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The Monastery of Stoudios in the 15th Century

*With one plate**

Abstract: The article examines the history of the Stoudios monastery during the Late Palaiologan period and traces its impact on Constantinopolitan public life during the last decades of Byzantium. Although Stoudios was already restored in the early Palaiologan period, it was only during the reign of emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–1391) that it began once more to emerge as a leading monastery in a way reminiscent of its Middle Byzantine heyday. In the late 14th and early 15th centuries the monks of Stoudios, led by figures such as Patriarch Euthymios II and Joseph Bryennios, often challenged official imperial policies. Later, during the reign of John VIII the monastery was intimately connected with the imperial administration. Throughout this period, Stoudios played an active role in the discussions about the Union of the Churches. The textual evidence also provides information on the appearance and status of the monastery's building complex and reveals its importance within the urban landscape of Late Palaiologan Constantinople.

It is well known that the monastery of Saint John the Forerunner of Stoudios in Constantinople survived until the end of the Byzantine Empire. However, modern scholarship focuses mostly on older periods of its existence: the activity of Theodore Stoudites and his successors during and after Iconoclasm¹ and the period of the Macedonian dynasty, when the monastery was intimately connected with the imperial and patriarchal authorities,² have been the subject of numerous studies from several points of view. The Palaiologan phase of Stoudios has received less attention and is generally regarded as less significant, but the monastery continued to be influential even after 1204 and features at the center of crucial events during the last centuries of Byzantium, especially during the 15th century.³ The present article will highlight some aspects of its late Palaiologan history and clarify its impact on 15th-century politics and culture within the context of the Byzantine capital's struggle to survive through the complex realities of the time. This approach will enable a better understanding of the general climate in the city and offer fresh interpretations of the developments that marked the last years before the Ottoman conquest.⁴ At the same time, it will demonstrate the place of Stoudios in the monumental and monastic landscape of Late Byzantine Constantinople.

* I owe special thanks to my friend and colleague Alex Rodriguez Suarez for his help with the Spanish text of Clavijo.

¹ P. HATLIE, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850*. Cambridge 2008, 289–294, 320–330, 338–343, 365–379; T. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma: Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 4)*. Berlin 1998; O. DELOUIS, *Le testament de Théodore Stoudite: édition critique et traduction*. *REB* 67 (2009) 77–109; R. CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite: the Ordering of Holiness*. Oxford 2009. For the foundation of the monastery (dated to around the year 450), see C. MANGO, *The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul*. *BMGS* 4 (1978) 115–122.

² D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *The monastic communities of Stoudios and St Mamas in the second half of the tenth century*, in: *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett – A. Kirby. Belfast 1994, 67–85; V. VLYSSIDOU, *Le penchant politique de Basile Lakapènos pour l'Athos et le rétablissement des relations de Basile II avec le monastère de Stoudios en 985/986*. *Symm* 26 (2016) 127–139.

³ The basic facts are given in R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 3: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]*. Paris ²1969, 430–440; A.-M. TALBOT, *Monasticism in Constantinople in the Final Decades of the Byzantine Empire*, in: *550th anniversary of the Istanbul University*, International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth century): 30–31 May 2003, ed. S. Atasoy. Istanbul 2004, 299–300.

⁴ For a general assessment of the situation in Late Palaiologan Constantinople, see J. HARRIS, *Constantinople as City State, c.1360–1453*, in: *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. J. Harris – C. Holmes – E. Russell. Oxford 2012, 119–140; N. NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society*

The monastery of Stoudios played a symbolic role in the recapture of Constantinople in 1261. When Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) entered the city in triumph through the Golden Gate, he stopped at Stoudios to venerate the capital's palladium, the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which he had ordered to be brought there.⁵ Indeed, Stoudios was included in the Palaiologan plans for the restoration of Constantinople and its institutions and was revived, thanks to the patronage of Constantine Palaiologos, Michael's son, who financed substantial repairs to the building complex.⁶ The Palaiologan restoration of the monastery may have been followed by the endowment of land, such as, for example, the dependency attested at this time in the area of Smyrna.⁷ However, Stoudios does not appear to have played a significant role in early Palaiologan politics and public life. It is rarely mentioned in the sources and it does not figure among the monasteries that formed part of imperial court ceremonial recorded in the Treatise on Offices by pseudo-Kodinos, in contrast to its prominent position in Middle Byzantine ceremonial.⁸

During the 14th century, the Stoudite monks seem to have belonged to Palamite circles and to have played a role in the Palamite controversy. Theoktistos Stoudites, the disciple and biographer of patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293, 1303–1309), was instrumental in recording and disseminating the life and works of his mentor, thus serving as a link between Athanasios and Palamism.⁹ Indeed, a few decades later, another important figure of the pro-Hesychast faction was resident in the monastery, abbot Makarios Choumnos (from ca. 1368 to 1380).¹⁰ During Makarios's superiorship, important philological activity was undertaken in the monastery, as clearly attested in a marginal note in manuscript Metochion Panagίου Taphou 455, a collection of homilies by Makarios: Ἐξεδόθησαν αἱ ὁμιλῖαι αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ σεβασμῖα βασιλικῇ μονῇ τῶν Στουδίων.¹¹ Thanks to this activity, Stoudios

in the Late Empire. Cambridge 2009, 184–232; K.-P. MATSCHKE, Die Stadt Konstantinopel und die Dynastie der Palaiologen, in: IDEM, Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453 (*Byzanz, Islam und christlicher Orient* 2). Hamburg 2008, 37–47, 61–77.

⁵ George Akropolites, *Chronike Syngrafe* 187–188 (ed. A. HEISENBERG – P. WIRTH, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*. Leipzig 1979); C. ANGELIDI – T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery, in: *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki. Milan – Athens 2000, 373.

⁶ V. KIDONOPOULOS, Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 1). Mainz 1994, 49–51; Nikephoros Gregoras, *History I* 190–191 (ed. I. SCHOPEN, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*. Bonn 1829–30). U. PESCHLOW, Ein paläologisches Reliefdenkmal in Konstantinopel. *Gesta* 33 (1994) 93–103 has connected fragments of a sarcophagus found on the site of the basilica with the patronage of Constantine Palaiologos.

⁷ *MM* IV 272–273. See H. AHRWEILER, L'Histoire et la Géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317). *TM* 1 (1965) 175; K. SMYRLIS, La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe-milieu du XIV^e siècle. Paris 2006, 173–174.

⁸ P. MAGDALINO, Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople, in: IDEM, *Studies on the History and Topography of Constantinople*. Aldershot – Burlington 2007, XII 8–11. Indeed, the monastery of Petra had replaced Stoudios as the major shrine of Saint John the Forerunner in Constantinople. See also, Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies, ed. S. MUNITIZ – D. ANGELOV – R. MACRIDES. Aldershot – Burlington 2013, 398–399. For Middle Byzantine processions to Stoudios, see A. BERGER, Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople, in: *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 33). Leiden – Boston 2001, 82–83.

