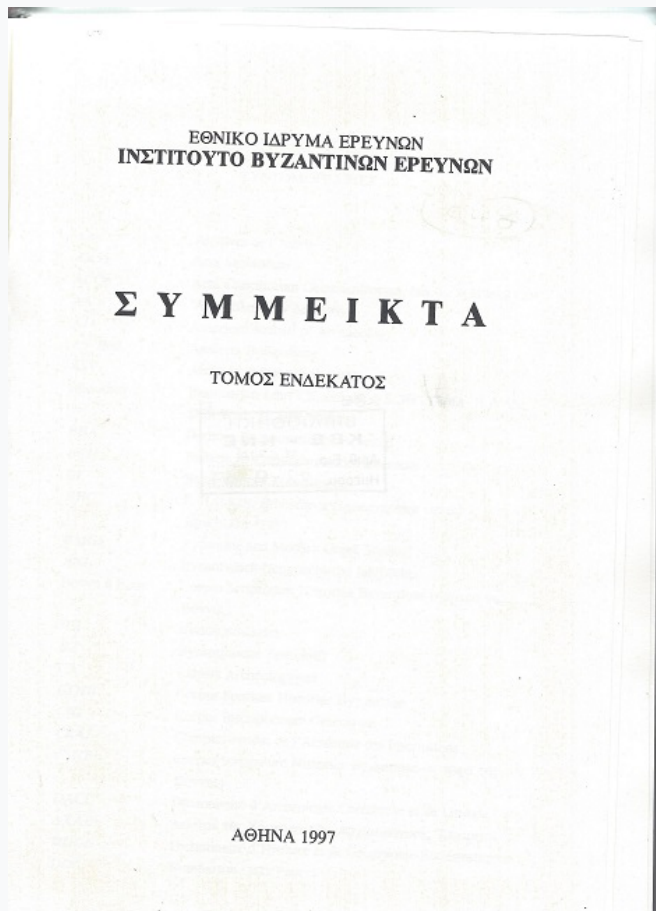


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CYRIL PAVLIKIANOV

THE MONASTERY OF ZELIANOS
THE FIRST SLAVIC MONASTIC INSTITUTION ON MOUNT ATHOS

According to the prevailing view the first Slavic monastery on the Holy Mountain was the Russian monastery of Xylourgou, an inventory list of which, drawn up in 1142, mentions the existence of forty-nine Russian books in its depository¹. The second monastery which seems to have accepted Slavs was the traditionally Bulgarian monastery of Zographou, whose abbot in 1163 signed a document of the Russian monastery of Saint Panteleemon in Slavic vernacular of a Bulgarian type². The monastery of Chilandar was taken over by the Serbs thirty-five years later, in 1198, when Saint Sabas and his father Stephan Nemanja received it officially from Alexios III Angelos and from the Protos of the Holy Mountain Gerasimos³.

1. F. TERNOVSKIJ, *Akty russkago na svjatom Aθone monastyrja svjatago velikomučenika i celitelja Panteleimona*, Kiev 1873, 50-54, No 6; *Actes de Saint Pantéléémôn*, ed. by P. LEMERLE, G. DAGRON and S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Paris 1982, AA XII, 3-12 and 65-76, No 7, l. 25-27; cf. V. MOŠIN, *Russkie na Afone i rusko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI-XII vv.*, *BSI* 9, 1947-1948, 55-85; I. SMOLITSCH, *Le Mont Athos et la Russie*, *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos 963-1963. Études et Mélanges* I, Chevetogne 1963, 279-318; D. NASTASE, *Les débuts de la communauté œcuménique du Mont Athos*, *Σύμμεικτα* 6, 1985, 284-299.

2. NASTASE, *op. cit.*, 299-302; Διονυσία ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ, *Ἡ Ἀθωνικὴ μοναχισμὸς. Ἀρχές καὶ ὀργάνωση*, Athens 1992, 239-241 and notes 267-280; I. BOŽILOV, *Bŭlgarite vŭn Vizantijskata imperija*, Sofia 1995, 80-84 and 352 (No 443); IDEM, *Osnovavane na svetata atonska bŭlgarska obitel Zograf. Legendi i fakti*, *Svetogorska obitel Zograf* 1, Sofia 1995, 18 and notes 46-49.

