

RESEARCH NETWORK DEDICATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTIC ECONOMY

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

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PARTICIPANTS AND ABSTRACTS

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The Transformations of Orthodox Christianity in the Longue-Durée: A Sociological Analysis

According to Western-centered modernist interpretations, Orthodox Christianity is supposed to be a backward looking anti-modern or anti-Western faith. This Orientalist gaze fails to do justice to the historical transformations of Orthodoxy. To grasp these transformations a long-term perspective is required. Such a perspective requires a break with conventional interpretations that view modernization & secularization as universal processes. From within the lenses of an alternative global-comparative perspective, Orthodox Christianity emerges as a faith that has successfully adjusted to a variety of distinct historical eras and historical formations – ranging from empires to nation-states. The lecture shall offer a classification of the cultural forms Orthodox Christianity has assumed in these varied cultural and socio-political contexts. Briefly, these forms entail the following: (a) a vernacularized religion, whereby access to holy scripts is mediated by access to a sacred language; (b) an indigenized religion, whereby faith and ethnicity are intertwined and sacred scripts are rendered into the language of a specific ethnic community or ethnies; (c) a nationalized religion, whereby the legitimacy of the Church rests on its intertwining with the nation; and (d) a transnational religion, which refers to the specific adaptations of the nationalized religion under conditions of international migration. It is argued that by the 20th century the dominant forms of Orthodox Christianity are (c) & (d). While modernist interpretations view Orthodoxy' nationalized versions as an obstacle to modernization a long-term perspective recognizes that these versions are themselves the product of Orthodoxy's historical adaptation and adjustment to modernity.

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Isabelle Jonveaux***Models of Monastic Economy in Contemporary Europe***

In French: Même si la vie monastique a pu avoir le projet de vivre sur un mode contemplatif hors du monde comme l'explique Max Weber, l'économie et le travail se sont toujours révélés être des variables nécessaires pour permettre la survie de la communauté et une certaine indépendance de la société. L'enjeu est alors de trouver des formes d'économie qui puissent d'une part faire vivre la communauté et d'autre part s'intégrer dans la vie monastique sans l'altérer. Cette présentation vise alors à étudier les différentes formes d'économie présentes dans les monastères contemporains catholiques d'Europe de l'ouest et Europe centrale. La forme d'activité économique et la répartition des sources de revenu est en réalité très différente d'un monastère à l'autre, non pas nécessairement parce qu'ils appartiennent à des ordres ou congrégations différentes mais parce que le modèle économique est le plus souvent le fruit de l'histoire politique et religieuse du pays dans lequel se trouve le monastère. Grâce à des enquêtes de terrain réalisées dans six pays d'Europe, il sera possible d'analyser les différents modèles d'économie monastique posant la question de leur intégration et justification dans la vie religieuse et dans la société. Et nous pourrons aussi montrer en quoi les formes d'économie monastique deviennent aussi des modèles d'économie alternative pour la société contemporaine.

In English: Although monastic life could have the aim of contemplative way of life out of the world according to Max Weber, work and economy have always been necessary to provide the subsistence of the community and a certain independence from society. The question is therefore to know which forms of economy can provide to the community and can be integrated in religious life without changing its first aim. This presentation seeks to study different forms of economy we can observe in Catholic contemporary monasteries in Western and Central Europe. The form of economic activity and the repartition of the sources of revenues can be very different if we compare monasteries. The reason for that is not to be found in the various orders and congregations but in the different political and religious history of the countries where the monasteries take place. Thank to field inquiries conducted in six European countries, we will analyze the different models of monastic economy asking the question of its integration and justification in religious life and in society. It will be then possible to show in what extent forms of monastic economy can become models of alternative economy for contemporary society.

