



## RESEARCH NETWORK DEDICATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTIC ECONOMY

### DOES MONASTIC ECONOMY MATTER? RELIGIOUS PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (Workshop II)

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#### *PARTICIPANTS AND ABSTRACTS*

**Elias Kolovos**

**Monasteries, Economy, and Politics from Medieval to Modern Times**

From Medieval to Modern Times, monastic institutions, especially in the Orthodox Christian world, have an impressive historical continuity. Some of the monasteries on Mount Athos, for example, have a continuous presence for over a millennium now. How can we explain this continuity? Is it only because of the religiousness of both the monks and the faithful, across ages? In my talk, I will argue that this continuity has to be also explained on the basis of continued – albeit different in character in different historical circumstances - relations of the monastic institutions with economic activity and political protection. I will focus especially on monastic landholding across the ages, as the basis of economic stability in both medieval and modern times, even today; secondly, I will focus on political protection in favor of the monasteries in various states and societies, even Islamic ones, a case in point being the Orthodox monasteries under Ottoman rule. Last, but not least, I will make an effort to include into the analysis and discussion the role of the monastic networks, religious, economic and political at the same time. In conclusion, after breaking down as modern historians the patterns of monastic activities in their cultural, economic, and political aspects, I will argue that we have to keep in mind that from the perspective of the medieval and modern monks, all these aspects were combined together and practiced as a whole. This unity of behavior might have also contributed and contribute even today, in our post-industrial age, to the survival, stability, and even success, of the monastic institutions. After all, in the midst of economic crises, the world is always in search for stable institutions.

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Ottoman History with a dissertation on Peasants and Monks in Ottoman Halkidiki (15th-16th c.). He is an elected member of the Board of the International Association for Ottoman Economic and Social History. As a visiting scholar, he taught at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, France, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey, and at the Program of Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, U.S.A. He participates in research projects at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, F.O.R.T.H., Greece, at the Ecole Francaise d' Athenes, and the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, Germany. He has written, edited, and coedited ten books and over 40 papers in Greek and international publications and journals. His research interests include the Mediterranean economic history, the history of the insular worlds, the history of the monasteries, rural and environmental history, as well as the spatial history and legacies of the Ottoman Empire. His latest book is: *Across the Aegean: Islands, Monasteries and Rural Societies in the Ottoman Greek Lands*, The Isis Press, Istanbul 2018.

**Dimitrios Kalpakis*****Towards a Classification of the Athonic Estates in the Byzantine Era***

What deals scientifically with the Athonic estates forms a quite broad field, available for numerous approaches, no doubt. Among many things, those estates are the dynamic extension of the monasteries' vital space, since their early days. Many serious attempts have taken place so far, not only for the various interpretations of this phenomenon, but even just for the discovering and identification of those estates, being usually scattered in a vast geographical area through the ages. Regarding Byzantine Athos, the main sources for such efforts are the few official documents of the era, stored in the Archives of those monasteries, most of which are already - fortunately - published. However, this only material we have, is quite problematic, not only in terms of adequacy of the documents themselves but also regarding the adequacy of data and their whole structure and interpretation. Yet, things get more serious when we have to deal with the totality of the estates of this era. The "bet" here was to put in order such scattered, heterogeneous and often problematic information. However, this would not happen without brave conventions towards a typological and conceptual unification of the data. Such conventions had to take seriously into account the need for actual data management, towards a thorough interpretation and further future exploitation of them by the scientific community. The project resulted a series of classifications, using basic common denominators, such as: time sections, major areas, functional types and sizes. These classifications resulted then quantifications and statistics, depicted both in graphics and on thematic maps, considered as basic tools for the understanding of this whole phenomenon.

**Dimitrios Kalpakis** ([orlon88dk@gmail.com](mailto:orlon88dk@gmail.com)) is an archaeologist at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina (Greece). He is a PhD candidate in Historical Geography (University of Ioannina, Greece). His major areas of interest are Historical Geography, Cartography, Museology and Museography, Graphics, Archives, Databases, Cultural Management. He has held positions at (1999-2017) the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (12th Ephorate of Antiquities, 23rd Ephorate of Antiquities, Scientific Committee of Ancient Nicopolis, Archaeological Museum of Ioannina, Ioannina Ephorate of Antiquities) | Curator – In charge of Digital Applications, Cartography, Digital Documentation, Museum activities, Graphics and Cultural Management; (1994-1999) Foundation of the Hellenic



World | Curator – Head of the Historical Geography Team; (1992-2017) National Research Foundation (Athens, Greece) – Institute of Historical Studies | External partner – Programme for the Documentation of Athonite sources; (1994-1997) “KATHIMERINI” newspaper (Athens, Greece) | Coordination Assistant – Programme of Telematics (KATHOR) for the digital documentation of the Athonite history and culture; and (1994-2009) Freelance Cultural Manager.

