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*Saint Philothei*

*An Athenian Noblewoman – a Bold Nun*



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This study was written in the light of the founding of a new museum within the Benizelos Mansion, in Athens, for the documentation of its content.

# *Saint Philothei*

## *An Athenian Noblewoman – a Bold Nun*

Philothei Benizelou was a unique figure in Turkish-ruled Athens of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the offspring of a noble family with a strong personality who devoted herself to monasticism and was particularly active in philanthropic and social work. The recognition of her holiness by the Patriarchate of Constantinople just a few years after her death and the echoes of her rich body of work contributed to the creation of legends and traditions surrounding her life and work. These combine with surviving contemporary historical sources to compose the mosaic by which Philothei may be placed within her historic dimensions. Through the process of piecing together historical truth, the portrait of a personality is revealed that even today, so many centuries after her death, does not cease to surprise us.

The canvas around which I shall weave my narrative is the *Vita* of St Philothei, included in her *Offices* (*Akolouthia*). The first printed version of the *Offices* was issued in Venice in 1775 paid for by Leonardos Dimitrios Kapetanakis,<sup>1</sup> but the person who wrote the *Vita* of Philothei remains unknown. However, as the recognition of Philothei's holiness came just a few years after her death, it is likely that the text of her *Vita* was written a short time following the actual events.

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Translator's note: In Greek she is called *Osia Philothei*. The title "osios" is attributed to saints who had lived a monastic or eremitic life, but in English there is no such distinction and the general term "saint" is preferred.

1. *Ακολουθία της οσίας μητρός ημών Φιλοθέης της εξ Αθηνών...*, Venice 1775 (cf. Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième-siècle*, V. 2, Paris 1928, no. 819). For the rest of the publications of the saint's *Offices*, see Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos, *Εντυπες Ακολουθίες Αγίων: Συλλογή Ντόρης Παπαστράτου*, Scientific supervision – Introduction Kriton Chrysochoides, Athens 2007, p. 328-330 and Dim. S. Ginis – Val. G. Mexas, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863*, V. 2 (1840-1855), Athens 1941, no. 4892. Henceforth the references are to Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία της Ιστορίας των Αθηνών, Τουρκοκρατία*, V. 1, Athens 1891 (reprint, Athens, Dion. Noti Karavias, 1993), p. 145-152, where the *Vita* of the saint is republished based on the *Offices* of 1775.

## 1. *The first years and the foundation of the Monastery of St Andrew*

Philothei hailed from the distinguished Benizelos family, one of the noble families of Athens.<sup>2</sup> Specifically, according to the text of her Vita, she was the daughter of Syriga and Angelos Benizelos.<sup>3</sup> This information finds corroboration in a later source dating approximately to the years 1605-1628, a catalogue of contributions for the rebuilding of the monastery that Philothei had meanwhile founded, in which she is called “Kyra of Angelos”.<sup>4</sup>

The secular name of Philothei, according to her Vita, was Revoula. The name is thought to be a corruption of the name Regoula (from *Ρηγούλα* or *Ρηγίλλη*), or even that it came from Paraskevoula.<sup>5</sup> At a young age, Revoula’s parents forced her to marry a noble Athenian (“one who was among the first of the city”), a harsh man who died three years later. Ten years after that, following the death of her parents, Revoula founded a convent and dedicated it to St Andrew:

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2. For the Benizelos family, see Ioannis Benizelos, *Ιστορία των Αθηνών*, preface Ioannis Gennadios, (ed.) I. Kokkonas – G. Bokos, scientific supervision M. I. Manousakas, V. 1, Athens 1986, p. xxiii note 1, where previous bibliography. It should be noted that our understanding of the society of Athens under Ottoman rule is mainly based on sources that date to later periods.

3. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 146.

4. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον, Α' Οι άρχοντες Μπενιζέλοι*, Athens 1921, p. 86-87: “† όσοι προερχώνται να δώσουν εις τὸ κτήσιμον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου εις τὸ κοινόβιον τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Κυρᾶς τοῦ Ἀγγέλου” (those who are willing to donate to the construction of St Andrew of the cenobitic community the so-called of Kyra of Angelos) (document no. 1932 of the Historical and Ethnological Society). The note is not dated, but it is signed by, among others, the “πρώην ἐπίσκοπο Ταλαντίου Δαυιῆλ” (former bishop of Talantion Daniil) who is found as prelate of this ecclesiastical province in 1605, 1616 and during the period 1628-1636 (in 1636 he was elected metropolitan of Athens), but his mandate between the years 1605-1628 was not continuous.

5. See R. Bousquet, “Philothée Bénizélou”, *Échos d’Orient* 9 (1906), 288-292, especially 288; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων και η Οσία Φιλοθέη, Απόσπασμα ανεκδότου συγγραφής* (Reprint from “Ελληνισμός”), Athens 1929, p. 28; Nik. V. Tomadakis, “Οι νεομάρτυρες του Βυζαντίου και η οσιομάρτυς Φιλοθέη Μπενιζέλου η Αθηναία (Φεβρουαρίου 1589)”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (ΕΕΦΣΠΑ)* 21 (1970-1971), 9-25, particularly 18. It should be noted that in an Ottoman document of 1582, discussed below, Philothei appears as “Rusula” (see Suraiya Faroqhi, “An Orthodox Woman Saint in an Ottoman Document”, *Syncretismes et hérésies dans l’Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Actes du Colloque de Collège de France, octobre 2001, Sous la direction de Gilles Veinstein, Paris 2005, p. 383-394, particularly 387 ff.).