⁹ *PLP*, no. 7498; A.-M. TALBOT, The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, members of the imperial family, and officials. Washington, D.C. 1975, 21–30. For Theoktistos, see A.-M. TALBOT, Faith healing in late Byzantium: The posthumous miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite. Brookline, MA 1983, and E. AFENTOULIDOU-LEITGEB, Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar (*WBS* 27). Vienna 2008.

¹⁰ *PLP*, no. 30956. The case of Simon Atoumanos, a Stoudite monk who converted to Catholicism and later became the Latin archbishop of Thebes around the middle of the 14th century shows that the situation at Stoudios was more complicated and that Hesychasm was not the only current with followers in the monastery. See *PLP*, no. 1648; G. FEDALTO, Simone Atoumano. Brescia 1968; K. SETTON, The Archbishop Simon Atoumano. *BNJ* 18 (1960) 105–122.

¹¹ A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, V. St. Petersburg 1915, 18; V. LAURENT, *Écrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos*. *Hell* 14 (1955) 43. The manuscript, once in Istanbul, is now in the National Library of Greece in Athens.

appears to have once more begun to build up an important collection of books in the fields of homiletic texts and Church history, perhaps also in canon law (fig. 1).¹²

From the superiority of Choumnos onwards, the monastery is once more consistently referred to as an imperial monastery (“βασιλική μονή”). In fact, Choumnos had been summoned to Stoudios from Thessalonike by emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–1391);¹³ it thus appears that the emperor was personally involved in an effort to boost the monastery’s fortunes; his favorable attitude is also evident shortly after his return to power in 1354: he granted Stoudios land at Palatitzia, which he had taken away from the Charsianeites monastery, apparently because the latter’s patron was a partisan of John VI Kantakouzenos.¹⁴ John V’s preference for Stoudios may be seen as part of his general plans to upgrade this part of Constantinople, i.e. the city’s southwestern corner, as attested in various sources in connection with the fortifications of the area.¹⁵

At around the same time the revival of Russian monasticism triggered a renewed interest in the revered foundation of Theodore Stoudites, to whom tradition traced the beginnings of the first Russian monastic communities.¹⁶ The Stoudite typikon had been adopted in the Kievan monastery of the

¹² Middle Byzantine Stoudios had been famous for its library holdings, which consisted mostly of the products of the monastery’s own scriptorium (N. ELEOPOULOS, *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸ ἐργαστήριον τῆς Μονῆς Στουδίου*. Athens 1967; B. FONKIČ, *Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca*. *RSBN* 17–19 [1980–82] 83–92; I. HUTTER, *Theodoros bibliographos und die Buchmalerei in Studiu*, in: *Ἐπιόρα*, *Studi in onore di Mgr. Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, ed. S. Lucà – L. Perria = *Bollettino badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 51 [1997] 177–208). However, there is no evidence that the codices once in the Stoudite library (either those explicitly connected with the library thanks to ex libris notes or those attributed to Stoudios for various other reasons) were still housed in the monastery in the Late Byzantine period. It would seem that the post-1261 library was a completely new collection. Volumes with various homilies attested at Stoudios in the 14th century include Athens, National Library 2084, Vienna National Library, *Theologicus graecus* 134: L. POLITES, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Εθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ελλάδος*. Athens 1991, 118–119; H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek – Teil 3/2: Codices theologici* 101–200. Vienna 1984, 126–132. A 13th-century manuscript now in the National Library of Athens (codex 2070, once in Thessalonike) containing the Homilies of Saint Basil belonged to Stoudios in the 15th century according to a note (fig. 1): POLITES, *Κατάλογος* 108–109: *Τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου ἡ βίβλος αὕτη* (written by a 15th-century hand according to Polites). A 15th-century volume now in the monastery of Iviron on Athos (cod. 290), containing various works pertaining to canon law (but also some works of Theodore Stoudites), may have been associated with the monastery, since an entry in an inserted short chronicle records the death of the abbot of Stoudios Ignatios in 1417. Peter Schreiner believes that the manuscript belonged to a person from Trebizond, based on the numerous entries on that city in the chronicle. P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I–III (CFHB 12)*. Vienna 1975, I 628–630. Perhaps this person was at Stoudios at some point in his life. For the manuscript, see S. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 2. Cambridge 1900, 73–75. For the abbot Ignatios, see *PLP*, no. 8007.

¹³ LAURENT, *Écrits spirituels* 48–49.

¹⁴ I. M. KONIDARES – K. A. MANAPHES, *Ἐπιτελεύτιος βούλησις καὶ διδασκαλία τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Ματθαίου Α΄* (1397–1410). *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 478. The place-name Palatitzia appears in the late 13th-century foundation document of the Lips monastery, refounded by the empress Theodora Palaiologina, as land endowed to Theodora’s monastery (H. DELEHAYE, *Deux typika byzantins de l’époque des Paléologues*. Brussels 1921, 133); it has been identified as land in the area around the city of Beroia in western Macedonia: T. PAPAZOTOS, *Κτήματα τῆς μονῆς Λιβός στην περιοχή τῆς Βέροιας*. *Istorikogeografika* 5 (1995) 168–170. Thus, the Stoudite property may also have been located in the same area and may also have originated from the estates of the Palaiologoi, the Kantakouzenoi or other families with property in this part of western Macedonia. For aristocratic landholdings in the area, see D. KYRITSES, *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the 13th and Early 14th centuries*. (Unpublished PhD) Harvard University 1997, 129–134.

¹⁵ N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen (Millennium-Studien 18)*. Berlin – New York 2007, 110–117; N. ASUTAY, *Wer erbaute Mermer-Kule? Byz 72* (2002) 270–274; U. PESCHLOW, *Die befestigte Residenz von Memerkule*. *JÖB* 51(2001) 385–403; S. BASSETT, *John V Palaiologos and the Golden Gate in Constantinople*, in: *To Hellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, vol. 1. New Rochelle 1993, 117–33. For the area of the Golden Gate, see C. MANGO, *The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate*. *DOP* 54 (2000) 173–188.

¹⁶ C. FARRIMOND, *Founders, refounders and copiers: the application of the Typikon of Alexios the Stoudite at the Kievan Caves monastery*, in: *Founders and refounders of Byzantine monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett. Belfast 2007, 273–314; G. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (DOS 19)*. Washington, D.C. 1984, 284–286.

Caves since the 11th century and this background served as a continuous link between the monastery and the Slavic world. Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev, an important figure in the 14th-century ecclesiastical politics of Russia, visited the monastery twice,¹⁷ and Russians residing in the monastery during the final quarter of the 14th century were active in producing manuscripts sent to their homeland.¹⁸ Moreover, the relics preserved in the monastery attracted Russian pilgrims visiting Constantinople, thus reinvigorating a tendency from earlier centuries, as attested in the case of Anthony of Novgorod, who had visited Stoudios in 1200 (on the relics preserved in 15th-century Stoudios, see below).¹⁹

The upgraded status of the monastery is evident in a patriarchal sigillion letter from Neilos I Kerameus, dated March 1381: in the document, which was issued in favor of the monastery of Saint John of Petra, the monastery of Stoudios is mentioned first in the order of precedence among the patriarchal monasteries of Constantinople, followed by those of Saint George of Mangana and Saint John of Petra.²⁰ At around the same time, possibly at the beginning of 1380, the monastery hosted an important synod, at which the privileges of the emperor to intervene in Church affairs were delineated.²¹ The emperor John V Palaiologos, patriarch Neilos (1380–1388), and members of the Holy Synod attended the meeting.

