

## Manuscripts as Part of the Wealth of Athonite Monasteries

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The study of the economic parameters of the preparation, ownership, and circulation of manuscript books in Byzantium is a topic of importance, although the extant sources with numerical data are limited. What we know derives mainly from the many notes by scribes, owners, sponsors, or readers within the books, which are important primary historical sources. They are also, however, uneven in volume and the information they give is sometimes vague, lacking a continuous flow of data that would allow us to trace the changes over time.<sup>1</sup> Previously, such notes, as well as certain philological or archival testimonies, were gathered and studied by Peter Schreiner in 1990, Vasiliki Kravari in 1991, and Florentia Evangelatou-Notara in the collections of dated notes in manuscripts that she published in 1978, 1984, and 2000. In the meantime, I offered an approach to the topic of the inexpensive manuscript based on paleographical and codicological data in 2018.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 The rarest information in such notes concerns the cost of manufacture or purchase of a codex. While the method of payment and more generally the conditions under which such transactions took place are also not mentioned, however, there is frequent mention of the individuals that covered the cost, mainly sponsors or donors of manuscripts.
  - 2 Peter Schreiner, "Kosten der Handschriftenherstellung in Byzanz," in *Buch- und Bibliothekswissenschaft im Informationszeitalter: Internationale Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Engelbert Plassmann, Wolfgang Schmitz and Peter Vodosek (Munich, 1990), pp. 331–344 and 478; Vasiliki Kravari, "Note sur le prix des manuscrits (1xe–xve siècle)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, 2. VIIIe-xve siècle*, eds. Vasiliki Kravari, Jacques Lefort and Cecile Morisson, (Réalités byzantines) 3 (Paris, 1991), pp. 375–384; Florentia Evangelatou-Notara, "Σημειώματα" ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204. ["Notes" of Greek manuscripts as a source for the study of the economic and social life of Byzantium from the 9th century to the year 1204] (Ph.D. thesis Athens, 1978). See the financial data in notes nos 9, 12, 19, 20, 30, 175, 185, 200, 247, 377, 420, 424, 425, 497, and an analysis of the data on pp. 6–37; eadem, *Συλλογὴ χρονολογημένων "σημειωμάτων" ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, 13ος αἰ.* [Collection of dated "notes" of Greek codices of the 13th century] (Athens, 1984). See the financial data of note no. 170; eadem, *Χορηγοί, κήτορες, δωρητές σε σημειώματα κωδίκων. Παλαιολόγιοι χρόνοι* [Sponsors, patrons, and donors in manuscript notes. The Palaiologan era] (Athens, 2000), see especially notes nos 152, 312, 317, 330, and 338; Zisis

In this paper we will examine the financial dimension of the topic in focusing on Mount Athos, by approaching the manuscript book as an asset of the monastery (static wealth), but also as product and something distributable (dynamic wealth) until the 16th century. This issue had been examined by Cyril Pavlikianov in 2003, but he focused exclusively on the Slavic manuscripts of Mount Athos, and only from the 14th to the 16th century, making use of various scattered pieces of information.<sup>3</sup> Given that the relative testimonies with numerical data for Greek manuscripts are scarce,<sup>4</sup> we will not try to examine the price values, but rather the general economic framework concerning books on Mount Athos. In other words, we will try to examine the extent to which the Athonites treated books as an important asset, and the extent of the circulation of this object of wealth. For the examination of whether it was an asset, it is necessary to distinguish between:

- A) the spiritual and utilitarian value of the manuscript, which derives from its content and the needs of its owner or user;
- B) its value as an heirloom, which was usually connected with the provenance and the long-term ownership by a particular monastery, but possibly also with its sumptuous appearance;
- C) the purely material—economic value, which, again, depended on its appearance (the quality of its production) and its condition, possibly the

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Melissakis, “Βιβλία ταπεινά—βιβλία ταπεινών. Η προσιτή εκδοχή μιας πολυτέλειας. Η προσιτή κάλυψη μιας ανάγκης [Humble manuscripts—manuscripts of the humble. The affordable version of a luxury. The affordable covering of a need],” in *Το Βυζάντιο χωρίς λάμψη. Τα ταπεινά αντικείμενα και η χρήση τους στον καθημερινό βίο των Βυζαντινών* [Byzantium without glamour. Mere objects and their use in the everyday life of the Byzantines], eds. Anastasia G. Yangaki and Aggeliki Panopoulou (Athens, 2018), pp. 231–251. The collection of dated notes from the period 9th–15th centuries by Florentia Evangelatou-Notara forms the content of the database “Σημειώματα-Κώδικες” [Notes-Manuscripts]; see [http://simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr/index.php/simeiomata/generic\\_search?q=αγορ&p=DiaforaCharaktiristika](http://simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr/index.php/simeiomata/generic_search?q=αγορ&p=DiaforaCharaktiristika) (last visit 10.8.2022).

