

# Estate fortifications in Late Byzantine Macedonia: the Athonite evidence

One of the most common types of fortification in Byzantium were the towers and other fortified structures built by landowners on their estates\*. At least in the late period, hundreds of these fortifications must have been scattered around the empire's countryside. Several towers in various degrees of preservation are still standing today and provide crucial information regarding the construction and location of these buildings. However, with the exception of those rare towers that possess an inscription, these monuments remain silent as to who built them and why. In fact, it is uncertain whether these towers actually belong to the category of estate fortifications, that is, if they were built by landowners and not by the army<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, at least until now, it has proven impossible to date securely the towers on the basis of their construction characteristics<sup>2</sup>.

In the case of Macedonia, in addition to material remains, we are lucky to possess a significant amount of textual evidence regarding estate fortifications thanks to documents kept in the archives of Mount Athos monasteries. These documents largely concern southeastern Macedonia, especially the peninsula of Chalkidike and the lower Strymon valley, where most of the Athonite monastic estates (*metochia*) were situated. What I would like to do here is bring together the data found in the Greek acts of Mount Athos in order to consider the function of estate fortifications and their significance for settlement and the economy in the documented parts of Macedonia during the Late Byzantine era. My emphasis on settlement means that I shall not discuss the towers monasteries built in their dependencies within the Holy Mountain<sup>3</sup>. Apart from the geographical area (mainly the eastern part of the periféreia of Central Macedonia following today's administrative division of Greece), our source material, which only becomes abundant after the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, also defines the time period of this inquiry. This account can only be considered provisional as systematic

study of the standing structures, as well as excavation, could greatly expand our knowledge of fortifications.

## The documentation

The Athonite documents are mostly concerned with the property rights and privileges of the monasteries. The best evidence of the possessions of monasteries comes from lists of property (*praktika*) and from imperial chrysobulls confirming the monks' rights on their lands. However, *praktika* and chrysobulls do not document estate fortifications consistently but only make occasional reference to them, unlike in the case of other types of property, such as dependent peasants (*paroikoi*) and lands. As far as the *praktika* are concerned, this phenomenon is no doubt due to the fact that such constructions were not taxed. It follows that, although *praktika* and chrysobulls provide much of the information we have on estate fortifications, the lack of reference in these texts to a tower in relation to an estate is not always significant. Moreover, the fact that some 15<sup>th</sup>-century *praktika* call certain monastic estates *pyrgoi* (towers), whilst others call them *metochia* or *choria* (villages), does not prove that the latter did not have a tower<sup>4</sup>. In addition to chrysobulls and *praktika*, there are references to estate fortifications in other acts, especially in those recording the limits of properties.

No doubt, many of the towers and other fortifications owned by Athonite monasteries during this relatively well documented Late Byzantine period left no trace in our sources. It is hard to accept, for example, that the wealthy monasteries of Chilandar and Lavra, which owned numerous estates in Macedonia during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, only had two and five towers respectively outside Mount Athos. The 14 fortifications known to have been in the possession of Vatopedi in the same century are a more accurate reflection

\* I thank Archie Dunn for the permission to reproduce his map of eastern Macedonia and Mihailo Popović for bibliographic assistance.

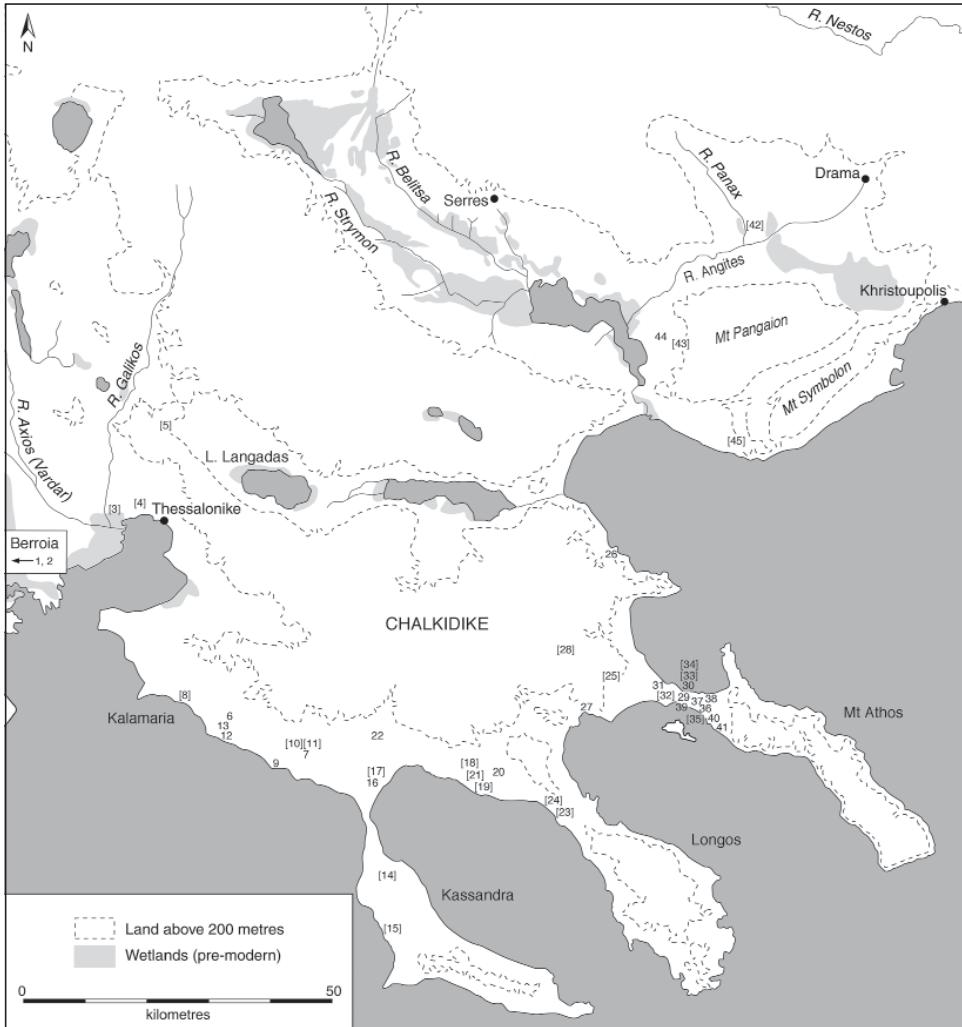
1 However, it should be noted that, at least in southeastern Macedonia, only few structures can plausibly be attributed to state efforts, most towers being built at locations of no strategic significance. On the towers that may be army constructions, see Lefort, *Habitats* 157 (probably referring to the towers of Hagios Basileios and Galatista); Dunn, *Khrysoupolis* 607 (on the same towers and that of Brasna); Dunn, *Topography* 323 (on the tower of Apollonia). It has been recently argued that the Hagios Basileios and Galatista towers belonged to monastic complexes: Bakirtzis, *Agios Vasileios*.

2 There are several studies on the towers extant in southeastern Macedonia; see, in particular, Zekos, *Strymon* (for the lower Strymon valley); Papangelos, *Pyrgoi*

(for Chalkidike); Diktyo, *passim* (for the modern prefecture of Thessalonike); and, most recently, Bogdanović, *Late Byzantine Tower*. For a more comprehensive study of estate fortifications, see Giros, *Poliorcétique* 418-426. On the challenges of dating towers without excavation, cf. Lock, *Greece*, in particular 130f. 137.

3 As a limit of the Holy Mountain, I take Zygos (current Megalē Bigla), a mountain beyond which no lay settlement existed in the Middle Ages: Papachryssanthou, *Monachismos* 171f.

4 See, for example, the case of the estate of Eladiaba, which is called *pyrgos* in a *praktikon* of 1409 and *metochion* in a *praktikon* of 1418 (Vatopédi III no. 200, ll. 4. 12; no. 211, l. 21; Appendix no. 30). The same *praktika* consistently call the estate of Prosporion *pyrgos* (Appendix no. 40).



**Map 1** Estate fortifications mentioned in Athonite documents (982-1420). Source: see Appendix. Numbers in brackets indicate an approximate location. – (© 2009 A. W. Dunn).

of what would have been typical for the wealthier Athonite houses<sup>5</sup>.

Our documentation is biased in several ways. Whereas our sources record dozens of estate fortifications belonging to Athonite monasteries, there are extremely few references to towers owned by third parties and by laymen in particular<sup>6</sup>. This is clearly misleading. Our source material is biased geographically, favoring those regions of Macedonia where the monasteries owned property. For example, the high number of attested towers in the isthmus of the Mount Athos peninsula may be attributed, at least in part, to the density of Athonite landholding in the area (map 1)<sup>7</sup>. There is also a chronological bias in our documentation. As already stated, few documents dating from before the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century have been preserved, which means that the earlier period is very poorly represented. However, even within the later, better documented period (mid-13<sup>th</sup> to mid-

15<sup>th</sup> c.), there are significant variations in the numbers of acts preserved. For example, we have almost four times more documents from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century than we have from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. The relative abundance of early 14<sup>th</sup>-century texts may, to some extent, explain why we have so many references to estate towers dating from this period (see tab. 1). Finally, the fact that much of our data comes from official Byzantine acts, *praktika* and chrysobulls, can account for the lack of information on towers during the last two decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when Macedonia was under Ottoman rule.

