le calendrier grec pour dater l'achèvement de leur travail: année de la création seule ou avec l'indiction.

Ce qui peut paraître ainsi comme une forme de participation à la civilisation byzantine doit toutefois être sérieusement nuancé. Il existe des copistes travaillant sur l'Athos qui passent l'empire totalement sous silence.[15] Quant à ceux qui travaillent en dehors de l'empire, ils ne désignent pas le basileus et n'utilisent pas le calendrier grec.[16] D'autre part le calendrier qui reste le plus fréquemment utilisé, hors de l'empire mais aussi dans l'empire, est le calendrier géorgien propre: année de la création fixée à 5604; *chronikon* qui indique la place de l'année dans des cycles de 532 ans fondés sur le cycle pascal, le 13e cycle ayant commencé en 780; indiction géorgienne qui indique l'année de règne du souverain de référence qui n'est jamais le *basileus*. Le temps est donc bien partout celui des Géorgiens, et non celui des Byzantins.[17]

On peut encore observer que les colophons emploient le même mot – *mepe* (roi) – pour désigner le souverain géorgien et le *basileus*. Les Géorgiens n'ont jamais cherché à translittérer le titre impérial; '*basileus* des Romains' n'est ni adapté ni traduit en géorgien, pas plus que '*autokratôr*'; plus exactement, si ce dernier terme existe, c'est en traduction littérale, *tvitmq'opeli*, au seul bénéfice du roi géorgien et sous la forme 'autocrate de l'Orient et de l'Occident', ou 'autocrate de l'Orient et du nord'.[18] Les dignités byzantines portées par les rois géorgiens sont parfois spécifiées d'une manière peu byzantine, ainsi 'curopalate des Kartvéliens' ou 'curopalate de tout l'Orient'.[19] On remarquera encore, dans ce domaine de la terminologie politique, que le personnel administratif cité dans les diplômes royaux des XIe et XIIe siècles ne porte, même en traduction, aucun nom qui traduise une inspiration ou mode byzantine,[20] le gouvernement siège en un lieu appelé 'la Porte du Palais', expression qui évoque d'autant plus clairement le monde iranien que 'palais' se dit en géorgien *darbazi*, qui est un mot iranien.

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[14] Curopalate (Iviron 28 dans Blake,147), césar (Athos 20), *nobilissime* (A 484).

[15] Par exemple Athos 4, A 558, Iviron 55 (Blake, 247).

[16] C'est ce qui résulte de l'examen des manuscrits datés des trois fonds que j'ai utilisés, mais il faut évidemment étendre l'enquête aux autres fonds et s'intéresser, à titre de comparaison, aux manuscrits non datés.

[17] On trouve par exemple ces trois éléments dans Iviron 28 (Blake, 147), le copiste utilise quelquefois, les deux calendriers en précisant 'à la grecque' et 'à la géorgienne': Iviron 13 (Blake, 356–57).

[18] C'est du moins le cas au XIIe siècle dans les protocoles de diplômes du roi Georges III ou de la reine Tamar: *Corpus des documents historiques géorgiens* I (en géorgien) (Tbilisi, 1984), 67 et 77; (cité ensuite *CDHG*).

[19] Iviron 28, de 1003 (Blake,147); souscription d'une charte catholicale de 1031–33 : *CDHG* 30.

[20] B. Martin-Hisard, 'Les biens d'un monastère géorgien (IXe–XIIIe siècles)', dans V. Kravari *et al.*, éd., *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin* II (Paris, 1991), 134.

L'utilisation du même mot, *mepe*, pour désigner à la fois le *basileus* et le roi géorgien suggère qu'aux yeux des Géorgiens ils ne diffèrent pas par la nature de leur pouvoir, mais seulement par leurs sujets et leur territoire. Le premier règne sur les Grecs, *Berdzenni*, ou sur la 'Grèce', *Saberdzneti*;[21] le Saberdzneti est le pays des Grecs, le territoire sur lequel on parle grec, qu'il s'agisse de l'empire en général, de la Grèce uniquement, de l'Anatolie ou de la Syrie. La désignation du roi géorgien est moins simple; on attendrait un équivalent qui le fasse apparaître comme celui qui règne sur un territoire où l'on parle le kartvélien (c'est-à-dire le géorgien), ainsi roi du Sakartvelo (nom officiel de l'actuelle Géorgie) ou, plus sobrement, roi des Kartvéliens ou roi du Kartli, à l'imitation du titre du patriarche national des Géorgiens qui s'intitule au XIe siècle *'katholikos* du Kartli'. Il n'en est rien; et il faut souligner ici que l'expression 'roi des Kartvéliens', est rarissime sous cette seule forme dans les colophons et absente dans les diplômes.[22] Les colophons du XIe siècle désignent en général le roi comme régnant sur l'Apxazeti ou sur les Apxazes, parfois mais rarement associés aux Kartvéliens.[23] Ils le présentent aussi comme régnant sur l'Orient, *aghmosavleti*.[24] Ce terme n'est pas propre aux copistes. Chartes et diplômes l'emploient dans des expressions comme 'curopalate de tout l'Orient', 'autocrate de l'Orient', citées plus haut. Il est d'un usage constant dans la Vie de Georges pour désigner l'ensemble des territoires sur lesquels règne le roi Bagrat' IV.[25]

L'emploi du terme 'Orient' pour désigner le monde géorgien est une nouveauté dans les sources au XIe siècle.[26] Désigner le monde géorgien au XIe siècle comme l'Orient implique l'existence d'un Occident, qui ne peut

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[21] Iviron 54 (Blake, 245); Athos 20.

[22] Dans les colophons étudiés, elle n'apparaît qu'une seule fois, en 973 (A 1453).

[23] Iviron 54, de 1076 (Blake, 245); A 134, de 1066. C'est bien en référence aux Apxazes ou à l'Apxazeti qu'il est également souvent désigné dans les sources non géorgiennes du XIe siècle. Lorsque le *katholikos* Melchisédech demande au roi Bagrat' de souscrire son diplôme en 1030–31, il l'appelle 'roi des Apxazes et curopalate de tout l'Orient'.

[24] Athos 30, de 1071; Athos 20, de 1081. Le terme *aghmosavleti* comporte comme *saberdzneti* le suffixe -eti qui indique un territoire.

[25] L'Orient de ce roi est clairement défini dans l'un de ses diplômes, daté de 1056 (*CDHG*, 32–34); il comprend le 'Pays d'en-haut' et le 'Pays d'en-bas'. 'En-bas' désigne la partie occidentale de la Géorgie occidentale, l'Apxazeti; 'en-haut', les régions montagneuses du T'ao-K'lardzheti, voisines du thème d'Ibérie.

[26] Ce même mot d' 'Orient' (*Anatolè*) se retrouve au XIe siècle dans le titre de certains patriarches d'Antioche et, plus tard, dans la chancellerie de l'empire de Trébizonde: je remercie ici N. Oikonomides qui m'a apporté ces précisions et qui m'a aimablement communiqué son article: 'The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality', *ArchPont* 35 (1979), 299–302. On peut noter que le premier sceau d'un patriarche 'd'Antioche et de tout l'Orient' date au plus tôt de 1079–80; on le trouve ensuite à la fin du XIIe siècle et dans le second quart du XIIIe siècle: V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V/2 (Paris, 1965), n° 1525, 1527, 1528.

être que l'empire byzantin. Le monde géorgien se situe donc par rapport à l'empire byzantin. C'est sans doute une manière de reconnaître le caractère incontournable de ce dernier, mais aussi de s'en démarquer[27] et de se tourner vers d'autres horizons.

L'apparition du mot 'Orient' dans la terminologie politique du monde géorgien du XIe siècle exprime bien les profondes mutations que ce monde connaît dans une complexité territoriale qui rend provisoirement inadéquate tout autre désignation du pays.

Le territoire géorgien est géographiquement complexe.[28] A l'ouest des Monts Lixi, sur les bords de la Mer Noire, l'Apxazeti est considérée, dans les textes géorgiens, comme constituant depuis la fin du VIIIe siècle un royaume dont le territoire correspond en pratique à l'ancien empire de Lazique de Procope. Ses rois, suffisamment importants pour que la chancellerie byzantine leur reconnaisse au Xe siècle le titre d'*exousiastès*, se transmettent héréditairement un pouvoir qui échut en 978 à un certain Bagrat', héritier du trône par sa mère.[29]

A l'est de l'Apxazeti, au-delà des monts Likhi, la tradition historiographique géorgienne appelle Kartli le territoire qui s'organise autour du bassin de la Kura jusqu'à l'Alazani à l'est et jusqu'à la mer Noire à l'ouest. C'est le Kartli de l'ancêtre éponyme Kartlos, descendant de Noé, le Kartli des rois ancestraux Parnavaz et Vaxt'ang, un Kartli idéal, dont les limites revendiquées n'ont jamais correspondu à une unité politique réelle et durable; ses habitants sont globalement les Kartvéliens. Mais au cœur de ce 'Grand Kartli' existe un autre Kartli ou Kartli Intérieur, de part et d'autre de la boucle centrale du fleuve, avec les villes de Mcxeta et de Tbilisi; ce fut, jusqu'au VIe siècle, le centre du royaume de Kartli, bien connu des sources byzantines sous le nom de royaume d'Ibérie. Lorsque les Arabes s'imposèrent à partir du VIIe siècle dans les pays du Caucase et qu'ils y établirent des émirats, ils chassèrent du Kartli Intérieur et de Tbilisi, vers la fin du VIIIe siècle, un chef local appartenant à la famille des Bagratides, Ashot', qui portait le titre d'*éristav* (duc, prince) du Kartli et la dignité de curopalate. Il s'installa, non loin de la région de Trébizonde, dans les régions montagneuses quasi désertes qui prolongent les Alpes Pontiques, en faisant d'Art'anudj sa capitale. Sa lignée déploya, jusqu'au début du Xe siècle, assez de rameaux pour occuper, maîtriser, mettre en valeur, vallée après vallée, ce haut pays et ses marges.[30] Les régions dominées par les princes bagratides qui rivalisaient entre eux à force de titres et de dignités

[27] N. Oikonomides, *The Chancery*, 328–29.

[28] Sur cette question: B. Martin-Hisard, *Christianisme*, 549–53 (avec carte).

[29] Ibid., 561–62 et 564.