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travail : *Le Royaume de Dieu au défi de l'économie*. Paris: Bayard 2011. Edition of Collective books: Jonveaux, Isabelle; Palmisano Stefania (Ed.): *Monasticism in Modern Times*. Oxon Routledge: Routledge 2016. Jonveaux, Isabelle, Pace Enzo, Palmisano Stefania (Ed.): *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion Volume 5: Sociology and Monasticism, Between Innovation and Tradition*. Leiden: Brill 2014. Articles: Jonveaux, Isabelle: "Les moniales et l'emprise du genre. Enquête dans des monastères catholiques de femmes", in: *Sociologie* 6, 2 (2015), 121-138. Jonveaux, Isabelle: "Bière belge et image monastique : un exemple d'économie charismatique", in: *Ethnologie Française* 41 (2011). Jonveaux, Isabelle: "Does Monasticism still have a Future? Demographical Evolution and Monastic Identity in Europe and outside Europe", in: Isabelle Jonveaux, Stefania Palmisano (Ed.), *Monasticism in Modern Times*. Oxon: Routledge 2016, 46-62.

Michalis N. Michael***When Ecclesiastical Power became 'National': Church Property and the British Colonial Administration in Cyprus***

From the very onset of the British rule in Cyprus the British administration challenged ottoman-bestowed privileges on the Orthodox Church. Namely, the British refused to accept the privileged position of ecclesiastical institutions regarding assets, taxation, and, above all, land ownership. It was made clear that church property would be subject to the relevant state law without any privileged exemption or treatment. Moreover, the British administration ceased to consider reports compiled by the high clergy on matters that concerned the Orthodox community and refused to include ecclesiastical taxes as part of state taxation. With the refusal of the British administration to issue documents that recognized the powers and privileges of the high clergy – similar in nature to the Ottoman administration's *berats* – the archbishop and the bishops were left substantially outside the state framework and without any authority – apart from their spiritual authority – over their flock. The aim of this paper is to examine the multilevel importance of the Ecclesiastical Question that emerged shortly after the establishment of the British administration and its refusal to grant tax-exemption or tax-relief status to the Church. Focusing on the economic aspect of the relations between the Church of Cyprus and the British administration, this paper analyses the transformation of the Church from an institution of Ottoman political power into a "national" institution within the secular framework that the British impose - or at least try to impose - upon their arrival.

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Daniela Kalkandjieva***The Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Management of the Monastic Economy during the Interwar Period***

The paper presents a preliminary overview of the monastic economy of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church between the two world wars. It makes use of two types of sources: legal acts and archival documents. While the first group of them (the Constitution of Bulgaria, the so called Adapted Exarchate's Statute of 1895 – a church normative act which was integrated in the Bulgarian national legislation, and some specific secular laws) reveals the duties the monasteries towards the BOC's economy and to the national fiscal system, the archival documents, which at this stage include predominantly the proceedings of the Sofia Holy Synod, provide important data about the management of monastic economy, the major sources of its incomes and the key avenues of their spending. In addition, the above mentioned proceedings shed light on the impact of church-state relations (agreements, negotiations, tensions, conflicts, etc.) on the monastic economy. One of the most intriguing aspects of this impact concerns the question of the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in its relations with the Bulgarian state authorities. More specifically the investigated sources point that the monastic economy was a main factor of the Church's autonomy between the two world wars. Finally, the research also gives grounds to think that the advance of the monastic economy has assisted the social role of the Orthodox Church in interwar Bulgaria.

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Dimitrios Kalpakis***Athonite Estates of the Byzantine Era; Theoretical and Functional Framework Issues***

Monastic estates have been, since the very beginning of the monasticism itself, a key function for both its existence and its interpretation as well. Considered as an extension of the monastic vital space, an estate could have a complicated character, mostly based on its particular type. Major rural estates turned to great pilgrimages, evolving from an actual economic unit to a religious and cultural center of an entire area in the countryside. The estates of the Athonite monasteries became the massive productive space of Athos, outside its mountainous peninsula. Their importance and glamour followed those of the great Athonite institutions themselves, which had an important role to play in the Byzantine society, not only in financial or religious terms. The framework and the particular conditions under which those estates functioned, are of great

importance towards interpreting and understanding not only the phenomenon of monasticism itself but also an entire era. What is really needed is an interdisciplinary approach, taking into account the interaction of many factors, such as the historical background, the acquisition ways and the legal status of those estates, the economic practices and perspectives, the interrelation with space and many more. The aim of the presentation is to give an overall view of the phenomenon, mostly in terms of History and Geography, trying to shed light to its framework, during the Byzantine era.