“ordered by a vision of St Andrew the Protoklitos, she constructed a convent in his honor, with sufficient cells and other necessary edifices and lands, and she endowed it with dependencies (*metochia*) and subsidiaries (*hypostatika*) to meet the livestock needs of the nuns of the convent...”<sup>6</sup>

An invaluable, as we shall see later, source regarding Philothei and her work allows us to know when the monastery was built. In an appeal of 1583 to the Doge of Venice, the monk Serapheim Pangalos states that approximately twelve years earlier, i.e. around 1571, an Athenian noblewoman had built a monastery of St Andrew with two dependencies.<sup>7</sup>

Revoula took her vows and the name Philothei after the foundation of the convent of St Andrew. The servant girls that she had at her father’s house and many other Athenian maidens followed her in taking up a monastic life.<sup>8</sup>

Thanks to the economic comfort she enjoyed due to her lineage, Philothei did not limit herself to simply building a monastery. She also secured “dependencies (*metochia*) and subsidiaries (*hypostatika*)”,<sup>9</sup> while she also established “hospitals and hostels... a short distance from the monastery... in which she herself visited the patients suffering from various ailments...

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6. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 147.

7. The text of the appeal is published by K. D. Mertzios, “Η οσία Φιλοθέη”, *Ελληνικά* 13 (1954), 122-129, particularly 125. It should be noted that a later document of 1670, by which Christodouli, abbess of the Monastery of St Andrew, calls the Christians to financially support the monastery, states “σήμερον ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χρόνοι τὸ κοινοβιακὸν μας τοῦτο μοναστήριον ἐπρωτοκτίσθη ἀπὸ τὴν... ἁγίαν Φιλοθέην...” (today, one hundred twenty years of our cenobitic monastery first built by... St Philothei...), a testimony that places the foundation of the monastery in 1550 (see Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 138-139, particularly 138; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 56-57). But as the monk Serapheim Pangalos is contemporary to Philothei, I consider that his information regarding the time of the foundation is more accurate than the relevant mention of Christodouli.

8. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 148.

9. According to a sale document of August 1575, Antonios Platypous sold the court that he had “εἰς τὸν μαχαλὰ Ρωίδου” (at the neighborhood (*mahalle*) of Roidis) to “τοῦ Μοναστηρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέα τῆς ἡγουμενευούσης... σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀδελφαῖς δι’ ἄσπρα χίλια καὶ ἔνεακόσια” (the abbess of the Monastery of St Andrew... and to the rest of the sisters, for one thousand nine hundred *aspers* (*akçes*)). (The text is published by Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 49, without mentioning the source). In the Archive of the Historical and Ethnological Society, a document of 1579 is also preserved (no. 1749), with which a *stremma* of land is dedicated “εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι τῆς Κυραφιλοθέης” (to the monastery of Kyra Philothei) (see *ibid.*, p. 49-50).

[providing] all the necessary nourishment and physical comforts...”<sup>10</sup>.

Information regarding the aforementioned “hospitals and hostels” is derived from documents dating to 1583-1584, written in Italian, where the dependencies of the monastery are denoted by the term “(h)ospedali”-“hospitali”. This term refers to charitable institutions that operated in the Greco-Venetian East, the so-called hospital hostels (*ospizi-ospedali*), which offered shelter and occasionally rudimentary treatment to the needy, the sick and pilgrims. These foundations, which were maintained by the initiative of the Church, monks, individuals, etc., housed a limited number of inmates in the cells of monasteries, in rooms in church enclosures or in small buildings attached to or neighboring churches.<sup>11</sup> The above source, therefore, provides indirect indication that Philothei’s philanthropic establishments mentioned in her Vita were located in the *metochia* that she herself had built and attached to the Monastery of St Andrew, the locations of which will be discussed below.

## 2. *The liberation of slaves and the conversion of Muslims to Christianity – The events of the years 1582-1584*

The philanthropic work of Philothei was not limited to simply housing and caring for her needy compatriots. Particularly extensive mention is made of the fact that she offered refuge to slaves who had escaped from their masters and to Muslim women who were converted to Christianity under her care and took their vows. Regarding this, her Vita relates:

“During that time, there were women from various places enslaved by the Muslims in Athens... Four enslaved women heard of the fame of the Saint and seizing the opportunity, escaped from their masters who forced them to renounce their Faith, and fled towards her. She, with her usual good will and caring attention she gave them enough advice to stand bravely in the face of dangers to their faith... she was waiting for the right moment to bid them farewell to their lands from which they had come.”<sup>12</sup>

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10. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 148.

11. Katerina Konstantinidou, “Θεσμοί κοινωνικής πρόνοιας”, *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, V. 1, scientific direction Chrysa Maltezou, text ed. Despoina Vlassi – Angeliki Tzavara, Athens – Venice 2010, p. 187-210, particularly 187-191. Hospital hostels are found in Chandax, Rethymnon, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, etc.

12. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 149.

Quickly, however, the masters of the escapees learned what had transpired. Enraged, they invaded Philothei's cell, grabbed her and took her to "the ruler of the time, who was also a Muslim",<sup>13</sup> and locked her in prison. However, since Philothei resisted the threats of her captors and refused to convert to Islam,

"certainly, after a short while, she would die through martyrdom, if, after not very long according to divine will, some Christians would not make it in time, to investigate the truth, to appease the judges and to set her free..."<sup>14</sup>

This incident is confirmed from other sources, which indeed allow us to date it. In particular, a 1582 document of the Sultan reports that many officials accused Rusula, a nun who lived in a "new" female monastery in Athens, of attracting slave men and women that had recently converted to Islam and even women married to local Muslims, and converting them to Christianity. According to the document, Rusula clearly provided the fugitives with monks' habits and hid them in a secret room which had a carefully hidden entrance. When the opportunity arose, the men and women were helped to escape to *Frengistan*.