**Evangelos  
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***Athonite Real Estate Property in Thessaloniki***

The paper presents two lists of Mount Athos real estate property in Thessaloniki. The first was compiled after the published Actes of the Byzantine period and consists of 69 cases, dated from 946 to 1430. In 41 of these cases their locations are given in the source, so they can be spotted on the map. The second list was compiled after post-Byzantine sources and consists of 27 cases dated from 1431 to 1918. In all these cases the location of the properties was recognizable. The result of the comparison between the two lists is that they have no detectable common elements, which leads us to the conclusion that no Athonite estate of the Byzantine period survived after the Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki. The conclusion is useful, because the local historiography has been based on the assumption that the Ottomans did not touch the monastic dependencies in this city. The paper discusses the factors to which we may attribute the lack of similarities between the two lists, i.e. the investment strategy of the Athonite monasteries (all of which, with the exception of Kutlumus, figure in the two lists), the policy of the Ottoman state, the urban and social transformations, and the high rate of conversions to Islam during the early Ottoman period.

**Evangelos Chekimoglou** ([chekimoglou@gmail.com](mailto:chekimoglou@gmail.com)) is an economist historian [PhD (1987), MA (1981) BA (1976) from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Law and Economics]. During the last thirty years he has served as director of local cultural foundations, like the National Bank of Greece Cultural Centre for Northern Greece, the Mount Athos Photographic Archive, the Businessmen Cultural Society for Northern Greece, and -since 2010- the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki. In parallel, he has served as a freelance researcher for a large number of projects, pertaining either to the history of the city of Thessaloniki either to the economic history of the Ottoman and Greek states (described in my curriculum). His current main activities are focused in the history of entrepreneurship and the history of the real property formation.

In these fields his main works were the following: Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki: the Ottoman Period; in cooperation with Prof.Ch. Papastathis (†), vol. II-1 in the series The History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki, 5vols. Thessaloniki: Businessmen Cultural Society for Northern Greece, 2004 [in Greek]; Cadastral Documents as Historical Sources. Thessaloniki, late 19th - early 20th century; in cooperation with Prof. Thaleia Mantopoulou-Panaghiotopoulou, vol. II-2 in the series The History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki, 5 vols., Thessaloniki: Businessmen Cultural Society for Northern Greece 2004 [in Greek]; Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki 1900-1940: Large companies and business families; in cooperation with Efrosyni Roupa M.A., vol. III in the series The History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki, 5 vols., Thessaloniki: Businessmen Cultural Society for Northern Greece 2004 [in Greek]; “Some notes on the Muslim vakfs in Ottoman Thessaloniki

(Selânik)”. In Y. C. Kafadar & G. A. Tekin (ed.), *Defterology Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry*; *Journal of Turkish Studies*, no 40 (Dec. 2013): 151-168.

**Phokion Kotzageorgis**

***Managing Monastic Assets in a Time of Trouble. Lemnos Island in the Context of the Athonite Economic Policy during the Ottoman period.***

Today on Lemnos island in the North Aegean Sea, one can see a couple of medieval towers and some small churches, scattered along the islands' countryside. Local people know that in the remote past their island used to be full of monastic holdings. Byzantinists' scholarship has greatly dealt with the 'monastic' past of the island, using the rich material from the Athonite monasteries for the period from the 10th to the 15th centuries. It was in this period that Lemnos consisted - together with Halkidiki peninsula and the Strymon region - one part of the productive triangle of the Athonites. But, what was next? Did the Athonites manage to retain under their possessions the assets they had on the island? Did the change of the political ruler of the island influence the Athonite properties? How easy or difficult was for the monks to retain these assets under their possession? What methods did they adopt in order to keep them? And finally, what was the fate of their properties? The present paper aspires to answer to all or to some of these questions, using unpublished archival material from the Athonite monasteries and the Ottoman tax registers of the 15th and 16th centuries. Lemnos is a case study concerning the question of the economic strategies monasteries developed, across the time, for their assets.

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**Aleksandar Fotić**

*Coping with Extortion on a Local Level: The Case of Hilandar's Metochion in Zdravikion (Draviskos, Strymon Region) in the 16th Century*

In the Ottoman Empire extortion on a local level was a frequent practice and it took diverse forms. The Ottoman documents preserved in the archive of the Monastery of Hilandar (Mount Athos) give us a picture of the ways in which its monks struggled to preserve their privileges and protect their large metochion at Zdravikion (c. 700 dönüms). Their basic tax obligation to the “master of the land” (sahib-i arz) was paid annually in a lump sum (maktu‘) ever since 1481, when sultan Bayezid II exempted them from paying the tithe at the express request of the Wallachian voivode Basarab II Țepeluș. The annual lump sum of 600 akçes accounted for only a half of the total tax burden – they had been relieved of paying the other half by the sultan himself. This privilege was confirmed by all subsequent sultans, most likely until 1569. Local masters of the land (at first sipahis, then hass and finally vakıf authorities) persistently and in various ways sought to impose the payment of the tithe. This paper presents different arguments they used in the attempt to extort the payment of the tithe and the monks’ firm attitude in defending their rights before the kadı’s court and the Imperial Divan. Monks were able to prove their rights because they conscientiously kept, sometimes for centuries, all the necessary documents relating to their land possessions, producing them as evidence in court proceedings.