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Aleksandar Fotić

How to Run a Big Monastic çiftlik? The Case of Hilandar’s ‘Bulgar metochion’ in Karviya (Kalamaria), 16th – 17th centuries

There is no doubt that most of Hilandar’s metochia and smaller estates both on Mt Athos and in the area from Thessaloniki to Strymon valley had been in its possession even before the Ottoman rule. Its major metochia were also called çiftliks in Ottoman documents, regardless of its size (from 1 to 60 çifts). Ottoman documents preserved in Hilandar Monastery can’t confirm pre-Ottoman possession of the metochion in the village of Karviye. Acquired between 1569 and 1593, it was situated by the seaside, on vakif land complex dedicated to Hadum Ya’kub Pasha’s endowment in Thessaloniki. This metochion, in documents often called “Bulgarian metochion”, was the largest and most important Hilandar’s estate through the centuries of Ottoman rule. This 60-çift estate (between 3,600 and 9,000 dönüms, or about 360 to 900 ha, maybe even more) supplied monastery with wheat, barley, oats, horse bean, probably between 6 and 9 tons per year. Besides monks, supervised by ekonomos, farm work was done by servants and day labourers. In certain periods it was leased out in exchange for the arranged quantity of grain. Sometime before 1649, it was pledged entirely or partly for unknown time. Based on data from monastic archive, the research has shown the capability of the monastic elders to choose the right way to keep and preserve such a big estate through centuries.

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January 2003, ed. A. Anastasopoulos, Rethymno: Crete University Press 2005, 51-75. "The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and Their Estates at the Time of Selim II", *Turcica* XXVI (1994) 33-54.

Phokion Kotzageorgis***Crisis and survival of the Athonite monasteries during the 17th and 18th centuries***

The paper, based on both Greek and Ottoman documents from some Athonite archives, aspires to address the following research problem: In a period of growing financial crisis, with which the Athonite monasteries faced, how the monks managed not only to retain their properties (i.e. real estates), but to expand them. What were the mechanisms the monasteries used in order to survive ? The period between 17th-18th centuries is from the most under-studied ones in the history of the Athonite peninsula. On the other hand, it was a period of particular interest for the history of the Ottoman empire in general, because the empire was entered in a long-lasting period of financial problems. The research interest is to see how a non-Muslim religious foundation, like the monasteries, responded to this challenge. From the previous bibliography, mainly Greek, it is known that especially in the 18th century the Athonite monasteries acquired properties (metochia) in places, which were in a long distance from Mount Athos (Cyclades islands, Western Anatolia, Istanbul). How this project could be achieved, while the monasteries, at the same time, were confronted with money deficits and heavy debts? The paper shares some preliminary thoughts related to these and similar questions.

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Nadia Danova***Religion, économie et politique: le monastère Zographe et la Russie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)***

Le but de ma communication est de présenter brièvement de nouvelles informations qui complètent nos idées sur les relations du monastère athonite de Zographe et la Russie aux XVIe-XIXe siècles. Ces contacts

s'expriment par les relations spirituelles entre les chrétiens orthodoxes, par le biais du pèlerinage et de diverses formes de donation. Une place importante dans ces contacts revient à l'aide financière, accordée par la Russie qui, à des époques différentes, a assuré le fonctionnement normal de la congrégation monastique. En examinant les données concrètes, on ne peut nier la réalité, à savoir que ses manifestations charitables visaient l'exercice d'une influence au niveau spirituel ou politique. De la projection politique de la dépendance économique du monastère témoigne également l'activité de l'archimandrite Anatole, qui entretenait des relations étroites, non seulement avec la cour russe, mais aussi avec l'élite bulgare. On pourrait insister que le monastère faisait partie du réseau des relations qui devait assurer la pénétration de l'influence culturelle et politique russe parmi les Bulgares. C'est précisément par ces contacts serrés qu'on explique le fait que le monastère de Zographe est resté à l'écart du mouvement national bulgare en faveur d'une Église autocéphale. Comptant sur le Patriarcat de Constantinople pour exercer son influence parmi les chrétiens orthodoxes des Balkans, la Russie s'est opposée longtemps aux tentatives des Bulgares de créer une Église autocéphale.