A search of the monastery was thus ordered during which they found nuns, the majority of which were young women, and several "prostitutes" (*fahişes*). Primarily, however, they discovered a secret room and a fugitive slave belonging to one of the local officials to whom the document of 1582 was directed. The officials and *kadıs* were ordered to confirm the correctness of these events, to severely punish the guilty parties and to demolish the monastery.<sup>15</sup>

The information from the Sultan's document of 1582 leaves no doubt that the nun in question is Revoula-Philothei. Two points in the text are nevertheless worth exploring further. The first is the characterization of the monastery as "new". It is known that in general during the period of Ottoman domination, Christians were not permitted to build new churches; they could only repair older churches based on the original structure, in other words without altering the dimensions of the building. Even so, many new churches were founded during this period, exceptionally important from the point of view of

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13. This is clearly the Ottoman governor of the *kaza* of Athens, which at that time bore the title *subaşı* (Ioannis G. Giannopoulos, *Η διοικητική οργάνωσις της Στερεάς Ελλάδος κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν (1393-1821)*, Athens 1971, p. 116).

14. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 149-150.

15. Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Orthodox Woman Saint in an Ottoman Document", op. cit., p. 385, 387-388.

post-Byzantine architecture, many of which were catholicons of monasteries that continue to function in the present.<sup>16</sup> This fact indicates that in practice, Christians found a way to supersede the restrictions and prohibitions of Islamic law.<sup>17</sup> In 1582 Philothei's monastery was indeed "new", as it had been founded approximately eleven years earlier, around 1571; but in this case, the label had a negative connotation, as it declared that the monastery which illegally offered refuge to escaped slaves had itself been built in violation of Islamic law.

Additionally, the place designated in the Ottoman source by the term "Frengistan", i.e. the location to which fugitives that had taken refuge in Rusula's monastery were helped to escape, remains unknown. The term usually indicates Europe, but in this particular case we might assume that it also refers to islands of the Ionian Sea under Venetian rule, which in many ways were closer to Athens than were the territories of Europe.<sup>18</sup>

The events that followed after 1582 are known from Philothei herself in a narration that confirms the version found in her Vita mentioned above and enriches it with new information. It is a document dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1583, which contains an appeal to the Venetian Senate for financial support for her monastery.

In the text of the document, Philothei reports that she founded the Monastery of St Andrew with two dependencies in Athens, in which one hundred fifty nuns lived according to the cenobitic way of life. At one point, however:

"... the Turks slandered us; for the freedom of Christian prisoners that happened into our hands; and for the Muslim women, who were found in the monastery believing in Christ; and became nuns. And the Turks learned all about it and wished to destroy the monastery and take the virgins into their possession."<sup>19</sup>

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16. See indicatively Christos Patrinelis, "Οι μονές του ελληνικού χώρου", *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, V. 10, Athens 1974, p. 132-133, 139-141; Idem, "Ο ελληνισμός κατά την πρώτη Τουρκοκρατία (1453-1600). Γενικές παρατηρήσεις και συσχετισμοί με την ιστορική εξέλιξη της μεταβυζαντινής τέχνης", *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (ΔΧΑΕ)* per. IV, V. 16 (1991-1992), 36-37.

17. Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings", *Études Balkaniques* 4 (1994), 14-36.

18. Cf. Suraiya Faruqi, "An Orthodox Woman Saint in an Ottoman Document", *op. cit.*, p. 390.

19. The text of the appeal of 1583, written in Greek, is published by K. D. Mertzios, "Η σοία Φιλοθέη", *op. cit.*, p. 123-125, particularly 123, from the State Archives of Venice, Senato, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli, filza 5. It should be noted that in the Italian translation of the

To save the monastery from the immediate threat, Philothei borrowed sixty thousand *aspers*, with which she managed to assuage the wrath of the Ottomans. Not for long, however, because:

“the past month of August, the Turks came and searched the monasteries, and found a slave of the *phlambouriaris* where we had hidden him for his freedom; and three Turkish women who were nuns...”<sup>20</sup>

After their raid on the monastery, which according to the above occurred in August of 1582, the Ottomans locked Philothei in prison and looted the monastery and its dependencies. Several of the nuns managed to escape, the rest remained by the side of Philothei, “and every hour they tortured me”, she herself relates, “to become a Turk myself along with the sisters, or to be burned”. So that the nuns were not left at the mercy of the Ottomans, Philothei secured eighty thousand *aspers* more, putting up the holy vessels and property of the monastery as collateral. They paid the *kadı*, the *phlambouriaris* and the rest of the Ottomans with this money “and we escaped from their clutches”.

Although Philothei and the monastery survived this serious adventure, their debt had risen to the very high amount of one hundred forty thousand *aspers*. For this reason, Philothei sent the monk Serapheim Pangalos to Venice to represent the monastery before the Senate and to submit her appeal for financial support, which would help the sisterhood rid itself of this extremely burdensome debt.<sup>21</sup> The fact that Philothei turned to the Most Serene Republic of Venice for help in 1583 should be seen within the framework of contacts between noble Athenian families and Venice, contacts that in the subsequent centuries (17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>) appear more dense and multidimensional.

Along with Philothei’s appeal, Serapheim Pangalos also submitted an application to the Doge, written in Italian. In the text of his application, Serapheim reports, among other things, that Philothei had built the Monastery of St Andrew and two dependencies (*hospedali*), and that in Philothei’s monastery, in addition to the worship of God and other charitable works, many slaves found

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text, which is located in the same folder, the term “μετόχια” is rendered “ospedali”; this term, which in Italian means hospital, is used with the same meaning in the rest of the documents relating to the same case (“(h)ospedali”-“hospitali”). See discussion above, p. 4.

20. Ibid., p. 123-124. *Phlambouriaris* is what the governor of a *sancak* (*sancakbey*) was called. In this case, it is likely the governor of the *sancak* of Eğriboz (Euripos) who had his headquarters in Chalkis.

