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978-1-107-00962-2 - Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia

Mark C. Bartusis

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Land and Privilege in Byzantium

A pronoia was a type of conditional grant from the emperor, often to soldiers, of various properties and privileges. In large measure the institution of pronoia characterized social and economic relations in later Byzantium, and its study is the study of later Byzantium. Filling the need for a comprehensive study of the institution, this book examines the origin, evolution, and characteristics of pronoia, focusing particularly on the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But the book is much more than a study of a single institution. With a broad chronological scope extending from the mid-tenth to the mid-fifteenth century, it incorporates the latest understanding of Byzantine agrarian relations, taxation, administration, and the economy, as it deals with relations between the emperor, monastic and lay landholders, including soldiers and peasants. Particular attention is paid to the relation between the pronoia and western European, Slavic, and Middle Eastern institutions, especially the Ottoman *timar*.

MARK C. BARTUSIS is Professor of History at Northern State University. He is an expert in later Byzantine political, social, and military history and author of *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453*.

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- [8.42] Act of the *apographeus* Manuel Manglavites for John Sgouros Orestes (1319/20, or perhaps 1304/5)
- [8.43] Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for John Sgouros Orestes (1323)
- [8.44] Chrysobull of John V Palaiologos for the *kavallarios* Syrmanouel Mesopotamites (1343)
- [8.45] Chrysobull of John VI Kantakouzenos for the *megas papias* Demetrios Kavasilas (1347)
- [8.46] Chrysobull of John VI Kantakouzenos for Demetrios Devlitzenos (1349)

- [8.47] Chrysobull of John V Palaiologos for the *megas adnoumiastes* George Katzaras (1351), and Act of three officials regarding John Katzaras' claim to Patrikona (1373)
- [8.48] Chrysobull of Andronikos IV Palaiologos for Radoslav Sampias (1378), and Chrysobull of John VII Palaiologos for Radoslav Sampias (1405)
- [8.49] Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for Manuel Garianos, a soldier of the *Serriotikon mega allagion* (1318, or forgery)
- [8.50] Act of George Doukas Troulenos involving his pronoia (1304)
- [8.51] Act of Constantine Makrenos for the monastery of Xenophon involving the *oikonomia* of the Sarantenoi (1335)
- [8.52] Act of sale of Demetrios Doukas Souloumpertes and his wife, residents of Melnik (1344)
- [8.53] Donation of Peter Doukopoulos to the monastery of Iviron (1292)
- [8.54] Donation to the monastery of Docheiariou by an unknown individual (1313)
- [8.55] Donation to the monastery of Docheiariou by two men (1314)
- [8.56] Donation of Michael Elaiodorites Spanopoulos, *stratopedarches* of the *allagia*, to the monastery of the Spelaiotissa at Melnik (ca. 1300)
- [8.57] Contract of sale between Symeon Madarites and his family and the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serres (1310)
- [8.58] Donation of Arsenios Tzamlakon to the monastery of Vatopedi (1355)
- [8.59] Donation of Germanos Kladon and Demetrios Rousphinos to the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serres (1301)
- [8.60] Donation of the nun Eugenia to the monastery of the Lemviotissa (1261)
- [8.61] Donation of the *megas domestikos* Alexios Raoul to the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serres (1337)
- [8.62] Donation of the *tzaousios* George Melissenos to the monastery of the Lemviotissa (1284)
- [8.63] Donation of Nicholas Adam to the monastery of the Lemviotissa (1260)
- [8.64] Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for Theodore Sarantenos (1324), and Testament of Theodore Sarantenos (1325)
- [8.65] Act of the *pinkernes* Raoul involving the *protonovelissimos* Marmaras (1277)
- [8.66] Chrysobull of John VI Kantakouzenos for the monastery of Psychosostria (1349)