3. *Actes de Chilandar I. Actes grecs*, ed. by L. PETIT and B. KORABLEV, *Viz. Vrem.*, Priloženie I k XVII-mu tomu, Sankt-Petersburg 1911 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1975), 6-15, No 3, No 4 and No 5; T. BURKOVIĆ, *Hilandar u doba Nemanjica*, Beograd 1925; D. DIMITRIEVIĆ, *L'importance du monachisme serbe et ses origines au monastère athonite de Chilandar*, *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos*, 265-278; Δ. ΖΑΚΥΘΗΝΟΣ, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*

Nevertheless, it seems that the first Athonite monastery directly connected with persons of Slavic origin was founded a century earlier. In the eleventh century the sources mention the existence of a monastery named «ή μονή τοῦ Ζελιάνου»⁴. The name Zelianos is obviously Slavic, so we have to investigate the following problems: 1) the chronological sequence of the data about the existence of the monastery; 2) the changes in its property; 3) the locality of the foundation and 4) the origin of its name.

Chronological sequence of the events

1) 1033-1034. Zelianos

An act of sale dated to 1033-1034 reveals that the Athonite Monastery of Katzari possessed a piece of land called Zelianos' place: Χριστόδουλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῆς ἐπιλεγομένης τοῦ Κάτζαρι... ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πνευματικὸς ἡμῶν πατήρ κῦρ Ἄντώνιος δέδωκεν τῷ μοναχῷ Ἐφραίμ τόπον ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον τοῦ Ζελιάνου⁵. The passage provides us with no evidence that the place had the status of a monastery, but its *periorismos* informs us that it consisted of some cells: καθὼς αἱ μηλέαι καὶ τὰ κελλία ἴστανται πρὸς μὲν τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος⁶. Twenty lines further down Zelianos is mentioned for a second time: τὰ δὲ καταλειφθέντα τοπίτζια ἄπερ ἐδέσποζεν ἡ μονή τοῦ Κάτζαρι, κατέλιπον καὶ γὰρ ὁ μοναχὸς Χριστόδουλος εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Ζελιάνου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολήν⁷ and this time the phrase εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Ζελιάνου makes it clear that

- ὀρθόδοξος κοινότης καὶ κεντρόφυγες ροπαί, Ἀφιέρωμα στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Νέα Ἑστία 74, τεύχος 875, 1963, 183-188; F. BARIŠIĆ, Hronološki problemi oko godine Nemanjine smrti, *Hilandarski Zbornik* 2, 1971, 31-57; NASTASE, *op. cit.*, 260-262; Mirjana ŽIVOJINović, Hilandar in the Middle Ages. Origins and an Outline of its History, *Hilandarski Zbornik* 7, 1989, 7-25; ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ, *op. cit.*, 249-250 and notes 337-342.

4. Cf. K. PAVLIKIANOV, Manastirūt na Zeljan - pŕvoto slavjansko monašesko učreždenie na Aton, *Svetogorska obitel Zograf* 2, Sofia 1996, 17-23.

5. TERNOVSKIJ, *Akty russkago monastyrja*, 10-17, No 2; *Actes de Saint Pantéléemōn*, 31-35, No 2, l. 2-3 and 23-25.

6. *Actes de Saint Pantéléemōn*, No 2, l. 25-26.

7. *Ibid.*, No 2, l. 39-41.

Zelianos was the name of a person who was implicated and participated in the contract described in the document. It remains uncertain whether Zelianos lived alone, or was accompanied by some disciples, but it should be stressed that if Zelianos really had any, this had to be declared, as it is declared about the Abbot of Katzari Christodoulos: καὶ ἐὰν ποτὲ καιρῶ ἀναφῆ λέγας περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου ὁ Ζελιάνος, ἵνα ἴσταμαι καὶ διεκδικῶ καγὼ ὁ μοναχὸς Χριστόδουλος καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ μαθηταὶ καὶ διάδοχοι⁸. So, the text of the document does not clarify if Zelianos was an abbot of a monastery, or a solitary hermit, and the only objection to this remark may be based on the plural of the word «cells» which presupposes collective settlement. Nonetheless, it is obvious that at the time of the contract Zelianos was not living on the land Anthony had assigned to Ephraim and consequently this land was not his only possession. This consideration is confirmed by the *periorismos* of the parcel which refers neither to a church, nor to a chapel. The conclusions one may draw from these data are two: 1) the place Zelianos lost in favour of the monk Ephraim was not his main residence, but a hermitage with adjacent farming terrain. 2) Zelianos was probably the legal representative, i. e. the abbot of a group of anchorites, because his property in the region consisted of at least two pieces of land and seems to have been larger than was usual for solitary hermits⁹.