- 3 Kyrillos Pavlikianov, “Τιμές και κυκλοφορία τῶν σλαβικῶν χειρογράφων στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος κατὰ τοὺς 14-16 αἰῶνες [Prices and circulation of Slavic manuscripts on Mount Athos, 14th–16th centuries],” in *Χρήμα και ἀγορά στην ἐποχή τῶν Παλαιολόγων* [Money and markets in the Palaiologan era], ed. Nikos G. Moschonas, (*Τὸ Βυζάντιο σήμερα*) 4 (Athens, 2003), pp. 283–292. On Mount Athos see Peter Soustal, *Makedonien, südlicher Teil*, (TIB) 11; (*Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse*) 535 (Vienna, 2022), pp. 240–244.
- 4 From the manuscripts bearing notes with financial information that were gathered by the aforementioned researchers, the only one relevant to Mount Athos is Lond. Add. 39602, which was taken from Karakallou Monastery in the 19th century by Robert Curzon; Marcel Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*, (Publications de l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes) 3 (Paris, 1952), p. 76; for the note in the manuscript see Evangelatou-Notara, *Σημειώματα*, note no. 185; Kravari, “Note,” pp. 376 no. 3 and 381 no. 4;

rarity of its content, but also its provenance, although generally, from the scarce data available to us, it is evident that books in Byzantium were usually a costly object.<sup>5</sup>

In practice, however, this distinction, as it appears in the available sources (scribal notes and ownership notes, paleographical and codicological data, archival sources), is quite vague, particularly when trying to determine their heirloom and material value. Intellectual value (mainly religious, since the largest number of manuscripts in Athonite collections is of religious content) can be seen in words or phrases in notes that praise the author and the importance (the sacredness) of the text. Characterizations, such as *ιερόν*, *θεῖον*, *ἄγιον*, *θεόπνευστον*, *ἄχραντον*, *ψυχωφέλης* etc. for the content of a manuscript may be typical, even stereotypical in many cases, and are not confined to Mount Athos, but can offer a hint of their intellectual value.

Their liturgical importance is confirmed by daily worship in the monasteries, for which a number of particular books must be available in the *katholikon*, the chapels, the refectory, and even for the individual readings by the monks. Moreover, it is for this reason that in certain monasteries during the first years of their foundation (for example Pantokrator in the second half of the 14th century<sup>6</sup>) we can observe organized copying in order to cover their needs, although the production of liturgical manuscripts continues (as for example in the Lavra at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century),<sup>7</sup> allowing them to replace worn-out or lost books. On the other hand, the value of books with lay or more specialized texts was generally accepted by scholar-monks, who possessed them in their private collections, although certain books (such as

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cf. also note 21 in this paper. Vassiliki Kravari, however, used financial information from certain documents, among which were two from Mount Athos; Kravari, "Note," p. 382 nos 16 and p. 384 no. 4. On these documents nos 21, 22, and 48 in this paper. On Karakallou Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 534–535.

5 On the high cost of Byzantine books, see Melissakis, "Βιβλία ταπεινά," pp. 232–237.

6 Zisis Melissakis, "Attività scrittoria presso il monastero atonita del Pantocrator durante i primi decenni dalla sua fondazione (seconda metà del sec. XIV)," in *Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung. Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege*, eds. Christian Brockmann et al., 2 vols (Berlin—Boston, 2020), 1:233–247, 2: 779–788. On Pantokrator Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 817–819.

7 Erich Lamberz, "Βιβλιογράφοι και βιβλιογραφικά εργαστήρια στο Άγιον Όρος κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων [Scribes and scriptoria on Mount Athos during the Palaiologan era]," in *Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Β' Συμπόσιο "Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων", Θεσσαλονίκη, 14–20 Δεκεμβρίου 1992* [Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. 2nd symposium on "Macedonia in the Palaiologan era"] (Thessaloniki, 2002), pp. 144–148; see also Boris L. Fonkitch, "Biblioteka Lavry sv. Afanasija na Afone v x-xIII vv.," *Palestinskij Sbornik* 17 (1967), 167–175.

medical works) would also have had a utilitarian value. We realize, however, that after the monks' demise, the manuscripts would have been amassed in the Athonite libraries, probably because of the general acceptance of their knowledge value.<sup>8</sup>