## Types of estate fortifications

By far the most common term used to denote a fortification built on an estate is *pyrgos*. There are also a few attested

5 Appendix nos 36, 41 (Chilandar); 8-10, 19, 39 (Lavra); 1-5, 16, 17, 20, 30, 40, 42-45 (Vatopedi).

6 Appendix nos 3, 6, 45.

7 The isthmus also possesses an exceptionally high number of tower remains (map 2). The material remains, however, do not necessarily offer a faithful reflection of the medieval situation. Some of the buildings may be Ottoman

whereas the preservation pattern of the monuments is likely to have been different from place to place. In the case of the isthmus, the Byzantine towers had much better chances of survival than anywhere else thanks to the largely uninterrupted Athonite possession of the *metochia* into the 20<sup>th</sup> c.

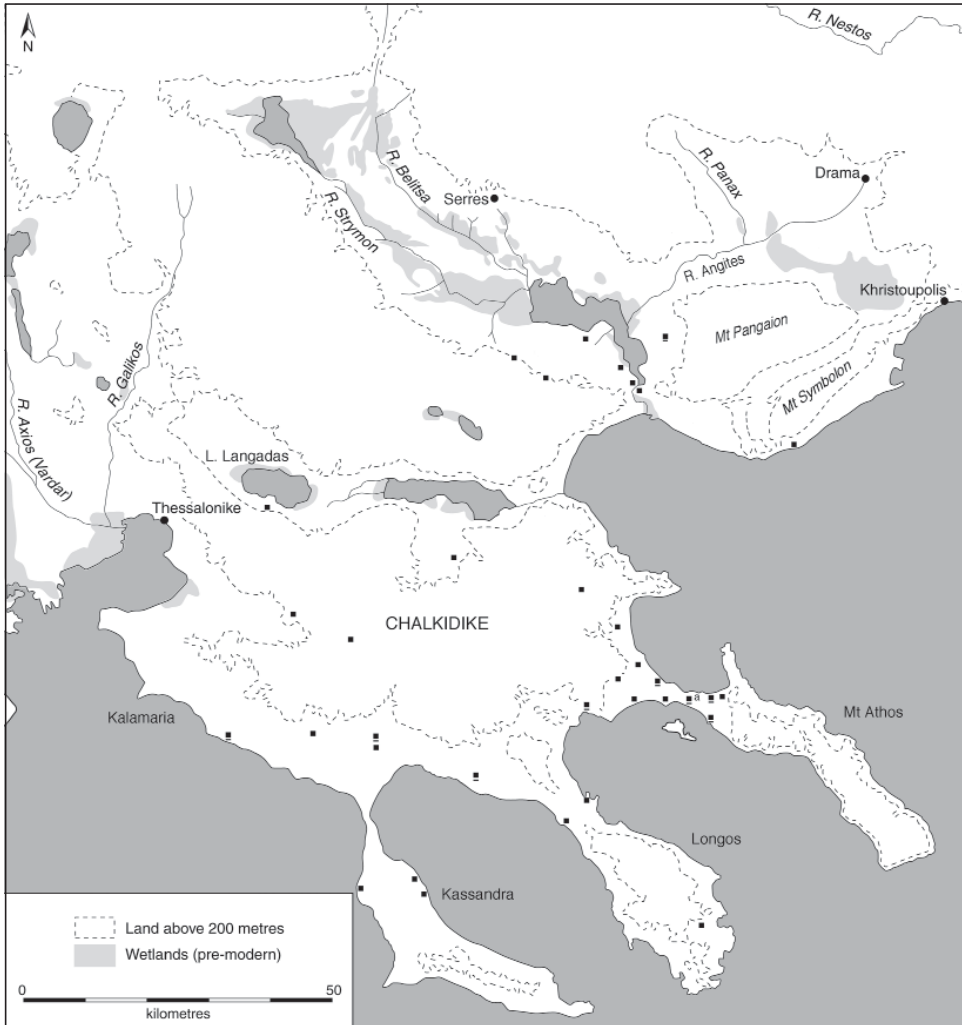
8 See Smyrlis, Fortune, tab. 1 on p. 26.

	regions of Berroia, Thessalonike & lake Langadas	Kalamaria & gulf of Kassandra	peninsulas of Kassandra & Longos	eastern Chalkidike	isthmus of Mt Athos	Angites valley, Mts Pangaion & Symbolon
10 <sup>th</sup> century					<i>b982 [Diabripou]</i>	
11 <sup>th</sup> century		b1079 Bolbos/lv		b1071 [Kamena]		
12 <sup>th</sup> century				b1104 Libyzasda/lv	<b>1170-1183/4<sup>a</sup></b> Preaulaka/lv 1197-1198? <sup>b</sup> Prosporion/Va b1239/1240? Eladiaba/Va 1259-1279? Hierissos/lv b1267 Preaulaka/La b1274 Preaulaka/Chi b1279 Hierissos/Zo b1288 Zygou/Chi	
1200-1250						
1250s						
1260s						
1270s						
1280s						
1290s						
1300s		b.1301 [Oxynon1]/Li			b1307 Hierissos/Xer b1318 Preaulaka/Es	
1310s			<i>b1312 [Neakitou1]</i> b1318 Neakitou2/Xen			
1320s		b1324 Hermeleia/La <b>sb1329</b> HgMamas/Va			<i>b1321 [Katodaimones]</i>	
1330s	<b>1329-1338</b> Komanitze/Va <b>1334-1342</b> Galikos/Tza b1338 <i>[Stomion1]</i> b1338 Stomion2/Xen <b>sb1338</b> Hermeleia/Va b1339 Kalokairides/Va	<b>1337-1341</b> Rosaion/Do <i>b1338 [Stomion1]</i> b1338 Stomion2/Xen <b>sb1338</b> Hermeleia/Va	b1335-1338 Sibre/Xen?			
1340s		<b>1346-1350</b> HgMamas/Va		b1349 Rebenikeia		b1342 Pinarion/Tza <b>1348</b> Semalton/Va b1356 Choilbos/Va b1356 Zabernikeia/Va
1350s		b1351 Oxynon2/La			b1356? Hierissos/Kar	
1360s						
1370s		b1371 Lorothon/La <b>1373-1375</b> Mariana/Do <b>sa1378</b> Abramitai-Neocho- rion/Sa				
1380s						
1390s						
1400s		b1407 Hermeleia/Xer b1409 Hermeleia/Do		b1409 Perigardikia/Do		
1410s			<b>1418-1420</b> Mariskin/Di			

a = First mention in a document in 1259

b = First mention in a document in 1356

**Tab. 1** Date of construction of estate fortifications in Macedonia (982-1420). The names of the estates are followed by an abbreviated form of the name of their first attested owner. Source: see Appendix. – Date: b = before; sa = soon after; sb = soon before. – Bold = closely dated construction; italics: tower in ruins at date of first mention. – Name of estate in brackets: see key to appendix.



**Map 2** Remains of towers in south-eastern Macedonia. Sources: Dunn, Khrysoupolis 606; Papangelos, Pyrgoi 136; Zekos, Strymon 327. Underlined squares indicate towers that also appear on map 1; a: remains of three towers. – (© 2009 A. W. Dunn).

cases of *kastellia*, as well as one case of a *phrourion* (fortress) or *teichos* (wall). In the case of towers, the term *pyrgos* could be used in Late Byzantium to describe buildings of quite different size and aspect<sup>9</sup>. Nevertheless, the structures that still stand in southeastern Macedonia, most of which correspond to estate towers (see below), show basic similarities in terms of dimensions and construction. They are either square or rectangular with one side slightly longer than the other, their internal measurements ranging from about 4.5 m × 4.5 m to about 7 m × 7 m. The towers had several floors, and as many as five or six in some of the clearer cases (Apollonia, Bolbos, Kaletze, Mariana). They are defensive structures. The

walls contain loopholes. The entrance to the towers is above ground level, often on the second floor, and was accessed by a retractable staircase or ladder<sup>10</sup>. The ground floor does not have openings and would normally have served for the storage of water and other provisions<sup>11</sup>. The towers' walls comprised images and inscriptions. Several well-preserved examples include an arched recess above the entrance door, which would most likely contain the depiction of a holy figure<sup>12</sup>. On one of its side walls, the tower of Mariana in western Chalkidike includes a monogram in brick that can be analysed as »Docheiarion«, the name of the Athonite monastery that constructed the building<sup>13</sup>. Apart from the

9 In the early 13<sup>th</sup> c., the courtyard of a small monastery and estate centre outside Smyrna included nine houses covered with tiles, one of which is described as being a *pyrgos*: Acta et diplomata IV 45 (Miklosich/Müller). Another such establishment included a church whose *propylon* or *pronaos* was crowned with a tower: *ibidem* 57, 7. In both of these cases, the structures called *pyrgoi* were no doubt much smaller than the ones we know from Chalkidike and the lower Strymon valley. In Macedonia, outside Serres, another small monastery, which may have been originally a family estate, included a tower made of brick (*plinthoktistos*); to my knowledge, there is no example of this type of construction in our region: Codex B no. 167 (1339), l. 69.

10 See the towers of the lower Strymon valley described in Zekos, Strymon; and the towers of Apollonia (Zekos, Apollonia), Kaletze (Theocharides, Kaletzi),

Mariana (Theocharides, Mariana; Appendix no. 22). On Bolbos: *ibidem* no. 7. Cf. also the case of the tower at Abramitai-Neochorion: *ibidem* no. 6.

11 See, for example, the case of Mariana, where a cistern was located below the first floor: Theocharides, Mariana 220.

12 This is the interpretation of Orlandos regarding the tower of Mariana: Orlandos, Olynthos 393. Besides Mariana, such arched recesses are to be found on the towers of »Marmarion«, Nea Phokaia and Galatista. Instead of a recess above the door, the tower of Krouna at Hierissos has an arch-shaped brick decoration defining an area that may have also included a depiction.