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**Isabelle Depret**

*The monastery of Iviron's dependencies-properties (metochia) in Moldova-Vallachia during the late Ottoman period. Autarchy or transterritorial network-based economy?*

Since the 19th century pilgrims and travelers’ diaries, Mount Athos is often presented as a timeless territory cut off from time and the "secular" outside world, where men, organized in autarchy, devote themselves to God. The Byzantine and Ottoman archives of the Athonite monasteries tend to nuance strongly this image, emphasizing, a contrario, the spiritual, social but also economic links maintained

by the monasteries - and their elites - beyond the Holy Mountain since the eleventh century. In this paper, we will consider the economic functioning of these monasteries in modern times, not as much as local autarchic entities but precisely as institutions structured in transterritorial networks between which exchanges, circulations, transfers of men, goods and wealth existed. To examine this large issue, we will rely on the Romanian archives of the monastery of Ivron, which include documents, covering the post-Byzantine period (15th-early 20th century) collected and published by Romanian researchers in association with the Greek Foundation for Scientific Research. Through these documents - and putting emphasis on the economic relations between the mother monastery of Ivron and some of its metochia (dependencies) - we will first stress connections between classical material economy and « symbolic economy » (P. Bourdieu) as functional dimensions of these religious institutions, and their possible implications in terms of accumulation of wealth. Paying attention to individual actors and bases of this networked monastic economy, we will especially question how the idiorhythmic rule adopted in Ivron during the Ottoman era, is correlated to various logics at work : subsistence economy, rentier economy, innovative market system.

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Selected publications: *Église orthodoxe et histoire en Grèce contemporaine. Versions officielles et controverses historiographiques*, Paris, L'Harmattan, collection Études grecques, 2009; *Religion, nation, citoyenneté en Grèce : l'Église orthodoxe et le conflit des cartes d'identité*, Paris, l'Harmattan, collection Etudes grecques, 2012; (avec Guillaume Dye), *Partage du sacré: transferts, dévotions mixtes, rivalités interconfessionnelles*, éditions EME-Presses de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, collection Religion et altérité, 2012 ; «Religion, biens spirituels et patrimoine matériel. Les soubassements économiques d'une mise en héritage des monastères de l'Athos (Grèce) fin XXe-début XXIe siècle», *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, thematic issue *Religion et économie* 183 (2018) coordonné par Vassilios Makrides et Katerina Seraïdari.

**Christos Kakalis**

***Moving through Orders: Athonite Monastic Taxis and the Mappings of Vasilij Gregorovic Barskij***

The paper explores the mid-18th century Athonite topography as expressed in the autobiographical notes and drawings of Vasilij Gregorovic Barskij's documentations of his two journeys there in 1725 and 1744 In particular, the essay seeks to unravel the representational dynamics of the combination of hand written text and hand drawn images in Barsky's narratives. Difficult to be characterised as a representative figure of a specific group of the Christian Orthodox intelligentsia of that period,



Barsky is presented here as a liminal figure, blurring his deep religious piety with 18th century Orthodox Enlightenment. Merging accuracy with faith his pieces stand in-between different types of order: the gradual establishment of a Balkan Greek-Orthodox order, the order of monastic life, the ordered way of accurate descriptions and representations of architecture and landscape, the order of his pilgrimage. As Veronica della Dora characteristically argues:

Barskij's travel accounts and sketches provide us with a unique insight into Orthodox Enlightenment geography, not so much as physical space or as a discipline, but as a discourse, that is, as a set of embodied and representational practices through which eighteenth-century educated Orthodox Ruthenians (the inhabitants of present0day Belarus and Ukraine) came to know, imagine and represent the world.<sup>1</sup>

Explored as a set of embodied practices, text and drawing declare Barksy's ability to move through these orders and document them not as a linear, chronological, narrative but rather as a palimpsest of experiences in which objectivity and subjectivity intertwine, allowing for the actual liminal qualities of 18th century pilgrimage economies to emerge. Bird eye views, detailed descriptions of buildings and objects, sketches of rituals, observer's eye framings and experiential reflective drawings are interrelated into an organic story of Athonite topography.

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**Ivan Biliarsky,  
Petronel Zahariuc,  
George Lazar and  
Dimitar Peev**

***Romanian Documents of the Archives of the Hagiorite Monastery of  
Zographou (A General Survey)***

The paper is prepared in co-authorship of the members of the team of the project, aiming the edition of the Romanian documents of the collection of the archives of Zographou hagiorite monastery. This is a quite big collection covering the late Mediaeval and early Modern époques and containing mostly documents of property of the monastery and its metochia in Moldavia and Valachia. We can say that the subject concerning the economy relations of Zographou is in the centre of our study.