As for the perception concerning the heirloom or money value of the books, we can seek it in various testimonies. First in property inventories, and later in contracts for *kellia* (autonomous settlements owned by a monastery but leased to a small group of monks), the liturgical and widely religious books only are noted as part of their valued movable property, which also includes sacred vessels and vestments from the church, various agricultural tools and household utensils.<sup>9</sup> Of particular interest is the inventory of the movable property of Xylourgou Monastery (of the year 1142), in which there is a list of the books, most of which were probably Slavonic. The most valuable of these, which were placed in the sanctuary, are described in detail.<sup>10</sup> This is probably the dividing line between a utilitarian church book and a valuable—but also useful—heirloom. As in the *kellia*, inventories were made on the occasion of a new superior (in this case an *hegoumenos*), who assumed responsibility of the foundation and its movable property. Yet although such inven-

8 Besides, as we can see from the phrase ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράψασα σήπεται τάφω, ἡ δὲ γραφή μένει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας in many scribal notes, the book is seen as an eternal holder of knowledge and is safeguarded: Gérard Garitte, "Sur une formule des colophons de manuscrits grecs (ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράψασα)," in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita*, 1, (Studi e Testi) 219 (Città del Vaticano, 1962, repr. 1986), pp. 359–390; Stig Y. Rudberg, "Note sur une formule des colophons de manuscrits grecs," *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), 66–67. On the gradual formation of Athonite libraries, see Zisis Melissakis, "Βιβλιοθήκες τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν. Τεκμήρια λατρείας καὶ λογιωσύνης. Ζωντανοὶ ὀργανισμοὶ καὶ χώροι φύλαξης κειμηλίων [Libraries of the holy monasteries. Evidence of theft and scholarship. Living organizations and places for the preservation of heirlooms]," in *Λόγιοι καὶ λογιωσύνη στὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος. Scholars and Scholarship on Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki, 2013), pp. 74–83; Boris L. Fonkitch, "La production des livres grecs et les bibliothèques de l'Athos aux xe–xviii<sup>e</sup> ss. Quelques résultats et perspectives de la recherche," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 49–50 (1995–1996), 35–61.

9 See for example the post-Byzantine contract for the *kellion* of Agioi Anargyroi of Esphigmenou Monastery, dated 1697; Zisis Melissakis, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱ. Μ. Ἐσφριγμένου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων* [Archives of the Monastery of Esphigmenou. Summaries of post-Byzantine documents], (Athonika Symmeikta) 11 (Athens, 2008), document 12, lines 16–17 (transcription of document at: <https://agionoros.anavathmis.eu/database/>; last visit 14.8.2022). On the *kellion* of Agioi Anargyroi near Karyes, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 212 at *H. Anargyroi* (4).

10 *Actes de Saint-Pantéléimôn*, no. 7, ed. Paul Lemerle, Gilbert Dagron and Sima Ćirković, (ArchAth) 12 (Paris, 1982), lines 5–8 (books in the sanctuary), 25–27. For this list, see also Pavlikianov, "Τιμές," pp. 283–284. On Xylourgou Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 1106–1107.

tories were always drafted by a higher authority, (of a *kellion* by its mother monastery) or a public authority (in the case of Xylourgou by a committee from the Mese and *hegoumenoi* of other monasteries), the publishers of this document noted that its value was not official, because it does not bear the proper signatures, but was only intended for internal use within Athos, or most probably within the monastery.<sup>11</sup> The movable wealth of the monastery was an internal issue and was listed for safeguarding the harmony of its brotherhood. Books of higher value are noticeable only from their location, and perhaps their detailed description, should they have had bindings with valuable elements.

We find a similar testimony in 1365, when the monastery of Theotokos Spelaiotissa in Melenikon was given to Vatopedi. In the inventory of its movable property and real estate manuscripts are mentioned that were located in the church.<sup>12</sup> Here, the distinction between valuable books and others is made solely on their binding, while it is not known if the inventory was signed, because it is truncated.<sup>13</sup> Thirty years later (1395), only the movable property of the monastery is again noted, also without signatures, on the occasion of a new *oikonomos* from Vatopedi.<sup>14</sup> The 36 books of the first inventory had now become 47, with the addition of four scrolls (*χοντάκια*), to which other ones were added from its various dependencies. Again, the most valuable were noted based on their binding,<sup>15</sup> although in this case they also took note of the old and worn-out ones (*παλαιόν*-old, *χωρίς σανιδίων*-without planks, *ἄγραφα*-blank, *σεσημμένα*-decayed), while the writing material (*βέβρανον*, *βαβίκινον*) is noted, so we assume, only for purposes of identification.<sup>16</sup> Highly interesting is the specific mention of books donated to the monastery by a particular priest (*ἐπα-*

11 idem, pp. 65 and 66.