Therefore, notwithstanding the lack of direct evidence, we may assume that in 1033-1034 a monastery directed by a Slav named Zelianos was already functioning.

2) 1089. Zelianos' monastery

In a document of 1089 the name of Zelianos appears clearly as a name of a monastery: διαιρῶν δεξιὰ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ Κάτζαρη ἦτοι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ

8. *Ibid.*, No 2, l. 41-43.

9. *Ibid.*, No 2, l. 17-20. The passage describes a typical example of a hermit's property: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ μοναχῷ Πέτρῳ τῷ γέροντι πρὸ χρόνων τινῶν δεδώκαμεν ἐκ τῆς διακρατήσεως ταύτης τοπίτζιν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀμπελίτζιν καὶ μικρὸν περιβολίτζιν συμφωνῶμεν μετὰ σοῦ τοῦ κῦρ Εὐθυμίου ἵνα ἔχει καὶ δεσπόζει αὐτὸ ὁ μοναχὸς ὁ Πέτρος ὁ γέρον μέρει τέλους ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. Cf. ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ, Ὁ Ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς, 173-193.

Ζελιάνου¹⁰. The text indicates that at this time the monastery of Zelianos was perceived as identical with the monastery of Katzari¹¹ and that the term monastery was not in frequent use, since it is to be found only once, while in another three instances it is absent: 1) εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατερχομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζελιάνου¹², 2) τὸ ῥυάκιον τοῦ Ζελιάνου¹³, 3) κάτωθεν τοῦ μύλωνος τοῦ Ζελιάνου¹⁴. It seems that in 1089 the monastic institution founded by Zelianos at the beginning of the century was no longer independent and that the conventional term «monastery» was only a reminiscence of its former status. Therefore, the only conclusion one may draw from this data is that by the middle of the eleventh century the anchorite group of Zelianos was probably described as a monastery.

3) 1363. Zelianos' place

Denise Papachryssanthou, editor of the Xenophon archive, suggests that it was the Russian monastery which inherited the territory once possessed by Zelianos¹⁵. Nevertheless, the document of 1089 makes it clear that the monastery of Saint Panteleimon was not a direct heir to Zelianos' domain, since in the late 11th century what was left of the monastery of Zelianos already belonged to Katzari¹⁶. This monastery remained autonomous till 1363, when the Serbian Protos Dorotheos granted it to the Russian monastery of Saint Panteleimon. In 1363 the name of Zelianos appears again in an interpolated copy of an act of Dorotheos, concerning the donation of the monastery of Katzari to the Russians: εἰς τὸν ῥυάκα ῥέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζελιάνου καὶ Μακρυγένου¹⁷. In this instance the name of Zelianos is simply a place-name in the vicinity of Katzari.

10. *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. by Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris 1986, AA XV, 59-75, No 1, l. 126-127.

11. Π. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Ἀθωνικὴ πολιτεία - ἱστορία, τέχνη, ζωή*, Athens 1987, 61 and 65; ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ, *op. cit.*, 244 and notes 297-298.

12. *Actes de Xénophon*, No 1, l. 133-134.

13. *Ibid.*, No 1, l. 135.

14. *Ibid.*, No 1, l. 136.

15. *Ibid.*, 7-9. The editor offers no opinion about Zelianos' origin.

16. Cf. note 10.

17. *Actes de Saint Pantéléèmon*, 111, No 13, l. 12 (in the text of the interpolated copy B).