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**George Lazar** ([georgelaz2001@yahoo.fr](mailto:georgelaz2001@yahoo.fr), [georgelaz2005@yahoo.fr](mailto:georgelaz2005@yahoo.fr)) est chercheur principal à l'Institut d'histoire „N. Iorga” (Bucarest) de l'Académie Roumaine. Docteur en histoire de l'Université Laval (2005, Québec, Canada), ses recherches portent sur histoire sociale de l'Ancien Régime roumaine (XVII<sup>e</sup> - XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles), notamment sur les marchands valaques, la généalogie et la prosopographie des marchands et des familles de grands boyards, histoire économique dans la même période, paléographie slave - roumaine et paléographie cyrrillique, etc. Parmi ses publications, on peut citer les livres: *Les marchands en Valachie, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Institutul Cultural Român, București, 2006 (qui a obtenu, en 2008, le prix „N. Iorga” de l'Académie Roumanie), *Mărturie pentru posteritate. Testamentul negustorului Ioan Băluță din Craiova* [Témoignage pour la postérité. Le testament du marchand Ioan Băluță de la ville Craiova] (Brăila, 2010), *Documente privitoare la negustorii din Țara Românească* [Documents concernant les marchands de Valachie] (vol. I (1656-1688), Iași, 2013 et vol. II (1689-1714), Iași, 2014), *Catastife de negustori din Țara Românească (secolele XVIII-XIX)* [Les livres de comptes des marchands de Valachie (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles] (Iași, 2016), et plusieurs articles dans des revues scientifiques.

**Dimitar Peev** ([dimitter@yahoo.com](mailto:dimitter@yahoo.com)) is teaching Old Slavonic at the Faculty of Slavic Studies of the Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. His research interests are in the field of Medieval historical literature and slavonic paleography. His dissertation was dealing with the slavonic translations of “Jewish Wars” by Flavius Josephus. Dr. Peev has contributed to the study of the Chronicles of John Malalas and George Amartol and their slavonic circulation, as well as to the documentary and literary heritage of Paisius of Hilendar. Currently he is part of the research team which is working on the publication of the Moldavian documents kept at the Zographou monastery.

**George Lazar**

*Marchands grecs et leurs établissements religieux en Valachie. Le cas des frères marchands Pepano et leur fondation monastique de Codreni*



**(XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)**

Arrivés dans les premières décennies du XVIIe siècle en Valachie, les frères marchands Pepano, originaires d'Epire, ont développé une intense activité commerciale. Grace à leur fortune accumulée suite à cette activité commerciale – en particulier avec la puissante communauté grecque de Venise –, d'une politique matrimoniale profitable et de leurs relations spéciales avec quelques familles de boyards et même la Cour Princièrè, les frères Pepano réussirent à occuper des fonctions dans le Conseil du pays (divan) et même développer un certain « mécénat culturel ». A partir de ces constatations, après une brève présentation l'activité commerciale déroulée par les frères Pepano en Valachie au fil du XVIIe siècle, nous désirons dévoiler quelques détails sur le destin de leur fondation pieuse de Codreni. Relevé au début par d'argile, à 1661, le monastère sera à refaire entre les années 1675-1677 et dédié à l'instant – comme métokion – en faveur de l'Archevêché de Pogoniani (Epire). Les relations entre le fondateur et ses descendantes, d'une part, et les moins de l'Archevêché de Pogoniani, d'une autre part, n'ont pas été très cordiales, au contraire. En même temps, grâce aux documents qui ont été conservés, notamment le manuscrit 377, qui se trouve dans les fonds des Archives Nationales de la Roumanie, nous voulons présenter aussi des informations sur les principales sources de revenus et dépenses de ce monastère dans le délai mentionné ci-dessus.

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**Lidia Cotovanou**

***Migrants, villes, monastères, commerce. La concentration urbaine des lieux de culte «roumains» dédiés aux Lieux Saints de l'Orthodoxie (XVIe – XVIIe siècles)***

*In French:* Le sujet abordé s'inscrira dans la suite de la communication faite lors du colloque précédent (CAS, novembre 2017). Il a été question de montrer alors que les monastères orthodoxes, comparés aux Monts-de-Piété catholiques, fonctionnent dans une logique bancaire, à savoir qu'ils servent de lieux de dépôt par donation de biens fonciers, dont le surplus des revenus annuels est mobilisé pour subvenir, d'un côté, à la commémoration liturgique du donateur et, d'autre côté, à