13 Deciphered by Orlandos, Olynthos 395. The entrance wall of the same tower includes an inlaid marble relief of the Cross and, just above the arched recess, a Cross in brick on whose four corners the inscription »Jesus Christ conquers« is still legible; cf. Orlandos, Olynthos 393.

one in Mariana, two more towers, one in the Strymon valley and one in Chalkidike, also included inscriptions identifying the building's monastic owner<sup>14</sup>.

Some texts show that the towers formed part of a farm complex that included various buildings, such as churches, houses and stables<sup>15</sup>. In fact, towers belonging to an estate's administrative centre must have always been accompanied by additional buildings necessary for the storage of bulky materials and for the accommodation of workers and animals. Farm complexes, either with or without a tower, were typically organised around a courtyard surrounded by a wall. It is often not clear how strong these circuit walls actually were but at least some of those attached to towers seem to have been capable of serving as a first line of defense<sup>16</sup>. Some texts indicate that the estate's *paroikoi* were settled around or near the tower<sup>17</sup>.

It is more difficult to visualise the *kastellia* we encounter in the sources in connection with estates, as no surviving structure can be identified as such with certainty<sup>18</sup>. In our period, it appears that the term continued to have as wide an application as it had in earlier times<sup>19</sup>. As far as estate fortifications are concerned, the fact that these structures were built by individuals or monasteries in order to meet the needs of their properties means that they would often be of limited importance. The expressions »*kastellion* with tower« or »tower with *kastellion*« or »*kastellion* and tower«, which we encounter in cases from Macedonia and Lemnos, suggest that at least these constructions corresponded to a tower

with a fortified circuit<sup>20</sup>. This is stated explicitly with regard to another fortification built in Lemnos: »tower with a courtyard built as a *kastellion*«<sup>21</sup>. Indeed, it may not always have been easy to distinguish between a tower – with a circuit wall – and a *kastellion*, as suggested by the terms applied to the fortification constructed in 1348 at Semalton, an estate of Vatopedi. Whereas some documents call the building simply *pyrgos*, one text calls it *phourion*, *pyrgos* and *kastellion*<sup>22</sup>.

On occasion, landowners could erect relatively large constructions, such as the fortification built by Vatopedi at Hagios Mamas in the late 1340s. Referred to by the generic terms *phourion* and *teichos*, in about 1358, it included no less than 73 peasant houses<sup>23</sup>. This may not have been an entirely exceptional type of private fortification, since the monks of Vatopedi demanded from the peasants the »usual labor services offered by those living in such *phouria*«.

Most attested fortifications in Chalkidike belonged to estates located more or less near the sea (map 1). This is probably a good reflection of the medieval situation. The majority of large estates, monastic or not, would have been located in the coastal zone, which is the most fertile area of the peninsula<sup>24</sup>. At the same time, we have sufficient examples of fortifications that were attached to inland estates, such as those situated in the valley of the Angites, the lower Strymon and the region of Berroia. In most cases of textually attested fortifications, we ignore the type of ground on which they stood. The surviving towers are often constructed on slightly elevated ground within plains<sup>25</sup>. Some texts and surviving

- 14 The inscription on the tower of Pantokrator at the Strymon (the tower of »Marmarion«) dated the construction and commemorated the persons who had paid for it: Pantokrator 14 note 76. A similar text may have been included in the Georgian inscription once seen on the tower of Ivron at Hierissos (Appendix no. 31): Ivron III 20f.
- 15 One of the most detailed and frequently quoted descriptions of such a complex is the one of Ivron's *metochion* at Bolbos in 1104 (Ivron II no. 52, ll. 434-437; Appendix no. 7). Another detailed description that also dates from the Middle Byzantine period concerns an estate on the island of Leros: Patmos II no. 52 (1089), ll. 99-107. For the later period, see Appendix no. 6 and the case of the *metochion* of Vatopedi at Moudros, Lemnos: Vatopedi II no. 128 (1368), ll. 44-46; Vatopedi III no. 165 (1387), ll. 17f. See also an example from the Early Ottoman period: Kolovos, Chōrikoï 3 no. 6 (1465).
- 16 In 1104, all rural *metochia* of Ivron were surrounded by walls: Ivron II no. 52. For examples of circuit walls attached to towers, see Appendix nos 7. 13. 22; cf. also no. 43; Zekos, Strymon 313-315 on the towers of »Marmarion«, Chandax and Eukarpia; Papangelos, Pyrgoi 156f. on the tower of Krouna; cf. Zekos, Apollōnia 59 and plan on p. 61. According to Lefort, Habitats 157, some towers may have been surrounded by palisades. A closer study of the remains of these enclosures may help us gauge their defensive capacity. The circuit wall of the tower of Krouna near Hierissos, which is relatively well-preserved and may be Byzantine, was a strong construction rising a few meters above the ground in its original form. The circuit wall of the tower of Apollonia, whose function is debatable, appears to have been an important construction.
- 17 Appendix nos 20. 24; there are two more cases from Lemnos, the one regarding the village of Moudros (see above note 15), the other concerning the estate of Ano Chorian that belonged to Pantokrator: Pantokrator Appendix (late 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> c.), l. 1. cf. ibidem no. 20 (1394), ll. 8f. A document of 1366 also assumes that peasants would settle near a projected tower in the region of Trikala: Grčke povelje no. 34, ll. 53f. (Soloviev/Mošin).
- 18 Appendix nos 5. 26. 28. 45; cf. also no. 43. The ruins at Stageira of what seems to have been a fortification, summarily described in Papangelos, Stageira 138 (ca. 1,000m<sup>2</sup>) and plan on p. 142, may correspond to the *kastellion* built by Ivron on its estate at Libyzada (Appendix no. 26), as suggested by Ivron II 47. The identification of the so-called tower of Apollonia with the *kastellion* of Sthlansion, built by Arsenios Tzemplakon on his estate of Prinarion (Appendix no. 45), proposed by Zekos (Apollōnia 61-64), is difficult to accept. According

- to a document probably dating from 1321 (Lavra II no. 112, ll. 26-44), the ground on which the tower appears to have been later erected was, at that time, monastic property. Situated opposite the *monolithos petra* of the text, this ground was either part of the estate of Aeidarokastron, a property of Lavra, or was located inside the lands immediately to the east of this estate that, in the early 14<sup>th</sup> c., seem to have belonged to the territory of Dobrobikeia, a property of Ivron (Ivron IV 12).
- 19 Although in the late period, *kastellion* often seems to denote relatively modest constructions, the term is also applied to the important fortification built by John VII at the isthmus of Kassandra; the same construction is also called *kastron* (Schatzkammer nos 45/6 I and II). In the Middle Byzantine period, *kastellion* could be used for a small fortified town (Anna Komn. Alexias Index s. v. [Reinsch/Kambylis]), as well as for other castles, including hill-top refuges (Lefort, Habitats 157), estate fortifications (Appendix no. 26), and rural monastic enclosures (Acta et diplomata VI 81 [Miklosich/Müller]). In the *typikon* of Pakourianos (Pakourianos, Typikon I. 1083), instead of *kastellion* we find *kastron*, used for small towns (Pakourianos, Typikon II. 291. 303. 355), the monastery of Petritzos (Pakourianos, Typikon I. 263), and fortifications associated with estates (see below note 52).
- 20 Macedonia: Appendix no. 28. Lemnos: Lavra III Appendix XI (after 1346), l. 34: μετόχιον ... μετά τοῦ καστelliου καὶ πύργου; Pantokrator no. 25 (1442), ll. 6f.: πύργον ... μετὰ καστelliου.
- 21 Vatopedi III no. 165 (1387), l. 17: πύργον ... μετ' αὐλῆς ὡς καστelliον ἐκτισμένης.
- 22 Appendix no. 43. Vatopedi II no. 99, l. 4: φρούριον, πύργον καὶ καστ[ελλιου?] ὄσον ἐποίησα; *kastellion* is partly legible but appears as the most likely term.
- 23 Appendix no. 17. The *phourion* of Hagios Mamas may have resembled the *phourion* protecting a small village of farmers called Sakkous near Selymbria in Thrace; according to John Kantakouzenos it was of mediocre construction and was easily overrun by the men of Andronikos III in 1322: Iōannēs Kantakouzenos, Historiāi 144f.; cf. 136.
- 24 The image offered by the remains of towers in the region, also largely concentrated in the coastal zone, concords with the information provided in the documents (map 2). See, however, above note 7, on the potential pitfalls of this evidence.
- 25 Appendix nos 22. 27. 44; see also the cases of Chandax and Eukarpia (Zekos, Strymon figs 6-9) and that of Krouna. Note the case of Stomion 2 that seems to have been built on flat ground (Appendix no. 13).

structures indicate that it was also possible for estate fortifications to stand right next to the sea, on cliffs or flat ground<sup>26</sup>.

Building a fortification was a significant investment. The little data we have, mostly regarding towers, show that hundreds of *hyperpyra* were required for their construction<sup>27</sup>. The money covered the cost of materials and the wages of skilled workers<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, much of the work must have been done by local peasants. It seems that landowners often required their *paroikoi* to provide labor towards the construction of the fortifications something that sometimes led to disputes. On certain occasions, peasants may have also joined forces voluntarily with landowners<sup>29</sup>.