- [8.67] Chrysobull of Stefan Uroš II Milutin for the monastery of St. George near Skopje (1299/1300)
- [8.68] Chrysobull of Michael IX Palaiologos for the monastery of Hilandar, and Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the monastery of Hilandar, mentioning the village of Banjane (both 1299–1300)
- [8.69] Falsified act involving the monastery of Lavra's property on Lemnos (mid-fifteenth century)
- [8.70] Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the monastery of Vrontochiou at Mistra (February 1320)
- [8.71] *Periorismoι* of Demetrios Apelmene for the monastery of Lavra (1300), and *Periorismoι* of Constantine Pergamēnos and George Pharisaios for the monastery of Lavra (1321)
- [8.72] Slavic translation of a *praktikon* for the monastery of Hilandar (1300)
- [8.73] Act of the *apographeus* Nikephoros Choumnos for the monastery of Zographou involving Gazes, a soldier from the Thessalonian *mega allagion* (1286)
- [8.74] *Prostagma* of Andronikos III for the benefit of the monastery of Asomatoi near Zichna involving an *epiteleia* paid to Preakotzelos (1333)
- [8.75] Chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the monastery of St. John Prodromos (September 1317), *Prostagma* of Andronikos II Palaiologos to a fiscal official (April 1325), *Prostagma* of Andronikos II Palaiologos to a fiscal official (November 1325), and *Orismos* of Andronikos III Palaiologos to a fiscal official (1327), regarding the *agridion* of Monospeton
- [8.76] Chrysobull of Andronikos III Palaiologos for the monastery of Zographou regarding the *oikonomia* of the *sevastos* Devlitzenos (1328)
- [8.77] Greek chrysobull of Symeon Uroš for the monastery of St. George in Zavlantia (1359)
- [8.78] Chrysobull of John V Palaiologos for the *stratopedarches* of the *monokavalloi* John Choumnos (1344)
- [9.1] *Prostagma* of Manuel II Palaiologos for the monasteries of Mount Athos (1408)
- [9.2] *Prostagma* of Manuel II Palaiologos for two Thessalonian monasteries (1415)
- [9.3] Act of Paul Gazes and George Prinkips for the monastery of Docheiariou (1409)

[9.4] Act of Paul Gazes and George Prinkips for the monastery of Lavra (1409)
[9.5] Act of Paul Gazes and Michael Karianites for the monastery of Vatopedi (1406)
[9.6] Praktikon of Stephen Doukas Radenos, Constantine Palaiologos Oinaïotes, and John Radenos for the monastery of Lavra (1420)
[9.7] Act of Michael Tzemplakon, John Radenos, and Stephen Doukas Radenos for the monastery of Vatopedi (1415)
[9.8] The George Gemistos dossier (1427–50)
[10.1] Act of the tribunal of the metropolitan of Serres for the monastery of Esphigmenou involving Demetrios Vryennios Laskaris (1393)

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Mark C. Bartusis

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A note on transliteration, pronunciation, and dates

Byzantine Greek is a challenge to transliterate. In the interest of standardization, I have transliterated most Greek (as well as Slavic and Turkish) technical terms and names of people and places according to the form in which they appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), the editors of which have adopted a system for Greek that uses a modified letter-for-letter approach (“a” for *alpha*, “b” for *beta*) but employs common English forms wherever they are well established (“Constantine” rather than “Konstantinos”). I depart from the *ODB* when I transliterate the letter *beta*. In the period this book deals with (the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries), *beta* was generally pronounced like a “v.” Thus, throughout the book, I have opted for the transliteration that better represents the sound of medieval Greek. And so, “Glavas” rather than the *ODB*’s “Glabas,” and “Vryennios” rather than “Bryennios,” and in technical terms “*sevastos*” rather than “*sebastos*.” There are a handful of exceptions, such as “Bosporos,” “Bulgaria,” “Botaneiates,” and of course “Byzantium.”

Even though Byzantine Greek sounded much like modern Greek, scholars sometimes pronounce it as if it were ancient Greek or some mixture of ancient and modern. The *ODB* system of transliteration, while it has the virtue of simplicity and is rather faithful to the spelling of Greek, is quite misleading in regard to pronunciation (for which it offers no assistance). Consequently, and with no claim to be doing justice to the complexities of the medieval Greek language, I provide a few general rules here to help the reader approximate the later Byzantine pronunciations of the strange names and terms that appear in this book.