4) 1612. The Zelianos Monastery in a Slavic document

The monastery of Zelianos is mentioned again in 1612 in an unpublished Serbian act of the Xenophontos Monastery: **оу великоу рѣкоу до обители зелановы си речь до кацра. и починеть прѣва воула ис под вѣденице зелановы и вѣходить оу врьдо...**¹⁸. The term is again «the monastery of Zelianos» - **обители зелановы**, but this is not surprising, since the document is a compilation of older Greek acts. It summarises the sites where boundary marks (**βοῦλα**, i. e. βούλαι) of the Xenophontos monastery were placed and the passage **до обители зелановы си речь до кацра** corresponds directly to the act of 1089: τοῦ Κάτζαρη ἦτοι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ζελιάνου¹⁹. The name of the monastery is transliterated exactly as it was in the Greek original - **ЗЕЛАНОВЫ** (Zelanovy) and this fact indicates that the Serbian scribe was unaware of the Slavic origin of the name. Hence it appears that the place-name was already quite obsolete. The only objection to these conclusions can be based on the statement of the text that the first boundary mark of Xenophontos was set in the neighbourhood of Zelianos' watermill: **и починеть прѣва воула ис под вѣденице зелановы и вѣходить оу врьдо**. The passage corresponds to the act of 1089 (εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάχεως κάτωθεν τοῦ μύλωνος τοῦ Ζελιάνου²⁰), but not so completely as in the first case. The re-arrangement of the text makes it clear that the compiler knew the exact site of the mill, so it is probable that the name of Zelianos was not forgotten until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Serbian document reproduces the name mechanically and consequently contains no data about any further development of Zelianos' foundation.

Therefore, the only conclusion one may draw from points 3 and 4 is that first hand evidence of the existence of Zelianos' monastery disappears before the year 1100.

18. «Near the great river not far from the monastery of Zelianos, i.e., not far from Katzari. The first sign is situated right under Zelianos' watermill and climbs upwards to the mountain crest» (my translation).

19. Cf. note 10.

20. Cf. note 14.

Changes in the property

We have no information about Zelianos' early domain, since the only piece of land described by the document of 1033-1034 is the one Zelianos lost in favour of the monk Ephraim. It was situated on a hill and its boundaries coincided with the streams forming the natural borders of the hill to the east and to the west: καί ἐστίν ὁ περιορισμὸς αὐτοῦ οὕτως· καθὼς αἱ μηλέαι καὶ τὰ κελλία ἴστανται πρὸς μὲν τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος ρυάκην χρηματίζων ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος ἕτερον ρυακίτζιν, τὸ δὲ διαμέσου ραχόνην καθὼς ἀνέρχεται μέχρι τοῦ ράχονος ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο ρυακιτζίων, ἵνα ἔχει αὐτὸ καθὼς καὶ τὸ δικαίωμα αὐτοῦ περιέχει²¹. The only valuable thing on this terrain were some apple trees and cells in its western part and the lack of other cultivation confirms the description of the place as a hermitage (τόπον ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας²²). No neighbours are mentioned, so the exact locality of the land remains unknown.

It seems that at this time Zelianos had some connections with the monastery of Katzari²³, because the Abbot of Katzari Christodoulos stresses that his spiritual father, Anthony, had assigned to the monk Ephraim a piece of land which belonged to Zelianos. In 1089 there was a monastery of Saint Ephraim in the vicinity of the monasteries of Katzari and Zelianos²⁴, so a conjecture can be made that it was founded on the land formerly owned by Zelianos. Forty years earlier, in 991 and in 996, Anthony appears as Katzari's Abbot in two documents of the Great Lavra²⁵ and it is probable that in 1033-1034 he was still alive. The way in which Christodoulos acts, demonstrates that Zelianos was dependent on the decisions of Anthony and one may suggest that Zelianos was Anthony's disciple. Nevertheless, there is an obvious differentiation between the part of Zelianos (εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Ζελιάνου²⁶) and the part of Christodoulos (καὶ γὰρ ὁ μοναχὸς Χριστόδουλος καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ

21. *Actes de Saint Pantéléémôn*, No 2, l. 25-28.

22. Cf. note 5.

23. Cf. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ, *op. cit.*, 61.

24. *Actes de Xénophon*, No 1, l. 128.

25. *Actes de Lavra I*, ed. by P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris 1970, AA V, No 9, l. 41-42 and No 12, l. 26.