## The function of estate fortifications

The use of towers, normally together with a number of other buildings, as an estate's administrative centre has already been noted. In principle, landowners could also build fortifications on their estates for other reasons, in particular, as watchtowers or hill-top refuges, but there is little evidence of such fortifications<sup>30</sup>. At least in the case of towers, our evidence suggests that they typically formed part of the estate's administrative centre. In addition to the descriptions available of such complexes, the remains of circuit walls attached to towers also support this idea<sup>31</sup>. One should add here the above-mentioned practice of using the term *pyrgos* to mean *metochion*, a semantic confusion that would only be possible if the tower was the estate's administrative centre<sup>32</sup>. No less important is the fact that most of the towers whose location is documented were situated inland and/or on almost flat ground, in positions that were neither easy to defend nor particularly well suited as vantage points. For the

same reason, the great majority of surviving structures should be included in the same category of towers belonging to an estate's administrative centre<sup>33</sup>. In the following, I shall focus on this type of tower.

Towers were not among the buildings that were essential for the management and exploitation of an estate, that is, residences for the local intendant and workers, shelters for animals and storage space protected from the elements and thieves. Indeed, not all large estates had a tower at their administrative centre. Some estates seem to have acquired towers centuries after their creation<sup>34</sup>. At least for the Late Byzantine period, however, our sources clearly indicate that the erection of towers was, along with the settlement of peasants, one of the typical investments landowners made in order to establish an estate or restore the exploitation of a deserted property<sup>35</sup>. One of the most eloquent examples comes from outside Macedonia and concerns an estate of the patriarchate near Constantinople. Before 1384, the property was deserted as most of its peasants had been enslaved and the remaining ones had fled »since there was no fortification (*phourion*) there«. The patriarch decided to build a tower, establish plowing teams and plant a vineyard. By 1384, peasants had settled there, again making it a productive estate<sup>36</sup>. Monasteries sometimes had their towers built or paid for by third parties, usually laymen, either in the form of a donation or under other arrangements<sup>37</sup>. The initiative to erect a tower did not always come from the landowner. Two examples show that this could be done at the instigation of the emperor, obviously in an attempt to protect the settlements of a region<sup>38</sup>.

There is no doubt that the erection of estate fortifications was primarily a response to insecurity in the countryside. As our sources keep telling us, during times of attack, towers

26 Appendix nos 26. 40; cf. nos 9 and 12 and the still standing tower of Nea Phokaia: Papangelos, Chalkidike 86.

27 The tower of Vatopedi at Semalton seems to have cost at least 300 *hyperpyra* (Appendix no. 43); prince Lazar gave 1,000 *hyperpyra* and other materials to the monks of the tower of Chryse so that they could build a tower in Serbia: Chilandar no. 158 (1388), ll. 116-119. Before 1384, patriarch Neilos spent more than 5,000 *hyperpyra* on the construction of a tower near Constantinople, the establishment of plowing teams (*zeugaria*) and on planting a vineyard: Acta et diplomata II 63 (Miklosich/Müller).

28 See the list of expenses made for the building of the tower of Semalton around 1348: Vatopedi II no. 99. On the materials used in tower construction, see also Chilandar no. 158, ll. 118f.

29 For an example where *paroikoi* were apparently requested to contribute to the construction of a tower, see Appendix no. 43 and the discussion in Smyrlis, »Our lord and father« 785. The fact that George Astras declares that his tower at Moudros, in Lemnos, was built without having recourse to labor service (*angareia*) suggests that it was common for *paroikoi* to offer work for the construction of fortifications: Vatopedi II no. 114 (1359), l. 35. Some at least of the peasants who built the *phourion* of Hagios Mamas, belonging to Vatopedi, seem to have done so without having been requested to offer labor services: Appendix no. 17 and Smyrlis, »Our lord and father« 788-790. A letter written by George Oinaiotes in the 1320s reports that the inhabitants of a village near Ganos in Thrace had gone to the coast in order to build a tower »for security«; neither the initiator of the project nor the exact function of the tower is clear here, only that it was the peasants who constructed the fortification: Oinaiotes 26.

30 See the *pyrgos* destined to serve as a hill-top refuge in the *typikon* of Pakourianos (Pakourianos, *Typikon* II. 1555-1558). The *kastellion* of Libyzasda also seems to have been distinct from the estate's *metochion* (Appendix no. 26).

Nikos Oikonomides has suggested that the two towers near the ford of Marmarion on the Strymon not only protected the peasants of the estates in which they were erected but also functioned as points of collection of passage dues: Oikonomides, *The Medieval Via Egnatia* 16.

31 On the descriptions of administrative centres and the circuit walls, see above notes 15-16.

32 Appendix *passim*.

33 Cf. the remarks of Papangelos, *Pyrgoi* 136; Zekos, *Strymon* 312 and Dunn, *Khrysoupolis* 607. See also Lock, *Greece 138* on the predominance of »agricultural« and »domestic« towers in southern Greece.

34 Appendix nos 13. 43.

35 Appendix nos 1. 11. 14. 20. Cf. Grčke povelje no. 34. – Iviron IV no. 99 (1430-1448). The fortification at the village of Hagios Mamas also coincided with the settlement of new peasants: Appendix no. 17. Cf. also the examples of tower construction in recently acquired estates: *ibidem* nos 2 and 22.

36 Acta et diplomata II 62-36 (Miklosich/Müller). Other examples from outside Macedonia include the construction of a tower and settlement of peasants in an abandoned village in Lemnos (Pantocrator no. 20 [1394], l. 4-9), and the restoration, after 1402, of a destroyed tower near Constantinople as part of the effort to render an estate productive again (Matthaios I, *Epiteleutios boulésis* 480, ll. 314-320).

37 Appendix nos 14. 40. 43; cf. no. 38. See also the case of the tower of »Marmarion« and the towers built or paid for by prince Lazar and Astras: above notes 14. 27. 29.

38 Appendix no. 14. The monks of Kosmidion constructed a tower outside Raides-tos at the request of Emperor Andronikos III; it is not clear however whether this tower was located within an estate of the monastery: Kosmidion, *Chrysobul* 268.

provided refuge for the people living there and sometimes also for the neighbours<sup>39</sup>. The aggressors are only rarely identified specifically but would have been bandits, small raiding parties or pirates. Towers, either with or without a circuit wall, could not resist anything larger, nor could they withstand a protracted siege<sup>40</sup>. Though hardly ever mentioned, besides men, fortifications also protected the wealth kept at the centre of the estate, such as cattle, equipment, agricultural produce and cash. Of course, the most valuable asset of any estate were the farmers cultivating the lands and paying rents and taxes. There is no doubt that landowners had an interest in protecting the manpower on their estates, however, less obvious is the fact that the fortifications they built were designed to provide protection not only for the administrative personnel but for *paroikoi* as well. This raises the question of the fortifications' defensive capacity. How many people could take refuge in a tower? Were the circuit walls defensible? Not counting the ground floor, where provisions would be kept, a hypothetical five-floor tower, whose interior measured 6 m × 6 m, would have a usable surface area of 144 m<sup>2</sup>. One can imagine that, at times of danger and for short periods, such a space could accommodate dozens of people, admittedly under cramped conditions. Given that in Late Medieval Macedonia the population of estate settlements or hamlets ranged between 40 and 80 inhabitants, this means that the tower alone could provide provisional security to all or most of the *paroikoi*<sup>41</sup>. In the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, six estates with towers belonging to Vatopedi possessed between 2 and 24 peasant households<sup>42</sup>. As suggested, estate towers were normally attached to a circuit wall. To the extent that these enclosures were defensible, the number of people that could take refuge there would grow substantially. Such fortifications could also keep traction animals, small flocks of sheep and the stored agricultural produce out of the plunderers' reach. Although relatively few texts state that peasants were settled around the towers, given the security advantages a fortified farm complex offered, this may have not been a rare phenomenon.

Besides protecting the existing *paroikoi* of an estate, fortifications no doubt made the estates on which they stood attractive to peasants living in other, less protected areas<sup>43</sup>. A possible example of such a relocation concerns certain estates of Iviron in the Pangaion and the Symbolon. Before 1341, the

*paroikoi* living there had fled the monastery's properties in order to seek refuge on other landowners' estates, according to one act, or in *kastra*, according to another<sup>44</sup>. The construction of a fortification by Vatopedi at Hagios Mamas in the late 1340s may be seen as an effort to both protect the existing *paroikoi* and attract additional ones from elsewhere. Indeed, the construction of this *phourion* coincided with the arrival at Hagios Mamas of peasants who had just left their homes in Kassandra<sup>45</sup>.

An additional consideration that, in some cases, may have contributed to a landowner's decision to build a tower relates to the residential function of these structures. Towers provided a visiting landlord with appropriate accommodation, both protected and befitting his status, whether this was a layman or the *hegoumenos* or *megas oikonomos* of a monastery. We know that aristocrats retiring in the Holy Mountain sometimes chose to live, together with their companions and servants, in towers; in fact, only the wealthiest could afford such residences<sup>46</sup>. We may have an allusion to the residential function of towers in two cases in which laymen made arrangements regarding the shared use of the fortifications they had built<sup>47</sup>.

Estate towers also served some other less practical but no less real needs of landowners. These impressive constructions that dominated the surrounding countryside were symbols of the landlord's power. They emphasised that person's or institution's superiority and authority over the *paroikoi*, who were obliged to pay taxes and rents and offer labor services. Towers also demonstrated the landowner's power to the neighbouring landlords with whom he sometimes had to compete for the control of lands and peasants. Fortifications were obviously a way of asserting property rights. The monogram of Docheiariou on the tower of Mariana and the inscriptions on those of the Pantokrator at the Strymon and Iviron at Hierissos suggest that this type of ownership marking was common. Beyond their apotropaic role, the holy images that apparently adorned the arched recesses over the towers' entrances may also have played a similar role, by depicting a saint associated with the landowner.