It is not possible to ascertain whether Stoudios was able to hold on to its land after the Serbian and Ottoman expansion in the Balkans; it probably lost a portion of its land holdings during the Ottoman blockade of 1394–1402, when most landowners of Constantinople lost access to their lands in the immediate vicinity of the city.²² Most other monasteries were able to reoccupy and cultivate their lands outside the land walls in Constantinople's suburban areas (as, for example, the Charsianeites monastery²³) and this may have been the case with Stoudios as well. In short, although the Ottoman blockade of Constantinople must have been a difficult time for Stoudios, as it was for the entire city, the dawn of the 15th century saw Stoudios emerge once more as the leading monastic foundation of the Byzantine capital.

The first decades of the 15th century at Stoudios were marked by the intense activity of two prominent personalities who defined religious affairs in Constantinople for the following decades. The future patriarch Euthymios II, who, like Makarios Choumnos before him, had a Palamite background, is first mentioned as abbot of Stoudios in 1396. His superiorship lasted until he became patriarch on October 29, 1410.²⁴ He was a friend and ally of Manuel II Palaiologos, as his predecessor to the

¹⁷ J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian relations in the fourteenth century*. London – New York 1981, 200–225; A. ΝΙΚΙΤΙΝ, *Das Studios-Kloster und die alte Rus. Ostkirchliche Studien* 37 (1988) 119.

¹⁸ G. I. VZDORNOV, *Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв. Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 23 (1968) 189–194. F. Poljakov has challenged traditional views about the Russian community of Stoudios, by proving that some of the activity normally attributed to Stoudios should be connected with the monastery of Saint John of Petra, which also housed a considerable Russian population: F. POLJAKOV, *Ein neues Zeugnis über Ignatij von Smolensk und die russische Kolonie in Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert. DOP* 46 (1992) 265–269.

¹⁹ For Anthony, see M. ERHARD, *Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod. Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65.

²⁰ *MM* II 21–23; J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I/VI*. Paris 1979, no. 2713.

²¹ DARROUZÈS, *Regestes*, no. 2699; V. LAURENT, *Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380/82. REB* 13 (1955) 14–16.

²² N. NECIPOĞLU, *Byzantine monasteries and monastic property in Thessalonike and Constantinople during the period of Ottoman conquests (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). Journal of Ottoman Studies* 15 (1995) 124–135; EADEM, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins 175–180*.

²³ KONIDARES – ΜΑΝΑΡΗΣ, *Ἐπιτελεῦτιος βούλησις* 480; R. ESTANGŪI GÓMEZ, *Byzance face aux Ottomans: exercice du pouvoir et contrôle du territoire sous les derniers Paléologues, milieu XIV^e-milieu XV^e siècle (Byzantina Sorbonensia 28)*. Paris 2014, 338–340.

²⁴ For Euthymios, see V. LAURENT, *Les dates du patriarcat d'Euthyme II de Constantinople. BZ* 54 (1961) 329–332; *PLP*, no. 6268.

patriarchal throne Matthew I (1397–1410) had been. During the controversy about Matthew's deposition which shook the Church in 1402–1403, Euthymios, abbot of Stoudios at the time, appears to have played a mediating role between Matthew's enemies and those in favor of his patriarchate.²⁵ Although Euthymios evidently disapproved of emperor Manuel II's interference in Church affairs, he was not openly opposed to Matthew, whom many of his contemporaries accused of encouraging and facilitating Manuel's intervention in the patriarchate's policy.

In 1410 Euthymios was chosen by Manuel II to succeed Matthew I as patriarch of Constantinople: with this choice Manuel probably sought to reconcile the opposing parties that had emerged during the patriarchate of Matthew.²⁶ Euthymios however, despite his past friendship with the emperor, proved not to be the loyal ally Matthew had been and would not tolerate Manuel's interference in Church affairs. In 1416 he openly confronted the emperor when the latter tried to impose his own candidate for the metropolitan see of Moldavia.²⁷ The affair was a very delicate issue for the Church of Constantinople, since the Patriarchate had been struggling to assert its authority over the Christians of Moldavia and Wallachia since the 1390s by directly contacting the rulers of the area and dispatching envoys north of the Danube.

The dispute was, in fact, part of the wider problems associated with the re-organization of the Church of Russia and its jurisdiction during the rise of Moscow as the strongest player in the region. Since Stoudios, from whose ranks Euthymios originated, housed a Russian community, this could explain the interest of Euthymios in maintaining control over Moldavia, especially since the Patriarchate was constantly in touch with the Muscovite dukes about Church matters.²⁸ The fact that the pre-eminent Bulgarian scholar Gregory Tsamblak, possibly a disciple of Euthymios who may have resided at Stoudios for a while, was sent as an imperial envoy to Moldavia in 1401 and later became metropolitan of Kiev is an additional indication that the monks of Stoudios were heavily involved in the ecclesiastical politics of eastern Europe.²⁹

In any case, the conflict between the emperor and the patriarch ended with the death of Euthymios later in 1416. His memory was greatly honored by the monastic community and by such figures as Silvester Syropoulos and Mark Eugenikos in subsequent decades.³⁰ Mark composed an office

²⁵ For the events, see G. T. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew I, 1402–1403*. *BF* 2 (1967) 100–106; V. LAURENT, *Le Trisepiscopat du Patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410)*. *REB* 30 (1972) 5–166.

²⁶ LAURENT, *Euthyme*.

²⁷ J. DARROUZÈS, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I/VII*. Paris 1991, no. 3296; LAURENT, *Euthyme*; J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*. New Brunswick 1969, 323; V. LAURENT, *Contributions à l'histoire des relations de l'Église byzantine avec l'Église roumaine au début du XVe s. Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine* 26 (1945) 165–184. On the metropolitan see of Moldavia, see D. I. MUREȘAN, *Notes critiques sur l'histoire de l'Église de Moldovlachie*, in: *Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. A. Dumitran *et alii*. Cluj-Napoca 2009, 117–144. For Euthymios's relationship with Manuel II on matters of jurisdiction, see G. PRINZING, *Emperor Manuel II and Patriarch Euthymios II on the jurisdiction of the Church of Ohrid*, in: *Le Patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204–1586), Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011, ed. M.-H. Blanchet – M.-H. Congourdeau – D. I. Mureșan. Paris 2014, 243–271.

²⁸ For the relations between the Patriarchate and Moscow, see M. HINTERBERGER, *Les relations diplomatiques entre Constantinople et la Russie du XIV^e siècle. Les lettres patriarcales, les envoyés et le langage diplomatique*, in: *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges*, ed. M. Balard – E. Malamut – J. M. Spieser (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 21). Paris 2005, 123–134; J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, *Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropoliten und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453*. Saarbrücken 2008, 489–552.