[30] C. Toumanoff, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasie chrétienne* (Rome, 1976), 116–20. B. Martin-Hisard, 'L'aristocratie géorgienne et son passé: tradition épique et références bibliques (VIIIème-XIème siècles)', *Bedi Kartlisa* 42 (1984), 13–34.

étaient politiquement et géographiquement trop morcelées pour recevoir au Moyen Age un nom d'ensemble. Au mieux, K'lardzheti, Shavsheti, Samcxe, K'ola, T'ao, Dzhavaxeti etc ... forment le Pays d'En-haut.[31] Eléments du Kartli ancestral et peuplées elles aussi de Kartvéliens, elles ne portent pas dans les textes le nom de Kartli au sens restreint. C'est dans ces territoires que, dès le Xe siècle, de grands monastères ont préparé la renaissance religieuse et littéraire du monde géorgien, avec des *scriptoria* qui contribuèrent à répandre largement la langue géorgienne comme langue du culte.[32] Ainsi apparut, dans ces régions, au Xe siècle une troisième acception du mot 'Kartli' comme désignant le territoire dans lequel la liturgie se célébre en géorgien.[33] Ce Kartli religieux inclut l'Apxazeti.

A partir du milieu du Xe siècle, la famille bagratide se concentra progressivement en deux branches dont l'une se transmit le titre de curopalate que détenait l'ancêtre fondateur; tandis que l'autre avait pris au début du Xe siècle le titre de roi des Kartvéliens;[34] titre qui était moins justifié par la réalité (son autorité ne s'exerçant que sur une partie des Kartvéliens du sud-ouest) que par l'ambition de rendre aux descendants de l'ancien éristav du Kartli, Ashot', le pouvoir sur le Kartli Intérieur, en le disputant aux Apxazes et à l'émir arabe de Tbilisi, d'étendre même ce pouvoir sur le Grand Kartli aux dépens d'autres princes locaux.

Le seul titre de roi des Kartvéliens ne fut que brièvement porté par les Bagratides; en effet, au début du XIe siècle, Bagrat', auquel avait échu par sa mère le titre de roi des Apxazes en 978, reçut tout à la fois le titre de roi des Kartvéliens par héritage de son père charnel et celui de curopalate hérité de son père adoptif.

Tel est le roi, tels sont ses successeurs, que nous trouvons dans les colophons: politiquement roi des Apxazes, mais aussi roi *et* curopalate des Kartvéliens, essentiellement engagé dans toute une dynamique vers l'est pour essayer de reconquérir les capitales royales et de maîtriser le Grand Kartli, tout en protégeant leurs frontières du côté de l'empire et du côté de l'Arménie.[35] Ainsi s'expliquent la complexité de leur titulature, l'impossibité de l'énoncer mieux et plus justement que par référence à l'Orient.

Les *katholikos* de Mcxeta, chefs d'institutions qui transcendaient les divisions politiques, et les moines apportèrent leur soutien à cette politique des rois bagratides.[36] La constitution et la diffusion d'un corpus complet

[31] Voir note 25 supra. L'appellation de T'ao-K'lardzheti, traditionnellement utilisée par les historiens, ne se trouve pas dans les textes.

[32] B. Martin-Hisard, *Christianisme*, 570–71.

[33] C'est, à partir du XIe siècle, l'acception vraisemblable du mot Kartli dans le titre du *katholikos*.

[34] C'est ce titre que l'on trouve dans le colophon cité note 22.

[35] Sur cette politique: M. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI-XII Centuries* (Tbilisi, 1987).

[36] La politique de réforme menée par le moine Georges de la Sainte Montagne entre 1059 et 1064, à la demande du roi Bagrat' IV, en est un bon exemple.

de textes sacrés en géorgien relèvent de cette politique d'harmonisation et d'unification de terres et d'hommes restés trop longtemps séparés par les frontières de dominations multiples. C'est 'dans les greniers' de Constantinople, selon la belle expression d'un hagiographe géorgien, que les Géorgiens allèrent puiser ce dont leur Eglise était démunie.

Il n'est pas sûr que les Byzantins aient compris toute la profondeur du mouvement de reconstruction qui caractérisa le monde géorgien au Xe et au XIe siècles. Ils n'en eurent qu'une vision marginale, partielle, suffisante toutefois pour que leur intérêt pour les rois bagratides se soit éveillé au XIe siècle.

L'implantation et l'enracinement de la famille des Bagratides dans le T'ao-K'lardzheti avaient été bien perçus des Byzantins qui, dès l'époque de Constantin VII, semblent avoir transféré le nom d''Ibérie' de la partie centrale du monde géorgien à cette région périphérique;[37] le nom lui resta ensuite attaché en sorte qu'il devint celui du thème issu des guerres menées victorieusement par Basile II contre les Bagratides.[38] Les sources byzantines du XIe siècle, autant que l'examen que j'en ai fait me permet de le dire, désignent par 'Ibérie' soit le thème d'Ibérie (l'Ibérie 'byzantine'), soit le T'ao-K'lardzheti qui le borde (l'Ibérie 'géorgienne'), c'est-à-dire ce qu'en aucun cas les sources géorgiennes n'appellent Kartli. C'est de l'Ibérie 'géorgienne' – le T'ao-K'lardzheti – que proviennent les fondateurs d'Iviron à la fin du Xe siècle.[39] C'est de l'Ibérie 'byzantine' que semblent sortir les deux plus importants higoumènes de la seconde moitié du XIe siècle: Georges de la Sainte Montagne (1045–56), qui avait reçu sa formation monastique à Xaxuli[40] et Georges IV (1066–*c.*1078), qui était originaire d'Oltisi, deux lieux qui relèvent alors du thème d'Ibérie, quelque floues que soient les frontières de celui-ci.[41]

Cependant, même si les Byzantins n'ont pas perçu toute l'ambivalence du mot Kartli, ils ont assez vite pris conscience de la transformation qui réunit au début du XIe siècle l''Ibérie' et la puissante Apxazeti sous l'autorité unique des rois bagratides et ils ont mesuré les conséquences qui pouvaient en découler pour l'empire. Les procès relatifs au statut d'Iviron dans les années 1030–40 furent peut-être l'occasion de cette découverte;[42] un épisode

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[37] C'est ce qui ressort des chapitres 45 et 46 du *De Administrando Imperio*.

[38] V. A. Arutiunova-Fidanjan, *Les arméniens-chalcédoniens sur les frontières orientales de l'empire au XIe siècle* (en russe) (Erevan, 1980), 106–22.

[39] *Ivir.* I, 13–24. A cette époque il n'y a pas encore d'Ibérie 'byzantine'.

[40] Sur Xaxuli: V. Béridzé, *Architecture du Tao-Klardjétie* (en russe et en français) (Tbilisi, 1981), 292.

[41] La *Vie de Georges* montre clairement que la nomination et la démission d'un higoumène exigent l'approbation impériale. Le retour de Georges à Iviron à la fin de sa vie est également subordonné à la bonne volonté de l'empereur.

[42] B. Martin-Hisard, *Vie de Jean et Euthyme*, 78–79.

raconté par Skylitzès laisse penser qu'en tout cas, au milieu du XIe siècle, le fait était connu et son importance pour l'empire mesurée à sa juste valeur. En effet, Constantin Monomaque fut appelé à prendre position vers 1053 dans le conflit qui opposait Bagrat' IV, alors maître incontesté de l'Apxazeti, au grand seigneur Lip'arit' qui lui contestait des régions du T'ao-K'lardzheti. L'empereur choisit de soutenir Bagrat' et, précise Skylitzès, il reconnut l'autorité de Bagrat' en Ibérie *et* en Abasgie, et Lip'arit' dut se soumettre à lui.[43] La décision peut paraître surprenante dans la mesure où Lip'arit' avait offert sa fidélité à l'empire. Mais elle n'est pas moins surprenante que l'issue des procès de 1030–40, favorable à la minorité géorgienne d'Iviron.

Je chercherai volontiers l'explication du choix des empereurs dans le désir de ne pas contrarier le maître de l'Apxazeti, que ce soit à Iviron ou en Ibérie, et cela non pas tant à cause de l'Apxazeti elle-même que de sa situation sur les routes de l'Alanie. Je fonde cette hypothèse sur la constatation du rôle nouveau que les Alains semblent tenir dans la vie de l'empire à partir des années 1030.

Les relations entre Byzance et le Caucase étaient mal documentées depuis l'époque où la correspondance de Nicolas le Mystique, au début du Xe siècle, révélait l'intérêt porté par le patriarche à l'Alanie, ses efforts pour soutenir le moral de l'archevêque Pierre et pour l'aider à répandre l'Evangile chez les Alains,[44] l'appui qu'il cherchait auprès des Apxazes.[45] Mais ces sources réapparaissent dans les années 1030. En 1034, Aldè, femme du roi des Apxazes Georges, mécontente de la succession qui a défavorisé son fils, donne à Constantinople le port d'Anak'opi, sur la côte de l'Apxazeti.[46] Aldè est une Alaine; et son fils, demi-alain, demi-apxaze vit ensuite dans l'empire. Psellos, pour sa part, consacre de longs passages à la superbe maîtresse de Constantin Monomaque, que les envoyés de son père visitaient deux ou trois fois par an: c'était une Alaine de sang royal et 'pour la première fois le pays des Alains a été rempli des richesses de notre Rome... ; des vaisseaux entraient dans le port et regagnaient le large';[47] Psellos n'aime guère cette belle Alaine, mais il reconnait que le royaume d'Alanie 'qui n'était pas précisément auguste et qui ne jouissait pas d'une haute considération ... donna toujours à l'empire romain le gage de la fidélité'.[48]

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[43] Skylitzès, *Synopsis historiarum*, I. Thurn, éd., CFHB V (Berlin/New York, 1973), 448.

[44] V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* I, fasc. II et III: *Les regestes de 715 à 1206*, 2e éd. revue par J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1989), n° 655–659, 689.

[45] *Regestes* , n° 654, 690.

[46] Skylitzès, 389, qui n'explique pas cette donation; l'explication est fournie par la 'Chronique du Kartli', *La Vie du Kartli* (en géorgien), S. Q'auxshishvili, éd. (Tbilisi, 1955), 295.

[47] Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, E. Renauld, éd. (Paris, 1967) tome II, 41, 46.

[48] Psellos, *Chronographie*, 45.