21. Ibid., p. 124-125.

asylum and numerous infidels became Christian.<sup>22</sup> The information found in the appeals of Philothei and Serapheim Pangalos also finds confirmation in a document issued on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1583 by the contemporary Catholic bishop of Zante and Cephalonia, Paulus de Grasso.<sup>23</sup> Paulus de Grasso notes that based on a document signed by the metropolitan, clergymen and nobles of Athens, he is aware that Philothei:

“... is from one of the first families of Athens in regards to its origin and financial situation, and... she having abandoned all the comforts and wealth of her family, which were noteworthy, made a great monastery in Athens, in the name of the Apostle Andrew, and maintains 100-150 nuns... and apart from that does not cease –as the rumor widely circulates– to free many slaves, as indeed she has. Her recognized kindness and good deeds attracted many Turkish women to her, and she made them Christian. She also accepted into her monastery many sinful women who were pregnant and she hid them in the monastery so as not to be punished by the Turks.”<sup>24</sup>

The document by bishop Paulus de Grasso is an important historical testimony as it does not simply confirm what we already know from the aforementioned sources regarding Philothei, but it also offers two new pieces of information: on the one hand that in 1583 the metropolitan, clergymen and noblemen of Athens supported in writing the attempt by Philothei to secure funds, testifying to her social position and her works; and on the other that within the monastery, “sinful” i.e. unmarried pregnant Christian women (“*donne peccatrice christiane gravede*”) found refuge, who were in danger of punishment by the Ottomans for their acts. These were likely the women characterized as “prostitutes” by the Sultan’s document of 1582.

The request for financial assistance that Philothei put before the supreme Venetian authorities in early 1583 met with success. The Senate accepted her application and with a decree of the 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1583, ordered the Venetian

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22. See *Ibid.*, p. 125, where K. Mertzios publishes the appeal by the monk Serapheim translated into Greek.

23. Paulus, a nobleman from Bologna, appears as the Catholic bishop of Zante and Cephalonia –likely– from 1580 until 1590 (the year of his death), with his seat in Zante, but after 1588 he resided in Italy and drew the proceeds from his seat, a fact that raised protests; see Ilias A. Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα. Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν και λαογραφίαν της νήσου Κεφαλληνίας εις τόμους τρεις*, V. 2, *Εκκλησιαστικά. Μονών ιστορία. Χρονογραφία. Πολιτικά και στατιστικά σημειώματα*, Athens 1960, p. 148-149.

24. See K. D. Mertzios, “*Η οσία Φιλοθέη*”, *op. cit.*, p. 126, where the text of the document is translated into Greek.

*bailo* in Constantinople first to confirm the validity of all that was stated in the appeal, and then to give Philothei 200 *sequins*,

“as we are aware that the applicant contributes to the transmission of Christianity and because we wish to engrave in the memory of the numerous Christians living in Greece our exceptional sympathy for them...”<sup>25</sup>

Nine months later, in May of 1584, Giovanni Francesco Morosini, the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, confirmed

“that it is very true the debt that the aforementioned incurred in ransoming the monastery from the hands of the Turks, who wished to destroy it because she had freed slaves”,

and delivered the 200 *sequins* to the monk Serapheim Pangalos, representative of the monastery, who had traveled to Constantinople for this purpose.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. *From the release of Philothei to her death (1582-1589)*

Although between August 1582 and February 1583 Philothei managed to secure her release (through the payment of a very large ransom) and to continue her work, in reality neither she herself nor her monastery had definitively escaped danger. What she bought was time, and this was limited, for the following reason: the charges against her for liberating and aiding in the escape of slaves (charges that were confirmed with the discovery of a slave during the search of the Monastery of St Andrew by the Ottoman authorities), and her collaboration in the conversion of Muslims to Christianity (evidenced in contemporary sources), were serious violations of Islamic law. It is furthermore known that the Muslims who converted faced death. It was expected that sooner or later Philothei would therefore face new threats, as indeed she

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25. Ibid., p. 127.

26. See Ibid., p. 127-128, where K. Mertzios publishes the text of the Venetian *bailo*, translated into Greek, and the acknowledgement of the receipt of the money by Serapheim Pangalos, dated the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1584, respectively, from the State Archives of Venice, Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori..., Costantinopoli, filza 19. It should be noted that I am in the process of preparing an edition, based on the original documents, of all the relevant Italian texts from 1583-1584 regarding Philothei's appeal, which K. Mertzios presents in Greek translation in his study of St Philothei cited above.

continued to practice her multidimensional charitable and spiritual work.

Moreover, as mentioned in her Vita, Philothei achieved a high degree of spirituality through her asceticism and her inherent tendency to provide hospitality and support to her fellow man. Her reputation was transmitted not only within Athens but also to surrounding towns, and as a result many people came to her monastery seeking her aid, and Philothei assisted them in addressing the problems that they faced:

“... she did not cease daily any of her usual good deeds... who is going to count any more her... divine-driven accomplishments? the abundancy to those praying, the hospitality, her vigils, her outmost temperance? Thus having regulated her life both in deeds and in theory, she was graced by God to accomplish wonderful deeds... Thus, many people, both from within Athens itself as well as from the neighboring towns, hearing the fame of the Saint, arriving received healing of the soul and body.”<sup>27</sup>

In fact, as a large number of nuns were attracted to the Monastery of St Andrew, Philothei built another in Patissia in order to ensure conditions for peaceful life in the convent:

“... because of the disturbance and the large number of nuns, which increased every day, and of the fact that there was a problem of space in the monastery, the Saint constructed another a short distance from the city in a place called Patissia so as to create a more perfect peace for the sisters, in which she frequently philosophized and retreated along with the others...”<sup>28</sup>

During this same period, however, Philothei also stayed on the island of Kea for an unspecified period of time, where, according to her Vita, she had previously founded a dependency,

“to send the nuns, those virgins, who were afraid for various reasons to stay in Athens, and after having stayed there frequently, and having indoctrinated the practicing sisters as to the accuracy of monastic life, she returned again to Athens.”<sup>29</sup>

The dependency of the Monastery of St Andrew mentioned in the Vita is likely identified as the currently inactive Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin (Koimisis of Theotokos) of Daphni on Kea.<sup>30</sup>

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27. See Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 150-151.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

30. Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 38 note 29, drawing

Parallel to this, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1584, the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople states that he does not know the precise whereabouts of Philothei, as he learned that she had “retired to Andros, due to the debts” which had led her to ask for financial assistance from the Venetian State.<sup>31</sup>

The fact that Philothei helped nuns escape to the dependency on Kea, according to the information from her Vita, should be seen in combination with the fact that she herself went to Andros during a period in which she must have been very concerned about her debt. On these two islands, as on other islands of the Cyclades at this time, there must still have been only a limited, perhaps even marginal Muslim presence, as the basic institutions of the Ottoman provincial administration did not appear, and Muslim residents did not begin to settle there until after 1579.<sup>32</sup> It should additionally be noted that according to contemporary sources, Philothei likely had an association with the male Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi Agia on Andros.<sup>33</sup> These conditions obviously allowed Philothei greater freedom of movement on the islands than in Athens, where she was targeted by the Ottomans particularly after the events of 1582.