12 *Actes de Vatopédi*, 2, no. 120, ed. Jacques Lefort et al., (ArchAth) 22 (Paris, 2006), lines 13–20. On Vatopedi, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 266–269 and 267 on the monastery of Theotokos Spelaiotissa.

13 Soustal, *Makedonien*, p. 300.

14 *Actes de Vatopédi*, 3, no. 175, ed. Jacques Lefort et al., (ArchAth) 23 (Paris, 2019), lines 36–49.

15 *Actes de Vatopédi*, 3, no. 175, lines 36–37 (valuable books), 46–49 (books in dependencies).

16 We find similar characteristics in other book inventories that are not from Athos, with the addition or removal of characteristics depending on each case. Binding, however, almost always remains a common point. See for example Zisis Melissakis, “Ένας βυζαντινός κατάλογος χειρογράφων από τη Μονή τῆς Πάτμου ἐλάχιστα γνωστός [A little-known Byzantine manuscript catalogue from Patmos Monastery],” in *Λόγιοι και λογιόσυνη στο Βυζάντιο. Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Κώστα Ν. Κωνσταντινίδη. Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, 26 Οκτωβρίου 2016* [Scholars and scholarship in Byzantium. Scientific symposium in honor of Prof. Kostas N. Konstantinides. University of Ioannina, 26th October 2016], eds. Panagiotis G. Antonopoulos, Ilias A. Giarenis, and Dimitrios K. Agoritsas (Thessaloniki, 2019), pp. 47–75, 243–249.

φήκεν ὁ παπᾶς κυρ Διονύσιος). Such references are also found in inventories beyond Mount Athos, as, for example, on Patmos, and are an indication that after the donation, although we do not know for how long, the manuscripts were accompanied by the name of their previous owner and donor.<sup>17</sup>

The aforementioned donation of Dionysios leads us to the second issue, that of book ownership on Mount Athos. In theory, each manuscript used for daily worship or for the spiritual education of the monks belonged to the monastery,<sup>18</sup> while erudite monks would own private collections with books on particular topics. It appears, however, that in practice the boundary between a personal and monastery book was rather vague, something certified by the existence of many previously Athonite books in monastic collections outside Athos.<sup>19</sup> In the years 1270 to 1274 the monk Theodosios or Theodoulos Skaranos left in his will, among other things, the books of the church of Theotokos in Ormylia, which he described mentioning only their material and content, and in one case the cover (μετὰ ἐνδύματος μαύρου).<sup>20</sup> He also mentioned 11 liturgical and theological manuscripts that were kept by Isaakios as collateral for a debt of ten hyperpyra, and he demanded that the debt be paid in full in order for them to be returned. The heir in the will appears to be for the most part Xeropotamou Monastery, where Theodosios probably dwelt, and its *hegoumenos* was named responsible for executing the will.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in this case, the church, although outside Athos, and, consequently, its books, were considered to be the private property of a monk and are used as collateral for his debt.

We find specific terms of ownership by a monk in a document dated 1444 from Vatopedi.<sup>22</sup> Here, the monastery of Agios Georgios of Mangana in Con-

17 Melissakis, “Ἐνας βυζαντινὸς κατάλογος,” pp. 55–56. The donation of Dionysios is mentioned in lines 45–46 of the Vatopedi document.

18 This applies to the cenobitic monasteries, and not the idiorrhythmic ones after the 14th century.

19 For a first record of the manuscripts that were taken from Athonite libraries to collections outside Mount Athos see: [https://kripis2.anavathmis.eu/βασεισ-δεδομενων/db\\_4--4/](https://kripis2.anavathmis.eu/βασεισ-δεδομενων/db_4--4/) (last visit 14.8.2022).

20 *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 9, ed. Jacques Bompaire, (ArchAth) 3 (Paris, 1964), lines 11–12. On Ormylia see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 477–480 and 1104–1105.

21 *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 9, lines 59–60. On this document see also Kravari, “Note,” p. 382, no. 16. Lond. Add. 39602 was also given as collateral (for a debt of 24 nomismata), which, although later bought by Robert Curzon from Karakallou Monastery, had been pawned before his arrival there; see also footnote no. 4. On Xeropotamou Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 1102–1104.