A la même époque Bagrat' IV confirmé dans son double pouvoir sur l'Abasgie et l'Ibérie par Constantin Monomaque a pour seconde épouse la princesse Boréna, soeur du roi d'Alanie, dont il eut une fille Martha.[49] Dès 1056, Théodora aurait fait venir la petite Martha à Constantinople pour l'élever comme son enfant; Théodora morte, l'enfant repartit.[50] En 1065 Constantin X Doukas la fit venir de nouveau pour en faire l'épouse de son fils le futur Michel VII;[51] elle devait ensuite épouser Nicéphore Botaniate.[52] Les Byzantins auraient pu la surnommer Marie l'Apxaze d'après son père; ils la connaissent comme Marie d'Alanie.[53] La tradition des mariages alains devait se poursuivre puisque le frère d'Alexis Comnène, Isaac, épousa aussi une princesse alaine.

Je ne peux que lier, à titre d'hypothèse, ces mariages alains à l'apparition toujours plus nette de contingents alains dans les armées byzantines, dès l'époque de Constantin IX et sous les Comnènes, où ils relaient avec efficacité et fidélité d'autres contingents de mercenaires.[54]

Or nécessairement les relations avec l'Alanie transitent par l'Apxazeti. Les bateaux alains décrits par Psellos ne pouvaient guère avoir comme destination qu'un port apxaze, Anak'opi ou un autre, les produits ou les hommes transitant ensuite par les hautes vallées d'Apxazeti vers, ou depuis, le monde alain dans le folklore duquel G. Charachidzé a décelé des rémanences d'influence byzantine.

Les rois d'Apxazeti avaient plus d'importance que Lip'arit' d'Ibérie; Iviron, protégé des rois apxazes, valait que Constantinople le protégeât.

Ainsi, tandis que toute la tension des Géorgiens les tourne vers l'Orient, les intérêts de Byzance la tournent vers le Caucase. Le monastère d'Iviron est, pour ainsi dire, à la croisée indirecte de leurs intérêts. Les Byzantins cherchent à travers lui à cultiver la bonne volonté de ceux qui contrôlent les routes de l'Alanie. Les Géorgiens y traduisent les textes, découverts dans le patrimoine grec, qui doivent contribuer à la formation du Sakartvelo. L'attrait politique de Byzance est toutefois resté mince pour eux. L'empereur de Constantinople est un roi ethnique; l'histoire de son empire trouve peu de place dans l'historiographie géorgienne. En dehors du droit canon, aucun monument du droit byzantin n'a été traduit en géorgien;[55] les

[49] *Chronique du Kartli*, 177, 179.

[50] *Vie de Georges*, 141.

[51] *Vie de Georges*, 176–77. Colophon du manuscrit A 134 , de 1066.

[52] Le colophon du manuscrit Athos 20, de 1081, la mentionne comme telle.

[53] *Ivir.* II, p. 24, note 53; J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 279, 354–55.

[54] Je remercie ici J.-Cl. Cheynet des précisions qu'il m'a données sur ce dernier point.

[55] B. Martin-Hisard, 'Remarque sur la non-réception du droit byzantin dans le monde géorgien (Xe–XIIe siècles)', à paraître in *Fontes Minores*.

structures socio-politiques du monde géorgien l'auraient rendu difficilement applicable. En revanche, il suffit de lire les épopées géorgiennes du XIIe siècle, le Rituel de consécration des rois du début du XIIIe pour se convaincre de la présence, permanente ou retrouvée, de l'univers culturel iranien dans l''Orient' qu'est le monde géorgien.[56]

[56] B. Martin-Hisard, 'Le roi géorgien médiéval: christianisme et influences iraniennes', à paraître à Paris in *Errance et ancrages. Nouvelles recherches sur la thématique du pouvoir* (Mélanges Jean Devisse). On trouvera un point de vue différent dans A. Eastmond, 'Royal renewal in Georgia. The case of Queen Tamar', in P. Magdalino, éd., *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 283–93.

19. L'Athos et les Roumains

Virgil Cândea

Les plus anciens documents attestant des rapports roumano-athonites remontent au milieu du XIV[e] siècle. Vers 1361–64, Nicolae-Alexandru, voïvode de Valachie, répondait à la première sollicitation des moines de Koutloumous d'aider à la réfection de la tour de garde de ce monastère. Après 1364, Chariton, higoumène du même monastère, au cours des sept voyages qu'il entreprit à la cour de Vladislav I[er], le successeur de Nicolae-Alexandru, obtenait des subsides décisifs pour le redressement de Koutloumous, qui sera même connu pendant un certain temps sous le nom de 'Monastère du Voïvode' ou 'Laure de Valachie'.

Il y a quelques années, Petre S. Năsturel publiait dans les *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* un examen des trois premiers siècles de relations roumano-athonites. La Grande Laure fut le deuxième monastère de la Sainte Montagne à bénéficier des libéralités des princes roumains, à commencer par le même Vladislav I[er] qui avait répondu aux requêtes de Koutloumous. Une belle icône de saint Athanase l'Athonite au siège abbatial de la Laure, dans le katholikon, marque l'événement comme signe particulier de vénération.[1] L'image du fondateur de ce monastère porte sur son revêtement d'argent doré les portraits du voïvode et de son épouse, Ana. Vatopédi, Iviron, Chilandar, Dionysiou, puis, à tour de rôle, tous les monastères athonites allaient faire partie des programmes roumains d'assistance. Il n'est pas possible d'en donner ici tous les éléments. Aussi nous semble-t-il suffisant d'en indiquer l'ampleur, la durée, les formes et, pour autant qu'on le puisse, de signaler les motivations et les conséquences de cette assistance.

Les subsides ont constitué la principale forme des relations roumano-athonites, en tout cas la mieux étudiée jusqu'à présent. C'est que les

[1] Publiée par M. Beza, *Urme românesti, în nasaritish orthodox* (Bucarest, 1937), 40.

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

principautés danubiennes se sont graduellement substituées aux patrons traditionnels de la Sainte Montagne – les souverains et aristocrates byzantins, serbes ou bulgares – lorsque des difficultés empêchèrent ceux-ci de poursuivre leurs largesses. Pendant plusieurs siècles, la Valachie et la Moldavie seront les seuls pays orthodoxes proches de l'Athos à même de développer une œuvre durable et concrète d'assistance en faveur des habitants de la Montagne.

On sait en effet que, dans leurs relations avec l'empire ottoman, les principautés roumaines ont joui d'un statut privilégié d'autonomie politique.[2] À mesure de l'expansion turque dans le sud-est et le centre de l'Europe, les territoires conquis entraient dans le 'monde de l'Islam', avec toutes les conséquences découlant du droit musulman pour la condition des pays chrétiens conquis. Mais au nord du Danube, les trois principautés qui constituent la Roumanie actuelle – la Valachie, la Moldavie et la Transylvanie – bien que considérées par moments comme 'terre de la guerre' (en arabe *dar al-harb*), finiront par obtenir de la Porte la reconnaissance d'un statut de 'monde de la conciliation' ou 'monde de l'alliance' (*dar al-sulh* ou *dar al-'ahd*). Alliance, sans doute, forcée, mais qui laissait à ces pays chrétiens d'importantes libertés, à savoir le gouvernement de princes chrétiens, qui pendant longtemps furent élus par l'aristocratie locale et selon des lois qui leur étaient propres; l'inviolabilité de leur territoire; la possibilité d'être représentés à la Porte par des agents diplomatiques, etc. En échange, les principautés étaient tenues à un important tribut annuel, étaient obligées d'accorder leur aide militaire au pouvoir ottoman dans ses campagnes européennes et de ne point conclure de traités avec d'autres pays. Mais le plus important est que ce statut leur conservait l'administration du territoire, le droit d'en utiliser les ressources, la possibilité de libéralités en faveur de l'étranger. C'est ce qui a rendu possible l'œuvre de longue haleine d'assistance aux établissements chrétiens de l'empire ottoman, les quatre patriarcats d'Alexandrie, Jérusalem, Antioche (Damas) et Constantinople, ainsi que le Mont Sinaï, les monastères d'Anatolie, de Chypre, de la péninsule balkanique, du Mont Athos, mais aussi d'Ukraine et de Galicie.

Il s'agit d'un chapitre important dans l'histoire de la solidarité au sein de l'église orientale. Dans son *Histoire de l'Athos*, ouvrage bien connu, le savant russe Porfirij Uspenskij estime qu''aucun autre peuple orthodoxe n'a fait autant en faveur de l'Athos que les Roumains'.[3] Voyageurs et chercheurs, depuis H. Brockhaus, N.P. Kondakov, Pranz Spunda, F. Perilla

[2] Voir V. Cândea, 'L'État ottoman et "le Monde de l'alliance", Remarques sur le statut international des Principautés danubiennes du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle', *L' historien et les relations internationales. Recueil d'études en hommage à Jacques Freymond* (Genève, 1981), 237–49.

[3] P. Uspenskij, 'Istorija Afona', *Trudy Kievskoj Duhovnoj Akademii* III (1871), 334.

jusqu'à Franz Dölger ou A. Xyngopoulos, ont souligné à leur tour l'ampleur et le rôle de l'apport roumain à la sauvegarde et à la survie du Mont Athos.

Comment s'explique le fait que cinq siècles durant deux petits pays, la Valachie et la Moldavie, ont sacrifié une part considérable de leur produit national à l'entretien des enclaves chrétiennes du plus important état musulman connu dans l'histoire, alors même que ces petits pays étaient soumis par le même empire ottoman à une sévère exploitation économique? En approfondissant les motivations de ce qu'il appelle 'l'évergétisme roumain à travers les âges', M. Năsturel[4] note tout d'abord une attitude dont nous nous sommes tellement déshabitués qu'elle ne compte plus pour nous, à savoir le devoir chrétien. Les dons étaient en réalité des aumônes destinées au salut de l'âme de parents disparus et au pardon des péchés commis par les donateurs eux-mêmes. Ils s'inspiraient aussi d'un sentiment de charité à l'égard de leurs coreligionnaires vivant sous une dure domination non-chrétienne. Parmi ces mobiles figurait ensuite un esprit d'émulation vis-à-vis d'autres donateurs passés et présents; ajoutons encore le respect pour les décisions des ancêtres qui avaient fait des dons avec une clause de perpétuité qui s'imposait à leur descendance; le désir des évergètes d'obtenir, par leurs bonnes actions, santé, prospérité et sécurité pendant leur existence terrestre. Enfin (et ce n'est pas le moindre motif), leur désir de gagner l'estime des contemporains, d'être reconnus comme philanthropes et fondateurs.