²⁹ For Tsamblak, author of a *Vita* of patriarch Euthymios, see F. J. THOMSON, *Gregory Tsamblak: The Man and the Myths*. Ghent 1998. See also the remarks by E. MINEVA, *References to the Monastery of Pantokrator in Old Slavic Literature (14th–15th c.)*, in: *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed. S. Kotzabassi. Berlin 2013, 87–92.

³⁰ *Sylvestros Syropoulos II 2* (ed. V. LAURENT, *Les 'Mémoires' de Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence [1438–1439]*. Paris 1971, 100–102).

to commemorate his legacy, perhaps as part of an attempt to promote Euthymios' canonization.³¹ In 1419–1422, i.e. only a few years after the death of the patriarch, the Russian visitor Zosima the deacon was shown the tomb of a patriarch Euthymios; this was probably Euthymios II rather than the 10th-century Euthymios I.³² It is thus evident that Euthymios' links with Stoudios had remained strong even after his accession to the patriarchal throne and that he was always considered a Stoudite. Apparently, confronting the emperor elevated him to the status of saintly hero in the eyes of his fellow monks and churchmen; his claim for the independence of the Church must have had a considerable impact on the community and enhanced the image and position of the monastery among contemporary monastic circles.

The activity of Joseph Bryennios, who was also resident in the monastery during the early years of the century, confirms that ideas against the interference of the emperor in Church affairs were circulating within the Stoudios community.³³ Bryennios was well acquainted with Euthymios, with whom he corresponded during his mission to Crete, where he had remained from 1382 to 1402 as an envoy of the patriarchate of Constantinople, at about the same time Euthymios was abbot of Stoudios. In his letters to Euthymios, Bryennios expresses his admiration for the abbot, whom he refers to as his master.³⁴ When Bryennios returned from Crete in 1402, he settled in the famous monastery under the leadership and guidance of his friend. Joseph is attested in the monastery between 1402 and 1406, in between his missions to Crete and Cyprus; during his stay at Stoudios he pursued the anti-Latin activity he had begun in Crete. Joseph's writings are often an open attack on imperial intervention in Church matters, one of his main concerns being the emancipation of the clergy. In 1406 he left for Cyprus in order to conduct negotiations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Cyprus. When he returned, possibly in 1412, he did not re-enter Stoudios, but he went on to play a prominent role in the city's public life, constantly repeating his anti-Latin ideas and challenging the emperor's authority in Church affairs with the speeches he gave in the palace and in the church of the Holy Apostles. In any case, the activity of Tsamblak in Moldavia, Serbia, and Russia, and that of Bryennios in Crete and Cyprus, both of them belonging to the circle of the abbot of Stoudios Euthymios, reveals the extent of the monastery's sphere of influence within the international scene in the late Middle Ages. Thanks to its links with the patriarchate it apparently preserved its own networks, which were comparable to the monastery's influence on Slavic and Southern Italian monasticism during its Middle Byzantine heyday.

It is not clear why Bryennios chose not to re-enter the Stoudios monastery upon his return from Cyprus. He certainly preserved ties with the community, since in 1417 he delivered an oration in memory of Anna Palaiologina, wife of the future emperor John VIII, in the church.³⁵ This event

³¹ E. MINEVA, Το υμνογραφικό έργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού. Athens 2004, 61–71, 287–299: Κανών εις τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον πατριάρχην Εὐθύμιον.

³² George Majeska (MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 284–287) hesitated between the two candidates without offering a definite identification.

³³ For Bryennios, see *PLP*, no. 3257; P. GOUNARIDES, Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης τῆς καταστροφῆς, in: 1453: Η ἀλώση τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης καὶ ἡ μετάβαση ἀπὸ τοὺς μεσαιωνικοὺς στοὺς νεώτερους χρόνους, ed. A. Kioussoroulou. Iraklio 2005, 33–45; N. IOANNIDES, Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος. Βίος-Έργο- Διδασκαλία. Athens 1985, 71–73, 77–89, 89–93; E. BAZINI, Une première édition des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les Traités adressés aux Crétois. *REB* 62 (2004) 83–85.

³⁴ Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ πατρί, καθηγουμένῳ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ καὶ πρωτοσυγκέλλῳ, κυρῷ Εὐθύμιῳ. The letter ends with the phrase: Ὅ πάντα τὰ σὰ καὶ φιλῶν καὶ θαυμάζων ἐξόχως μοναχὸς Ἰωσήφ: N. TOMADAKES, Έκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς Ἐπιστολογραφίας. Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου Ἐπιστολαί Α' καὶ αὐτὸν Γ'. *EEBS* 43 (1983–1986) 299–302.

³⁵ E. BOULGARIS, Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου, Τὰ Εὐρεθέντα, vol. II. Leipzig 1768, 291: Παραμυθία ῥηθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Ἐν τοῖς Στουδίου ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ Νύμφης Ἄννης. The fact that a service was held at Stoudios for the Russian princess may be an additional indication that the monastery was linked to Russian circles. However, Anna (*PLP*, no. 21349) was eventually buried in the Lips monastery, the main burial ground for the female members of the Palaiologos

in commemoration of a member of the imperial family indicates that the ruling dynasty remained intimately connected with the monastery. Indeed, there are signs that things began to change in the monastery after the death of patriarch Euthymios. It appears that after 1416 Manuel II and the new patriarch, Joseph II (1416–1429), made efforts to control and influence the climate in the leading imperial and patriarchal monastery. Around 1422 Joseph and Manuel made a joint offer to Makarios Makres, a personal acquaintance of Manuel, to become the abbot of Stoudios. Makarios refused, but later accepted a similar offer made to him by Manuel to become the abbot of the imperial monastery of Pantokrator.³⁶ From this latter position he collaborated closely with the future emperor John VIII and with patriarch Joseph in matters such as the preliminary discussions with the West concerning the Union of the Churches. Thus, Makarios' reluctance to accept the superiority of Stoudios may have been due to its expressly anti-imperial position in the recent past, given his own proximity to the emperor.

Indeed, during Makarios' superiority at the Pantokrator, the oppositionist climate that once prevailed at the Stoudios monastery did begin to change gradually, especially after the death of Manuel II in 1425. In the 1430s the monastery served as the meeting place of patriarch Joseph and John VIII Palaiologos during the preparations ahead of the Council of Florence.³⁷ Thus, Stoudios reappears as an imperial and patriarchal monastery attached to the official policy at a crucial moment. John's links with Stoudios are also evident during the visit of Cyriac of Ancona to Constantinople: after a hunting excursion in July 1444, Cyriac was hosted by John VIII in the latter's "Stoudite tower" (*ad turrim suam Studeam*).³⁸ Interestingly, the proximity to hunting grounds in the Thracian hinterland mentioned by Cyriac had been an important feature of Stoudios since Middle Byzantine times, as attested in the case of emperor Isaakios I Komnenos (1057–1059), who had stayed in the monastery during his youth.³⁹

Despite these imperial and patriarchal connections, the list of superiors and monks who accompanied the Byzantine emperor to participate in the Council of Ferrara/ Florence in 1437 does not include the abbot of Stoudios. Among the signatories of the 1439 Act of Union one finds the abbots of other imperial monasteries, such as the Pantokrator, Peribleptos, and Saint Basil, who were perhaps considered more reliable allies and less likely to act against the emperor's will.⁴⁰ It thus appears that Stoudios and its monks were still not intimately attached to the official policy (at least, not in respect to the Union), contrary to what John VIII may have expected from the leading monastery of the city. In fact, it is possible that during the crucial years that followed the Union (1440–1445), when an anti-Unionist faction started to emerge, memories of the monastery's early 15th-century Euthymian legacy resurfaced. Indeed, the list of monks and abbots who signed the anti-Union report to John VIII in 1445 includes the abbot of Stoudios, the hieromonk Theodotos, as first among the representatives

dynasty: V. MARINIS, Tombs and Burials in the Monastery tou Libos in Constantinople. *DOP* 63 (2009) 161–165; A.-M. TALBOT, Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII. *DOP* 46 (1992) 299–300.