26. Cf. note 7.

μαθηται και διάδοχοι²⁷), so the interpretation we propose is that both Zelianos and Christodoulos were Anthony's disciples, but it was Christodoulos who was elected to be Katzari's Abbot, whereas Zelianos probably seceded from the monastery, retaining the usucaption of some lands which belonged to it. Such an explanation is supported by the opinion of the editors of the document, P. Lemerle and G. Dagron, who believe that Anthony's conscience was not clear with regard to Zelianos' land²⁸. As they point out, the phrases τὰ γὰρ δόξαντα τῶν πατέρων οἱ θεῖοι νόμοι διακελεύονται οἱ παῖδες ἀντέρειν οὐ δύνανται²⁹ and τὰ δὲ καταλειφθέντα τοπίτζια ἀπερ ἐδέσποζεν ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Κάτζαρι, κατέλιπον καὶ γὰρ ὁ μοναχὸς Χριστόδουλος εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Ζελιάνου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολήν³⁰ indicate that Zelianos disagreed with the abuse of his rights. It seems that Christodoulos and Anthony feared that his protest against the donation of his land might damage the monk Ephraim and the contract they were trying to sign with the Abbot of Saint Tryphon, so they decided to recompense him with a piece of abandoned land possessed by the monastery of Katzari. This land is described as τοπίτζια; unfortunately we dispose no further information about it. Though the relations between Anthony and Zelianos cannot be clarified in detail because of the lack of precise data, we can assume that it was Zelianos' occupation of Katzari's land which gave rise to the latent conflict described in the document.

The act of 1089 concerns a terrain the Abbot of Katzari had bestowed up on the monastery of Xenophontos: διέρχεται ὡς πρὸς δύοσιν κρατῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιον ἀνωθεν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καταντᾶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν κρατῶν τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν κατέρχεται εἰς τὴν μίξιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατερχομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζελιάνου ἀντικρὺ τοῦ μύλωνος τοῦ κυροῦ Διονυσίου, στρέφεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κρατῶν τὸ ρυάκιον τοῦ Ζελιάνου ἀνέρχεται ἔων δεξιὰ τὸ ξυλοκοπεῖον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Βαρναβίτζη καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράχεως κάτωθεν τοῦ μύλωνος τοῦ Ζελιάνου, ἔνθα καὶ ἤρξατο³¹. This time the name of Zelianos is connected with a watermill, a river

27. Cf. note 8.

28. *Actes de Saint Pantéléémōn*, 32.

29. *Ibid.*, No 2, l. 28-29.

30. Cf. note 7.

31. *Actes de Xénophon*, no 1, l. 120-122 and 132-136.

and a stream in the vicinity of the Barnabitzes' monastery. It seems that the river and the stream formed the south and the west boundary of Zelianos' land.

The basic conclusion one may draw from these data is that in the second half of the eleventh century the monastery of Zelianos was probably a self-sufficient economic unit.

The document of 1363 informs us that the place of Zelianos lay to the north of Katzari: ἐξέρχεται τὸ μονοπάτιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κάτζαρη καὶ κατέρχεται τὸ μονοπάτιν μικρὸν κάτωθεν, στρέφεται δεξιὰ πρὸς βόρειον μέρος κατόφορα ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸν ῥύακα ῥέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζελιάνου καὶ Μακρουγένους³². This fact makes it clear that in the middle of the 14th century the Athonites were still aware that the place-names Katzari and Zelianou were not completely identical.

Locality of the foundation

As already pointed out, the monastery of Zelianos was located in the vicinity of Katzari. The sources contain no direct indications about the place where the two foundations were built, but the later Russian descriptions of Saint Panteleimon monastery point out that in 1766 the land of Katzari was used for the establishment of the Xenophontos skete³³.

G. Smyrnakes identifies the monastery of Katzari with some ruins he saw near the stream of Chrysorreres, not far from the monastery of Pantokrator³⁴, but the data we have already commented on do not agree with this conjecture. More acceptable seems to be the information of Papachryssanthou, who declares that the modern place-name Katzari is to be found 1.5 km to the northeast of the Old Rossikon Monastery³⁵. These references make clear that the monasteries of Katzari and Zelianos were situated on the western slope of the peninsula, between the Old Rossikon and Xenophontos. The only study of Mount Athos' topography is that of Papazotos and this locates the monastery

32. Cf. note 17.

33. *Russkij monastyr' svjatoj velikomučenika i celitelja Panteleimona na Svjatoj Gore Athonskoj*, Moskva 1886⁷, 31.

34. Γ. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΚΗΣ, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1903 (reprinted in Karyes 1988), 678.