l'assistance des pauvres. Pour le donateur, il s'agit d'investir dans le salut et contribuer au bien commun de la communauté chrétienne. Les monastères « roumains » dédiés à titre de métoques aux Patriarcats d'Orient s'inscrivent dans ce même schéma, exceptées quelques particularités qui tiennent du profil spécial des donateurs: il s'agit le plus souvent a) de sujets chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman demeurant dans les Principautés danubiennes et de leurs descendants, b) de princes régnants nommés par la Porte et attachés aux cercles de pouvoir rouméliotes et constantinopolitains. D'où l'orientation de l'investissement dans le sacré vers les grands monastères situés dans l'espace d'origine des donateurs, voire dans la juridiction des Patriarcats « grecs ». Le double but affiché par les donateurs est de s'offrir des prières de commémoration dans l'espace d'origine, auprès de lieux de culte prestigieux et durables, puis de mettre le patrimoine donné / investi à l'abri des vicissitudes du temps. Ils suivent aussi des buts tacites visant à assister les compatriotes pauvres et à entretenir le bien commun de la communauté d'origine qui est l'Église elle-même. Cet aspect sera argumenté à travers la comparaison de la pratique de la dédicace de métoques « roumains » aux Lieux Saints de l'Orthodoxie avec l'évergétisme communautaire pratiqué par les membres de la Communauté Grecque de Venise via le dépôt d'importantes sommes d'argent auprès des banques vénitiennes. Suite à cette comparaison, il apparaît que les activités économiques des monastères « grecs » administrateurs des métoques acquis au Nord du Danube consistent à faire travailler les biens immobiliers du métoque – par le commerce, entre autres – comme l'on fait travailler l'argent dans les banques vénitiennes. Toutes ces particularités, qui caractérisent les lieux de culte valaques et moldaves dédiés au Lieux Saints – être fondés et subventionnés par des migrants, héberger les voyageurs, pratiquer le commerce, etc. –, expliquent, à mon sens, la concentration des métoques dans et à proximité des espaces urbains des Principautés, voir tout près des marchés et de la concentration des populations de migrants.

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**Preston Perluss*****Benedictine Urban Asset Management : A comparative study***

In the 18th century, the Benedictine rule covered a large array of distinct congregations ; prominent among these was the Congregation of Saint-Maur (which included a large number of French religious communities). Yet there existed numerous other religious congregations following the Benedictine rule. For this study I have singled out the French Feuillants and the Celestins. The Feuillants were introduced into France during the reign of Henry III during the French religious wars while the Celestins were medieval in origin and had been favored by Charles V during the Anglo-French Hundred Years' War.

My intention is to examine the asset management of several urban communities belonging to these orders : the Blanc-Manteaux convent in Paris; the Parisian Feuillants on the rue Saint-Honoré, near the Louvre (there was equally a Feuillant noviciat located on rue d'Enfer as well); and the Celestins located near the Arsenal.. These three communities will be compared with the Celestins and Feuillants in Lyon.

As my main research concerns urban monasteries, I have chosen these establishments as the basis for my inquiry. In particular, I am seeking to understand the extent of the urban wealth as opposed to their rural sources of income. Both the Parisian Feuillants and Celestins. The Royal Monastery of Saint-Bernard, as the Feuillants' main Parisian establishment, possessed 10 mansions (hôtels) adjacent to their cloister. Rents were exceptionally steep: two adjoining houses together were rented for 10,800 livres tournois. At the same time, the Feuillants were paying 81,000 livres tournois in annuities to individuals and other Benedictine monasteries. The Celestins owned 40 rental buildings in Paris. While not as wealthy as their Parisian counterparts, both the Lyon Celestins and Feuillants had substantial rental incomes for dwellings located in the immediate precincts of their monasteries.

This project seeks to present my analytical methodology. I shall draw upon several distinct sources : balance sheets furnished at the time of the Revolutionary expropriations; decime declarations submitted to the Church's own collectors (the proceeds used to pay the Don gratuit) and internal accounting documents.

**Preston Perluss** ([preston.perluss@wanadoo.fr](mailto:preston.perluss@wanadoo.fr)) is an associate professor (tenured) at the Grenoble University Graduate Business School, part of the Université Pierre Mendès France. His teaching embraces courses in English for graduate students in History, Finance, Accountancy and Strategic Purchasing. His academic background involves varied aspects of economic institutions/agents and urban development. Holds a PhD in modern French History from the Sorbonne (Université de Paris IV) and his research specialization concerns Urban History, in particular the microhistory of preindustrial neighborhoods and, more generally, the economy and material structures for preindustrial ecclesiastic institutions – main period is the 18th century. Dr. Perluss is a member of the Laboratoire de recherche historique du Rhône Alpes (LARHRA). His third broad area of academic interest and teaching concerns aspects of political economy and economic development in particular the study of international strategic networks, government policies and global value chain analyses ( as found in the school of Gereffi and Sturgeon, Henderson, et al.). A selected list of his recent

publications includes: 1) « Les institutions religieuses et la vie des quartiers au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, : les baux des chaises et le causuel des églises conventuelles », dans Belleguic (Thierry) et Turcot (Laurent), *Les Histoires de Paris, de l'âge classique (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* Hermann, Paris; 2) *From Alms to Investments : Monastic Credit Structures in 17th and 18th century Paris*, week 2011, religion and religious institutions in European economy. 1000-1800, Istituto Internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini", Prato, Italy. 3) *Les communautés régulières comme déterminants des paysages urbains à travers le cas parisien : les Carmes Billettes, les Blancs-Manteaux et les Chanoines de Sainte-Croix*, Comité de Travaux Historiques Français, Colloque Neuchâtel, Paysages, 6-11 Avril 2010; 4) “Monastic Landed Wealth in Eighteenth Century Paris : Principal Traits and Major Issues”, to be published in the proceedings of the colloquium held in Leuven, Belgium under the auspices of the KADOC, Documentation and Research Center for Religion, Culture and Society, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium; 5) “An example of a Pre-industrial shopping street : the rue Dauphine on the Paris Left Bank (1620- 1790)”, in *Shopping and Housing*, special edition of *Citta e Storia*, II, July-December 2007, pp 401-423.