³⁶ A. ARGYRIOU, Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'islam. Edition princeps de l'Éloge de Macaire Makrès et de ses deux oeuvres anti-islamiques, précédée d'une étude critique (*StT* 314). Vatican 1986, 32–46. For Makarios, see *PLP*, no. 16379.

³⁷ ARGYRIOU, Macaire Makrès 49–51.

³⁸ Cyriac of Ancona, Letter 12 (ed. W. BODNAR – C. FOSS, *Cyriac of Ancona, Later travels*. Cambridge, Mass. – London 2003, 56).

³⁹ Bryennios, History, 77–79 (ed. P. GAUTIER, *Nicéphore Bryennios histoire: introduction, texte, traduction et notes [CFHB 9]*. Brussels 1975).

⁴⁰ See M.-H. BLANCHET, Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 20). Paris 2008, 473. The lists of participants are included in G. HOFMANN, *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. II Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438–1439 gestis*. Rome 1944, 477–479, and L. PETIT – X. A. SIDÉRIDÈS – M. JUGIE, *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*. Paris 1928–1936, III 194–195.

of the monasteries of Constantinople.⁴¹ It is thus clear that the precedence allotted to Stoudios in 1381 was respected until the final years of Byzantium.

It is difficult to follow the climate in the monastery after the 1445 events, since the arrival of the Unionist Isidore of Kiev in Constantinople in late 1445 seems to have refueled the impetus of the pro-Union faction. In 1446 Isidore was compiling a collection of Acts of Ecumenical Councils in order to use it in his polemics against the anti-Unionists and for this purpose he consulted manuscripts in the libraries of the greatest monasteries of Constantinople.⁴² His research brought him to the Stoudios monastic library among the three he visited (the other two being the traditionally Union-friendly Petra and Chora monasteries), where he made use of a volume containing the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.⁴³ The fact that the monastery opened its doors and library for Isidore may be an indication, albeit indirect, that it was flexible and open to discussions with the Unionists, even one year after co-signing the anti-Union report; it may not be a coincidence that Isidore did not visit the other great monastic library, that of the Mangana monastery, the center of Mark Eugenikos' followers' activity, which never appeared on the Unionists' side.⁴⁴

The following years were a period of fierce rivalry between the leader of the anti-Unionist party George Scholarios (the future patriarch Gennadios II) and the emperor, which was aggravated when Constantine XI Palaiologos ascended the throne in 1449.⁴⁵ There is no information about the Stoudios during this time, but there is a discernible attempt on behalf of Constantine to win back imperial monasteries that had protested against the Union in 1445, such as the Peribleptos and Stoudios monasteries. Constantine launched a campaign to enforce the Union in Constantinople, with the help of Isidore of Kiev who arrived again in October 1452 and arranged the official proclamation of the Union in the church of the Hagia Sophia in December 1452.⁴⁶ According to the poetic account of the Fall of Constantinople compiled by Pusculo, the abbot of Stoudios was present on that occasion and thus the monastery appears for the first time clearly on the Unionists' side and, by extension, on Constantine XI's side.⁴⁷

Almost nothing is known about the climate during the first months of 1453: it is generally assumed that the monasteries continuously opposed the emperor's policy, but there is no evidence to support this, except for an allusion by Doukas that does not, however, seem to refer to the great monastic establishments such as Stoudios.⁴⁸ December 1452 is the last reference to the monastery as a functioning foundation; after that, it disappears from the sources and it is not mentioned at all in the

⁴¹ Ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Στουδίου Θεόδωτος Ἱερομόναχος: George Scholarios, Report of the Anti-Unionists (ed. PETIT – SIDÉRIDÈS – JUGIE, Scholarios III 188–193); BLANCHET, Scholarios 473; *PLP*, no. 7201.

⁴² O. KRESTEN, Eine Sammlung von Konzilsakten aus dem Besitze des Kardinals Isidoros von Kiev (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 123). Vienna 1977, 109–110.

⁴³ KRESTEN, Sammlung 86–89. One of the manuscripts copied during that visit, Vat. Gr. 831 (*Diktyon* 67462), containing the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon), was prepared at Stoudios from a copy preserved there: μετεγράφη τὸ παρ(ὸν) βιβλίον τῶν πρακτικ(ῶν) τῆς δ' συνόδου, ἀπὸ βιβλίου παλ(αι)οῦ μεμβράνου τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τῶν στουδίου (note on f. 262v). It has been suggested that this model was a manuscript now housed in Venice, Mar. Gr. 555 (*Diktyon* 70026). For this volume, see E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 2. Rome 1985, 456–459.

⁴⁴ For the scriptorium and collection of the Mangana monastery, see B. L. FONKIĆ – F. B. POLJAKOV, Markos Eugenikos als Kopist. Zur Tätigkeit eines Gelehrtenkreises an den Konstantinopolitaner Skriptorien des 15. Jahrhunderts. *BZ* 84/85 (1991–92) 17–23.

⁴⁵ BLANCHET, Scholarios 419–424; D. NICOL, The Immortal Emperor. The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans. London 2002, 41–42, 50–51.

⁴⁶ BLANCHET, Scholarios 437–444.

⁴⁷ Pusculo III 693–694 (ed. A. ELLISSEN, *Ubertini Pusculi Brixiensis Constantinopoleos libri IV*, in IDEM, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, III, Leipzig 1857, 55): *studii egregius templi cognomine dicti | Joannis merito sanctique incedit*. The abbot is not named in the text.

⁴⁸ Doukas, *History* 317 (ed. V. GRECU, *Ducas, Istoria Turco-Bizantina [1341–1462]*. Bucharest 1958).

context of the Ottoman conquest. It reappears in 1455 in the Ottoman survey of the city's buildings and population ordered by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, where it is mentioned as abandoned and in the hands of the Ottoman admiral Hamza Beg, possibly as a concession from the sultan himself.⁴⁹ This agrees with the fate of other monasteries mentioned in the survey; what is certain is that the monastic community was dispersed shortly after May 29, 1453 with the end of the Byzantine regime.