As was to be expected, the Ottoman threat against Philothei resurfaced, this time however with particular violence. During the vigil celebrated at the small monastery (*monydrion*) at Patissia in honor of St Dionysios the Areopagite, five Ottomans attacked Philothei “and from the excessive whipping and her wounds they left her nearly half-dead”. Shortly following this, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1589, Philothei succumbed to her wounds and died, according to her Vita.<sup>34</sup> Based on this information, we can accurately date the attack on

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information from Ioannis N. Psyllas, *Ιστορία της νήσου Κέα από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς*, Athens 1920, p. 188-189. Due to the lack of documentation regarding the foundation of the Monastery of Daphni, we are not presently able to identify it with certainty as Philothei's dependency on Kea.

31. See above note 26.

32. Ilias Kolovos, *Η νησιωτική κοινωνία της Άνδρου στο οθωμανικό πλαίσιο*, Andros, Kaireios Library, 2006 [*Άνδριακά Χρονικά* 39], p. 44, 48-49.

33. D. I. Polemis, “Η Οσία Φιλοθέη και η Άνδρος”, *Πέταλον* 5 (1990), 193-197; Idem, *Οι αφεντότοποι της Άνδρου. Συμβολή εις την έρευναν των καταλοίπων των φεουδαλικών θεσμών εις τας νήσους κατά τον δέκατον έκτον αιώνα*, Andros 1995, p. 169-170, no. 29. We know that, apart from Philothei, Andros attracted other Athenians too, families that settled there during the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, among whom were several merchants (Idem, “Από την εποχήν της παρακμής της Δυτικής Επισκοπής Άνδρου (1591-1648)”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), 272-273).

34. See Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 151.

Philothei to a few months earlier, to October of 1588, and in particular to the night between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, the day that the Orthodox Church celebrates the memory of St Dionysios the Areopagite.

#### 4. *Philothei is recognized as a saint*

After Philothei's death, it was found that her relic gave off a pleasant scent and remained uncorrupted even after a year had gone by, both considered proof of her sainthood. The remains were placed in the catholicon of the Monastery of St Andrew, to the right of the sacred bema, according to the Vita of Philothei,<sup>35</sup> and healed the afflictions of the faithful who came to worship. This and other things were stated in a signed report submitted to the Patriarchate of Constantinople by the metropolitan of Athens Neophytos, the metropolitans of Corinth and Thebes, the clergy and all the noblemen of Athens in support of official recognition of Philothei's sainthood by the Orthodox Church.

According to the patriarchal and synodal letter extant, the patriarch and the Holy Synod were informed of the life and work of Philothei from the aforementioned report and decided to include her in the cycle of holy and saintly women, so that her memory would be honored each year and a respective canon would be chanted at her vigil narrating her holy achievements, which were known not just to the Christians nearby but also to those who lived far away from Athens.<sup>36</sup>

The National Library of Greece 1474 manuscript, the so-called Ierax codex, preserves a copy of the text of the patriarchal and synodal letter which does not bear an intitulation nor the date. The only internal evidence for the dating of the letter is the mention of Neophytos, metropolitan of Athens, who held this throne from 1597<sup>37</sup> until December 1601, when he ascended to the patriarchal throne for the first time as Neophytos II (Dec. 1601 – early Jan.

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35. *Ibid.*, p. 148, 152.

36. According to various collections of neomartyrologies, Philothei is one of only six women who were martyred during the period of Ottoman rule, while recent bibliography refers to approximately one hundred seventy male neomartyrs from that period (N. M. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860*, New York 2000; on Philothei see p. 83-86; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford 2011, p. 143-145).

37. See Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων, Τουρκοκρατία, Περίοδος πρώτη 1458-1687*, V. 2, Athens 1890, p. 151-152.

1603, 15 Oct. 1607 – Oct. 1612).<sup>38</sup> Based on the above, the letter was likely issued during the second mandate of patriarch Matthaios II (April 1598 – December 1601).<sup>39</sup>

The text of the patriarchal and synodal letter has been registered in the manuscript Athens, National Library of Greece (EBE) 1474, p. 61-62 (folio 38 r-v), by Alexandros, *logothetis* of the Patriarchate, but it had been composed by his father, the *megas logothetis* Ierax, as witnessed by the autograph note by Ierax: “Σύνθεσις τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Ἰέρακος” (composed by the *megas logothetis* Ierax) which was written immediately following the title of the letter: “† εἰς Ἀθήνας | διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Φιλοθέην” (in Athens regarding Saint Philothei) (p. 61 [folio 38r]).<sup>40</sup>

## 5. The letter to Ierax

The composition of the text of the patriarchal letter recognizing the sainthood of Philothei is not, however, the only thread connecting the *megas logothetis* Ierax with the Athenian nun. The scholar *offikialios* of the Patriarchate of Con-

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38. Neophytos succeeded Matthaios II on the ecumenical throne in December of 1601 (see the act of election of the new metropolitan to the see of Athens Samouel from 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1602 in M. D. Chamoudopoulos, “Πότε το Πατριαρχεῖον εγκατέστη ἐν Φαναρίῳ;”, *Εκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* 2 (1881-1882), 781).