### **Antoine Roulet**

### ***Economic Patronage and Conventual Freedom, Some Cases from post-Tridentine Catholicism***

This paper delves into the financial implications of patronage for conventual foundations, especially in the reformed and mendicant orders. The idea is to get some distance from two classical concerns of the analysis of monastic economy: the overestimation of conventual autonomy and the habit to focus on the economic viability of communities, two assumptions that led to underestimate the local role of convents in economic development and to neglect the relationships of dependency economic life was embedded into. This contribution puts conventual patronage back in the game to overcome this situation. I propose to compare different mendicant orders and articulate the type and the flows of funds from laity to convents (one-shot capital, annual income, monetarized or in kind-donations, etc.) with the liberty given to each community in relation to their patron and with their capacity to invest in local economy and in the loan market. Conventual economic activity will be contextualized through patronage, whose implications vary from one place to another, and through the economic conjuncture, which is crucial to understand the resort to patrons. My cases will be taken in Spain, France and Mexico, after the Council of Trent when conventual foundations soared throughout Catholic Europe. They will be studied through account books, donations, loans, patronage contracts and donors' wills.

**Antoine Roulet** is a researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), attached to the Historical Research Center (CRH, UMR 8558 CNRS/EHESS). His work deals with early modern convents in the Hispanic world in their social, economic and spiritual dimensions. His first research was dedicated to corporal mortification (*Corps et pénitence, les carmélites déchaussées espagnoles*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2015) and he is now moving towards a history of conventual patronage in Spain and Mexico. These researches are part of a collective project dedicated to the financing of religious institutions by lay people on a long-term duration (« Investir dans le sacré » :

<https://independent.academia.edu/InvestirdansleSacré>

**Georgios Nikolaou**

***Land Properties of Orthodox Monasteries in the Peloponnese in 1700  
(period of the second Venetian domination): Comparative Observations***

The paper proposes to study a subject concerning monastic land property in the Peloponnese during the second period of Venetian rule (1685-1715). This study is based on documents from Venetian archives (Archivio di Stato di Venezia) concerning a recording of the land property of Greek monasteries and churches, which was carried out in 1700, when the deputy head of the Morea was Francesco Grimani. This is more or less detailed information sent to Grimani by the orthodox metropolitans or bishops of the country, published partly by the historian venetologist K. Dokos and exploited more recently by the historian D. Michalaga, without insisting the economic aspect of the documents in question. These documents give us a fairly complete overview of the ecclesiastical property of this region in the early eighteenth century. What interests us here is to study these documents in a comparative way, in order to ascertain what was the situation of the land property of the Greek monasteries in the various regions of the Peloponnesian peninsula at that moment. That is why we will also use some documents from the beginning of the second Ottoman domination (1715-1821) or even later. This will allow us to reach more general and interesting conclusions about the economic power of the Peloponnesian monasteries and, consequently, their place in the local economy and their influence on Greek society.

**Georgios Nikolaou** ([nikolaou@cc.uoi.gr](mailto:nikolaou@cc.uoi.gr)) est docteur en histoire de l'Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg, où il a suivi des cours d'Histoire Européenne (périodes moderne et contemporaine) et où il a soutenu en 1997 sa thèse sur les *Islamisations et christianisations dans le Péloponnèse (1715 - ca. 1832)*, tomes I - II, avec la mention "excellent avec les félicitations du jury". Entre 1992 et 2002 il a vécu à Paris où il a effectué des recherches dans les Archives Françaises (ANF et AMAE). Il a effectué aussi des recherches aux Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes et aux Archives de Venice (Archivio di Stato di Venezia) et dans diverses archives grecques. Au même temps, il a suivi des cours de troisième cycle d'Histoire Byzantine et d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la période ottomane à l'Université de Sorbonne (Paris I), à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) et à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE). Depuis 2011 il est Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Ioannina (Département d'Histoire et d'Archaeologie) –où il enseigne l' "Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Grèce, 16e - 19e siècles"– et depuis février 2018 Professeur Associé dans le même Université. Il a participé à plusieurs Colloques Grecs ou Internationaux. Ces recherches portent sur l'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Grèce du milieu du 17e au milieu du 19e siècle.