One of the major factors that contributed to the Palaiologan revitalization of Stoudios was its Early and Middle Byzantine background and the building complex was one of the main assets inherited from the past. Michael VIII's passage from Stoudios during his triumphal entrance through the Golden Gate and John V's residence in the southwestern part of Constantinople ensured that the monastery remained a dominant feature in the urban topography of the area: the basilican plan of the main church and the sloping roof appear to have consistently constituted universally recognizable features of the monument.⁵⁰ In most of the maps illustrating Cristoforo Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople, the Stoudios is represented as a timber-roofed basilica (fig. 2), in contrast to the generic form of domed building employed for the majority of the city's other monasteries.⁵¹ It seems that the architectural identity of the monastic church was well known to 15th-century audiences (the various copies of the text and its illustrations were produced in the West and in the Latin East from the 1420s onwards).

A curious feature in some of the Buondelmonti depictions of Stoudios (for example in manuscript Par. Lat. 2383 and in the Düsseldorf copy of the text) is the addition of a towered structure next to the basilica. It is tempting to identify this tall structure with the tower of John VIII Palaiologos mentioned by Cyriac of Ancona (see above). In fact, the tower in question could be part of the residential block described in the Ottoman survey of 1455: the document mentions ten houses belonging to the emperor within the monastic complex of Stoudios. These houses must have been apartments for the Palaiologoi; similar cases of residential quarters within the context of imperial religious foundations are known since the time of the Komnenoi.⁵² In any case, the reappearance of the tower in the illustrated editions of Giacomo Filippo Foresti's universal chronicle (the *Supplementum Chronicarum*, first published in 1483 and supplied with woodcuts in 1486), indicates that such a structure did exist and that it was considered as a noteworthy element dominating the urban skyline of the area.⁵³

⁴⁹ H. İNALCIK, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455*. Istanbul 2013, 352. For Hamza Beg, one of Mehmed II's closest collaborators, see F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. Princeton 1992, 130–132; M. PHILIPPIDES – W. HANAK, *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies*. Farnham 2011, 434–437. According to some sources, Hamza was of Christian origin.

⁵⁰ For the basilica of Stoudios, see W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jh.* Tübingen 1977, 147–152; T. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park, PA 1971, 19–27; U. PESCHLOW, *Die Johanneskirche des Studios in İstanbul. Bericht über die jüngsten Untersuchungsergebnisse*. *JÖB* 32/4 (1982) 428–434.

⁵¹ C. BARSANTI, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*. *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 56 (2001) 224; A. EFFENBERGER, *Die Illustrationen – Topographische Untersuchungen: Konstantinopel / İstanbul und ägäische Örtlichkeiten*, in: Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*; Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13, Faksimile, ed. I. Siebert – M. Plassmann. Wiesbaden 2005, 37. See also D. P. DRAKOULES, *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη του 15^{ου} αι. κατά τον Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Το χειρόγραφο 71 της Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης*, in: *Istorike, koinonike kai poleodomike analyse tou chorou. Aphieroma ston kathegete E. P. Demetriade*, ed. D. P. Drakoules – G. P. Tsotsos. Thessaloniki 2014, 210. A Middle Byzantine parallel with the representation of the Stoudios timber-roofed basilica is the *Menologion of Basil II*: P. FRANCI DE' CAVALIERI, *Un' antica rappresentazione della traslazione di S. Teodoro Studita*. *AnBoll* 32 (1913) 230–236 (although the latter depicts the church before the Palaiologan restoration, which apparently included the roof).

⁵² See e.g. the residential block of Eirene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnenos, in the convent of the Virgin Kecharitomene, described in its *typikon*: P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné*. *REB* 43 (1985) 137–143.

⁵³ For other attempts to interpret the tower in the Buondelmonti and Foresti images, see Barsanti 224 (the author identifies the structure with a belfry), and A. BERGER – J. BARDILL, *The Representations of Constantinople in Hartman Schedel's World*

The description of a monastery dedicated to Saint John found in the account of the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, which was traditionally thought to refer to our monastery, has now been dissociated from Stoudios and attributed to Saint John at Dihippion, near the Hippodrome.⁵⁴ However, some issues about this description still remain open and it is worth re-examining the arguments in favor of and against identifying the church mentioned in the passage in question with Saint John of Stoudios. Clavijo mentions the church of Saint John (it is unclear which Saint John it was dedicated to, the Baptist or the Theologian) after the monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos. He adds that a monastery was attached to this church. This would agree with the topography of Stoudios, since it is reasonable to visit the Peribleptos first and then head west toward the Golden Gate; Stoudios is only a few hundred meters away in that direction. The main problem is that Clavijo clearly states that the church he visited was a round building surrounded by three naves (*una quadra redonda, sin esquinas, muy alta*); this obviously cannot refer to the basilica of Stoudios, nor can the mosaics adorning the ceiling according to the Castilian text be placed in a timber-roofed basilica; on the contrary this part must be an allusion to a domed church with a centralized plan. The fact that the next section of the narrative takes place in the area of the hippodrome of Constantinople has led Jean-Pierre Grémois to locate this church of Saint John in that area and identify it with Saint John of Dihippion, which is known to have been a circular building situated approximately where the Firuz Ağa mosque now stands to the northwest of the Hippodrome. It is still attested in Late Byzantine sources and it was indeed a monastery.⁵⁵

However, other parts of Clavijo's description agree more with the facts known about Stoudios. The author records the columns in the church, but the number he gives (24) does not correspond with Stoudios, which has 14; yet, the fact that they were of "green jasper" is absolutely in accordance with the Thessalian marble of the Stoudios colonnade. More importantly, the sheer size of the complex, including gardens, houses, and a spacious refectory, is hard to imagine in the area of the old civic center of Constantinople, whereas it is well known that these were indeed features of Stoudios. Therefore, several points regarding the monastery described agree with Stoudios, the main problem being the round shape; the fact that the name Stoudios is not mentioned is also strange, given the international reputation of the foundation. The most likely solution to this discrepancy would be to accept that, when compiling his text, Clavijo had difficulties reconstructing the final stop of his day in the area of Psamathia in the southwest (modern Samatya) and the first part of the following day at the eastern part of the city (perhaps due to faulty notes?) and that he conflated the facts about Stoudios with a centralized building in the area of the Hippodrome. In this case, the information about a round building may indeed refer to Saint John of the Dihippion.

Thus, Clavijo's description can provide some information on the appearance and status of the monastic complex of Stoudios at the dawn of the 15th century. The part on the refectory, in particular, seems to refer to the Stoudios dining hall. The reference to a large white table at which the whole community sat (*un grand refitor con una grand mesa de mármol blanco*), contrary to the multiple

Chronicle and Related Pictures. *BMGs* 22 (1998) 12–13 (where the authors prefer to see it as a staircase tower).

⁵⁴ N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – A. EFFENBERGER. Zur Kirche auf einem Kupferstich von Ğugas İnciciyan und zum Standort der Chalke-Kirche. *BZ* 97 (2004) 51–94, esp. 69–74; J.-P. GRÉMOIS, Note sur la disparition de Saint-Jean au Dihippion. *REB* 64 (2006) 369–372. For the text, see Clavijo 124–125 (ed. F. LÓPEZ ESTRADA, *Historia del Gran Tamorlán e itinerario y narración del viaje y relación de la embajada que Ruy González de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del muy poderoso señor Rey Don Enrique el Tercero de Castilla*. Madrid 1999) and S. CIRAC, *Tres monasterios de Constantinople visitados por Españoles en el año 1403*. *REB* 19 (1961) 358–381.