39. The text of the letter was published for the first time by Sophokles K. Oikonomos, “Συνοδικὸν γράμμα περὶ τῆς κατ’ ἔτος πανηγύρεως καὶ τοῦ ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας μνημοσύνου τῆς οσίας Φιλοθέης”, *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν* year 14, no. 593, 8 April 1866, p. 921-922; from this publication it was republished by Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 144, Ioannis Gennadios, *Ὁ οἶκος τῶν Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 51-52, and others; for the MS EBE 1474, see the study by Ch. G. Patrinelis, “Πατριαρχικά γράμματα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγγράφα καὶ σημειώματα τοῦ Ἰς’-ΙΗ’ αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Ἰέρακος (Ἐθν. Βιβλιοθ. Ἑλλ. 1474)”, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 12 (1962), 116-165, particularly 118.

40. The note by Ierax was traced by the scholar Nikolaos Karatzas, one of the owners of MS EBE 1474, and he mentions the fact on the lower part of folio 3v (see below note 42). This note of Karatzas led several scholars to conclude that Ierax had composed the Offices as well (see Ioannis Gennadios, *Ὁ οἶκος τῶν Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 36 note 27; Idem, “Ἡ οσία Φιλοθέη”, *Μέγα πανηπειρωτικὸν ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα Ἡ Δωδώνη*, (ed.) Charal. G. Katsalidis, V. 1 (1931-1932), p. 330) and that he had also written the Vita of the saint (Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη Μπενιζέλου ἡ Ἀθηναία*, (ed.) Kalliopi (Kelly) A. Bourdara, Athens 2006, p. 47-48, 50; Photios Dimitrakopoulos – Maria Chroni, “Πρωτόκλητος Ἀνδρέας καὶ οσία Φιλοθέη”, *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ* 42 (2010-2011), 11-12), a conclusion which is however not warranted from the note by Karatzas on folio 3v.

stantinople had “crossed” paths with Philothei while she was still alive, as is revealed in an enigmatic source.

The source is an undated text, also preserved in MS EBE 1474, folio 3r-v, where it had been registered by Nikolaos Karatzas, bibliophile and *offikialios* of the Patriarchate, into whose possession the codex passed at some point. The text bears the title “Ἐπιστολή Φιλοθέης μοναχῆς πρὸς Ἱέρακα τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην” (Letter from the nun Philothei to the *megas logothetis* Ierax). On folio 3v, at the end of the text there is the signature “Φιλόθεος μοναχῆ” (nun Philothei) and the only chronological indication “Μαΐου ἰσταμένου” (May of current year).<sup>41</sup> Further below, Karatzas has recorded the funerary epigram “Φιλοθέης ὑπὸ σῆμα τό δ’ ἀγνῆς κεύθει σῶμα, | ψυχὴν δ’ ἐν μακάρων θήκατο ὑψιμέδων: –” (Philothei’s body lies in this tomb while the Almighty placed her soul among the Blessed), indicating the source from which he drew it in a note on the left margin and the lower part of the same folio, where he also gives additional information regarding Philothei.<sup>42</sup>

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41. The text of the letter has been published by K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνική φιλολογία*, Athens 1868, p. 194-195 (the text courtesy of Soph. Oikonomos) and it has been republished from Sathas’ publication by Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 78-79; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 50-51, etc.; cf. Ch. G. Patrinelis, “Πατριαρχικά γράμματα...”, op. cit., p. 119.

42. “Τὸ παρὸν δίστιχον ἐπιτύμβιον | εὖρον γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ τέλει | τῆς Ἀνθολογίας τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων | τοῦ Πλανοῦδου ἐκδεδομένης τῷ | ,αψιθ(ωτη)ρίῳ ἔτει, Ἐνετίησι, | καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς | ὁσίας Φιλοθέης τῆς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἧς τὸ τίμιον λείψανον σώζεται ἀποτεταμιευμένον εἰς τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀνεγεροθέντα Παρθενῶνα ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ | μέρει τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος, ὡς φέρεται ἐν τῷ βίῳ αὐτῆς, σελίδι ις, τύποις ἐκδοθέντι μετὰ τῆς Ἀκολουθίας Ἐνετίησι ,αψοε’, ἐχούσης καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐκείνης. | Ἴδε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν σημειώμασι τοῦ παρόντος κατεστρωμένον τὸ περὶ τῆς κατ’ ἔτος πανηγύρεως καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας μνημοσύνου ταύτης | ἐκδοθὲν συνοδικὸν γράμμα, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἱέρακος τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου συντεθέν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ ἰδιοχείρως σημειοῖ. Ὅ καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως | οὐ περιέχεται ἐν τῇ τυπωθείσῃ Ἀκολουθίᾳ αὐτῆς” (This two verse epigram I found recorded in the end of the Anthology of epigrams published by Planoudis in the year of our Lord 1719, and I believe it belongs to Saint Philothei from Athens whose holy relic is kept to the right of the sacred bema of the nunnery (*Parthenon*) that she herself built in Athens, as is stated in her Vita page 16, printed along with the Offices in Venice in 1775, which also includes a depiction of her. See also, registered in the front notes of the present [manuscript], the synodal letter regarding her annual celebration and memorial in Church composed by Ierax, the *megas logothetis*, as he himself notes there in his handwriting. Which I do not know why it is not included in the printed version of her Offices) (the text of the note is published by Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκὸν ἀρχοντολόγιον*, op. cit., p. 90 note, and by Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 36 note 27; my edition is based on the original).

In the text of the letter, after addressing Ierax and his family,<sup>43</sup> Philothei mentions that a year has already passed since Ierax came to Athens from Constantinople. At that time, the Athenians “were furious” (ἐλύττησαν) with Philothei, but Ierax took her side and neutralized them with the strength of his arguments. For this, Philothei wishes him health and is sorry to be deprived of his presence for so long.