Toutefois, on pourrait ajouter qu'à partir d'un certain moment, en dépit des raisons qu'on vient de mentionner – et qui jouent encore de nos jours, puisque le Mont Athos fait encore l'objet de bienfaits de pure piété – l'assistance aux lieux saints s'est souvent poursuivie à contre-cœur. Déjà en 1639, Matei Basarab, le prince de Valachie, estimait abusive l'exploitation des monastères et des propriétés dépendant des lieux saints, ce qui l'incita à prendre des mesures en vue de l'affranchissement de 23 couvents, mesures qui deux ans plus tard seront entérinées par le patriarche de Constantinople, Parthénios. Naturellement, les bénéficiaires orientaux se sont opposés à de telles initiatives – que d'autres princes allaient reprendre par la suite à leur compte – en s'appuyant sur les actes de donation, par lesquels était cédée la propriété des biens et non seulement leur usufruit. Ces bénéficiaires en appelaient à la Russie, à laquelle tout prétexte était bon pour intervenir dans l'empire ottoman. Il arriva ainsi un moment où la bienfaisance des princes roumains se mua en contentieux juridique et en question d'arbitrage international.[5]

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[4] P.S. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV^e siécle à 1654*, OVCSA 227 (Rome, 1984), 327.

[5] Marin Popescu-Spineni, *Procesul manastirilor închinate* (Le procès des couvents dédiés) (Bucarest, 1936), 41–158.

Peut-on évaluer le montant des subsides roumains au Mont Athos?

Des chercheurs seront attirés un jour par cette question d'histoire économique, mais cette entreprise exigera bien des années, bien des efforts. Car il ne s'agit pas seulement de sommes d'argent versées chaque année (et dont le montant devait chaque fois être recalculé en fonction des variations du thaler, du florin, de l'aspre ottoman et de toute autre monnaie), mais aussi de biens immobiliers (champs cultivés, vignobles, forêts, étangs poissonneux, salines, habitations), dont les revenus, perçus directement, étaient connus des seuls bénéficiaires. S'y ajoutaient quantité de biens meubles (objets cultuels, ornements sacerdotaux, icônes, manuscrits ou livres imprimés, car la Valachie et la Moldavie comptaient aux XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles parmi les principaux fournisseurs de livres théologiques grecs).

Il nous faut, pour l'instant, nous borner à des chiffres et estimations qui, si approximatifs soient-ils, laissent deviner l'ampleur des subsides.

Le 23 décembre 1863, quand la Chambre adopta la loi de sécularisation des biens monastiques en Roumanie, ces biens représentaient 25 pour cent du territoire du pays, ce qui est énorme si l'on tient compte qu'en France l'église ne possédait, en 1789, que 7 à 8 pour cent du sol.[6] Il reste à calculer combien parmi les propriétés confisquées appartenaient aux monastères du pays, quelle part de leurs revenus s'en allait vers les lieux saints, quelle part prenait la route du Mont Athos. Bien que les tableaux statistiques publiés en 1936[7] soient incomplets, leurs chiffres sont éloquents: de l'ordre de centaines de milliers de thalers et de millions de piastres.

La Commission internationale réunie à Bucarest en 1857 dans le but de discuter de la question des monastères obédients (commission dont faisaient partie l'Autriche, la France, la Grande-Bretagne, la Prusse, la Russie et la Sardaigne) estimait qu'à l'époque les principautés roumaines constituaient la principale source de financement de toute l'église d'orient.[8] C'est ce qui explique, évidemment, l'intérêt constant marqué par la hiérarchie et les représentants de cette église envers les revenus prélevés dans les pays roumains; les curies constituées par les chargés de pouvoir des lieux saints à Iasi et Bucarest à des fins administratives; les disputes entre Iviron, Vatopédi et la Laure à propos des *metochia* des principautés; la ténacité avec laquelle s'est poursuivie, entre 1863 et 1908, la récupération des domaines sécularisés.

Tout ce que nous venons d'évoquer concerne les aspects matériels des relations roumano-athonites. Mais il convient de souligner que les principaux fruits de ces relations ont été d'ordre spirituel.

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[6] Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos*, 326.

[7] Popescu-Spineni, *Procesul manastirilor*, 151–58.

[8] Ibid., 67.

L'entrée précoce du monachisme roumain dans l'aire de diffusion de l'hésychasme est attestée par des sources du XIV^e siècle, par exemple la Vie de saint Maxime de Kavsokalybie et la Vie de saint Théodose de Tyrnovo.[9] Les *metochia* athonites fondés dans les principautés roumaines ont donné lieu à un incessant va-et-vient de moines et lettrés entre la Sainte Montagne et les Carpates. Jusqu'à nos jours, la vie monastique roumaine a trouvé dans les formes de vie et les coutumes athonites son modèle le plus prestigieux. Passer quelques années au 'Jardin de la Mère du Seigneur' était et reste encore l'idéal de tout moine roumain.

Pour conclure sur les dimensions spirituelles de ces relations, évoquons les échos en terre roumaine de l'œuvre de renaissance des traditions ascétiques orthodoxes développée par Nicodème l'Hagiorite. Presque tous ses livres ont été traduits en roumain juste après leur parution à Venise, Vienne, Leipzig ou Constantinople. Bon nombre furent imprimés par les presses du monastère de Neamt, de Iasi ou de Bucarest, mais ils ont circulé sans relâche jusqu'à notre époque sous forme de copies manuscrites, comme en témoignent les bibliothèques conventuelles des Carpates et les collections de l'Académie Roumaine. Il importe de souligner aussi que certaines traductions de Nicodème l'Hagiorite ont été véhiculées sous forme de 'samizdat' sous le régime communiste installé en Roumanie, entre 1948 et 1989.

La plupart des études concernant la renaissance spirituelle du monde slave et du monde roumain aux XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles, déclenchée par un contemporain de Nicodème, le staretz Païsij Velickovskij du monastère de Neamt, cernent l'espace de ce mouvement spirituel entre l'Athos et les Carpates. Aujourd'hui, il est évident que pour l'orthodoxie slave le contact avec la spiritualité athonite s'est fait surtout en Moldavie et en Valachie, zone septentrionale traditionnelle de cette spiritualité.

Une enquête à laquelle l'auteur de ces lignes a consacré une quarantaine d'années de recherches (l'inventaire des biens culturels originaires de Roumanie conservés dans des collections étrangères) et dont la section concernant le Mont Athos a été éditée en 1991, montre le nombre impressionnant de manuscrits et œuvres d'art (plus de 1500) qui font partie des collections des bibliothèques et des trésors des monastères de la Sainte Montagne. Il s'agit de copies d'œuvres patristiques et de manuscrits d'art réalisés par des lettrés et artistes grecs dans les *metochia* athonites de Roumanie, de livres liturgiques ou d'édification spirituelle utilisés dans les ermitages roumains du Mont Athos, de dons princiers d'objets cultuels faits à ces établissements. Quelques-unes de ces pièces sont d'une valeur inestimable. Ajoutons les monuments édifiés sur initiative roumaine ou avec des subsides roumains, sur lesquels on peut recueillir de nombreux

[9] Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos*, 29–31.

renseignements dans le *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos*, ouvrage bien connu, publié par Millet, Pargoire et Petit en 1904.

Mais le nouvel esprit qui prévalait en Europe au XIX^e^ siècle devait marquer aussi les relations entre les Roumains et le Mont Athos. Dans le contexte du déclin de l'empire ottoman, la Roumanie et la Grèce préparaient leur affranchissement politique et la fondation de leurs états modernes. Les Grecs comptaient sur toute sorte d'appui de l'étranger. C'est par ce biais que les domaines considérables des principautés danubiennes entraient dans l'arsenal nécessaire à l'accomplissement de la 'Grande Idée'. Les Roumains devaient également rassembler toutes leurs ressources en vue d'une action qui leur apporterait la fondation de l'état unitaire en 1859 et l'indépendance en 1877. D'autres conceptions vont dominer désormais le rôle de l'église et de son patrimoine dans les événements qui se préparent. On devait, dans cette optique, aboutir à la sécularisation des monastères roumains dépendant de l'Athos en 1863, acte politique du prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, pour lequel ses compatriotes l'ont admiré et que toute l'église d'orient a blâmé. En vue de la consolidation économique de leur état, les Roumains renoncèrent alors à la place privilégiée qu'ils avaient gagnée par les sacrifices consentis pour la vie de l'orient chrétien et la politique du Levant. Des recherches et réflexions futures montreront si, en l'occurrence, ils ont pris la bonne ou la mauvaise décision. Des Roumains de haute tenue intellectuelle, parmi lesquels Alexandru Odobescu, fondateur de l'archéologie et des études d'histoire de l'art en Roumanie, ont pris à l'époque position contre les dures mesures anticléricales du prince Cuza.

Il reste à estimer les préjudices subis par le Mont Athos du fait de la perte de ses revenus roumains. Pendant longtemps, il n'a pas été possible d'évaluer ces pertes, car après 1863 tous les documents roumains des archives athonites ont été conservés dans des fonds spéciaux, pour servir de preuves en justice en cas de revendication. Rares ont été les chercheurs – grecs, français, russes et, exceptionnellement, roumains – qui ont eu accès à ces fonds. Ce n'est que depuis peu qu'une nouvelle génération d'higoumènes réalistes a entrepris de réorganiser et de mettre en valeur ces fonds avec l'appui du Centre National d'Études Néo-Helléniques d'Athènes. Cette initiative devait amener des révélations stupéfiantes. À lui seul, le monastère de Simonopétra, dont le fonds de documents roumains est inventorié par Dumitru Nastase, possède 863 pièces des XVI^e^–XIX^e^ siècles. Ces recherches, actuellement poursuivies par Florin Marinescu, font espérer la mise à jour de plusieurs milliers de telles sources. Grâce à elles, on arrivera un beau jour à restituer l'image des relations roumano-athonites.

Que reste-t-il aujourd'hui de ces relations ?