22 *Actes de Vatopédi*, 3, no. 228.

stantinople, with the unanimous acceptance of the brotherhood,<sup>23</sup> sold a Tetraevangelion to the priest-monk Matthaïos, who was beginning a *taxidion* (ταξίδιον, a trip to collect alms), for the price of 35 hyperpyra, in order to cover urgent needs of its church. Matthaïos would be the sole proprietor of the book. Were he to die at the monastery or during the *taxidion*, the book would be returned to the monastery in his memory. If, however, after returning from the journey, he wished to leave the brotherhood and to settle elsewhere, he could keep it as his own and pass it on to whomsoever he wished after his death, since he had bought it openly and legally. We assume that eventually Matthaïos settled at Vatopedi, where the document is found (possibly the Tetraevangelion as well), to which we will return in order to examine the book's sale by the monastery and its situation before Matthaïos.<sup>24</sup> At this point, the important thing is that the private ownership of the codex is clearly stated, thus securing to some degree both the interests of the monastery of Agios Georgios, and, in the future, those of the monastery that Matthaïos went to settle. Even in cases of manuscripts that were dedicated to Athonite monasteries by monks, we realize that they express their requests for the future of the donation, such as cod. Karakallou 20, a Tetraevangelion with introductory texts of Kosmas Indikopleustes and Ammonius, copied on Athos in 1289/90 at the expense of the monk Isaak, who later dedicated it to the monastery, requesting in a note that the book not be given, sold, traded, appropriated, or altered by anyone. Despite his note, the book was found in 1492 in Constantinople and was returned to the monastery by its buyer in his memory.<sup>25</sup>

The third issue is that of the economic—but also utilitarian and heirloom—value of manuscripts for the monasteries, which is evident from mentions of their repurchase after they were lost. The only known such example from Athos

23 An analogous case of the sale of a manuscript by Gennadios, the *hegoumenos* of Ypomemnikontos Monastery, with the consent of its brotherhood, to the *hegoumenos* of another monastery is mentioned in an undated note (post 1440) in cod. Lavra Ω 63; Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, note no. 366Δ. On the Ypomemnikontos Monastery, probably in Thessaloniki, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 154.

24 See below, p. 275 and n. 48.

25 ... ἵνα ἐν ἀναφαίρετον τῇ μονῇ τὸ βιβλίον μηδενὸς βουληθέντος προφάσει τινὶ στερῆσαι αὐτὸ τὴν μονὴν ... χαρίσαι ἢ πωλήσαι ἢ ἀλλάξει ἢ ἰδιοποιήσασθαι λάθρα ἢ τὰ παρόντα γράμματα ἀφανίσαι ὡς ἔλεγχον ὄντα ἢ τὸ φύλλον τοῦ χάρτου κόψαι μὴ θέλων ταῦτα ὄρασθαι ἐνταῦθα ...: Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, note no. 77 and p. 70; eadem, *Συλλογὴ*, note no. 477. A similar case outside Mount Athos is mentioned in a note in the *sticherarion* cod. Patm. 218, in which the dedicating monk forbids its donation, its change of ownership, and even its allocation to a dependency of Patmos Monastery, giving an analysis of the expenses he made for its crafting in 1166; Evangelatou-Notara, *Σημειώματα*, note no. 420.

comes from a note on cod. Esphigmenou 14.<sup>26</sup> It describes the double looting of the monastery in 1533 by Agarene pirates, during which, apart from the deprivations and the abduction of monks, its books were also stolen. Later, a monk—perhaps the *hegoumenos*—of the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Kochliaras at Karyes (ὁ κύριος Ἀκάκιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κωγλυαρᾶ) bought from the Agarenes 100 of the manuscripts and a certain number of chrysobulls and returned them to the monastery. From the inventory that followed we realize that they were all liturgical or were used for the spiritual training of the monks, which would explain why they were bought back. What is not clarified, however, is whether the buyer, who came from another Athonite establishment, returned them to the monastery as a donation or in exchange for something. Their detailed inventory, although without noting their qualitative aspects, (e.g. μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, small or big), was probably related to a document which is now lost.<sup>27</sup>

The information gathered until now shows that manuscripts were considered an important part of the wealth of an Athonite monastery, although not as important as the movable property and other main means of income. The difference is that the manuscripts were valuable for worship, a fundamental aspect of the monk's life. Therefore we will examine their potential contribution to the income and even the expenses of the monasteries, and particularly their involvement in financial transactions. First, we shall begin with the generally-accepted view that Mount Athos was a large center of manuscript production and export, which superseded the older perception of Albert Ehrhard that up until the 16th century most manuscripts were imported onto Mount Athos. Indeed, the studies by Linos Politis and more recently by Erich Lamberz have revealed continuous copying activity in the monasteries, which until the end of the 13th century appears as sporadic, but only as a result of the incomplete information from the notes in the manuscripts. During

26 Spyridon Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων* [Catalogue of the Greek codices in the libraries of the Holy Mountain], 1 (Cambridge, 1895), p. 172. On Esphigmenou Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 419–421.