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Christos P. Kakalis

Representing Mountains: Printmaking and the depiction of the Holy Mountain

The paper will explore the communicative dynamics of the printed representations of the Holy Mountain of Athos that were mainly created during the 18th and 19th centuries, examined as travelling landscape objects set in a network of cultural and economical relationships between Mount Athos and different countries of Europe as well as areas of Russia. Given the possibilities offered by the printmaking techniques, depictions of the Holy Mountain were produced in great numbers during these centuries. Mainly copper engravings, these prints became a means of international communication of the Athonite tradition, either offered as a "blessing" to visitors, or used to attract pilgrims and donations. The production of Athonite engravings in European countries with strong Greek or Orthodox communities (i.e. Venice or Vienna) was gradually taken over by printmaking workshops on Mount Athos, something that also affected the printed representation of the Athonite landscape. Through the lens of printmaking process, the paper will analyse the particularities of these expressions to underline their symbolic, religious and economic associations but also explore the way printmaking technique has contributed to these transpositions. Different from the traditional two-dimensional cartographic translations of the peninsula, these prints are examined in the paper as narratives of mountainous places and events happening on them that communicate also elements of the embodied meanings of the topos. Moreover, the ability of these maps to fold/unfold and be carried in different places suggests their character as

"traveling landscape objects" of "authority" the display and presentation possibilities of which also embody economical relationships (existing or future/desired).

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Lidia Cotovanou

La portée économique de la charité pratiquée par les Monti di Pietà catholiques et les monastères orthodoxes (XVe - XVIIIe siècles)

Depuis les premiers siècles chrétiens, le monachisme, bâti sur le principe de la *pauvreté assumée*, s'est vu attribuer le rôle d'intercesseur auprès de Dieu en vue du salut des fidèles et la charge de soutenir d'aumônes *la pauvreté par contrainte*, en redistribuant les donations faites par les laïcs. Ceci a autorisé les monastères à acquérir des biens, puis s'adonner à des activités économiques censées accroître et faire perdurer leur patrimoine. Malgré l'interdiction formelle de faire l'argent produire de l'argent, du côté catholique, comme du côté orthodoxe, les monastères se sont adaptés au développement du commerce et à la recherche sociale de liquidités, en mobilisant des moyens idéologiques et institutionnels différents pour autant. À la différence des monastères orthodoxes, dont la charité s'adresse *aux pauvres qui n'ont rien*, au sein du monachisme catholique apparaît, au XV^e siècle, la figure du *pauvre en manque d'argent*. Les Monti di Pietà, fondations des moines franciscains, qui pratiquent le prêt sur gage aux taux d'intérêt faibles, participent ainsi à l'élargissement du marché de consommation, qui plus est dans un cadre institutionnalisé et légal. Par contre, les monastères orthodoxes continuent, jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, à appuyer leur œuvre charitable et, implicitement, leurs activités économiques et financières, sur le principe traditionnel de la redistribution d'aumônes *aux pauvres qui n'ont rien*. Il y a là, peut-être, une explication, soit-elle partielle, au fait que les milieux sociaux défavorisés du monde orthodoxe sont restés, jusqu'à très tard, attachés à l'économie d'autosuffisance et faiblement connectés au microcrédit et au marché de consommation.

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Mont-Athos (seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle) : entreprise publique ou privée ? », in *Θ' Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο "Η εξακτίωση του Αγίου Όρους στον Ορθόδοξο κόσμο: τα μετόχια". Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 21-23 Νοεμβρίου 2014*, Tesalonik 2015: Ed. Agioretiki Estia, p. 191-215; « L'émigration sud-danubienne vers la Valachie et la Moldavie et sa géographie (XV^e – XVII^e siècles) : la potentialité heuristique d'un sujet peu connu », Cahiers balkaniques, INALCO, Paris [en ligne], 42 (2014), mis en ligne le 21 mai 2014, URL : <http://ceb.revues.org/4772>

Preston Perluss

Monastic Properties in the Urban Environment: Parisian Examples

The question of monastic wealth, particularly landed wealth, has drawn attention from numerous researchers from Fiorenzo Landi, who has edited several major collections on the regular clergy to Derek Beales in his study *Prosperity and Plunder* has brought renewed attention to monastic landed wealth in 18th century Europe. Nearly 40 years ago (1970), Jacques Le Goff devoted an entire issue in the *Annales* to religious orders and urban development in medieval Europe. Bernard Bodinier and Éric Teyssier have composed a major study on the sale of Church assets after the French Revolution.