À notre époque où la sécularisation se manifeste, impitoyable et arrogante, partout et jusqu'au cœur des derniers centres de vie chrétienne traditionnelle, nous pouvons affirmer, au terme d'une recherche de plusieurs

décennies dans tout l'orient chrétien, que la Roumanie a encore le privilège d'abriter et de cultiver la tradition athonite. Dans les Carpates méridionales et orientales, il y a des monastères (Frasineï ou Sihastria par exemple) d'une extrême rigueur de vie monastique, inspirée par la Sainte Montagne. Les lamaseries du Tibet et les *tekke* de la spiritualité musulmane ne sont en rien supérieures à ces établissements où l'Hésychasme, la prière du cœur et la *theosis* – l'union avec Dieu – si anachroniques qu'ils puissent paraître, demeurent des réalités à la veille de l'an 2000. Mentionnons également les couvents féminins, les plus peuplés de Roumanie (et du monde chrétien actuel, quelques-uns comptant de 200 à 300 âmes). Puisque de nos jours, signe des temps, l'engagement spirituel féminin est incomparablement plus grand que celui des hommes, la tradition athonite est vivante surtout dans les couvents de femmes.

Au Mont Athos, auquel les Roumains de jadis se sentaient à tel point liés, il n'y a aujourd'hui que quelques moines roumains, concentrés dans l'ermitage de Saint-Jean le Précurseur, sur le territoire de la Grande Laure, ou dispersés dans les cellules de quelques autres monastères. Les descendants de ceux qui ont tant fait pour l'Athos durant cinq siècles ne possèdent plus de couvent qui leur soit propre dans la liste traditionnelle de la Sainte Montagne, comme c'est le cas des Russes, des Bulgares ou des Serbes. En apparence, actuellement les Roumains restent marginalisés dans la réalité athonite. Mais tel n'est pas le cas sur le plan spirituel. Quant au plan historique, les chercheurs les y rencontreront à chaque pas.

Bibliographie

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20. Athos and the Enlightenment

Paschalis M. Kitromilides

The idea of 'Athos beyond Athos' evokes primarily a movement in space – the transmission of Athonite influence through persons and ideas to Orthodox lands beyond the seas. 'Athos beyond Athos', however, can also be a movement within, the transition inside the culture of the Holy Mountain to modes of thought and feeling extraneous to the Athonite spiritual tradition. The eighteenth century is marked by such movements within the Holy Mountain, which was thereby exposed to secular thought and to ideas emanating from western and central Europe. In conventional Athonite history this century is mainly connected with some protracted controversies which agitated monastic life: the debate over continuous communion and the conflict over the day of the commemoration of the dead, known as the controversy of the Κολλυβάδες. This was also the age of the revival of the tradition of hesychastic spirituality and 'neptic' theology, connected with the labours of Sts Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos the Hagiorite in the later part of the century. The same period, however, is marked by a number of other developments in Athonite history, the most important of which was the conscious attempt to rectify what was felt to have gone astray in monastic life by the initiation of a movement of return to cenobitic monasticism. Linked with the initiative of the patriarchate of Constantinople, under Patriarch Gabriel IV in 1783, to issue a new charter for the organization of monasticism on the Holy Mountain,[1] the return to cenobitic life was initiated shortly thereafter, beginning with the Monastery of Xenophontos in 1784. Several other monasteries followed in the next twenty years.

The concern of the Church with the recovery of the ancient ethos of Orthodox monasticism on Athos could be interpreted as part of a broader

[1] Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 156–58. The conditions that induced these changes are described in an official document issued by the Community of the Holy Mountain. See ibid., 152–55.

From *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham. Published by Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

policy of ecclesiastical reconstruction and reorganization of the resources of Orthodoxy in the Ottoman empire, which can be seen to unfold from around 1750 to the outbreak of the French Revolution. In addition to the initiation of the cenobitic reorganization of Athonite monasticism, the programme of Orthodox reconstruction in the forty years leading up to 1789 involved two other major initiatives: one was a pastoral revival that mostly involved a sustained interest in strengthening and modernizing education; the other was the assumption of wide-ranging missionary activity designed to stem the inroads of Islamization among rural Orthodox populations in the Balkans. Finally a fourth component of the programme could be seen in a policy of *rapprochement* with Russia, pursued by the patriarchs of the mid-eighteenth century, especially Seraphim II (1757–61). What seems to emerge from such a reading of the fragmented and rather anecdotal evidence that constitutes the historical record for this period, is a policy of closing the ranks of Orthodoxy, motivated by the pressure of heterodox propaganda, both Catholic and Protestant, among the Orthodox of the Ottoman empire. Particularly interesting in respect of this policy – if such it was – is the close connection of everything that took place with Mt Athos. Obviously, the patriarchs were well aware of the Holy Mountain's pivotal position in the world of east European Orthodoxy and attempted to capitalize on it.

The sources are, of course, stubbornly silent or non-existent: we can suspect, surmise and suppose, but we cannot confirm or document the content of the *haute politique* transacted by the leadership of the Church. But there is another kind of evidence: that supplied by the movement of people – generally individuals of high calibre and talent who make up the *dramatis personae* of history. There is a great deal of such movement in the Orthodox world in the eighteenth century with Mt Athos as its epicentre. Scholars, preachers, mystics and saints moved continuously in and out of Athos and, because they were all strong personalities who left their mark on Athonite history, we possess just about enough information to try to recover the logic of their movements. On this level, too, it seems reasonable to link these movements and motives with the broader programme of strengthening Orthodoxy. Most of those whom we are going to encounter in this story appear to work for the Orthodox cause implementing the programmes of patriarchs and visualizing a better future for the community of the true faith. But, along the way, as they ventured into the world and retreated to the Mountain seeking replenishment of their spiritual resources in order to continue, they gradually and imperceptibly brought into Athos the secular learning and outlooks of the 'world'. And this is where the crisis for the Athonite conscience might begin.

Let me illustrate what I am trying to convey by putting on to the Athonite stage some of these *dramatis personae*. Soon after his accession to the

ecumenical throne in 1748, Cyril V felt that the church and the Orthodox *genos* were in need of a proper school of higher education – an academy of both religious and philosophical learning. The school at Patmos which, under the teacher Makarios Kalogeras had been the foremost centre of Orthodox higher education in the Greek-speaking world in the early eighteenth century, had fallen into decline. A new school under the aegis of the Church was needed for the higher education of the Orthodox in the empire. To this end the patriarch and the synod, with a decision in the year 1749, gave their blessing to an initiative emanating from Prior Meletios and the brotherhood of Vatopedi monastery, the leading monastery of Athos at the time, to establish a school of higher learning in the vicinity and at the monastery's expense. The supervision of the school was entrusted to Prior Meletios. This is how the Athonite Academy came into being.[2] The patriarch, however, fell from the throne in March 1751 without completing his programme. When he returned in September 1752 for a relatively longer patriarchate (ending in January 1757), he resumed his earlier project with even greater zeal. On 7 July 1753 the patriarch and the synod of Constantinople appointed Eugenios Voulgaris as the school's chief teacher to instruct in philosophy and the mathematical sciences, as well as theology and ethics.[3]

This was a remarkable choice. At this time Voulgaris was the leading spokesman for cultural change in the Greek world. He had introduced the teaching of modern philosophy and science into the schools of Ioannina and Kozani in the 1740s and had embroiled himself in serious ideological confrontations with the supporters of Aristotelianism and conventional education in Ioannina. Yet the Great Church selected him with a clear mandate to change and reform the programme of the school at Vatopedi: in the words of the patriarchal *sigillium* appointing him he was charged to ameliorate matters 'ἀλλοιώσεσί τε καὶ μεταρρυθμίσεσι' ('with both changes and alterations'). Eugenios thus arrived on Athos with the full confidence

[2] See the patriarchal *sigillium* establishing the school, dated May 1750, edited by Ioakeim Phoropoulos in *EkAl* 20 (1900), 395–98. For 'vues d'ensemble' of the Athonite Academy see especially, Ph. Meyer, 'Beitrage zur Kenntnis der neueren Geschichte und des gegenwartigen Zustandes der Athosklöster', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1890), 554–60, which can be considered the earliest reliable scholarly account and, *inter alia*, Christophoros Ktenas, *Τὰ γράμματα ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει καὶ ἡ Μεγάλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία* (Athens, 1928), 24–31 and idem., *Ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει ἱερὰ Καθιδρύματα* (Athens, 1935), 340–48; both works are interesting for their polemical style. For its literary merit, see Z. Papantoniou, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, (Athens, 1934), 133–35. On the eighteenth-century background of Athos more generally see F.W. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries* (London, 1924), 44–48. The closest to a full survey of the history of the Athonite academy is the essay by A. Angelou, 'Τὸ χρονικὸ τῆς Ἀθωνιάδας', *Nea Estia* 74 (Christmas 1963), 84–105.

[3] The text in Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 143–47.

of the highest authorities in the Church and embarked on a five-year effort to create a college of higher learning on the Mountain.

His teaching was initially marked by great success. He took over a small monastic seminary with about twenty students and turned it into a great academy with two hundred scholars. In line with his mandate he taught mostly philosophy, especially logic and metaphysics, and natural science. In a letter Voulgaris addressed in 1756 from Athos to the deacon Kyprianos the Cypriot in Constantinople, he offers a quite lyrical account of the school's natural surroundings and its intellectual life.[4] He makes no reference to religious training, but speaks mostly of instruction in the classics and philosophy making specific mention of Demosthenes's Philippic speeches, Homer's *Iliad*, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plato's theological works and Aristotle's diverse writings on natural philosophy. Among the systems of modern philosophy, he informs his correspondent, the French, the German and the English were taught, by which he apparently means his teaching of Descartes, Leibniz, Wolff and John Locke. These were the protagonists among the moderns in his monumental *Logic*, which he published ten years later, but which he was using in manuscript as a manual in his lectures on Athos.[5]

Voulgaris was not the only teacher at the Athonite academy. Two others were charged with the teaching of more basic courses, especially instruction in grammar. These were Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis and Panayiotis Palamas. Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis was the leading Athonite scholar of his time, an authority on grammar renowned throughout the Greek world. He had been the original choice of the Vatopedi brotherhood to head the academy when the school was first founded in 1749 and had apparently stayed on after the reorganization in 1753 but retired from the school soon after Voulgaris's arrival. His early withdrawal saved his future relationship with Voulgaris, who, despite his subsequent trouble with the grammarians at the school,

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[4] The letter was first published by N. Logadis in *Παράλληλον φιλοσοφίας καὶ Χριστιανισμοῦ* (Constantinople, 1830), 82–91. It has since been reprinted repeatedly, occasionally in fuller versions. Many years after he left the Holy Mountain Eugenios still retained a vivid memory of his experiences there, which he recorded in a comment in his edition of Virgil's *Georgics*. See *Georgicorum Publii Virgilii Maronis libri IV studio ac labore Eugenii de Bulgaris* (St Petersburg, 1786), Book I, 46.