35. *Actes de Xénophon*, 9.

of Katzari in the rear part of an «ancient vineyard» of the Russian monastery³⁶. Papazotos' map offers no details, but elucidates the fact that the place-names Katzari and Barnabitze are to be found on the two banks of the stream which flows from Makrygenes towards the new monastery of Saint Panteleemon. The passage *κατόφορα ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸν ῥύακα ῥέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζελιάνου καὶ Μακρυγένους*³⁷ indicates that Zelianos' foundation was situated on the same stream, so one may suggest that it lay higher than the monastery of Katzari and not far from the modern road connecting Karyes with Xenophontos and Vatopedi, where even today the visitor may see the cross of Makrygenes.

Origin of the name

As it was often the practice in Athos' early settlements, the Zelianos' monastery was named after its founder, who lived during the first half of the 11th century.

There is no direct evidence of the language spoken by Zelianos and his congregation, but the name is undoubtedly of Slavic origin. The common genitive form Ζελιάνου derives from the Slavic genitive **ЖЕЛИАНОВЪ** (Željanov), or **ЖЕЛИАНОВЪ** (Želianov) with the nominative form **ЖЕЛИАНЪ** (Željan). This nominative is attested as a Serbian place-name in a chrysobull Stephan Uroš I issued for Chilandar between 1254 and 1264: *оу чрънои горѣ полъ земле и съ мегамы како к ѡтъ приаде было. земла на моры соудъ желианъ. село трънова и съ мегами, како к ѡтъ приаге было*.³⁸

The name Željan seems to derive from the Slavic root **жел-**(zhelj), apparent in the word **желѣти** (zhelĕti) and meaning, according to Franz von

36. A. PAPAZOTOS, *Recherches topographiques au Mont Athos, Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen*, Paris 1988, 154-155 and 162-163 (fig. 2).

37. Cf. note 17.

38. «Near the Black Mountain with half the land and with the same land boundaries it previously had. Land near the sea, the narrow pass of Zelian, the village Trĕnova with the boundaries it had before» (my translation); cf. *Actes de Chilandar II. Actes slaves*, ed. by L. PETIT and B. KORABLEV, *Viz.Vrem.*, Priloženie I k XIX-mu tomu, Sankt-Petersburg 1915 (reprinted in Amsterdam 1975), 382, No 4, l. 159-161.

Miklosich, ἐπιθυμεῖν, θέλειν or πενθεῖν³⁹. It can be found even today in rural districts of Bulgaria and Serbia. If the etymology proposed is right, the name Željān corresponds to the Greek name Πόθος or Ποθητός⁴⁰.

The documents make it clear that Zelianos was not an eminent person, so he may have originated from the Chalkidiki peninsula or even from Ierissos, where the presence of Bulgarian Slavs is attested by some early documents of the Monasteries of Iviron (982)⁴¹ and the Lavra (989)⁴². Three centuries later, in 1341, a *praktikon* describing the possessions of Iviron in the village Radolibos on the Strymon⁴³ mentions the *paroikos* Μιχαήλ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ζελιάνου⁴⁴. The majority of the *paroikoi* registered in the document are Slavs,

39. Franz von MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vienna 1865 (reprinted in Aalen 1963), 193.

40. *Actes d'Iviron* I, ed. by J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Denise PAPA-CHRYSSANTHOU avec la collaboration d'Hélène MÉTRÉVÉLI, Paris 1985, AA XIV, 121, No 4, l. 5, No 5, l. 13; cf. Ἀγγελικὴ ΛΑΙΟΥ-ΘΩΜΑΔΑΚΗ, Ἡ ἀγροτικὴ κοινωνία στὴν ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ ἐποχὴ, Athens 1987, 154 and note 9.

41. *Actes d'Iviron* I, 117-129, No 4, l. 1-18; N. I. SREZNEVSKIJ, Iz obozrenija glagoličeskikh pamjatnikov, *Izvestija imperatorskago arheologičeskago obščestva* 3, 1861, 1-8; P. USPENSKIJ, Suždenie ob Afono-iverskom akte 982 goda i o glagoličeskoj podpisi na nem popa Giorgija, *Izvestija imperatorskago arheologičeskago obščestva* 5, 1865, 13-18; J. IVANOV, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931, 21-23 (reprinted in Sofia 1970); F. DÖLGER, Ein Fall slavischer Einsiedlung im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jahrhundert, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1952, Heft 1, Munich 1952, 1-28; G. SOULIS, On the Slavic settlement in Hierissos in the tenth century, *Byzantion* 23, 1953, 67-72 (reprinted in Γ. ΣΟΥΛΗΣ, *Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα*, Athens 1980, 29-34); Vasilka TAPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, Svedenija za bŭlgari v žitieto na Sv. Atanasij, *Izsledvanija v čest na akad. Dimitŭr Dečev po slučaj 80 godišninata mu*, Sofia 1958, 759-762; I. BOŽILOV, *Bŭlgarite vŭv Vizantiskata imperija* (as in fn. 2), 81.