27 On the monastery of Kochliaras, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 583. A similar case, but not from Athos, concerns cod. Vat. gr. 436, which, according to a note dated 1074, was bought after it was plundered from the burned-down dependency of an unidentified monastery (... πρὸς τὴν δεσποτεῖαν τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ κυρ [...] κατὰ τὸν [...] ...). It is interesting that the book was bought for three nomismata by the royal notary Ioannis from the looter of the dependency and handed over to the monastery, under unknown conditions, perhaps as a dedication; Evangelatou-Notara, *Σημειώματα*, note no. 247. On the possible identification of this monastery and the subsequent presence of the manuscript in Cyprus, see Jean Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre," *REB* 15 (1957), 155.

the Palaiologan period, manuscript copying activity was initially found in the monasteries of the eastern side of the peninsula (Lavra, Vatopedi, Pantokrator, Koutloumousiou, Esphigmenou, Philotheou) and during the mid-15th century we also find it in the remaining ones (Docheiariou, Xeropotamou, Gregoriou, Dionysiou), as well as in Iviron, with a noticeable disruption during the difficult years between 1380 and 1415.<sup>28</sup> Based on the content of the manuscripts that were written and kept on Mount Athos, it is evident that this activity was undertaken mainly for covering the wants of the monasteries, primarily their liturgical needs and correspondingly the spiritual education of their monks. These needs were covered almost in full in the monasteries of Lavra, Vatopedi, Pantokrator, Philotheou, and Esphigmenou, judging by the correlation between locally-copied and imported manuscripts during the Palaiologan era. We also witness the fact that the manuscripts produced were humble in make and appearance, particularly after 1320, when paper was introduced to Mount Athos, and differed significantly from the luxurious books of the Athonite collections that usually came from important external donations.<sup>29</sup> We must thus accept that the production of manuscripts within the peninsula aimed at and succeeded in saving money for the monastery, as long as the copying was done by monks.

The manuscript book, however, whether local or imported, new or old, continued to be an expense that somehow had to be covered. Based on the notes in manuscripts from Athonite collections, we find the following cases:

1. Costs covered by the monastery for the writing material, to be inexpensively copied by the monks. This is most likely the case of Pantokrator Monastery, which in the second half of the 14th century organized the *in situ* copying of liturgical manuscripts with four of its brotherhood's members. This is revealed mostly from the common types of paper used that were obviously covered by the monastery.<sup>30</sup>
2. Costs covered by the Athonite monks themselves. They reached out to Athonite scribes (e.g. cod. Karakallou 20, year 1289/90 at the expense of

28 Lamberz, "Βιβλιογράφοι," pp. 149–150 and 143 (on the previous views concerning the production of manuscripts on Mount Athos). On Lavra Monastery, see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 655–659; on Koutloumousiou, pp. 633–635; on Philotheou, pp. 861–862; on Docheiariou, pp. 383–385; on Gregoriou, p. 467; on Dionysiou, pp. 378–379 and on Iviron, pp. 491–495.

29 Lamberz, "Βιβλιογράφοι," p. 149.

30 Melissakis, "Attività," 1:237–241; Zisis Melissakis, "Ο κωδικογράφος Ἰγνάτιος (14' αἰ.) τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος Ἁγίου Ὁρους [The scribe Ignatios (14th century) of Pantokrator Monastery of the Holy Mountain]," *Παρουασός* 37 (1995), 361–365, 384–387.

monk Isaak<sup>31</sup>), sometimes from other monasteries (such as the brothers Iosif and Makarios of Vatopedi, who ordered manuscripts from the scribe Dositheos of Lavra<sup>32</sup>) or copied the manuscripts covering the expenses themselves and later dedicating the book to their monastery (such as the hieromonk Markos, who in 1315–1316 copied a series of *menaia* for Esphigmenou Monastery).<sup>33</sup>