[5] Eighteenth-century Athonite codices which transmit manuscript versions of Voulgaris's *Logic* include Xenophontos ms. 73 (Lambrou 775), Gregoriou ms. 103 (Lambrou 650) and St Panteleimon ms. 223 (Lambrou 5730). Of special interest is the Gregoriou Codex 103 which is based on Voulgaris's lectures on logic at Kozani in 1746 and thus transmits possibly the earliest version of his views. On the philosophical content of his teaching at the Athonite Academy see also Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 76. On his teaching of Locke in particular see P.M. Kitromilides, 'John Locke and the Greek intellectual tradition: an episode in Locke's reception in south-east Europe', in G.A.J. Rogers, ed., *Locke's Philosophy. Content and Context* (Oxford, 1994), 222–25.

considered Neophytos one of his friends.[6] The novelty of Voulgaris's curriculum of courses, and probably also his general attitude, soon led to friction and eventually to conflict. The student body was divided into four factions. Voulgaris's main opponents were the followers of Panayiotis Palamas, the teacher of grammar, who turned against him ostensibly on account of his philosophical teaching. Thus Voulgaris was faced with a replay on Athos of the polemic he had encountered in the 1740s at Ioannina from Balanos Vasilopoulos and his followers because of his philosophical and scientific views. In a letter of 25 February 1756 to Cyril V, Voulgaris warned that the academy was in trouble and appealed to the patriarch to save it. Feeling abandoned by the patriarchs who had brought him to Athos, and blaming ex-Patriarch Cyril V himself for actively undermining him, Voulgaris eventually resigned in 1759.[7]

This was more or less the unhappy end of the experiment with secular enlightenment on Athos. The academy lingered on after Voulgaris. A new patriarch of Constantinople, Seraphim II, attempted to save the school by persuading Nicolaos Zerzoulis, a Newtonian natural philosopher from Metsovo, to succeed Voulgaris.[8] Zerzoulis did not last long on Athos either. In 1761 he returned to Metsovo and thence was invited to Jassy as head of the local princely academy. After Zerzoulis the academy closed down, as the remaining students flocked to Constantinople where Voulgaris had assumed new teaching duties in the Patriarchal Academy until April 1761. The deserted academy, looming on the horizon beyond Vatopedi, was described in 1765 by an alumnus of better days, Iosipos Moisiodax, as a 'nest of ravens'.[9]

The subsequent history of the Athonite academy is a story of abortive efforts to revive it. In 1769 the former Patriarch Seraphim II took such an

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[6] On Neophytos's initial appointment which provided for him to start teaching at the academy on 1 December 1749 see Ph. Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1890), 555–56. On this important eighteenth-century philologist and his friendship with Voulgaris see Ariadna Camariano Cioran, *Les académies princières de Bucharest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Thessalonike, 1974), 413–31, esp. 414–17.

[7] M.I. Gedeon, 'Δύο ἀνέκδοτα γράμματα περὶ τῆς 'Αθωνιάδος 'Ακαδημίας', *EkAl* 3, (1882–83), 699–700. For Voulgaris's own account of his resignation see 'Απολογία πρὸς τὸν Παναγιώτατον Πατριάρχην Κύριον Κύριλλον', in G. Ainian, ed., *Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων συγγραμμάτων τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως* I (Athens, 1838), 54–64. Voulgaris's outspokenness apparently made the text a *cause célèbre* in the eighteenth century, thus securing its transmission by an extensive manuscript tradition, including Dionysiou ms. 250 (Lambrou 3784), fols. 45r–49r and National Library of Greece ms. no. 2390, 750–75. On Voulgaris's resignation and flight from Athos see also C.D. Mertzios, Περὶ Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως. Διατὶ ἐγκατέλειψε τὸ 1759 τὴν 'Αθωνιάδα Σχολὴν', *Ipirotiki Estia* 5 (1956), 417–20.

[8] P. Aravantinos, *Βιογραφικὴ συλλογὴ λόγιων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, C.Th. Dimaras, ed. (Ioannina, 1960), 62.

[9] Iosipos Moisiodax, *'Απολογία* (Vienna, 1780), 128.

initiative, which, however, was not received favourably by the Vatopedi brotherhood.[10] In 1782 Gabriel IV re-endowed the academy. Kaisarios Dapontes reports that the school was again in operation in the 1780s under scholarch Kyprianos the Cretan,[11] while in the 1790s the 'School at Vatopedi' features in the financial and fiscal transactions of the community of the Holy Mountain.[12] An important initiative to revive the academy in 1800, undertaken by Patriarch Kallinikos V, was met with enthusiasm throughout the Greek world, including the communities in the diaspora as far afield as Amsterdam, London and the interior of Russia.[13] In fact Adamantios Korais, otherwise not a particularly sympathetic observer of Athonite monasticism, in his famous memoir to the Société des Observateurs de l' Homme in January 1803, hastened to announce the initiative of the patriarchate to establish, in his words, 'a university on Athos', as the latest evidence that civilization was winning the battle against barbarism in Greece.[14] These great hopes however, came to nothing, inducing Dorotheos Proios, the learned metropolitan of Philadelphia at the time, to note: 'There will never be a college of higher learning on Athos, and if it were to be founded it would be destroyed in a short while.'[15] Thus in the opening years of the nineteenth century, the shadow of the Athonite academy finally faded away, leaving behind the imposing ruins, still visible on the hill above Vatopedi on the north-eastern coast of Athos.

Although Voulgaris's effort to introduce rationalist philosophy and modern science into Athonite intellectual life proved abortive and, on a certain level, might be considered unrealistic, his teaching on Athos was not inconsequential. Among his students in the Athonite academy in the 1750s were some of the most forceful personalities in the Greek intellectual tradition of the eighteenth century. What is more interesting, and perhaps indicative of the character of the intellectual climate of the academy and of Voulgaris's own teaching, was the wide diversity of future ideological trajectories that had their point of departure in the Athonite academy during Voulgaris's tenure there. Among these trajectories were those of two firm future followers of French Encyclopedism, whose names are respectively connected with the most articulate cultural and religious

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[10] Aravantinos, Βιογραφικὴ συλλογὴ, 97.

[11] C. Dapontes, 'Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων (1700–1784)', in C.N. Sathas, ed., Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 3 (Venice, 1872), 133.

[12] *Ἀθωνικὰ σύμμικτα*, no.2: *Ἀρχεῖο Πρωτάτου*, Ch. Gasparis, ed. (Athens, 1991), 15, 186.

[13] C.Th.Dimaras, 'Ἡ σχολὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους στὰ 1800', *Hell* 15 (1957), 141–71.

[14] Coray, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (Paris, 1803), 65–66.

[15] In a letter of 14 July 1805 published in *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 13 (May 1878–May 1879), 238. Cf. N. Doukas, *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Παναγιωτάτον Πατριάρχην Κύριον Κύριλλον περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας* (Vienna, 1815), 54–55.

criticism in the Greek Enlightenment: Iosipos Moisiodax and Christodoulos Pamblekis. Moisiodax was on Athos in the years 1753–56[16] – that is, during the first and most euphoric period of Voulgaris's teaching, while Pamblekis seems to have remained at the academy until Voulgaris's departure.[17] Both of them left accounts of their experiences at the Athonite academy and of their impressions of Voulgaris and his rivals. The accounts leave no doubt about the formative influence of these experiences on the future development and attitudes of both Iosipos and Christodoulos or about the sides they took in the quarrels within the academy during the 1750s. When the two alumni of the Athonite academy met again in Vienna in 1780–81,[18] they still retained very vivid memories of the Academy and certainly must have ruminated on the new turn taken by the career of their former master who was now at the court of the Semiramis of the North.

During Voulgaris's tenure there were also other scholars at the Athonite academy who left their mark on Greek intellectual life. Mention could be made of Gabriel Kallonas from Andros, a moderate future follower of the Enlightenment, who late in life composed a pedagogical treatise drawing on John Locke and Balthazar Gracian.[19] Obviously his first introduction to Locke was through Voulgaris's teaching. Another of Voulgaris's students was Sergios Makraios, later a militant traditionalist and critic of Copernican astronomy. Although he might have had his doubts about Voulgaris's teaching of modern science, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, however, he extols the importance of the Athonite academy as a school 'the equal of which had never been seen among the unfortunate Greeks'[20] and he never fails to speak with the greatest admiration of Voulgaris, with whom he continued to correspond as late as 1794.[21]

From 1752 to 1757 the student body also included Athanasios Parios, who later voiced the most violent opposition against the Enlightenment and the ideas of the French Revolution in Greek thought. He had been one of the

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[16] P.M. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism. Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1992), 29–35.

[17] Pamblekis's reference to Voulgaris's illness in his *Ἀπάντησις ἀνωνύμου πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄφρονας κατηγόρους ἐπονομασθεῖσα περὶ θεοκρατίας* (Leipzig,1793) as it appears in *Ἀκολουθία ἑτεροφθάλμου καὶ ἀντιχρίστου Χριστοδούλου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας* (n.p., 1793), 678, suggests that he was on Athos through 1758, and he was among the thirty-four students who, on 8 January 1759, signed an appeal to ex-Patriarch Cyril V asking him to intervene in order to avert Voulgaris's resignation. See Aravantinos, *Βιογραφικὴ συλλογὴ*, 31–33.

[18] Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism*, 100–101.

[19] E. Kriaras, 'Ἰαβριὴλ Καλλονᾶς, μεταφραστὴς ἔργων του Locke καὶ τοῦ Gracian', *Hell* 13 (1954), 294–314.

[20] Sergios Makraios, 'Ὑπομνήματα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας', in Sathas, ed., Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 3, 219.

[21] Makraios, 'Ὑπομνήματα', 229, 230, 236, 256–57, 513.