39 Appendix nos 13-14. 17. 38. 40. Cf. Chilandar no. 145 (1356), ll. 31-35, on a tower – obviously with a circuit wall – built at an Athonite dependency of Chilandar in order to provide security for both animals and men. I know only one document indicating explicitly that a tower would provide refuge to the estate's peasants; it comes from a Thessalian monastery: Grčke povelje no. 34 (1366), ll. 34-35 (Soloviev/Mošin).

40 Cf. Giros, Poliorcétique 421. On the limited defensive capacity of towers in southern Greece, see Lock, Greece 138.

41 On the population of hamlets (*hameaux*), distinct from villages, see Lefort, Population 238 (on average ten or 20 households); I have accepted that each household would have four members.

42 In 1338, Hagios Mamas had 16 households, Hermeleia six and Eladiaba two: Vatopédi II no. 81 (Appendix nos 16. 20. 30); in the same year, Komantize-Makrochorion had 18 households: Vatopédi II no. 82 (Appendix no. 1).

See also the cases of Chotolibos and Zabernikeia, which had acquired a tower before 1356 (ibidem nos 42. 44); towards 1322-1326, these estates had 19 and 24 households respectively: Vatopédi II no. 70.

43 Cf., for the 10<sup>th</sup> c., the remarks in Lefort, Macédoine 79.

44 Iviron IV no. 87A (1341), ll. 234-237; no. 91 (1351), ll. 55-57.

45 Appendix no. 17.

46 Theocharides, Kaletzē 201 f. John VI Kantakouzenos himself may have stayed in the tower whose construction or reconstruction he had financed on Mt Athos: cf. Vatopédi II 20. On the use of towers as residences, see also the remarks of Lock, Greece 139.

47 Arsenios Tzamlakon allowed his two brothers to also use his tower at Galikos: Appendix no. 3; George Astras donated a tower in Lemnos to Vatopedi with the agreement that its possession would be shared between himself and the monks: Vatopédi II no. 114 (1359).

## Towards a history of estate fortifications in Macedonia

Systematic surveys and excavations alone are capable of remedying some of the deficiencies of our sources and of allowing us to draw safer conclusions on the history of estate fortifications in Macedonia. One of the greatest problems of our documentation concerns the above-mentioned lack of information for the period before the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which makes it hard to distinguish the evolution of fortifications.

It has been suggested that private towers became more prevalent in Macedonia after the 12<sup>th</sup> century under the combined effect of the generalisation of large landholding and increased insecurity<sup>48</sup>. Numerous since at least the 10<sup>th</sup> century, estates proliferated in the following centuries thanks to the creation of agricultural units within the territory of villages or through the absorption of entire villages. The positive demographic trend and the expansion of the cultivable land that took place until some time in the 14<sup>th</sup> century contributed to this process<sup>49</sup>. After the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the breaking up of large imperial estates to form *pronoiai* led to the creation of additional privately held estates<sup>50</sup>. If we are relatively confident about the main trends in the evolution of the economy, society and administration, our knowledge regarding security in the countryside, the other major parameter with regard to fortifications, is patchy. Although there is no doubt that conditions in Macedonia were unsettled in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and again from the early 14<sup>th</sup> to the end of Byzantine rule, it is less clear what the situation was in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, which were periods of peace for most of the empire's European lands<sup>51</sup>.

In any case, the little information we have from this time suggests that private fortifications, constructed by laymen or monasteries, were not uncommon. In the *typikon* for the monastery of Petritzos founded near Philippoupolis by Gregory Pakourianos (1083), there are references to fortifications (*kastra*) associated with the founder's estates, two of which he had built himself<sup>52</sup>. That Pakourianos was concerned with violence becomes clear from a passage where he instructs the monks to erect a tower on the hill situated near his hostel at Stenimachos that would serve as a refuge in the event of a brigand (*biaios*) attack<sup>53</sup>. Admittedly, this text comes from one of the least peaceful decades of the Middle Byzantine

period and largely concerns an area exposed to enemy raids. Estate fortifications were erected in other regions of the empire as well, including southeastern Macedonia. References to such constructions are rare but so are the Athonite documents available from this time (tab. 1)<sup>54</sup>. Some of the ruined towers that appear in the later evidence may have belonged to estates from the Middle Byzantine period; their abandonment may be ascribed to discontinuity in the estates' ownership<sup>55</sup>. Maybe more significant with regard to the 11<sup>th</sup> century is the image offered by the properties of the monastery of Iviron in 1104. Of the eight estates Iviron held in Chalkidike, the Strymon valley and the Pangaion-Symbolon region, only two possessed a fortification<sup>56</sup>.

Of special note is the case of the isthmus of Mount Athos, where non-archival sources attest the construction of two towers in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>57</sup>. These sources and the later evidence revealing a dense network of fortifications in place by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century suggest that towers may have been relatively common in the isthmus already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At least as far as the 13<sup>th</sup> century is concerned, the case of the Athonite isthmus may not be exceptional. Estate fortifications may have been common at this time in other regions as well. In fact, the image of extensive fortifications in the isthmus may be attributed to the relatively good documentation we possess. There are more 13<sup>th</sup>-century documents concerning the isthmus than there are regarding all the rest of the Chalkidike.

Nevertheless, our evidence does suggest that the construction of estate fortifications was particularly intense during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. As already observed, certain old estates seem to have acquired a fortification only towards the middle of that century. We have also noted the tendency of our sources at this time to associate the construction of a tower with the proper exploitation of an estate, in a way not seen before. The confusion between the terms *metochion* and *pyrgos*, seen already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, seems to have become commonplace from around the middle of the following century and remained so in the early 15<sup>th</sup>. This also suggests that, during this period, an estate typically included a tower. The evidence provided by the archives of Vatopedi concerning the two decades leading to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is striking. Between 1329 and 1350, the monastery constructed at least six fortifications on estates located from Berroia to Mount Pangaion passing through Chalkidike. Only some of these estates were new acquisitions<sup>58</sup>. This wave of building

48 Lefort, *Habitats* 159. – Cf. Lefort, *Macédoine* 80.

49 See the discussion concerning western Chalkidike in Lefort, *Population* 234–237.

50 Cf. Lefort, *Habitats* 159.

51 Piracy is mentioned as a threat in Mt Athos in the mid- to late 12<sup>th</sup> c.: Lavra I no. 62 (1153), l. 15; no. 63 (1154), l. 25; Iviron II 9, *Synodikon* no. 145 (1170–1183/1184). On seaborne attacks in the Aegean during the 12<sup>th</sup> c., see Magdalino, *Manuel I 137–140 and Ahrweiler, Byzance* 288–291.

52 Pakourianos built two *kastra* on his estates at Stenimachos (Pakourianos, *Typikon* II 272–275). Other *kastra* that may have been associated with estates: *ibidem* II. 280–282. 344f.; cf. l. 394.

53 Pakourianos, *Typikon* II. 1555–1558.

54 The earliest mention of a private tower in Macedonia, situated inside a village, comes from a 9<sup>th</sup>-c. saint's Life: Lefort, *Macédoine* 79f. From outside Macedonia, see the case of the tower on an estate in Leros (above note 15). The fortune Isaac Komnenos dedicated to the monastery of Kosmosoteira in 1152, made of 30 villages or estates centred on the Maritsa delta in Thrace, apparently included only two *kastra* associated with estates (Neokastron and Aetos): Kosmosotira, *Typikon* 52f.; but we cannot know whether or not the other estates had towers.

55 Appendix nos 12. 23. 35; cf. no. 36.

56 Iviron II no. 52.

57 Appendix nos 38. 40.

58 Appendix nos 1. 2. 16. 17. 20. 43. Several other fortifications on estates of Vatopedi are mentioned for the first time in the 1330s and 1350s: *ibidem* nos 4. 5. 42. 44.



activity is not only testimony to the monastery's increased resources but it also conveys a sense of urgency. Given the defensive capacities of these fortifications, their multiplication makes sense at a time of increased insecurity and likely competition for manpower. Though the threat of piracy for the coastal zone is well attested at this time, estates further inland were also deemed worth fortifying as, for example, in the case of the properties of Vatopedi in Berroia<sup>59</sup>. One should not underestimate the contribution of emulation in the multiplication of towers. As towers became more and more common, largely in reaction to security concerns, there must have been greater pressure on estate owners to construct such fortifications on their property in order to compete for peasant settlers but also so that they could qualify as powerful landlords.

Finally, in the case of Chalkidike, the construction of dozens of towers in the coastal zone during the Late Byzantine period represents an immense effort in protecting estates and peasants and maintaining productivity in what constitutes the peninsula's most fertile region. After the arrival of the plague, fortification, sometimes coupled with the settlement of new peasants, helped limit the tendency to abandon those areas.

## Appendix: Estate fortifications in Macedonia, 982-1420

### Key

Name: of the estate where the fortification was located; in brackets: unclear whether the fortification was built in relation to an estate; underlined: certain or likely remains of the fortification exist.

Location: of the estate. Concerning today's administrative division of Greece they all belong to the *periféreia* of Central Macedonia.

Date: of the fortification's construction; followed by asterisk: closely dated construction.

Type: term(s) used for the fortification.

Siting, aspect, builder: of the fortification.

Owner: of the estate, including the fortification.

Mention(s): of the fortification in Greek documents in the Athonite archives.

Function: of the fortification as stated in the documents or other contemporary texts.

History of property: information regarding the estate's ownership history and the fortification's construction.

### Region of Berroia

#### 1. Komanitze

Location: Vatopédi II 31-33.

Date: 1329-1338\*.

<sup>59</sup> The evidence concerning Turkish piratical attacks on Mt Athos during the 14<sup>th</sup> c. is abundant: Živojinović, Assaults.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Builder and owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 82, line 10).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired the estate of Komanitze from Theodoros Sarantenos in 1328 (Vatopédi I 20). The monastery seems to have settled peasants there soon before 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 82, notes).