In general properties held by the Church and charitable foundations were infrequently subject to division and sale; documentation engendered by these types of property should provide a trove of details for the study of urban society and long term urban trends. The fundamental question thus arises : how much wealth has lain in the hands of mortmain communities over long periods of time?

The question I shall address concerns monastic (and more generally mortmain) landed wealth in urban environments. Obviously, the phenomenon of urban society is relatively recent: the most significant development having taken place in the second millennium of the Christian era. Christian Monasticism founded on a separation from the world gradually took on a structural form of mortmain foundations. The anchoritic existence gave way to communitarian forms of organization. These forms gained ever greater sway over Western Society until the Protestant Reformation questions such forms of worship. Roman Catholicism retorted by revising and strengthening monasticism. Largely from the organizational weight monastic congregations wielded vis-à-vis the more dispersed secular clergy. The canons of the Concile of Trente formalized monastic land ownership.

This organizational form conjoined to a key urban presence has formed a critical feature of monasticism since the 12 th century and, as Georges Duby has shown, even monasteries which sought rural isolation formed points of urban attraction. Anna Anisimova has studied a kindred phenomenon in England. During the 12 th century the current appearance of urban growth and the mendicant orders conspired to situate regular communities within towns at a point where the latter were at a point of inflexion in demographic expansion. Although the 14 th century saw a clear collapse in European population, many monastic site perdured. In France the Counter Reform led to new congregations and renewed settlements in towns and cities.

These successive settlements benefits from pious donations emanated either from feudal authorities, ecclesiastic powers or private donors. Whatever the case, in European countries where Roman Catholicism prevailed, the 16 th and 17 th centuries witnessed an extension of Church presence in towns. During the early 19 th century church properties were subject to expropriation in large parts of Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

My research seeks to revitalize the study of such urban wealth in order to inventory the holdings in both Europe and, in a broader framework, throughout the world. How extensive was this phenomenon? What kinds of construction projects were undertaken? What type of archival series exist which might lend themselves to systematic exploitation with a view to reconstituting urban societies? Such are the questions this workshop



seeks to address. More specifically, I shall address the situation in Paris (from my own work) and more generally in several other French towns. In particular, I wish to emphasize the role urban rental properties played in the overall finances of various monastic houses.

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Styliani Lepida

Aspects of the Transactional Activity of Kykkos Monastery in the 16th and 17th centuries. Real Estate Contracts.

The research that has been carried out so far on the question of Orthodox monasteries and their function within the Ottoman administrative framework has given evidence of a lively course that can be approached from many angles and from a variety of specialties. The monasteries of Cyprus constitute such a case. Our interest is oriented, therefore, towards the monasteries of Cyprus, and especially Kykkos Monastery. The time frame we are considering is the 16th and the 17th centuries, a particularly important period of the history of the island, since, following the conquest, the Ottoman administration is gradually established and consolidated on Cyprus, a fact which affects, as we will see, the economic function of the monasteries and the status of their property. As can be seen from Ottoman documents of that time, Kykkos Monastery participated actively in economic activities and maintained a variety of such economic relations with representatives of the Ottoman provincial administration, as well as with simple reayas (both Muslims and non-Muslims). We chose to focus on the issue of real estate transactions. Through the representatives of the monastery, namely the monks and the abbot of Kykkos Monastery or its dependencies, we are witnessing continuous activity, the main object of which is the purchase and sale of real estate and other property assets, such as wells, mills, etc.



Examining this kind of economic relations, we are faced with other aspects, such as disputes or claims among the monks or between monks and laymen, in order to defend their interests, concluding that economic history is closely linked to aspects of social history.