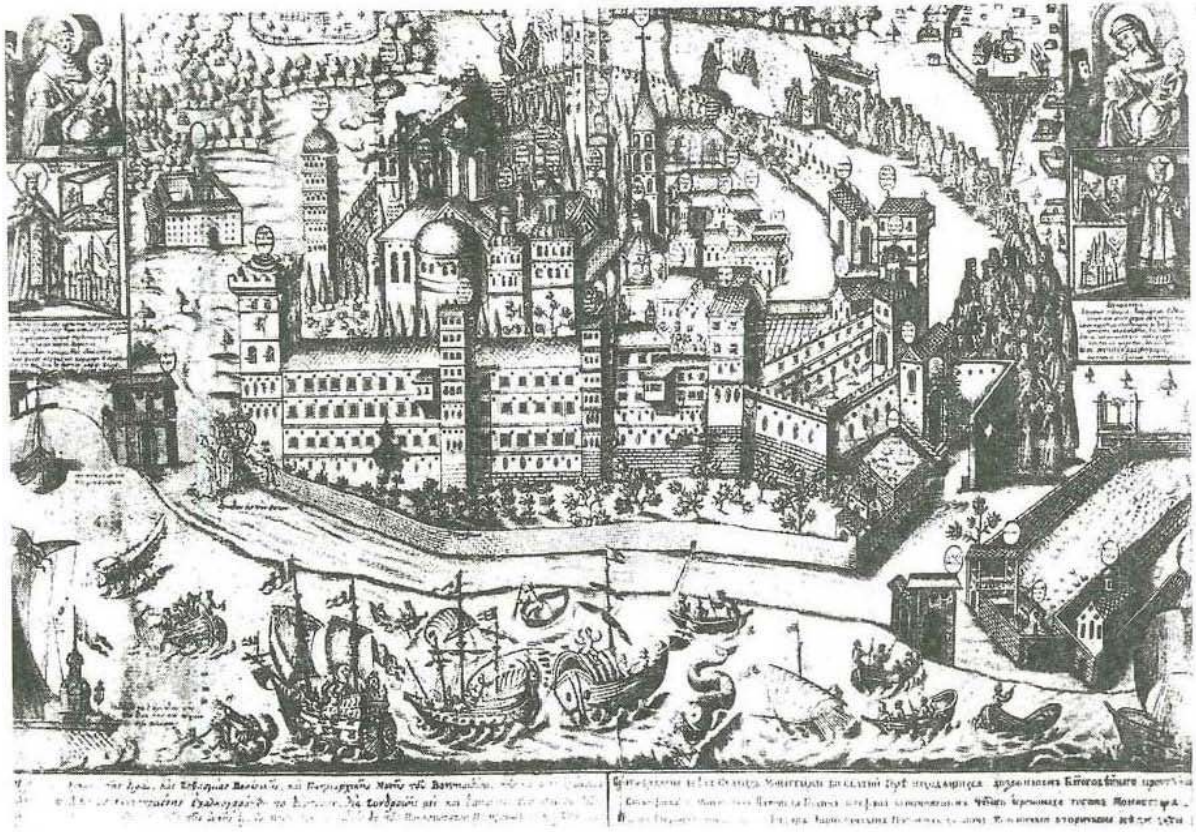

Figure 20.1. Vatopedi Monastery, engraved and printed in Vienna in 1767. The unidentified square building to the left of the walls of the main monastic complex must represent the Athonite Academy. This is the earliest visual record of the Academy. Benaki Museum, Athens.

Figure 20.2. Eugenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), a few years after leaving the Athonite Academy. Frontispiece engraving in E. Voulgaris, *I Logiki* (Leipzig, 1766).

Figure 20.3. Theoklitos Polyeidis, Voulgaris's close associate, enmeshed Athonite traditions of millenarian hopes with considerations of modern European power politics. Frontispiece engraving in Th. Polyeidis, *Sacra tuba fidei* (Stockholm, 1736). Courtesy of Modern Greek Portrait Collection, Neohellenic Research Institute, National Research Foundation, Athens.

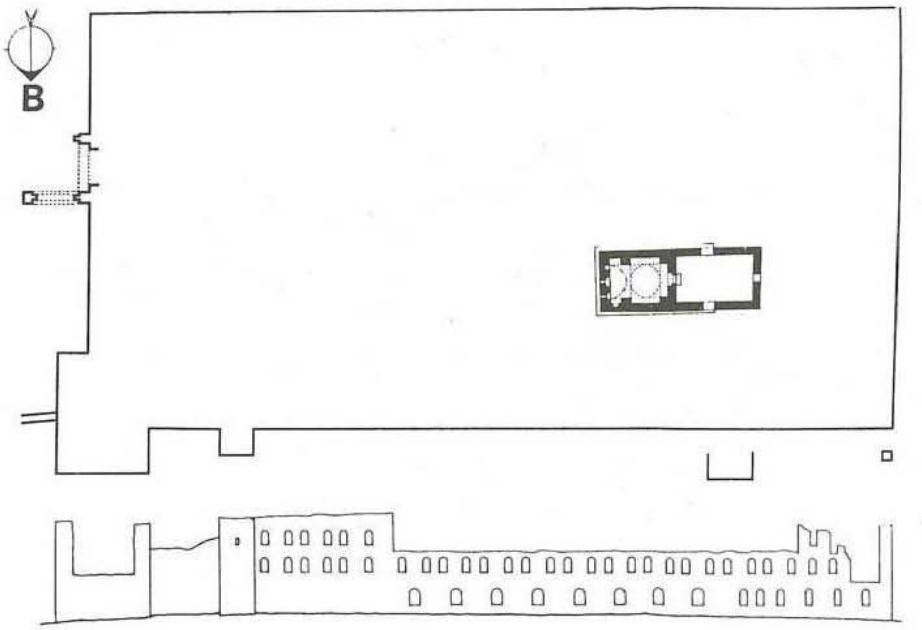

Figure 20.4. The Athonite Academy. Ground plan and north elevation. Courtesy of Athos Archive of Professor Paul A. Mylonas, Athens.

Figure 20.5. Ruins of the Athonite Academy. Photograph by Stavros Mamaloukos, May 1994.

protagonists in the quarrel over the day of the commemoration of the dead and had some association with the leading figures in the Hesychastic revival on Athos during this period.[22] Parios spoke from a strictly Orthodox perspective, but this cannot explain his vehemence against his ideological rivals. His position is paradoxical, considering that his only direct contact with the ideas of the Enlightenment was through Voulgaris's rather circumspect teaching at the Athonite academy. There is nothing in the sources to suggest that there was anything in Voulgaris's teaching or attitudes that could be offensive to Orthodox sensibilities. On the contrary, as we will see, his overall posture on Athos evinced remarkable piety, if not personal modesty. That Parios could not have been offended by the substance of the instruction he received at the academy is suggested by the fact that in his subsequent educational career he employed as manuals texts to which he was introduced by Voulgaris, such as Antonio Genovesi's *Metaphysics*[23] and Voulgaris's own *Logic*. It would be somewhat unwarranted, therefore, to attempt to connect Parios's later hostility to the Enlightenment to reactions provoked by the curriculum of studies taught at the Athonite academy.[24] On the other hand we may be justified in suggesting that Voulgaris's teaching provided Parios with an adequate introduction to the basic philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment to allow him to focus his polemics on the appropriate targets when he took up the crusade of the Counter-Enlightenment after 1789.

Finally the alumni of the Athonite academy included the future renowned popular evangelist St Kosmas the Aetolian. It is uncertain, however, whether he attended the Academy as a lay student or after joining the brotherhood at Philotheou in 1759. His connection with the academy takes on special significance in view of the missionary work Kosmas undertook in 1760 with the blessing of the Russophile Patriarch Seraphim II whose protection was also enjoyed by Voulgaris after his abandonment by Cyril V. We could therefore speculate that Voulgaris's educational endeavours, Kosmas's evangelizing peregrinations which for two decades brought his preaching against conversion to Islam all over the Southern Balkans, and Seraphim's Russian sympathies formed components of an integral ecclesiastical policy designed to strengthen the defences of Orthodoxy. This programme,

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[22] For a profile see G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821)* (Munich, 1988), 358–65.

[23] Parios produced a Greek edition of this work (Venice, 1802) which had also been translated and used as a teaching manual by Voulgaris in Ioannina, Kozani and Athos and finally published in Vienna, 1806.

[24] On Parios's attitude cf. his own testimony in *Ἀπολογητικὴ Ἐπιστολή* in National Library of Greece Codex 1344, fols.1r–49v, esp. fol.6r, arguing that at the 'school' he had tried to stay out of trouble and that if he discussed anything this had to do with the controversy over continuous communion, thus indicating implicitly that he did not recall anything in Voulgaris's teaching with which to quarrel.

moreover, was not limited to Church affairs but was also connected with political long-term objectives, as one suspects from the behaviour of Seraphim II during the operations of the Russian fleet in the Aegean in 1770.[25]

This is how, on the heels of the Enlightenment, considerations of secular politics infiltrated the Holy Mountain. That Voulgaris was a central figure in this regard too is suggested by the evidence of his ties beyond Vatopedi during his Athonite engagement. Down the coast from Vatopedi, at the other great Athonite foundation of Iviron, Voulgaris had another contact in the person of Theoklitos Polyeidis, who, after a long absence in Europe, had returned to his monastery in 1756.[26] Voulgaris speaks warmly of Polyeidis and the assistance he received from him during a serious illness in 1758.[27] On that occasion Polyeidis left his own monastery to accompany Voulgaris across Athos to Dionysiou, where Eugenios sought and received a miraculous cure from the Virgin of the Akathist. This seems to suggest that there was an especially close friendship between the two. What brought them together is unclear. We may note, however, that in this period, which coincided with the last phase of Voulgaris's Athonite venture, Polyeidis, a mysterious and elusive adventurer, was composing the famous oracles of Agathangelos.[28] In a muddle of prophecies and propaganda, Polyeidis used the language of the millenarian tradition and information about contemporary power politics which he had gathered during his travels in Germany, Sweden and possibly Russia in the 1730s and 1740s, in order to promote the idea of the intervention of some northern European power, the famous 'blonde nation' – variously interpreted as Germany or Russia – on behalf of the subjugated Greeks. In view of the close relationship between Voulgaris and Polyeidis it is rather difficult to deny that Voulgaris could have been completely unaware of his friend's project. As his effort to introduce the Enlightenment into the Athonite intellectual universe seemed to be failing, Voulgaris's interests may have taken a turn toward

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[25] C. Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλας* (Athens, 1869), 513 and Z. Mathas, *Κατάλογος ἱστορικὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς πατριαρχῶν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1884), 153. On Voulgaris's attachment to the policies of the patriarch and their overall close connection cf. M.I. Gedeon, Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεος ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Πατριάρχην Σεραφείμ Β', *EkAl* 3 (1882–83), 54–62. See also National Library of Greece Codex 2390, 748–50.