**Kyrillos Nikolaou**

***The Economic Role of the Metochia of Three Great Monasteries of the***

***Orthodox World (Kykkos Monastery, Monastery of St. John Theologos of Patmos and Nea Moni of Chios) during the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Century: Comparative Observations.***

In the historiography relating to the monasteries of the Orthodox world, the very important role of the metochia of the monasteries over time is well known. The metochia, near or far from the monasteries, played an important economic role, firstly because it's in their surroundings that the property of the monastery was generally located, and secondly because they were centers of concentration of money for the monasteries that depended on it. With this paper we propose to examine the economic role played in the eighteenth century by the metochia of three great Orthodox monasteries, specifically the Kykkos Monastery, the Monastery of St. John Theologos of Patmos and Nea Moni of Chios. These monasteries had a great influence in the Orthodox world, and this appears through the many metochia they had inside and outside the islands in which they were. The communication is based on published but mostly unexploited archival material. However, what essentially constitutes the originality of the proposed subject are the comparative observations that will be made regarding the specific role of these monasteries. This subject is part of my research interests on the economic and social history of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Kyrrillos Nikolaou** ([kyrrillos.nikolaou@gmail.com](mailto:kyrrillos.nikolaou@gmail.com)) is a Doctor of Philosophy of the Sorbonne (Paris I), where he attended lessons on the social and economic History of the period of the Ottoman domination. His PhD thesis was supervised by Prof. Spyros Asdrachas. He has also studied Geography and Geopolitics in the University of Paris VIII and conducted research in Greek, English and French archives. He has participated in various international conferences and scientific symposia. Since 2016 is a lecturer, European University Cyprus. His main area of research interest is Socio-economic History, mainly of the 18th and 19th centuries. Recently his research has focused on economic and educational issues involving various Orthodox monasteries. His publications include the following: *La Diplomatie Européenne au Proche Orient au 19ème siècle. Le cas de Chypre* (Nicosia 2009, part of which concerns the role of Orthodox monasteries and Catholic Orders); “Régions contestées de l’Europe du sud-est, entre les équilibres du Congrès de Berlin et la Première Guerre Mondiale: Bosnie-Herzégovine, Bessarabie, Chypre, Crète, Caucase”; “L’Hellénisme en dilemme. Entre l’idée œcuménique et l’idée nationale aux temps de la Révolution Grecque de 1821; L’attitude de Kyprianos, archevêque de Chypre». Also, his following studies are under publication: “Economic activities of the Monastery of St. John Theologos in Patmos during the 18th century on the basis of recently published documents from its archive” and “The role of the monasteries of Cyprus in the promotion of the island’s education in the first half of the 19th century”.

**Konstantinos  
Giakoumis**

***Monastic Financial Management in the Provinces of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (1867-1873): The Case of the Metropolis of Dryinoupolis***

### ***and Gjirokastra***

In the course of developments which eventually led to the First Constitutional Era of 1876, popular outcries against what was perceived to be as inefficient management of monastic finances applied pressure to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to take the situation under control. In response, among other measures, at least from 1888 the Patriarchate employed a regular committee responsible for monastic and ecclesiastical issues, for the implementation of particular measures, and for securing the monastic lands<sup>1</sup>. Under various forms and names this committee continued its work until the beginning of the 20th century<sup>2</sup>. The Patriarchate also employed other means to prevent the loss of monastic revenue, such as the obligatory detailed registration and compilation of an analytical inventory of monastic estates and the compulsory submission of annual accounts by each monastery. The proposed paper casts light to the finances of the monasteries of the Metropolis of Dryinoupolis of Gjirokastra, South Albania (1867-1873), as they are revealed in an 1873 codex of the Metropolis currently kept at the Central Archives of the State, Tirana (AQSH F. 139, D. 4), and their implications on the economic practices and culture in the broader region. To this end, the source document contains a wealth of information. Each monastery comprises a separate codex unit more often with the following content: 1. Brief history of the monastery, often copied from older manuscripts extending to the beginning of the 18th century. 2. A detailed register of landed assets and movable property of the monastery. 3. Tables of monastic revenues and expenses generated by these and other assets covering at their most the calendar years 1867-1873.

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### **Michalis Michael**

### ***Capital Accumulation and Wealth Management in an Orthodox Monastery of the Ottoman World***

The aim of this paper is to discuss the process of capital accumulation and wealth management in an Orthodox monastery of the Ottoman world mainly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The case study presented here concerns the well-known Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus and its economic growth in the age of capitalism and within the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, the paper discusses the types of capital owned by the Kykkos monastery (i.e. land property, animals, buildings, mills, and cash), the methods used by the brotherhood in order to acquire and increase the monastery's capital and the management of the wealth owned by the monastery. As can be seen in documents included in the Kykkos Monastery's archive, in an Ottoman environment that tries to adjust itself to the capitalist world of the nineteenth century, Kykkos Monastery uses a plethora of



methods to increase its capital. In addition, the paper highlights the importance of capital accumulation and the ensuing economic growth of an Orthodox monastery within the frame of the Orthodox Church, first within the Ottoman state, and, later on, after the end of the Ottoman presence in Cyprus. The main sources for this paper are published Ottoman documents about Ottoman Cyprus, as well as unpublished and published material from the Codices and documents of the Kykkos Monastery Archive.