⁵⁵ *MM* II 495–496. See J. BARDILL, *The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study*. *AJA* 101 (1997) 89–95; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (Poikila Byzantina 8)*. Bonn 1988, 279–280.

tables of nine monks each mentioned in the 9th-century typikon of Theodore Stoudites,⁵⁶ may be an indication that the Late Byzantine refectory had been rebuilt or refurbished, possibly as part of the thirteenth-century restoration of the monastery. The houses and gardens included in the complex confirm that Stoudios preserved its size and grandeur until the end of its Byzantine existence.

Clavijo's description agrees with the account of Stephen of Novgorod, who had visited Stoudios around the middle of the 14th century. Stephen was impressed by the size of the complex and the basilica and commented on the church's slanted roof, the images decorating its interior, and the opus sectile pavement.⁵⁷ Likewise, the data in the Ottoman survey of 1455 paint a similar picture. Even though the monastery was abandoned at the time, the document offers a detailed account of the site at the moment it ceased functioning as a Christian shrine. According to the register, apart from the church, the area comprised 87 houses, four storage rooms, two wineries, a refectory, one kitchen (probably to be associated with the refectory), a hospital, and one stable. Some of the buildings are mentioned as being two-storied.⁵⁸

Another factor that contributed to the monastery's great fame was the collection of relics preserved in the monastery, although it was not as important as those in other monasteries at the time (especially the Mangana and Petra monasteries, which housed relics of the passion of Christ) and could not compare to the relics kept at Stoudios before the Fourth Crusade (mainly the head of Saint John the Baptist and the body of Saint Theodore Stoudites).⁵⁹ Information on the Palaiologan relics of Stoudios is contained in the accounts of the Russian pilgrims who venerated them during their visits: the so-called Russian Anonymous for example (writing in 1389–1391) mentions the relics of Saint Solomonis and those of an unidentified Saint Sabas, both situated "in the corner in the left side".⁶⁰ This agrees with the testimony of Stephen of Novgorod, who had visited the monastery in the middle of the 14th century, although he did not specify in his account where the relics were exhibited.⁶¹ The expression "in the left side" is not very helpful; even if it means "left as one enters" (which is reasonable but not certain), it only gives a general direction toward the north part, but it is impossible to say whether this would have been in the narthex or in the nave, or even close to the sanctuary barrier.

The Saint Solomonis in question appears to be the mother of the Maccabees. Relics of the Maccabees are indeed attested in Constantinople in earlier centuries;⁶² it is conceivable that the shrine dedicated to them was ultimately destroyed (perhaps during the Latin period, as Majeska has hypothesized⁶³) and that the part identified as Solomonis later found its way to Stoudios, most likely

⁵⁶ PG 99, col. 1713. Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typica and testaments, I–III, ed. J. Thomas *et alii*. Washington, D.C. 2000, *109.

⁵⁷ MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 284–286.

⁵⁸ ЇНАЛЦИК, Survey 351–352, 490–491.

⁵⁹ MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 286–288. For the relics kept at Stoudios before 1204 (none of which is attested in the monastery after 1261), see K. N. СІГГААР, Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais. *REB* 34 (1976) 262; С. М. ЛОПАРЕВ, Книга паломникъ. Сказание мѣсть Святыхъ во Царѣградѣ Антонія Архієпископа Новгородскаго въ 1200 году. *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 51 (1899) 22; A. EFFENBERGER, Zur „Reliquientopographie“ von Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. *Mill* 12 (2005) 284–290, 320–322. See also R. OUSTERHOUT – V. MARINIS, 'Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them.' Relics and the Byzantine Church Building, in: *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. Hahn – H. A. Klein. Washington, D.C. 2015, 158–162, for the localization of the Stoudios relics during the Middle Byzantine period. For the relics in the monastery of Petra, see E. MALAMUT, Le monastère Saint Jean-Prodrome de Petra de Constantinople, in: *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident*, ed. M. Kaplan. Paris 2001, 229–233.

⁶⁰ MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 284; A. BERGER, The Cult of the Maccabees in the Eastern Orthodox Church, in: *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith. Old Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, ed. G. Signori. Leiden – Boston 2012, 121–123.

⁶¹ MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 283–284.

⁶² BERGER, Maccabees 105–110.

⁶³ MAJESKA, Russian Travelers 286.

thanks to an (imperial?) donation shortly after the recapture of 1261. The saint Sabas (mentioned as the monastery's cook) is also difficult to identify. It is highly unlikely that this refers to a monk from the pre-1204 period, since we are fairly well informed about the cult of Stoudite holy men until then.⁶⁴ It is therefore more likely that this was an early Palaiologan monk with exceptional qualities, whose sanctification was part of the monastery's restoration in an attempt to establish new saints and renew its identity.

Two other Russian travelers, Alexander the Clerk (1394–1395) and Zosima (1419–1422), add another notable relic, namely myrrh from the tomb of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike.⁶⁵ It is not difficult to find links between Stoudios and Thessalonike in the Late Byzantine period; Makarios Choumnos, abbot of Stoudios from 1368 to ca. 1380, had arrived at the monastery from Thessalonike, where he had served as the abbot of the monastery of Nea Mone.⁶⁶ It is thus legitimate to suppose that Makarios brought with him a vial with the myrrh to the Constantinopolitan foundation.

Since the Stoudios monastery was an imperial monastery situated very near the area that was occupied by the Yedi Kule fortress almost immediately after the Ottoman conquest, it is easy to imagine that the Stoudios community was not able to survive and that it was disbanded as soon as Byzantine rule in Constantinople ended.⁶⁷ Interestingly, in the Ottoman survey of 1455 the buildings of the complex are not mentioned as unoccupied or inhabited by anyone, as is the case with other Christian buildings of the city. It seems that the holder of the complex, Hamza Beg, was planning to exploit the vast site and take advantage of the versatile character of the structures and installations. Whether he intended to convert it into an Islamic pious foundation is impossible to say. This did happen in 1486, i.e. during the reign of Beyazid II (1481–1512), when the property was given to the sultan's stable master Ilyas, who indeed installed a dervish community and turned the complex into a tekke.⁶⁸ In the meantime, it appears that someone from the circles of the post-1453 Patriarchate, perhaps a former member of the Stoudite community, managed to salvage one of the relics from the collection of Stoudios, the skull of Saint Solomon: it was somehow channeled toward the seat of the patriarchate (the monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos), where it is attested in the 16th century.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères* 436.

⁶⁵ MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers* 284.

⁶⁶ LAURENT, *Écrits spirituels* 41–46.

⁶⁷ Ç. KAFESCIOĞLU, *Constantinople/Istanbul. Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. University Park, PA 2009, 24–28; A. M. SCHNEIDER, *Yedikule und Umgebung*. *Oriens* 5 (1952) 197–208.