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Ioan-Augustin Gurita

Social and Economic Reasons for Founding New Monasteries and Sketes in the 18th Century Moldavia

In this paper I will review the economic and social reasons leading to an unprecedented phenomenon in the ecclesiastic history unfolding on Romanian territory. Many sketes and monasteries were founded in Moldavia before 1700, most of them by rulers or by important boyar families. In the eighteenth century, however, over 200 were founded and several other tens were restored, developing a particular ecclesiastic geography as a consequence of major changes and the influence of several factors. In a time characterized by political instability (35 princely successions and four periods of occupation), the phenomenon was unprecedented and was based, besides the obvious spiritual reasons, on economic and social ones. In addition to acquiring the status of founder or benefactor to a place of worship – a particularly important factor in bolstering social prestige – the person investing his fortune in such noble pursuits was implicitly the beneficiary of economic advantages. As to the founders of the period, aside from rulers, they were mostly boyars, hierarchs, monastery abbots, secular priests or mere monks. On the other hand, there was also an interest on the part of eparchies or great monasteries to have sketes or metochions in places where a certain economic production existed (especially in agricultural or wine-growing areas). In addition to the fact that the estates and agricultural production were much more easily managed, prospective shortcomings could be also addressed through these appurtenances in different parts of the country, awaiting tax immunity as well as donations from rulers and local benefactors.

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Observations about the Foundations with Monastic Destination in the 18th Century Moldavia’, *The Romanian Journal of Modern History*, III-2, 2012; *Support Staff of Churches in Iasi in the XVII century*, in Petronel Zahariuc (ed.), *Contribuții privitoare la istoria relațiilor dintre țările române și bisericile răsăritene în secolele XIV-XIX*, Iasi, 2009.

Angelina Marou

Monasteries in the Region of Ioannina during the Second Half of the 19th century: Land Acquisition and Property Rights Following the Tanzimat Reforms

The current presentation stems from a typology created through the compilation, grouping and comparison of 57 Orthodox Monasteries located in the region of Ioannina during the second half of the 19th century. Based on sources that include thousands of unpublished Greek and Ottoman manuscripts, at present lying in the Historical Archive of the Diocese of Ioannina, it mainly focuses on how land ownership was established and differentiated for Monasteries, especially after the issue of the Ottoman Land Code/Law in 1858. The legal anomaly, according to which land acquisition from a Monastery itself was not acceptable to the Ottomans due to the fact that the Islamic theory did not recognize legal entities, led to the existence and spread of “antegrafa”, “false” ottoman tapu and mulk titles. Because of both the remarkably few monks of the Monasteries in Ioannina and the ecclesiastical administration of the time, following the Tanzimat reforms, these new titles ended up exclusively in the hands of the non-clerics. Thus, a detailed explication of the method of “antegrafa” along with its advantages and hidden flaws is provided. Furthermore, the presentation is focalized on the origin and the exceptional characteristics and status of the ostensibly new “owners” of the monastic property as well as the selection process and its criteria. Finally, the crucial role and drastic intervention of the lay assembly which directly or indirectly led to the preservation or even the loss of the monastic estate is highlighted.

Angelina Marou (angelikimarou@hotmail.com) was born in 1985 in Ioannina. In 2009 she graduated from the department of History and Archeology at the University of Ioannina. She has obtained a master’s degree in Greek-Ottoman history (15th -19th centuries). She holds a PhD in History (University of Ioannina 2017). The title of her dissertation is: “Finances, property and administration of the Greek-Orthodox monasteries in the region of Ioannina (second half of the 19th century).” She has had presentations and papers on the Monastery of Dourouti, Ali pasha and the Philiki Eteria. Her recent scientific research includes the phenomenon of “devsirme” in the Ottoman Empire, Greek ecclesiastical history and law as well as the history of Epirus, especially during the last two centuries of the Ottoman occupation.

**Ivan Biliarsky &
Mariyana Tsibranska-
Kostova**

The Term "Komat" in the Context of Late Mediaeval Moldavian Texts about Monastic Property

The paper discusses the use of the Greek word *komat* with terminological meaning in scribes’ notes in manuscripts and charts especially in Moldavian monastic environment. It could have a localizing value despite the obsolete opinions giving to this word a Serbian provenance. The sources from Moldavian texts are compared to the Southern Slavic manuscripts’ vocabulary in order to find out the precise contextual meaning of the word – traditionally translated as “piece of something”, or used to designate the part of the written

monastic heritage.