[26] M.Gedeon, Ὁ Ἄθως (Constantinople,1885), 223. In the library of Iviron Gedeon noted some books which had belonged to Polyeidis. A record of Polyeidis's travels in Europe is in Iviron ms. 613 (Lambrou 4733).

[27] *Ἐπιστολὴ Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως πρὸς Πέτρον τὸν Κλαίρκιον περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ σχίσμα ἁγίων τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν γινομένων ἐν αὐτῇ θαυμάτων* (Athens, 1844), 55.

[28] Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 336–37.

the more practical possibilities offered by the fluidity of secular power politics. His subsequent career seems to indicate as much.

If this story of the Enlightenment on Athos is turning into a thriller let me add a final dimension to it by way of a question-mark. Polyeidis's oracles somehow found their way into the hands of Rhigas Velestinlis, the revolutionary enlightener and martyr of the last decade of the eighteenth century, who printed them for the first time in Vienna in 1790.[29] Could this hint at an Athonite connection in the case of this most secular-minded and radical of Balkan Enlightenment figures as well? It would be tempting to speculate, but the total paucity of evidence yields the ground completely to the imagination at this point, and thus historical analysis must be suspended for the moment on this subject.

It would be perhaps more conventionally appropriate to attempt to draw some conclusions about the character of intellectual life on Athos as illustrated by the story of the Enlightenment on the Holy Mountain. Religious history, like cultural history more generally, often suffers from manicheanism. We tend to think in terms of opposites and lines of confrontation, usually seeing a battle of good and evil according to our subjective understanding of the world. Yet things are rarely as neat and comforting as that. The flow of history is made up, for the most part, of assimilation and osmosis, and the history of culture is usually a record of unanticipated consequences. The experiment with the Enlightenment on Athos is a case in point. The philosophy of the Enlightenment was inadvertently introduced into Athonite culture because a patriarch, in discharging his pastoral duties, judged that he ought to create a school of higher learning in order to produce an Orthodox educated élite. To this end he summoned the leading scholar of the time, who had made a name for himself as a champion of modern philosophy. In this choice the patriarch, as guardian of the Orthodox tradition, acted with remarkable tolerance and open-mindedness. Voulgaris for his part did teach modern philosophy but his intellectual make-up was far from one-sided: beyond the moderns his admiration for ancient philosophy was joint in his conscience to an appreciation of hesychastic theology.[30] His behaviour on the Holy Mountain was marked by respect for Athonite traditions as indicated by his account of his miraculous healing by one of the most venerated icons on Athos.[31] His conflicts with his rivals at the Athonite academy appear to have been

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[29] A. Politis, 'Ἡ προσγραφόμενη στὸν Ῥήγα πρώτη ἔκδοση τοῦ 'Αγαθάγγελου', *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής* 7 (1969), 173–92.

[30] Cf., for example, his edition of the works of Joseph Vryennios, a late fourteenth-century theologian (Leipzig, 1768, vols I–II with a third volume appearing in Petersburg, 1784).

[31] *Ἐπιστολὴ [...] πρὸς Πέτρον τὸν Κλαίρκιον*, 50–56. Cf. Voulgaris's prayer to the Virgin in Iviron ms. 895 (Lambrou 5015), fol. 60v. Voulgaris's letter to Pierre Leclerc in a 1772 copy is also in Great Lavra ms. M68, 26ff.

of a personal rather than ideological nature. His teaching of modern philosophy turned out to be of use even to vocal enemies of the Enlightenment such as Parios. Seen in this light the experiment with the Enlightenment on Athos was not alien to the logic of syncretism which we noted above.

Athonite history is a record of historical syncretism. Although we tend to think of Athos as a surviving piece of Byzantium in the modern world, its history is in fact far from being either static or impervious. In the same way that medieval Athonite libraries transmitted in their manuscripts pagan classical letters as well as the mass of Christian learning, so modern Athonite libraries invariably include the most radical books of the Greek Enlightenment[32] and among their eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century codices are to be found some of the most daring texts of religious criticism produced during that period.[33] The question, of course, is who brought and who read these sources? Probably just the same monks who read patristic wisdom and liturgical literature. The tenacity of the Athonite tradition consisted in its ability to absorb and to set in order diverse elements in an overall framework of Orthodox values. No one did this better or more effectively than another great Athonite personality of the eighteenth century, a contemporary and admirer of Voulgaris, Kaisarios Dapontes, the itinerant monk and dedicated restorer of Xeropotamou.[34]

The ability to absorb and to adapt could be considered as the authentic Byzantine core of the Athonite tradition. Nothing put that ability to a more serious trial or posed a graver danger to it than a new set of secular values, also extraneous to the Athonite tradition, that gradually began to make their way into the monastic republic at about the same time that the drama of the Enlightenment was acted out. In European culture more generally, and in the Balkan intellectual tradition in particular, these new ideas were germinated by the Enlightenment, although they eventually annulled its universalist and humanist principles. I refer to nationalism, whose first, still inchoate, stirrings on the Holy Mountain can be traced in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was in this period – in 1758 – that yet another Athonite monk, with some possible indirect ties to the Athonite Academy and to Voulgaris's teaching,[35] left his monastery, the Slav foundation of

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[32] For example, Moisiodax's *Apologia* (1780) at Vatopedi and Lavra and *Paidagogia* (1779) at Lavra and Koutloumousiou. G. Constantas and D. Philippides, *Νεωτερική Γεωγραφία* (1791) at Vatopedi, Iviron and Xenophontos. All of these books were critical of the Orthodox clergy and the last one was quite hostile to monasticism. The copies mentioned here are only those recorded by researchers or known to me personally from my visits to Athonite libraries. More copies may come to light as the exploration of Athonite libraries continues.

[33] For example, St Panteleimon ms. 755 (Lambrou 6262), fols. 89r–125v.

[34] See R.M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London, 1936), 65–73.

[35] This is suggested by V. Velchev, *Paissi of Hilendar. Father of the Bulgarian Enlightenment* (Sofia, 1981), 84–86, but without any concrete evidence.

Chilandar, for a foray into the world. But unlike his contemporary Dapontes and countless other Athonite monks, before and after him, he did not leave to collect alms for his monastery, nor did he carry an icon or holy relic with him. He left, stimulated by his curiosity to search for the historical origins of his people, and visited Karlowitz and possibly Catholic Dalmatia and Croatia where he collected source material for his own history.[36] The work was finally completed at the Bulgarian foundation of Zographou, where the author, Paisi Hilendarski, transferred after his return to Athos in 1762. In his *Slavobulgarian History*, Paisi relied mostly on the work of a Benedictine abbot from Croatia, Mauro Orbini, in order to build his case about the greatness of the medieval past of his despised Bulgarian nation. He thus planted the seeds of a future Bulgarian Enlightenment.

After the completion of his *History* Paisi returned to Chilandar and was sent to collect alms in the Bulgarian lands by his older brother Lavrenti, who was abbot of the monastery. In this mission he carried a clean copy of his *History* with him. When he reached Kotel in central Bulgaria, Paisi apparently met Stoiko Vladislavov, the future bishop Sofroni of Vratsa who made a copy of the *History* for his own instruction. This was the first copy of Paisi's *History* ever made in Bulgaria and it was completed on 29 January 1765.[37] Later, amidst the adversities brought into his life by the Russo-Turkish wars, Stoiko sought refuge and spiritual comfort on Athos in 1774–75.[38] After his return from Athos he produced a second copy of Paisi's *History* in 1781. Probably influenced by Paisi's arguments, Sofroni, upon his episcopal consecration in 1794, decided to start preaching in the Bulgarian vernacular in order to communicate more effectively with his peasant flock.[39] Thus from the unworldly Athonite environment emanated ideas about the differentiation of peoples on the basis of historical origins and language – ideas upon which distinct national identities and sensibilities were to be based and cultivated in south-east Europe. These ideas, once enmeshed in secular power politics, acquired such force that they eventually transformed beyond recognition the common Orthodox culture of the Balkans – a culture that had, for centuries, focused on Athos as its most sacred shared palladium.

Nationalist ideas and motivations proved an unequal match for the capacity of the Athonite tradition to absorb and accommodate within its own framework of values new spiritual outlooks and intellectual challenges, as had most recently happened to a considerable extent with Voulgaris's

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[36] Ante Kadič, 'The Croatian sources of Paisii's *Historia*', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 10 (1983), 71–82.

[37] Sofroni Vračanski, *Vie et tribulations du pecheur Sofroni*, trans. and ed. Jack Feuillet (Sofia, 1981), 14–15, 29–32.

[38] Vračanski, *Vie et tribulations*, 80–81.

[39] Ibid., 91 and 104.

Enlightenment. A century after the re-orientations initiated by the eighteenth century, the millenial ability of Athonite culture to integrate challenges into the fabric of Orthodox values seems to have been giving way under the pressure of conflicts connected with the incompatible interests of the new Orthodox nation-states of eastern and south-east Europe. Under these circumstances, at the close of the nineteenth century it seemed that the very essentials of the Athonite tradition were in jeopardy. In the mid-1880s, after four visits to Athos, Manuel Gedeon, a genuine spokesman for the Orthodox ecumenicity of the Great Church, was alarmed and dismayed at the depth of passions associated with nationalist conflicts on Athos. Gedeon felt that such 'racial recriminations between monks belonging to different nationalities ... disfigure the mission and character of an Orthodox monk'[40] and, while perhaps appropriate 'to hot-headed politicians', were incompatible with the Holy Mountain's earlier history of 'political wisdom and Christian comportment'.[41] A further century has elapsed since Gedeon wrote, but his warnings still sound paradoxically topical for Balkan Orthodoxy and its Athonite beacon.

[40] Gedeon, *Ὁ Ἄθως*, 60–61.
[41] Gedeon, *Ὁ Ἄθως*, 63.

Index

Editors can only guess what readers seek, so indexes have a life of their own. An earlier visitor to Athos, Dr Edward Veryard, *An Account of ... a Voyage to the* Levant... (London, 1701), n.p. (no pagination, for you cannot index an index), set the style by offering under the entire letter 'H': 'Hazel-nuts *found incorrupt in Turf-pits*'; 'Herba Terribilis'; 'Hieroglyphicks'; 'Horse Dung *used for litter*'; and 'Hysterical Passion'. This index lists palpable people and places, but, for more intangible concepts, try the entries beginning 'monastic -', where you may even find 'light'. My transliterations often violate the idiorrhythms of particular authors, but any Athonite should find their way around. A.A.M.B.