#### 2. Skoteinou

Location: Vatopédi II 32; 33.

Date: soon before 1338\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Builder and owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 82, line 14).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired the estate of Skoteinou from Theodoros Sarantenos in 1328 (Vatopédi I 20).

### Region of Thessalonike

#### 3. Galikos

Location: Vatopédi II 31.

Date: 1334-1342\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Builder: Arsenios Tzemplakon.

Owner: Arsenios Tzemplakon; passed to Vatopedi in 1356.

Mention: 1356 (Vatopédi II no. 107, line 21).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired the estate of Galikos from Arsenios Tzemplakon in 1356. Arsenios seems to have inherited his lands at Galikos from his father since the estate was divided among three brothers in 1356. Arsenios must have built the tower after acquiring the estate following his father's death (d. after 1334) and probably before his forced stay in Thessalonike under the Zealots between 1342 and 1347 (PLP Nos 27748; 27752); it is less likely that he built it between 1347 and 1355, when conditions around Thessalonike were unsettled. Arsenios' brothers together owned half of the original estate and Arsenios allowed them to use the tower (*μετέχουσαι ... ἐξ ἡμισείας*), himself having the main claim to its use for his own enjoyment.

#### 4. Kalokairides

Location: Vatopédi II 30.

Date: before 1339.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1339 (Vatopédi II no. 84, lines 2; 9).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired properties at Kalokairides before 1339 (Vatopédi II no. 84, lines 2; 4).

### Region of Lake Langadas

#### 5. Raphalion

Location: Vatopédi I 35.

Date: before 1338.

Type: *kastellion*.

Builder and owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 81A, line 81).

History of property: Vatopedi had owned property at Raphalion since before 1080 (Vatopédi I 23).

## Kalamaria

### 6. Abramitai-Neochorion

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 26 and map 11.

Date: soon after 1378\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: Lefort, Chalcidique 26 and map 11 no. 8.

Aspect: houses attached to the tower in 1405 (Eulogios, Chrysoboulla 705); had five floors (Lefort, Chalcidique 26).

Builder: Radosthlabos Sampias (Schatzkammer no. 11).

Owner: Radosthlabos Sampias; passed to the Hagios Paulos monastery in 1405 (Schatzkammer no. 11; Eulogios, Chrysoboulla 705).

Mentions: 1378 (Schatzkammer no. 11: construction of tower planned), 1405 (Eulogios, Chrysoboulla 705).

History of property: Radosthlabos probably acquired the villages of Abramitai-Neochorion before 1371, during the Serbian rule of Kalamaria; in 1378, Andronikos IV gave him permission to build a tower there and to pass the estate on to his sons (Schatzkammer no. 11); the tower was no doubt built soon after that date.

### 7. Bolbos

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 42 and map 9.

Date: before 1079.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: ruins of *metochion* indicated in Lefort, Bolbos 92 f. 100; cf. Lefort, Chalcidique map 9 no. 17.

Aspect: five floors (πεντάπατος); situated in a courtyard that included a church and several other buildings; a wall surrounded the complex (ὑπὸ αὐλῆς καὶ πυλῶνος; Iviron II no. 52, lines 434-437).

Owner: Iviron.

Mentions: 1079 (Iviron II no. 41; *metochion* of »the Theotokos of the *pyrgos*«), 1104 (ibidem no. 52, lines 434-437), 1259 (Iviron III no. 58; *metochion* of »the Theotokos of the *pyrgos*«), 1283 (ibidem no. 62; same), 1310 (ibidem no. 72; same).

Function: grain storage (Iviron II no. 52, lines 434 f.: χρηματίζων εἰς ῥωγούς).

History of property: Iviron had owned an estate at Bolbos since its foundation in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century (Iviron I 28).

### 8. Loroton

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 94 and map 11.

Date: probably before 1371.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Lavra.

Mention: 1378 (Lavra III no. 149).

History of property: Lavra had owned the village of Loroton since 1104 (Lavra I no. 56). Having been confiscated probably in 1371 (cf. Lavra IV 125), it was ceded in 1378 to the third consecutive *pronoia* holder (Lavra III no. 149); the quick turn-

over of *pronoia* holders after 1371 suggests that the tower was built by Lavra.

### 9. [Oxynon 1]

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 111 and maps 9-10.

Date: before 1301.

Type: *pyrgos* (identical to the tower under Oxynon 2?).

Siting: by the coast (see mentions); Lefort, Chalcidique 111 and map 10 no. 25.

Owner: monastery of Linobrocheion; passed to Lavra around 1309.

Mentions: 1301 (Iviron III no. 70, line 373), 1318 (ibidem no. 75, line 507), 1320 (ibidem no. 79, line 497), 1321 (Lavra II no. 108, line 329); 1324 (Iviron III no. 80, line 42), 1341 (Iviron IV no. 86, line 388).

History of property: the estate belonged to the monastery of Linobrocheion and was acquired by Lavra around 1309 (Lavra IV 92).

### 10. Oxynon 2

Location: see Oxynon 1.

Date: before 1351.

Type: *pyrgos* (identical to the tower under Oxynon 1?).

Owner: Lavra.

Mentions: 1351 (Docheiariou no. 27, line 5; *pyrgos* = *metochion*), 1354 or 1369 (ibidem no. 28, line 21; same).

History of property: see Oxynon 1.

### 11. Rosaion

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 140 and map 9.

Date: 1337-1341\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Docheiariou.

Mentions: 1341 (Iviron IV no. 86, line 324; *pyrgos* = *metochion*), 1343 (Docheiariou no. 21, lines 21; 37), 1351 (ibidem no. 27, line 5; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Docheiariou had owned properties at Rosaion since 1117 (Docheiariou no. 4); certain lands of Docheiariou at Rosaion were confiscated in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century but were fully recovered by 1337; soon after, the monks carried out investments there, settling peasants and building a tower (cf. ibidem 140 f.; 145 f.).

### 12. [Stomion 1]

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 175 and map 11.

Date: before 1338; in ruins at that date (*palaios pyrgos*).

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: on a cliff by the coast (see mention); Lefort, Chalcidique 175 and map 11 no. 14; cf. identification of its remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 138.

Mention: 1338 (Xénophon no. 25, line 17).

### 13. Stomion 2

Location: see Stomion 1.

Date: before 1338.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: in the middle of the *metochion* of Stomion (Xénophon no. 25, line 15); built on flat land, it was once at risk of flooding (ibidem no. 27, lines 24-28); Lefort, Chalcidique 175 and map 11 no. 11; cf. identification of remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 138.

Aspect: circuit wall (Xénophon no. 27, line 28: ἕξω τεῖχος τοῦ πύργου).

Builder and owner: Xenophon.

Mentions: 1338 (Xénophon no. 25, lines 15; 24; 31), ca. 1344 (ibidem no. 27, lines 11; 27f.).

Function: place of refuge during emergencies, not only for the people of Stomion but also for the people of the neighbouring estate of Neochorion that belonged to Lavra (ibidem no. 27, lines 11f.: ἐν ᾧ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων καὶ οἱ τοῦ μέρους τῆς Λάβρας ἐν ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς σῶζονται).

History of property: Stomion had been the property of Xenophon since the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Xénophon 17f.; 31). The tower seems to have been built within living memory before ca. 1344, when the monks of Xenophon mentioned the great expenses they had incurred to construct it (ibidem no. 27, line 11).

## Peninsula of Kassandra

### 14. Mariskin

Location: Dionysiou 83; 116-118; Lavra IV map 5 on p. 109.

Date: 1418-1420\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Builder: Despot Andronikos for Dionysiou.

Owner: Dionysiou.

Mention: 1420 (Dionysiou no. 18, line 3).

Function: for the protection and security (πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν) of those who were going to settle at Mariskin (Dionysiou no. 13, lines 3f.).

History of property: Dionysiou acquired the deserted village of Mariskin between 1408 and 1417 thanks to donations by Emperor John VII and Despot Andronikos. Dionysiou had promised to build a tower there in 1408 but had been unable to do so until 1418, when the despot decided to pay for the construction of the tower in exchange for prayers. By 1420, the tower had been built and the lands of the estate were under cultivation (Dionysiou 15).

### 15. Sibre

Location: Xénophon 32; Vatopédi II 28 no. 220.

Date: before 1335-1338.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Xenophon?

Mention: ca. 1335-1338 (Vatopédi II no. 79, lines 15f.; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Xenophon had owned properties at Sibre since the late 11<sup>th</sup> century; in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century it retained an important winter pasture there (Xénophon 17; 31f.).

## Gulf of Kassandra

### 16. Hagios Mamas (*metochion*)

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 147 and map 8.

Date: soon before 1329\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: of *metochion* indicated in Lefort, Chalcidique 148 and map 8 no. 11.

Builder and owner: Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1329 (Vatopédi I no. 68), 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 81A, line 54), 1348 (ibidem no. 97), 1356 (ibidem no. 108), 1369 (ibidem no. 130, line 8; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Vatopedi owned property at Hagios Mamas already in 1300 (Vatopédi I no. 29); Hagios Mamas is mentioned as a *metochion* in 1301 (ibidem no. 31).

### 17. Hagios Mamas (*village*)

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 147 and map 8.

Date: 1346-1350\*.

Type: *teichos*, *phourion*.

Aspect: ca. 1358 it included 73 peasant houses (Vatopédi II no. 112).

Builder: Vatopedi, with the help of the peasants settled there.

Owner: Vatopedi (lost to the Byzantine fisc 1350-1357).

Mention: 1358 (Vatopédi II no. 111).