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Kalina Mincheva

The Monastic Economy in the Sanjak of Kyustendil According to the Ottoman Tax Register of 1570-1573

The Ottoman tax register (1570/73) of Kyustendil sanjak provides data on a number of monasteries and their tax liabilities to local timariots. Part of the tax records concern monasteries' estates. In many other instances, the allocated taxes provide information of monasteries' economic activities. The register lists about a hundred monasteries in the sanjak – fourteen of these are catalogued separately in a tax relief section, which records their exemptions. One finds therein a detailed description of their property. The rest of the monasteries are noted as owing taxes to parts of various timars. The analyzed data about the monasteries in Kyustendil sanjak uncovers their low incomes since they had paid taxes up to 500 akçe each. Only two monasteries were tax liable up to 1000 akçe, and none paid taxes above this level. There is no data on levies of the monasteries with tax reliefs and one may only speculate on their incomes. Tax liabilities of the monasteries were calculated on the basis of their incomes from agricultural production, bee hives - and in rare occasions - from husbandry. All of these activities recorded in the tax register elucidate monasteries' ventures at the end of the sixteenth century. The largest monasteries subject to tax immunities were founded already in the earlier medieval period and had literary activities. They remained the focal centers of literacy in the centuries following the Ottoman conquest of this part of South-Eastern Europe.

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monastery network in Kyustendil sanjak from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century” (Sofia, 2010).

George Lazar

La gestion de la fortune monastique : le monastère de Rm. Sărat (Valachie) et son livre de comptes (1734-1739)

Dès son ascension sur le trône de Valachie (1730), le prince Constantin Mavrocordato a imposé – suivant le modèle utilisé par les Autrichiens en Olténie (Petite Valachie), lorsque la province située dans le sud-ouest de la Valachie était sous l'administration de Vienne (1718-1739) – un contrôle beaucoup plus strict sur les dépenses et les revenus de l'église, de loin le plus important propriétaire foncier du pays. Suite à cette décision, les principales institutions ecclésiastiques, y compris le monastère de Rm. Sărat (fondé par le prince Constantin Brancoveanu (1688-1714) dans la dernière décennie du XVII^e siècle et dédié comme metochin à Mont Sinai) ont préparé en 1734-1742 des documents de nature financière, dans lesquels ont été comptabilisés leurs revenus et dépenses. La plupart de ces documents nous est parvenue et constitue aujourd'hui le manuscrit 377, conservé dans les fonds des Archives Nationales de la Roumanie. Ainsi, en dehors des informations sur les privilèges princiers et les actes privés des donations obtenus par le monastère au fil du temps, sa fortune mobilière et immobilière (vignobles, terres, moulins, animaux et tsiganes), vêtements liturgiques et livres religieux détenue, le document nous offre des informations cruciales sur les principales sources de revenus et dépenses monastique dans la période mentionnée. En termes généraux, on arrive aux conclusions suivantes: à l'exception de l'année 1734, les revenus du monastère ont été plus élevés que les dépenses; les principales sources de revenus proviennent de la commercialisation d'alcool, alors que les plus grandes dépenses sont utilisés pour payer les impôts et les salaires des différents individus impliqués dans l'administration du domaine.

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Marius Chelcu

Economic Status of Moldavian Monasteries in the 18th Century. Notes on income and expense lists

The church's right to property is founded on the Holy Scriptures, and particularly on one of Christ's injunctions “to share everything with one's neighbour.” It is stated that without material resources, the church could not offer comfort to “the weary and the thirsty” and could not practice the virtue of Christian mercy.



Therefore, the Church, regarded as a social organism and in order to meet the needs of the Christian divine service, has always been in need of earthly property for the support of its servants and to help those who needed its protection. “Support of the needy” has actually been the strongest justification for the acquisition of properties, as the protection of the poor, of the sick, of widows and of orphans has led the church towards the accomplishment of one of its primary goals. The Church of St. Mary’s Dormition in Roman and The Church of “Samuel the Prophet” in Focșani are two establishments founded in the mid-eighteenth century, during the rule of Prince Constantin Racoviță. The mission of the two establishments, ever since the first years of their existence, was to help and protect the poor and the sick. Our research starts from the contents of certain property registers belonging to the two monasteries. They were drawn up between 1765 and 1830 and they are kept now at the National Archives in Iasi.