⁶⁸ KAFESCIOĞLU, *Constantinople* 151; S. KIRIMTAYIF, *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul – their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids*. Istanbul 2001, 79–81; H. CRANE, *Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*. Leiden 2000, 216. For the history of the Imrahor tekke, see K. KREISER, *Istanbul und das Osmanische Reich. Derwische, Baugeschichte, Inschriftenkunde*. Istanbul 1995, 225–233; IDEM, *Imrahor Câmi'i: Die Finanzen einer Istanbul Moschee-Stiftung zwischen 1546 und 1706*. *IstMitt* 39 (1989) 321–327; N. CLAYER – N. VATIN, *Un établissement de derviches stambouliotes. Le tekke d'Imrahor*. *Anatolia Moderna/ Yeni Anadolu* 6 (1996) 31–82. In any case, the identity of the site now known as the Imrahor Camii with Stoudios was never forgotten: it was visited and described by Pierre Gilles and Stephan Gerlach in the 16th century, as well as by several travelers to Istanbul in subsequent centuries: GRÉLOIS, *Pierre Gilles* 443; GERLACH, *Tage-Buch* 217; *Byzance retrouvée: érudits et voyageurs français (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles): Chapelle de la Sorbonne*, Paris, 13 août–2 septembre 2001, ed. M.-F. Auzépy – J.-P. Grémois. Paris 2001, 134–135, 137. For the afterlife of the Stoudios monastery, see C. BARSANTI – A. PARIBENI, *Broken Bits of Byzantium: frammenti di un puzzle archeologico nella Costantinopoli di fine Ottocento*, in: *Immagine e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*. Milan 2007, 550–555.

⁶⁹ Two visitors (H. J. BREUNING, *Orientalische Reyß deß Edlen unnd Vesten Hanß Jacob Breuning ...*. Strasburg 1612, 67; GERLACH, *Tage-Buch* 462) saw it there shortly before 1586 (the year the patriarchate was forced to abandon the Pammakaristos): BERGER, *Maccabees* 123; C. MANGO, *The Monument and Its History*, in: *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, ed. H. Belting – C. Mango – C. Mouriki. Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 34. The relic is now preserved in the patriarchate's current location, the church of Saint George at Fener in Istanbul. Two post-Byzantine Greek scholars active in 16th-century Istanbul adopted the epithet Stoudites (Damaskenos Stoudites and Dionysios Stoudites), but they cannot have been former monks in the monastery. Perhaps this was an honorary title conferred by the Patriarchate, as Marios Philippides has suggested: <https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/damaskenos-stoudite> (5.5.2017). See

The above analysis has revealed that Stoudios was an important nucleus within a vibrant monastic network which determined the course of events during the crucial last decades of Byzantine Constantinople. It is obvious that the Palaiologan phase of the monastery deserves more attention than it has received so far, since several important issues about its late history remain unresolved, for example, details about its scribal activity, the monastic library's holdings, and the role of the Russian monks residing in it. Therefore, further research into the literary sources can reveal more about the monks and their activities within the framework of Late Palaiologan Constantinople. Also, it is certain that proper archaeological investigation on the site of the Imrahor Camii will generate fresh evidence on the various building phases of the monastic complex and thus determine its state at the moment it became an Islamic religious foundation.⁷⁰ Better knowledge of Stoudios at the time of the late Palaiologan and early post-1453 period will no doubt shed additional light on the earlier phases of the monument and its history as well.

also A. RIGO, *Vie et littérature spirituelle au Mont Athos (XVI^e s.)*. Le cas de Denys le Stoudite, in: *To Agion Oros ston 15o kai 16o aiona*. Thessaloniki 2012, 239–261.

⁷⁰ The fate of the archaeological site of the Imrahor Camii – Stoudios monastery is still the subject of considerable debate in the academic community and in Turkish politics. See the remarks by Veronica Calas in <http://www.sah.org/publications-and-research/sah-blog/sah-blog/2013/12/12/recent-news-on-the-conversion-into-mosques-of-byzantine-churches-in-turkey> (30.05.2017).

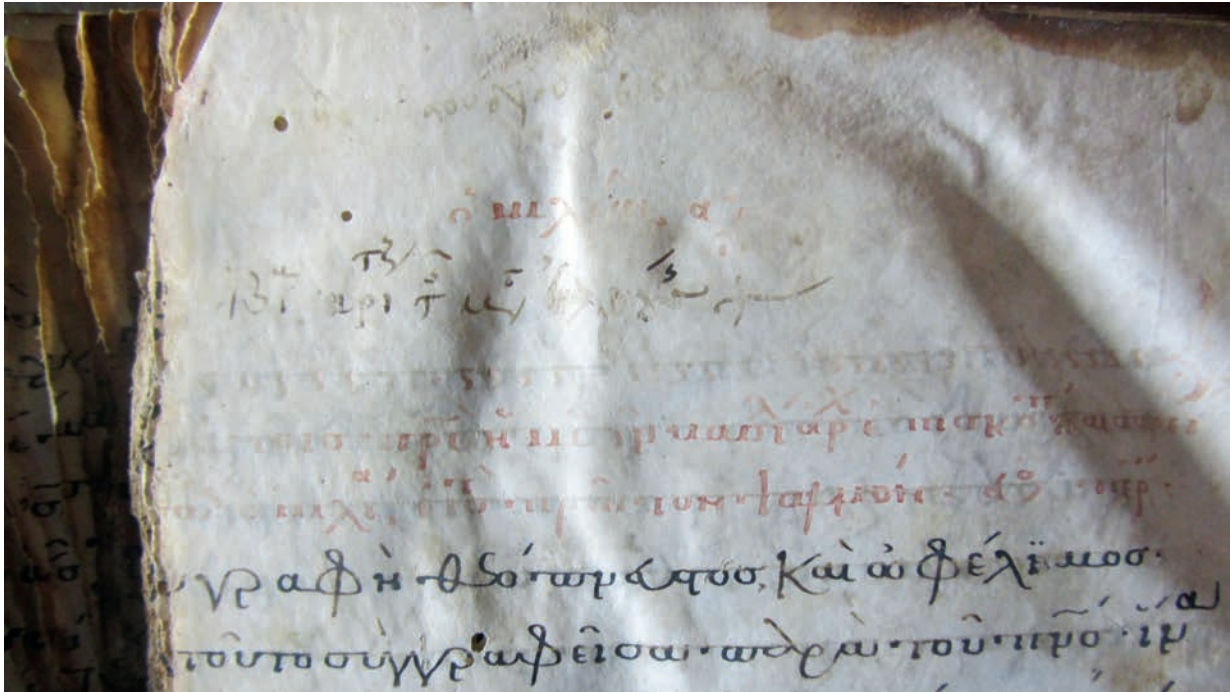


Fig. 1 (above)
Fifteenth-century note in manuscript containing homilies of Saint Basil (top of page, mentions Stoudios monastery)
Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2070, f. 305^v



Fig. 2 (left)
Map illustrating Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople (Stoudios basilica is visible in SW corner)
Athens, Gennadeios Library, cod. 71, f. 36^v