Function: as defense against enemy attacks (διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔφοδον); for the protection of the country (ὑπὲρ τῆς βίγλας); for the security of all (διὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀσφάλειαν).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired the village of Hagios Mamas in 1346 (Vatopédi II no. 93); constructed the fortification before 1350 (ibidem no. 111, notes).

### 18. Hermeleia (*Docheiariou*)

Location: SW of Hormylia; cf. Xéropotamou 211.

Date: before 1409.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Docheiariou.

Mention: 1409 (Docheiariou no. 53, lines 3; 7; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Docheiariou had owned lands in Hermeleia since the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and acquired more properties there during the same century (Docheiariou 16-21); in 1313, the monastery had a *metochion* there (ibidem no. 13); in 1343, its possessions are called *zeugelateion* (ibidem no. 21).

### 19. Hermeleia (*Lavra*)

Location: Lavra IV 81 f.

Date: before 1324.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. Papangelos, Pyrgoi, 147.

Owner: Lavra.

Mention: 1324 (Lavra II no. 114, line 6).

History of property: Lavra had owned a *metochion* at Hermeleia since before 1259; its properties increased in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (Lavra IV 78f.).

## 20. Hermeleia (Vatopedi)

Location: Vatopédi II 27.

Date: soon before 1338\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: of *metochion* indicated in Bellier et al., *Paysages* 192; on the site of the tower, cf. Papangelos, *Pyrgoi*, 147 f.

Aspect: the peasants were settled around the tower (Vatopédi II no. 81 [1338], line 9)

Builder and owner: Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1338 (Vatopédi II no. 81A, line 8), 1356 (*ibidem* no. 108, line 15), 1380 (Vatopédi III no. 162, lines 6; 33; *pyrgos* = *metochion*); ca. 1381 (Docheiariou no. 48, lines 12; 28; 35; same); 1409 (Vatopédi III no. 200, lines 4; 17; same). History of property: Vatopedi had owned property at Hermeleia since before 1307 and a *metochion* by 1329 (Vatopédi I 18). The peasants attested there in 1338 seem to have been recent settlers since they owned no land and are called *proskathemenoi* (Vatopédi II no. 81).

## 21. Hermeleia (Xeropotamou)

Location: S of Hormylia; cf. Xéropotamou 211.

Date: before 1407.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. the identification of its remains in Papangelos, *Pyrgoi* 147.

Owner: Xeropotamou.

Mention: 1414, regarding an affair of 1407 (Docheiariou no. 54, line 4).

History of property: Xeropotamou acquired a *metochion* in Hermeleia in 1270-1274; its properties expanded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Xéropotamou 24).

## 22. Mariana

Location: Lefort, Chalcidique 98 and map 8.

Date: 1373-1375\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: still standing on a low hill; Lefort, Chalcidique 98 and map 8 no. 1.

Aspect: the mention of additional defensive infrastructure suggests the existence of a circuit wall (Docheiariou no. 43, lines 9 f.: πύργον ... και άλλα πολλά υπέρ φυλακῆς και ασφαλείας; no. 44, lines 7 f.: πύργον ... και άλλα ὅσα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἀφορῶσιν). Description of surviving structures: Orlandos, Olynthos; Theocharides, Mariana.

Builder and owner: Docheiariou.

Mention: 1375 (Docheiariou nos 43-44).

History of property: Docheiariou bought a deserted estate at Mariana in 1373 for 600 *hyperpyra* (*ibidem* no. 42).

## Peninsula of Longos

### 23. [Neakitou 1]

Location: Xénophon map on p. 34.

Date: before 1312; in ruins at that date (*palaiopyrgos*).

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: inland, approx. 1.3 km (53 *schoinia*) from the gulf of Kassandra; on the site of the tower, cf. Papangelos, *Pyrgoi* 148.

Mentions: 1312 (Xéropotamou no. 16, line 138), 1318 (Xénophon no. 12, line 29; no. 13, line 96).

### 24. Neakitou 2

Location: Xénophon map on p. 34.

Date: before 1318.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: apparently at the centre of the estate's settlement, including 31 families of *paroikoi* (Xénophon no. 25, line 96); on the site of the tower, cf. Papangelos, *Pyrgoi* 148.

Owner: Xenophon.

Mentions: 1318 (Xénophon no. 12, line 26; no. 13, line 90), 1338 (*ibidem* no. 25, line 96), 1352 (*ibidem* no. 29, line 12; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Xenophon had apparently owned properties at Neakitou since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The monastery's possessions there increased in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Xénophon 36-40). In 1318, there is mention of a *metochion* at Neakitou (*ibidem* no. 12, line 14).

## Eastern Chalkidike

### 25. [Kamena]

Location: Iviron II 45 and map.

Date: before 1071.

Type: *pyrgos* (called »του Κουνουπε«).

Mention: 1071 (Iviron II no. 39, line 19).

### 26. Libyzasda

Location: Iviron II 47 and map.

Date: before 1104.

Type: *kastellion*.

Siting: on promontory of Stageira; ruins apparently preserved (Iviron II 47).

Builder and owner: Iviron.

Mention: 1104 (Iviron II no. 52, line 184).

History of property: Iviron had owned the estate since its foundation in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century (Iviron I 27).

### 27. Perigardikeia

Location: Docheiariou 51 f.

Date: before 1409.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: still standing on a low hill, not far from the coast; Papangelos, *Pyrgoi* 148; 150 f.

Owner: Docheiariou.

Mention: 1409 (Docheiariou no. 53, lines 2; 5; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Docheiariou had owned an estate in Perigardikeia since before 1037 (Docheiariou 6).

### 28. Rebenikeia

Location: Bellier et al., Paysages 234.

Date: before 1349.

Type: *kastellion* with *pyrgos* (Docheiariou no. 25, lines 6f.: τὸ καστέλλιον τὴν Ραβενίκαιαν σὺν τοῦ ἐκεῖσαι πύργου; lines 12f.: τὸ ... καστέλλιον τὴν Ἀραβενίκαιαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πύργου).

Owner: Docheiariou.

Mention: 1349 (Docheiariou no. 25).

History of property: Stefan Dušan donated the *kastellion*, along with its *paroikoi* and lands, to Docheiariou in 1349.

### Isthmus of Mount Athos

#### 29. [Diabripou]

Location: Ivron I map on p. 77.

Date: before 982; in ruins at that date (*palaios pyrgos*).

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: Ivron I 78 and map on p. 77 no. 4.

Mentions: 982 (Ivron I no. 4, lines 49; 55), 1047 (ibidem no. 29, line 11), 1101 (Ivron II no. 50, lines 6; 11), 1239/1240? (Vatopédi I no. 14, line 38); more mentions in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century: cf. ibidem 30 no. 276.

#### 30. Eladiaba

Location: Vatopédi I 30f.

Date: before 1239/1240?

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. Papangelos, Pyrgoi 152.

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1239/1240? (Vatopédi I no. 14, line 53; *periorismos* line 23), 1317 (Zographou no. 54, line 125), 1356 (Vatopédi II no. 108), 1409 (Vatopédi III no. 200, lines 4; 12; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Vatopedi already had a *metochion* at Eladiaba in 1101 (Vatopédi I 13).

#### 31. Hierissos (Ivron)

Location: Ivron I 79f. and map on p. 81 (Kolobou).

Date: 1259 to ca. 1279?

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. Ivron I 79 and map on p. 81 (Kolobou); cf. identification of the tower's remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 154; 156 (Koutsaki).

Owner: Ivron.

Mentions: 1283 (Ivron III no. 62), 1301 (ibidem no. 70, lines 205; 242?), 1310 (ibidem no. 72), 1318 (ibidem no. 75, lines 323; 368?), 1320 (ibidem no. 79, lines 304; 356?), 1341 (Ivron IV no. 86, lines 155; 194?), 1344 (ibidem no. 88), 1351 (ibidem nos 91-92).

History of property: Ivron had owned the *metochion* of Kolobou at Hierissos since its foundation (Ivron I 25). In 1259, its properties there increased (Ivron III 13-15). The tower was probably constructed between 1259 and 1279 (cf. ibidem 20f. and no. 62, line 8: tower included in a *praktikon* of ca. 1279).

#### 32. Hierissos (Karakala)

Date: between 1328 and 1356?

Type: *pyrgos*.

Builder and owner: Karakala.

Mention: 1356? (Smyrnakes, Hagion Oros 79).

History of property: Karakala apparently acquired the *metochion* of Hagios Nikolaos at Hierissos during the reign of Andronikos III (1328-1341); the monks seem to have constructed a tower there before 1356 (Smyrnakes, Hagion Oros 79; cf. Lemerle, Chrysobulle 434-437).

#### 33. Hierissos (Xeropotamou)

Location: Vatopédi I 236.

Date: before 1307.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Xeropotamou.

Mentions: 1307 (Vatopédi I no. 42, lines 1; 4; *pyrgos* = *metochion*), 1321 (Lavra II no. 108, line 689).

History of property: Xeropotamou had owned properties at Hierissos since the 10<sup>th</sup> century and already had a *metochion* in 1275 (Xéropotamou 24).

#### 34. Hierissos (Zographou)

Location: Lavra IV 76 and map on pp. 74f.

Date: before 1279.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. Papangelos, Pyrgoi 156.

Owner: Zographou.

Mentions: 1279 (Zographou no. 52, lines 7; 22f.; no. 53, line 21), 1300 (ibidem no. 15, line 40), 1317 (ibidem no. 54, lines 8; 24); 1320 (ibidem no. 17, line 74).

History of property: Zographou already had lands in Hierissos in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (ibidem nos 6. 7).