3. Costs covered by prominent Athonites, such as the *protos* Ioannikios, who in 1301 paid for the expenses of cod. Par. Coisl. 223 and dedicated it to a monastery which is not mentioned.<sup>34</sup> The same person, only a few years earlier (1285), “by synergy, provision, and incentive” (διὰ συνεργίας καὶ συνδρομῆς καὶ διεγέρσεως) urged the metropolitan of Thessaloniki Ignatios to dedicate two *synaxaria* to Protaton, one of them being cod. Protatou 21.<sup>35</sup> We assume that Ioannikios took the initiative, while the cost was covered by Ignatios. The same individuals, but from different positions, are likely behind a series of *martyrologia* of Lavra that were written in about the same period by the monk Ioannikios by order of the *hegoumenos* of Lavra Ignatios.<sup>36</sup> In this case, the expenses were probably covered by the monastery and not by Ignatios himself.
4. Dedications of manuscripts by prominent political figures or members of the aristocracy to Athonite monasteries or even by ordinary lay people. The best-known case is that of Emperor Ioannis/Ioasaph Kantakouzenos, who dedicated some 30 manuscripts to Vatopedi during the years 1347 to 1354, while a few years earlier (1301), the erudite Theodora Rhaoulaina Paleologina had donated cod. Par. Coisl. 128 to Lavra.<sup>37</sup> Eirene, wife of

31 See above, p. 270.

32 The two monks of Vatopedi ordered manuscripts Vatopediou 1184 (year 1446) and Pan-teleimon 727 (year 1449) to Dositheos; Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, pp. 97–98 and notes nos 471 and 474.

33 Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, p. 78 and notes nos 157 and 160.

34 Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, p. 49 and note no. 129.

35 Evangelatou-Notara, Χορηγοί, pp. 23–24 and note no. 58. On Protaton (Karyes), see Soustal, *Makedonien*, pp. 538–540.

36 Linos Politis, “Αγιορειτικά ἀνάλεκτα [Hagiorite excerpts],” *Ἑλληνικά* 16 (1958–1959), 132–136 (repr. in idem, *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néo-grecque: Recueil d'études*, préface de D. Zakythinis [London, 1975], no. 8); Lamberz, “Βιβλιογράφοι,” pp. 146–147.

37 On the donation by Ioannis Kantakouzenos, see: Erich Lamberz, “Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφα της [The library and its manuscripts],” in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου: Παράδοση, ἱστορία, τέχνη* [The Holy Monastery of Vatopedi. Tradition, history, art], 2 (Mount Athos, 1996), pp. 568–569, 674–675; idem, “Die Schenkung des Kaisers Johannes VI. Kantakouzenos an das Kloster Vatopedi und die Schreibzentren Konstantinopels im 14. Jahrhundert,” in *Acts XVIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Selected Papers*,

Andronikos II, dedicated to the same monastery around the year 1300 the Gospel cod. Lavra A 111, following a request by the Lavriote scribe, possibly the librarian, Demetrios, who also dedicated manuscripts to the monastery.<sup>38</sup> In general, Florentia Evangelatou-Notara concludes that Mount Athos during the Palaiologan era was, after Constantinople, the place with the most manuscript donations.<sup>39</sup>

The books by Athonite scribes that were intended for buyers outside Mount Athos and the way that they contributed to the wealth of their monastery are less known, at least during the Byzantine period in question. The best-known case, which according to E. Lamberz is unique for the Palaiologan period, is that of the anonymous scribe, whom L. Politis identifies with Ieremias from Koutloumousiou, who during the years 1356 to 1371 copied a number of volumes for liturgical use commissioned by Elene/Elizabeth, widow of Stefan Dušan.<sup>40</sup> In the many notes that this scribe added in his manuscripts, he does not reveal much about his actual financial relationship with Elizabeth, as only two notes speak of her ἔλεος and εὐλογία to him,<sup>41</sup> but rather with another person, the hieromonk Dorotheos, who is possibly to be identified with the homonymous *protos* of that period, and who appears to have been an intermediary, providing him with his salary of one ducat per month, his food (κυβέρνησις) consisting of two *modioi* of flour, and his writing materials.<sup>42</sup> Since the scribe does not appear to have been at his monastery, but at one of its dependencies on Athos, all these provisions reached him through a third person, to whom the scribe paid one ducat as a 'fare' (ναύλος).<sup>43</sup> Apart from Elizabeth, the scribe worked for other people as well, without the mediation of Dorotheos, particularly for a bishop of Hierissos and Mount Athos, who appears to have ransomed him from

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*Main and Communications: Moscow, 1991, 4. Literature, Sources, Numismatics and History of Science*, eds. Ihor Ševčenko, Gennadij G. Litavrin and Walter K. Hanak, (Byzantine Studies, New Series, Supplementum) 4 (Shepherdstown WV, 1996 [2000]), pp. 155–167; Evangelatou-Notara, *Χορηγοί*, pp. 89–91. On the donation by Theodora Raoulaina, see Evangelatou-Notara, *Χορηγοί*, pp. 99–100 and note no. 131.