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Petronel Zahariuc

Les monastères Neamț et Secu (Moldavie) et leurs activités économiques jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle

Les deux anciens et importants monastères de Neamț et Secu, ont été soumis à la même administration par le Pieux Païsie Velicikovski en 1779, en constituant ainsi le plus important établissement monacal de Roumanie jusqu’à la sécularisation des fortunes des monastères (1863) et jusqu’à la Première Guerre Mondiale. Dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle, le nombre des moines dans les monastères de Neamț et Secu, ainsi que dans leurs métoques, a atteint un millier. Outre la vie ecclésiastique, ces monastères ont développé diverses activités économiques. D’abord, ils possédaient de très grand domaines fonciers, qui dans la période de l’Union des Principautés (1859) comptaient près de 300.000 hectares (comprenant 74 villages et parties de villages, des vignes, des étangs, des forêts, des moulins etc., puis une pharmacie à Târgul Neamț et une fabrique d’alcool auprès du monastère). En plus, le monastère avait près de 15.000 animaux (moutons, cochons, chevaux, vaches et bœufs) et 2.000 ruches. Outre les activités agricoles, au début du XIXe siècle (1807) le monastère de Neamț a ouvert une typographie qui constituait l’entreprise la plus importante de ce genre du pays jusqu’en 1863. La typographie a été ouverte pour mettre en valeur le trésor de traductions appartenant à « l’école » de traducteurs organisée par le Pieux Païsie Velicikovski, et elle est devenue le plus important centre de production et de commercialisation de livres religieux de Moldavie. Outre la typographie, trois autres ateliers ont fonctionné dès le début : de gravure, de reliure et de croix (de médaillons). Puisqu’il s’agissait d’une communauté très nombreuse, beaucoup de moines avaient de divers métiers artisanaux (des « rucodelii »/des manufactures). Ainsi, certains ateliers étaient appelés même des « fabriques » : ils produisaient des vêtements ecclésiastiques, des capuchons, des draps fins, du bois de charpente, des bougies en cire, la

poterie, des chaussures, des objets nécessaires à la vie monastique et même à l'échange avec d'autres monastères et à la vente à travers le pays.

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Eleonora Naxidou

Orthodox Monasteries in the 19th century Balkans: The Emergence of Modern Ideas within a Traditional Spiritual and Economic Environment

Orthodox monasteries in the 19th century Balkans are usually considered as the main agents of the traditional status quo both on the spiritual and the practical level. It is true that being dependent on agriculture and donations collected by monks-travellers monastic economy did not adapt to the capitalistic system of modern times. However, this paper argues that such a description of monasteries is too simplified to reflect the much more complicated reality. Focusing on the case of Paisii Hilendarski, a Bulgarian monk-traveller in the second half of the 18th century it aims to show how eastern monastic institutions contributed to the emergence of modernity through two main channels. On the one hand monks travelling all over Europe in order gather the funds necessary for the welfare of their monasteries became exposed, adopted and spread the ideas of the Enlightenment, nationalism etc. On the other monastic libraries and rich archival sources provided the raw material for the writing of the national oriented historical narratives of the Balkan peoples and the concomitant cultivation of national identities. In this way the traditional spiritual and economic environment of the Orthodox monasteries promoted modern ideas.

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**Roumen Avramov****Convener of the Workshop**

Roumen Avramov (avramov@cas.bg) is Permanent Fellow at the Centre for Advanced Studies, Sofia (CAS) and has been working in the fields of economic history, economic culture, monetary economics, central banking and business cycles. He has been a Senior research fellow at the Institute of Economics of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1976-1990); Vice-President of the Agency for Economic Coordination and Development of the Bulgarian Government (1991-1994); Member of the Board of Governors of the Bulgarian National Bank (1997-2002); Programme Director at the Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia (1995-2012). Books published (in Bulgarian): *The 20th Century Bulgarian Economy* (2001); *Communal Capitalism. Reflections on the Bulgarian Economic Past* (vol. 1-3, 2007); *Money and De/Stabilization in Bulgaria, 1948-1989* (2008); *“Salvation” and Abjection. Microeconomics of State Anti-Semitism in Bulgaria, 1940-1944* (2012); *The Economy of the “Revival Process”* [the forced assimilation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, 1985-1989] (2016). R. Avramov has edited and presented the collections *Bulgarian National Bank. Selected Documents, 1879-1990* (eight volumes, 1999 -2009) and (with Nadia Danova) *The Deportation of the Jews from Western Thrace, Vardar’s Macedonia and Piro. March 1943. Documents from the Bulgarian Archives* (vol. 1-2, 2013).