#### 35. [Katodaimones]

Location: cf. Lavra IV 77 and map on pp. 74f.

Date: before 1321; in ruins at that time (*palaiopyrgos*).

Type: *pyrgos* (called »Porta«).

Mention: 1321 (Lavra II no. 108, line 739).

#### 36. Preaulaka (Chilandar)

Location: Chilandar I 57 and map on p. 58.

Date: before 1274; in ruins at that time (*kechalasmenos*).

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. the identification of the tower's remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 152.

Owner: Chilandar.

Mentions: 1274 (Chilandar I no. 9, line 48), 1301 (Ivron III no. 70, line 256), 1318 (ibidem no. 75, line 387), 1320 (ibidem no. 79, line 375), 1341 (Ivron IV no. 86, lines 210f.).

History of property: Chilandar had apparently owned properties in Preaulaka since its foundation in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century (Chilandar I 35); in 1274, the monastery's *metochion* there was deserted and had been usurped by Xeropotamou (ibidem no. 9).

### 37. Preaulaka (Esphigmenou)

Location: Papangelos, Metochia 1597 and map on p. 1600.

Date: before 1318.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. the identification of the tower's remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 152.

Owner: Esphigmenou.

Mention: 1318 (Esphigménou no. 14, line 217).

History of property: Esphigmenou had a *metochion* at Preaulaka in 1258-1259; its properties expanded in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (Esphigménou 20; 24).

### 38. Preaulaka (Iviron)

Location: Iviron I 76-78; cf. Iviron III 33.

Date: 1170-1183/1184\*.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. Iviron I 78 and map on p. 77 no. 5 (Pyrgoudia); Papangelos, Metochia 1614f.; Papangelos, Pyrgoi 154; 156.

Builder: Iviron with money donated to the monastery.

Owner: Iviron.

Function: to offer protection against corsairs (Iviron II 9, Synodikon no. 145).

Mentions: 1259 (Iviron III no. 58), 1283 (ibidem no. 62), 1301 (ibidem no. 70, line 256), 1310 (ibidem no. 72), 1318 (ibidem no. 75, line 387), 1320 (ibidem no. 79, line 376), 1341 (Iviron IV no. 86, line 211).

History of property: Iviron owned lands at Preaulaka since its foundation (Iviron I 76), and a *metochion* in 1047 (ibidem 56).

The tower was built between 1170 and 1183/1184, according to the monastery's book of commemorations (Iviron II 9; Synodikon no. 145).

### 39. Preaulaka (Lavra)

Location: Lavra IV 76 and map on pp. 74f.

Date: before 1267.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: cf. the identification of the tower's remains in Papangelos, Pyrgoi 152.

Owner: Lavra.

Mentions: 1267 (Zographou no. 7, line 25), 1290s (Lavra II nos 84; 87; *pyrgos* = *metochion*; 88; same), 1298 (ibidem no. 89; same), 1301 (Esphigménou no. 10, line 24), 1329 (Lavra III no. 118; *pyrgos* = *metochion*), 1359 (Pavlikianov, Zografou no. 1; same).

History of property: Lavra already had lands at Preaulaka in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century (Lavra I 60; on the construction of the tower, cf. Lavra IV 70f.).

### 40. Prosporhion

Location: Vatopédi I 29f.

Date: 1197-1198?

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: still standing, by the sea; Papangelos, Pyrgoi, 152; 154f.

Builder: Simeon and Sava of Serbia for Vatopedi.

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1356 (Vatopédi II no. 108), 1409 (Vatopédi III no. 200, lines 4; 14; *pyrgos* = *metochion*); 1418 (ibidem no. 211, line 18; same); 1419 (ibidem no. 213; same).

Function: for the benefit of all as it protects the country (ibidem lines 8f.: *διὰ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων σύστασιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν, ἐπειδὴ εἰς βίγλας ἀρμόζει ὁ τοιοῦτος πύργος*).

History of property: Vatopedi already had a *metochion* at Prosporhion in 1018 (Vatopédi I 10). According to a hagiographic text written in 1253/1254, the tower was constructed between 1197 and 1198 (Chilandar I 24 no. 187).

### 41. Zygou

Location: Chilandar I 56 and map on p. 54 (Palaiokastron).

Date: before 1288; the monastery of Zygou is known since the late 10<sup>th</sup> century (Chilandar I 21).

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: may correspond to the monastic complex thought to have belonged to the monastery of Zygou (Papangelos, Zygou; Chilandar I map on p. 54: Phrangokastron).

Owner: Chilandar.

Mention: 1288 (Chilandar I no. 11, lines 10; 16; *pyrgos* = *metochion*).

History of property: Chilandar acquired Zygou and its territory in 1199 (Chilandar I 21).

### Valley of the Angites and Mount Pangaion

#### 42. Chotolibos

Location: Vatopédi I 36.

Date: before 1356.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1356 (Vatopédi II no. 108).

History of property: Vatopedi had owned the village of Chotolibos since before 1297 (Vatopédi I 17).

#### 43. Semalton

Location: Vatopédi I 36.

Date: 1348\*.

Type: *pyrgos* (also *phourion* and *kastellion*).

Aspect: probably had a circuit wall (*kastellion*).

Builder: at least in part, a certain Petros for Vatopedi (Vatopédi II nos 99-100, notes); the village's *paroikoi* may have been requested to offer labor (ibidem no. 101, notes).

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1348 (Vatopédi II nos 99-100), 1356 (ibidem no. 108).

History of property: Vatopedi acquired the village of Semalton in 1230 (Vatopédi I 14). Petros apparently spent 300 *hyperpyra* on the construction of the tower (Vatopédi II 226).

#### 44. Zabernikeia

Location: Vatopédi I 36.

Date: before 1356.

Type: *pyrgos*.

Siting: on a low hill; identification of tower's remains in Zekos, Strymon 320f. fig. 17f.

Owner: Vatopedi.

Mention: 1356 (Vatopédi II no. 108).

History of property: Vatopedi had owned the estate of Zabarnikeia (Abarnikeia) since before 1080 (Vatopédi I 12).

## Mount Symbolon

### 45. Prinarion

Location: Lavra IV 113-117; cf. also above note 18.

Date: before 1342.

Type: *kastellion* (called Sthlanesion or Slanesion).

Builder: Arsenios Tzemplakon.

Owner: Arsenios Tzemplakon; in 1355, it passed to Vatopedi.

Mentions: 1355 (Vatopédi II no. 105, line 20), 1356 (*ibidem* no. 107, line 8).

History of property: the property had been owned by the Tzemplakon family since the reign of John III Vatatzes (1222-1254). The lands on which Arsenios erected the *kastellion* were given to him by his father (still alive in 1334). Construction probably took place before Arsenios' forced stay in Thessalonike (1342-1347); it is unlikely that he built it later (1347-1355) when the region was under Serbian control (cf. above no. 3).

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## Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

### Gutsbefestigungen im spätbyzantinischen Makedonien: Belege in den Dokumenten vom Berg Athos

Basierend auf den Quellen aus den Archiven des Heiligen Berges Athos werden im Rahmen dieses Beitrags die Befestigungen – im Besonderen Türme – untersucht, die auf privaten Landgütern errichtet wurden. Im Mittelpunkt stehen Fragen nach Funktion und Bedeutung der Türme für die Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des spätbyzantinischen Makedonien. Es wird vorgeschlagen, dass die meisten nachgewiesenen Befestigungen zu den administrativen Zentralen der Landgüter gehörten. Errichtet von Laien oder klösterlichen Eigentümern gewährten sie den Bewohnern und Besitztümern der Gutshöfe sowie den angesiedelten Bauernfamilien Schutz vor Räufern. Ein dichtes Netz von Gutsbefestigungen war offensichtlich bereits im 13. Jahrhundert vorhanden und wurde im Laufe des 14. Jahrhunderts angesichts der zunehmenden Unsicherheit weiter ausgebaut. Damit hatten die Befestigungen einen wichtigen Anteil daran, die Bewirtschaftung einiger der produktivsten Landgüter der Region aufrechtzuerhalten.

Übersetzung: J. Drauschke

### Estate fortifications in Late Byzantine Macedonia: the Athonite evidence

Using the evidence provided by the archives of Mount Athos, this article studies the fortifications, in particular towers, which were built on private estates. Focusing on Late Byzantine southeastern Macedonia, it discusses the function of these fortifications and their significance for settlement and the economy. It is suggested that most attested fortifications belonged to the administrative centres of estates. Built by lay or monastic landowners, they provided protection from raiders for the estate's personnel and assets, as well as for the peasants settled there. A dense network of estate fortifications was apparently in place by the 13<sup>th</sup> century; construction intensified in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in response to increased insecurity. These fortifications contributed to the continued exploitation of some of the region's most productive estates.

### Fortifications des domaines ruraux de la Macédoine byzantine tardive: La documentation athonite

Cette étude aborde les fortifications – particulièrement les tours –, qui se dressaient dans les domaines privés, en recourant aux archives de la Sainte Montagne. Les questions concernant la fonction et l'importance des tours pour l'histoire du peuplement et de l'économie de la Macédoine à l'époque byzantine tardive retiennent particulièrement notre attention. L'étude suggère que la majorité des fortifications identifiées faisaient partie des centres administratifs des domaines. Érigées par des laïcs ou des monastères, elles protégeaient des pillards les habitants et propriétaires des domaines ruraux, ainsi que les familles de paysans qui y étaient installées. Un réseau dense de fortifications existait apparemment déjà au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle et fut élargi au cours du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle suite à l'insécurité croissante. Ces fortifications jouaient ainsi un rôle important dans le maintien de l'exploitation des domaines les plus productifs de la région.

Traduction: Y. Gautier