38 Lamberz, "Βιβλιογράφοι," p. 146.

39 Evangelatou-Notara, *Χορηγοί*, pp. 158–159.

40 Lamberz, "Βιβλιογράφοι," pp. 148–149; Linos Politis, "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930), 288–304, pls 1–2 (repr. in idem, *Paléographie*, no. 1); idem, "Paläographische Miscellen vom Heiligen Berg," *BZ* 50 (1957), 312–316, pls 4–5 (repr. in idem, *Paléographie*, no. 5).

41 Cod. EBE 2004, ff. 352<sup>r</sup> (... τὴν δὲ σὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδεξάμεθα) and 440<sup>v</sup> (πέμψον καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἔλεός σου ...).

42 Cod. EBE 2004, f. 285<sup>v</sup>; EBE 2049, f. 125<sup>v</sup>; Kutlumus 324, f. 130<sup>v</sup>.

43 Cod. EBE 2049, f. 125<sup>v</sup> (... ἔφερέ μοι ὁ Πισσαράς ἀλεύρου μόδια δύο καὶ δουκάτον ἔν τῷ δὲ ἕτερον ἀπῆρε ναύλον).

captivity at a certain point.<sup>44</sup> He also copied manuscripts for other Athonite monasteries, mainly his own, at the expense of its *hegoumenos* Theophilos.<sup>45</sup> In a manuscript of Xeropotamou dated 1387 or 1397, the cost was covered by a woman, a member of the aristocracy.<sup>46</sup> All the aforementioned information paints a picture of an Athonite copyist who worked as a freelancer, albeit through the mediation of a superior, and addressed both the internal market of books on Athos as well as the external one.

Finally, concerning the financial aspects of manuscript trading on Mount Athos, three other aforementioned cases could be mentioned again, although at least two did not take place inside an Athonite monastery. In the testament of Skaranos (1270–1274) we witness manuscripts being given as collateral,<sup>47</sup> while in the document of 1444 on the sale of the Tetraevangelion from the monastery of Agios Georgios of Mangana in Constantinople to one of its monks, who later appears to have settled in Vatopedi, it is mentioned that: a) the manuscript was given to the monastery of Mangana by one of the members of its brotherhood for the acquisition of a part of an *adelphaton* for his subordinate (ὕποτακτικός) and b) the sale of 1444 took place in order to cover urgent expenses of the church.<sup>48</sup> The testimonies concerning these two financial uses of books, in my view, remain unique, but we should not rule out the possibility that they also applied on Mount Athos. The last reference resembles the analogous, subsequent case of the document of 1654 (in Dionysiou), with which the *hegoumenoi* of the Athonite monasteries declared that they have delivered to Arseniy Sukhanov “our old books” because of their impoverishment, so that they could ask the Czar for alms. From another document of the same period extant only in Russian we learn that they received from Sukhanov a certain sum of money.<sup>49</sup>

In summary, manuscripts on Mount Athos, apart from their religious value, never ceased to have an economic value as well. This is the reason why they were included in the wealth of the cenobitic monasteries or individual monks and contributed to their income or expenses in a variety of ways without visi-

44 Cod. EBE 2422, f. 91<sup>r</sup> (τὸν ἐξαγοράσαντα ἐμοὶ τῷ ξένῳ μέμνησθε φιλόχριστοι μητροπολίτην Ὅρους).

45 Cod. Kutlumus 324, f. 129<sup>v</sup> (προσετέθη καὶ ὁ παρῶν Μάρτιος μὴν τὸ μνηαῖον ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τοῦ Κουτλουμούση μονῆ δια συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ ταύτην ἡγουμενεύοντος Θεοφίλου ἱερομονάχου).

46 Cod. Xeropotamou 234, f. 399<sup>r</sup> (... συνδρομῆ τῆς παντακαλῆς κ[...].]ανένης, τῆς καὶ δούκενας καὶ φιλανθρωπηγῆς ...).

47 See above, p. 269.

48 *Actes de Vatopédi*, 3, no. 228, lines. 5–6 and 14. See also above, pp. 269–270.

49 Michel Lascaris, “Arsène Suchanov et les manuscrits de l’Athos. Un nouveau document (10 juin 1654),” *Byz* 28 (1958), 543–545.

ble restrictions, as long as the relevant exchanges were reasonable. Therefore, as a part of communal or private wealth, sometimes without distinctive borderlines between them, they were active components of the economic life of Mount Athos.

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