42. *Actes de Lavra* I, No 8, l. 10-11: τὸ κάστρον τῆς Ἐρισσοῦ, συνεγγίζει δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω· τοῦτο πλείσταις ὄσαις ταῖς ἐπηρείαις τετρανωμένον, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τῶν ἐκ γειτόνων οἰκούντων Βουλγάρων ἐκδρομαῖς κεκακωμένον, cf. I. DUIČEV, Proučvanija vŭrhu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie, *Sbornik na Bŭlgarskata Akademiya na Naukite*, vol. XLI-1, Sofia 1945, 21-24.

43. J. LEFORT, Radolibos: population et paysage, *TM* 9, 1985, 195-234.

44. *Actes d'Iviron* IV, ed. by J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Denise PAPA-CHRYSSANTHOU, Vassiliki KRAVARI avec la collaboration d'Hélène MÉTRÉVÉLI, Paris 1995, AA XIX, No 87 (A), l. 215, No 87 (B), l. 238.

so we may conclude that at this time the name **ЖЕΛΙΑΝЪ** was in common use among the Bulgarian Slavs in the vicinity of the Chalkidiki peninsula and that its transliteration in Greek as Ζελιάνος was a current one⁴⁵. The monastery of Zelianos can be therefore described as a Bulgarian foundation.

The essential difference between the monastery of Zelianou and the later Slavic institutions on Athos is that the former began its existence by taking the name of its founder, a Slav, who could well have been a Byzantine subject. It was a Slavic monastic institution from its inception, while all the other monasteries which gradually took on a Slavic character were originally established as Greek monastic institutions. The former was a minor habitation named after its founder, while the others were major habitations, which at a certain moment were taken over by the Slavs. This is evidence, therefore, of the fact that the Slavic population of the Balkan peninsula participated, though on a limited scale, in the life of the monastic community on Athos in the early 11th century. Nevertheless, we must stress that the Athonites never paid any attention to Zelianos' origin and always perceived him not as a foreigner, but as an integral part of their society.

45. F. BRUNET, Sur l'hellénisation des toponymes slaves en Macédoine byzantine, *TM* 9, 1985, 235-265.

CYRIL PAVLIKIANOV, Ἡ μονή τοῦ Ζελιάνου: Τὸ πρῶτο σλαβικὸ μοναστικὸ καθίδρυμα στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος

Τὸ πρῶτο ἄθωνικὸ μονύδριο ἄμεσα σχετιζόμενο μὲ ἄτομα σλαβικῆς καταγωγῆς χρονολογεῖται στὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου αἰῶνος, ὅταν στὶς πηγές ἐμφανίζεται ἡ μονή τοῦ Ζελιάνου. Τὸ ὄνομα Ζελιάνος εἶναι ἀναμφίβολα σλαβικῆς προελεύσεως. Ἡ εἰδοποιὸς διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ζελιάνου καὶ τῶν καθιδρυμάτων, ποὺ διατηρήθηκαν ὡς σλαβικὲς ἐστίες μέχρι σήμερα, ἔγκειται στὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ πρώτη ἔγινε γνωστὴ στὸν Ἅθωνα μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σλάβου ἰδρυτῆ της, ὁ ὁποῖος κάλλιστα θὰ μπορούσε νὰ κατάγεται καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἐδάφη τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας. Ἀποτελοῦσε, δηλαδή, σλαβικὸ μοναστικὸ κέντρο ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδρυσή της, ἐνῶ ὅλα τὰ ὑπόλοιπα μοναστήρια, ποὺ βαθμιαία περιῆλθαν στὰ χέρια σλάβων μοναχῶν, ἰδρύθηκαν ὡς ἑλληνόφωνα. Συνεπῶς, ἤδη ἀπὸ τὸν ΙΑ΄ αἰῶνα, οἱ σλαβικοὶ πληθυσμοὶ τῶν Βαλκανίων μετεῖχαν στὴν ζωὴ τῆς ἄθωνικῆς μοναστικῆς κοινότητος.