- o* is always long as in *low*
- ei*, *i*, *oi*, *y*, and the final *e* are all pronounced as *ee* in *tree* (thus, two of the most commonly used words in this book, *pronoia* and *oikonomia*, are pronounced “PRO-nee-ah” and “ee-ko-no-MEE-ah”)
- es* at the end of words (Metochites, *vestiarites*) is pronounced as *eece* in *Greece*, except in plural forms (*praktores*, *posotetes*), where it is pronounced as *ess* in *less*

au and *eu* are respectively pronounced “af” and “ef” before a consonant
and “av” and “ev” before another vowel
ch is pronounced as in the Scottish *loch* or German *nach*
d is pronounced as *th* in *then*
g between two vowels is pronounced as the *y* in *mayor*
h at the beginning of a word is silent
rh is pronounced as *r*

In Slavic words, *c* is pronounced “ts,” *č* and *ć* are pronounced “ch,” *dj* is pronounced as the *j* in *judge*, *j* is pronounced as the *y* in *yellow*, *š* is pronounced “sh,” and *ž* is pronounced “zh” as in *measure* and *vision*. For the handful of Turkish words that appear in these pages, it is perhaps worth noting that *c* is pronounced as the *j* in *judge*, *ç* is pronounced “ch,” and *ş* is pronounced “sh.”

Dates

The Byzantine year began on September 1. A few dates are cited in the form “1267/8,” which signifies the period from September 1, 1267, to August 31, 1268.

Abbreviations

Ahrweiler, <i>Byzance et la mer</i>	Hélène Ahrweiler, <i>Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e–XV^e siècles</i> . Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
Ahrweiler, “La concession des droits incorporels”	Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, “La concession des droits incorporels, Donations conditionnelles.” <i>Actes du XII^e Congrès international d’études byzantines, Ohrid 1961</i> , II, 103–14. Belgrade, 1964. Repr. in H. Ahrweiler, <i>Études sur les structures</i> , no. 1
Ahrweiler, “La ‘pronoia’ à Byzance”	Hélène Ahrweiler, “La ‘pronoia’ à Byzance,” 681–89. In <i>Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l’occident méditerranéen (X^e–XIII^e s.)</i> . Collection de l’école française de Rome 44. Rome: École française de Rome, 1980
Ahrweiler, “Smyrne”	H. Ahrweiler, “L’histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317) particulièrement au XIII ^e siècle.” <i>TM</i> 1 (1965), 1–204. Repr. in Ahrweiler, <i>Byzance: les pays et les territoires</i> . London: Variorum Reprints, 1976, no. IV
<i>Alexiad</i> ed. Leib	Anne Comnène, <i>Alexiade. Règne de l’empereur Alexis I Comnène 1081–1118</i> . Ed. Bernard Leib. 3 vols. Paris: Société d’édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1937–45
<i>Alexiad</i> ed. Reinsch	<i>Annae Comnenae Alexias</i> . Part 1: Prolegomena and Text. Ed. Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis. CFHB 40/1. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 2001

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Bartusis, <i>Late Byzantine Army</i>	Mark Bartusis, <i>The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453</i> . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992
Bartusis, “Smallholding Soldiers”	Mark Bartusis, “On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium.” <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> 44 (1990), 1–26.
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i> . Brussels, 1924–
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> . Leipzig, Munich, 1892ff.
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
Charanis, “Monastic Properties”	Peter Charanis, “The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire.” <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> 4 (1948), 51–118. Repr. in Charanis, <i>Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire</i> , no. i
Charanis, “Social Structure”	Peter Charanis, “On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later.” <i>Byzantinoslavica</i> 12 (1951), 94–153. Repr. in Charanis, <i>Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire</i> , no. iv
Chilandar ed. Petit	<i>Actes de Chilandar, I. Actes grecs</i> ed. Louis Petit. <i>VizVrem</i> 17 (1911), suppl. 1. Repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975
Chilandar ed. Živojinović	<i>Actes de Chilandar I: des origines à 1319</i> ed. Mirjana Živojinović, Vasiliki Kravari, Christophe Giros. Archives de l’Athos xx. Paris: Éditions du CNRS and P. Lethielleux, 1998
Choniates, Bonn edn.	Choniates, Niketas, <i>Nicetae Choniatae Historia</i> . Ed. I. Bekker. CSHB. Bonn, 1835
Choniates, ed. van Dieten	Choniates, Niketas, <i>Nicetae Choniatae Historia</i> . Ed. Jan L. van Dieten. CFHB. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1975
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 50 vols. Bonn, 1828–97
Dionysiou	<i>Actes de Dionysiou</i> , ed. Nicolas Oikonomides. Archives de l’Athos iv. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1968