Philothei continues the letter by saying that as weak of resolve as they are, the Athenians can not distinguish good from evil, and because of this they hate virtue and love vice. And so she remains silent, even though she hears many insults, because God is the supreme judge and in his judgment, the Athenians will not be witnesses, because they are a vile race, shameless, always complaining, and are rowdy and barbaric and because they were always ruthless to those who excelled, such as Sokrates, Themistokles and Miltiades.

In closing the letter, Philothei calls upon Ierax to help their common friends who had just arrived there on her behalf.

The various questions that arise from the study of the letter remain for the most part unanswered. First, the precise incident alluded to by Philothei in the phrase “τότε δὴ κατ’ ἐμοῦ σφόδρα ἐλύττησαν Ἀττικοί” (then the people of Attica were furious with me) is unspecified. With what actions did the Athenians turn against Philothei, requiring the intervention of Ierax, the *megas logothetis* of the Patriarchate, and which, a year later, led Philothei to use such heated language:

“... vulgar people, worthless, wretched... unthinking, unholy, shameless, disgusting, desperate, they have their mouths ready to slander, always complaining, miserly, speaking barbarically, rowdy, gossiping, mean-spirited, chatter-boxes, arrogant, law-breaking, cunning, nosy, always alert over the misfortunes of others...”?

Specific information that would aid in placing the conflict in its historical con-

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43. In MS EBE 1474, folio 3r, under the title “Ἐπιστολή Φιλοθέης μοναχῆς πρὸς Ἰέρακα τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην” (Letter from the nun Philothei to the *megas logothetis* Ierax), there is the invocation: “† Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ κυρίῳ Ἰέρακι, καὶ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ | μεγάλῃς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἅμα τῇ πανευγενεστάτῃ κυρίᾳ μου, καὶ τοῖς | ἐνδοξοτάτοις υἱοῖς σου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐλογοῦντός σου ἀγαπῶσι τὴν σὴν σεβασμιότητα, | χαιρετισμὸν καὶ προσκύνησιν εὐψύχως ἀπονέμω σοι” (To the most wise and educated kyr Ierax, *megas logothetis* of the great and catholic Church of Christ, along with my most noble kyra, and your most illustrious sons, and all the ones that truly love your Excellency, I thus wholeheartedly address you my greetings and pay my respects to you). The text of the invocation is not included in the publications of the text mentioned above (note 41).

text does not arise from the text of the letter, nor can the mention of the presence of Ierax in Athens be used as evidence for the dating of the events for we do not know when Ierax visited the city.

The Constantinopolitan scholar served in the Patriarchate from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century until the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> (he died between September 1608 and January 1612), first holding the *offikion* (office) of the *protokanonarchos* and then as the *megas logothetis* (from January 1565 until September 1608), which at that time was the highest *offikion* of the patriarchal court. We know that the ecumenical patriarchs repeatedly assigned Ierax to represent the Patriarchate in missions to various regions. For example, in December of 1567 he toured Greece as a patriarchal exarch, in 1590-1591 he went to regions of the “West and Peloponnese”, in 1591-1592 to Bucharest, etc.<sup>44</sup> His visit to Athens was likely made in the course of such a tour; one that occurred before 1589, the year in which Philothei died.

Compounding the lack of internal evidence that would allow the placement of the letter in its historical context is the fact that no other source testifies to the aforementioned conflict between the Athenians and Philothei. Scholars have put forth conjectures in an attempt to interpret the conflict, but the relationship of these to actual events remains obscure. For example, it has been speculated that Philothei irritated the Athenians because she “introduced a new canon of religious and home life”, which included among other things that women “learn writing and reading, instead of memorizing oftentimes incomprehensible hymns”.<sup>45</sup> This hypothesis is clearly linked to the tradition that a school for girls operated in the Monastery of St Andrew.<sup>46</sup> It should be noted that although

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44. Regarding Ierax, see Ch. G. Patrinelis, “Πατριαρχικά γράμματα...”, *op. cit.*, p. 147-150 and Dim. G. Apostolopoulos, *Το Νόμιμον της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, 1564-ci. 1593*, V. I, *Το ιστορικό περίγραμμα. Τα πανομοιότυπα*, Athens 2008, p. 20-21.

45. See Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, *op. cit.*, p. 29-32, who considers that “Philothei had lived ‘before her time’” [=“Η οσία Φιλοθέη”, *op. cit.*, p. 336-341]. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων*, *op. cit.*, V. 1, Athens 1889, p. 109-110, considers that Philothei was of a “nature irritable and neuropathic”, basing this on the contents of the letter and also on the fact that she had fallen out with Timotheos, founder of the Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin on Penteli who was later canonized as a saint, a falling out, however, that is not confirmed in the sources. He himself in *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον*, *op. cit.*, p. 89, mentions that the nun came into conflict with several residents of Athens likely due to the increasing piety of their wives and daughters who followed her example, but mainly on occasion of “τὰ ποτιστικὰ ὕδατα τοῦ Περσοῦ” (the irrigating waters of Persos). Cf. Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, *op. cit.*, p. 32-35.

46. Th. N. Philadelphus, *Ιστορία των Αθηνών επί Τουρκοκρατίας από τον 1400 μέχρι*

some activities of Philothei and her monastery, such as the liberation of slaves, the reception of “souls that were ready to fall apart”, etc.,<sup>47</sup> are often mentioned in the sources, no information regarding the operation of a school has been traced so far. Nevertheless, it is possible that among their other occupations,<sup>48</sup> the nuns received rudimentary education in reading and writing.<sup>49</sup>

Moreover, the letter is baffling not only for its contents but also for the language in which it is written. It is an archaistic language, with metaphors, sayings and quotations of various origin, while the language used by Philothei in the text of her appeal to the Venetian Senate (Feb. 1583) is closer to the spoken language. Even if we accept that Philothei intentionally chose to use a more scholarly means of expression in her letter to the *offikialios* than the vernacular she used in her appeal to the Venetians, the question arises concerning whether Philothei’s level of education was such as to allow her to use a sophisticated language. Although there is no evidence regarding the education of girls during this period, we cannot rule out the possibility that as a member of a noble family, Philothei might have received special education. It appears more likely, however, that the text of the letter was written on her behalf by some grammarian or learned person of the period, a hypothesis that is expressed by numerous scholars.<sup>50</sup> The question remains unanswered.