**Michalis N. Michael** ([michaelm@ucy.ac.cy](mailto:michaelm@ucy.ac.cy)) was born in Cyprus and obtained a BA in Turkish Studies (1996) from the University of Cyprus (Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies). He received his MA (1998) from the University of Crete (Department of History and Archaeology), (Greece) and his PhD (2004) from the University of Cyprus (Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies). He is the author of *The Church of Cyprus during the Ottoman period: The Gradual Formation of an Institution of Political Power* (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 2005, in Greek) and the co-editor of *Ottoman Cyprus. A Collection of Studies on History and Culture* (Harrassovitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009). He has published articles in *Archivum Ottomanicum* (2009, 2012, 2015), *Chronos* (2010, 2014), *Social Compass* (2009), *Religions* (2010), *Thetis* (2009), *Historica* (2005, 2007, 2009), *Turkish Historical Review* (2011) and has chapters in several books, *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan, London 2010), *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2010), *The Archbishop's of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, London 2012), *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca* (National Research Foundation, Athens 2012). He is an Associate Professor of History at the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies in the University of Cyprus. His research interests include: a) History of the institutions of the Ottoman Empire and the changes after the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, b) History of Cyprus during the Ottoman period with emphasis on the status of the Orthodox Church, c) The transition from the Ottomans to the British. The changes related to the status of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, d) The post-Ottoman Cypriot historiography and its relation to nationalism.

### **Despina Iosif**

### ***Healing Monks and the Economy of Curing***

Christianity owes part of its success to the tremendous appeal that early Christian ascetics and monks had on their contemporaries. Early Christian ascetics and monks built their reputations, among other things, on the successful cures of diseases and exorcisms that they performed. Did they get paid for their services? And if yes, was it considered problematic? Did they receive presents instead? Did they sell or trade those presents? Did their biographies preserve such information? Was it sensitive information? My paper will address these questions based on the evidence from the surviving early Christian desert literature (i.e. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, *Historia Lausiaca*, *Vita Antonii*, *Apothegmata Patrum*, *Theodoret of Cyrus' Historia Religiosa*).

**Despina Iosif** ([desiosif@yahoo.com](mailto:desiosif@yahoo.com)) is a historian of theology. She received a BA in History and Archaeology and an MA in Ancient History from the University of Crete and a PhD in Early



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**Daniela Kalkandjieva*****Female Monasticism in Bulgaria between the Two World Wars***

Until World War I, female monasticism lagged behind the male one. Its development was constrained by various factors. The most important of them was the centuries-long Ottoman rule that did not provide guarantees for the life and dignity of the Orthodox nuns thus impeding the normal functioning of female monasteries. The Liberation of Bulgaria (1878) also did not provoke an immediate growth of female monasticism. The few existing convents were too weak economically to ensure the needs their inhabitants. The Balkan and the Great European wars (1912-1918), however, caused dramatic changes in the country's demography. On the one hand, the new balance between men and women caused a decline in the number of monks, while on the other, it stimulated an increase in the number of nuns and the transformation of some monasteries into convents. Facing this reality, the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took measures to adjust female monasticism to the challenges of modernity by establishing the first female monastic order in Bulgaria - the White Cross Sisterhood. Designed as a tool for a vocational training of a new generation of nuns it had to prepare them for their duties as promoters of religious enlightenment and various social and charity activities.

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Capitalism', *Social Compass*, 2010, 57 (1), pp. 83-99, etc.

**Darko Dimitrovski**

***The Role of Tourism in a Monastic Economy: An Insight into Visitors' Consumer Behavior at Kykkos Monastery***

Monasteries have firmly resisted the historical events acting as small self-reliable communities. Traditionally, monasteries have attracted large numbers of pilgrims. Now, with the rise of tourism on a global scale they have also begun witnessing the effects of mass tourism and the consumption patterns, which accompany this. Unfortunately, the role of tourism in a monastic economy is still poorly investigated and understood. The conducted research covers the topic of religious tourism as subset of the cultural tourism. Considering that the economic impacts of tourism in a monastic economy can be considerable, this study aims to understand the consumer behaviour patterns of tourists who visit Kykkos monastery on the island of Cyprus. The research sample includes 117 visitors to the monastery, 86 Russian and 31 English speaking tourists. By observing their consumer behaviour patterns of these visitors, the study reveals the volume of spending and the character of the products purchased. In addition, the study explored the issue of donations and their impacts on the monastic community. The research findings provide valuable insights concerning the volume and structure of tourism activities in a monastic economy and their significance for its economic survival and prosperity.

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**Isabelle Jonveaux**

***Monastic Economic Networks and Its Impact on the Global Economy***

Catholic monasteries are known to have developed in the Middle Age big international commercial networks in the whole Europe. Some thesis also maintain that they contributed to build European commercial networks. What can we say about the present monastic networks? Does the economy of Catholic monasteries still play a role for the global economy? This paper seeks to explore economic networks of monasteries in Europe and outside Europe, inside the monastic world and outside the religious frameworks, when they are integrated in the global economy. We will also study here the



monastic commercial networks online, because they are constituting nowadays an important part of these networks.

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