<i>Docheiariou</i>	<i>Actes de Docheiariou</i> , ed. Nicolas Oikonomides. Archives de l’Athos XIII. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1984
Dölger, <i>Beiträge</i>	Franz Dölger, <i>Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts</i> . Byzantisches Archiv 9. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960
Dölger, <i>Regesten</i>	<i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453</i> . Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A, Abt. 1: Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches. 1. Teil: <i>Regesten von 565–1025</i> , 2nd edn., ed. F. Dölger and Andreas E. Müller; 2. Teil: <i>Regesten von 1025–1204</i> , 2nd edn. and 3. Teil: <i>Regesten von 1204–1282</i> , 2nd edn., ed. F. Dölger and Peter Wirth; 4. Teil: <i>Regesten von 1282–1341</i> , and 5. Teil: <i>Regesten von 1341–1453</i> , ed. F. Dölger. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009, 1995, 1977, 1960, 1965
EHB	<i>The Economic History of Byzantium, from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. Angeliki E. Laiou. 3 vols. Dumbarton Oaks Studies xxxix. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002
<i>Esphigménou</i>	<i>Actes d’Esphigménou</i> ed. Jacques Lefort. Archives de l’Athos vi. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1973
Gregoras	<i>Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia</i> , ed. L. Schopen. 3 vols. CSHB. Bonn, 1829, 1830, 1855
Hohlweg, “Zur Frage der Pronoia”	Armin Hohlweg, “Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz.” <i>BZ</i> 60 (1967), 288–308
Hvostova, <i>Osobennosti</i>	Ksenia V. Hvostova, <i>Osobennosti agrarnopravovyh otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii XIV–XV vv.</i> Moscow: Akademiya nauk, 1968
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkogo arheologičeskago instituta v Konstantinopole</i>

<i>Iviron</i>	<i>Actes d’Iviron I–IV</i> , ed. Jacques Lefort, Nicolas Oikonomides, Denise Papachryssanthou, Vassiliki Kravari, Hélène Métrévéli. Archives de l’Athos XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1985, 1990, 1994, 1995
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (byzantinischen Gesellschaft)</i> . Vienna, 1951–
Kantakouzenos	<i>Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV</i> . 3 vols. Vol. 1, ed. L. Schopen; vols. 2, 3, ed. B. Niehbuhr. CSHB. Bonn, 1828, 1831, 1832
Kazhdan, <i>Agrarnye otnošenija</i>	A. P. Kazhdan, <i>Agrarnye otnošenija v Vizantii, XIII–XIV vv.</i> Moscow: Akademija nauk, 1952
Kazhdan, <i>Derevnja i gorod</i>	A. P. Kazhdan, <i>Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX–X vv.</i> Moscow, 1960
Kazhdan, “Formen”	A. P. Kazhdan, “Formen des bedingten Eigentums in Byzanz während des X.–XII. Jahrhunderts.” <i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i> 19 (1966), 217–24 = “Formy uslovnoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii v X–XII vv.” xxv. <i>Meždunarodnyj kongress vostokovedov, Doklady delegacii SSSR</i> (Moscow, 1960)
<i>Kutlumus</i>	<i>Actes de Kutlumus</i> , ed. Paul Lemerle. Archives de l’Athos II, 2d edn. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1988.
<i>Lavra</i>	<i>Actes de Lavra I–IV</i> , ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachryssanthou, Sima Ćirković. Archives de l’Athos V, VIII, X, XI. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1970–82
Lefort, <i>Villages de Macédoine</i>	Jacques Lefort, <i>Villages de Macédoine. Notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge: 1. La Chalcidique occidentale</i> . Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 1. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1982