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του 1800, V. 1, Athens 1902, p. 202 (cf. relevant discussion in Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 30 note 23).

47. See for example the *apantachousa* (circular) of the metropolitan of Athens (1597 – Dec. 1601) (see below note 54) and the *apantachousa* of Christodouli of 1670 (see above note 7).

48. For example, a century later the French Jesuit Jacques-Paul Babin, who visited Athens in 1674, criticizes the nunneries of Athens because “πᾶς τις εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰς Μονὰς ὑπὸ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑφασμάτων ἢ ζωστήρων ἃς αὐταὶ κατασκευάζουσι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ πορίζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ἢ πρὸς ἀποφυγὴν τῆς ἀργίας” (everyone is entering the monasteries under the pretext of buying textiles or belts, which they [the nuns] manufacture for profit rather than avoiding idleness) (Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 200, transl. from J.-P. Babin, *Relation de l’état présent de la ville d’Athènes, ancienne capitale de la Grèce...*, Lyon 1674, p. 23).

49. See relevant discussion in Sidiroula Ziogou–Karastergiou, *Η μέση εκπαίδευση των κοριτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1893)*, Athens 1986, p. 25-26, 28-29, where she notes, among other things, that there is some general confusion in the sources regarding the use of the terms “γυναικείο μοναστήρι” (nunnery) and “Παρθενών” (*Parthenon*), as the term “Παρθενών” is sometimes used to denote a foundation in which girls live with nuns until they marry, and in other instances it means a nunnery (see also Dionysios Latas, *Επίσημα έγγραφα αφορώντα εις τον εν Ζακύνθω ναόν της Μητροπόλεως και την αυτώ παρακειμένην γυναικείαν μονήν...*, Athens 1891).

50. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων*, V. 1, op. cit., p. 109, considers it

If the above discussion raises doubts as to whether or not Philothei was indeed the person who sent the letter to Ierax, another piece of evidence comes to confirm that the *megas logothetis* was in some way “associated” with the Monastery of St Andrew.

In MS EBE 1474, folio 4r, immediately following the letter of Philothei (folio 3r-v), Nikolaos Karatzas has registered the text of another letter under the title: “Ἐτέρα ἐπιστολὴ Λεοντίας μοναχῆς καὶ ἡγουμένης πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην” (Another letter of Leontia, nun and abbess, to the same *megas logothetis*). In the text, which bears the date March 1601 at the end, Leontia, the abbess of the Monastery of St Andrew as we know from other sources, addresses Ierax with respectful familiarity and asks him to aid the spiritual father of the monastery Nektarios in an affair he went to Constantinople to settle. From all that is said by Leontia, it is deduced that Ierax was a long-standing acquaintance of the monastery and that the sisterhood considers him their protector: “... our divine and beloved head... providing aid to us who need it so much ... Leontia... abbess... along with my entire sisterhood in Christ, which you know well, I write”.<sup>51</sup>

Finally, it should be noted that the scholar Nikolaos Karatzas, known for the accuracy of his information, leaves no doubt regarding the identity of “the nun Philothei”, as in his note on folio 3v he identifies her as St Philothei. Indeed, if Karatzas had noted the source from which he copied the text of the letter, a method he consistently employed in the manuscript codices he had in his possession, perhaps there would be fewer unanswered questions today.

## 6. *The history of the monastery until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century*

The Monastery of St Andrew continued to function after the death of Philothei in 1589. During the years that Leontia was abbess, which the letter to Ierax

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likely to have been written by a “clergyman from Constantinople, sojourning in Athens” at the request of Philothei; cf. discussion by Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος τῶν Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 32-33 [=“Ἡ οσία Φιλοθέη”, op. cit., p. 341-343] and Nik. V. Tomadakis, “Οἱ νεομάρτυρες...”, op. cit., p. 19.

51. The text of the letter is published by Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, op. cit., V. 3, Athens 1892, p. 162-163; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος τῶν Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 53; cf. Ch. G. Patrinelis, “Πατριαρχικά γράμματα...”, op. cit., p. 119.

securely places in the year 1601 although she had most likely succeeded Philothei in this position earlier,<sup>52</sup> the convent again faced serious economic difficulties.

Thus, in an undated letter from Leontia to an official of the Danubian Principalities, the abbess asks him to support the monastery financially in order to renovate its church, because it “εἶναι μέχρι τὴν σήμερον κεχλασμένος καὶ ἄπορος” (is in ruins and destitute until today), and for this reason she sent the hieromonk Nektarios to the official.<sup>53</sup> Also undated is the *apantachousa* issued most likely by the metropolitan of Athens, by which he calls on the Christians to support abbess Leontia, as the monastery’s debt had reached three hundred thousand (*aspers?*) and the Muslim lenders were holding its holy vessels and lands as collateral.<sup>54</sup> The situation was invariably worsened by the economic and monetary crisis that had erupted in the decade 1580-1590 with the devaluation of the silver Ottoman coin of everyday transactions (1585-1586), a fact which must have contributed to the swelling of the debt of the monastery.<sup>55</sup>

Several decades later in 1670, Christodouli, abbess at the time, reports that the Muslims demolished the monastery three times, but with the aid of the Christians it was rebuilt an equal number of times; thus she again asks for

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52. Cf. document of April 1593 mentioning the payment in full of a debt by “Leontia”, without however specifying her identity (Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 52 no. 5).

53. The recipient of the letter Ioannis “*ban* of all Moldovlachia and Ougrovlachia” has not yet been identified with any of the known officials of the Danubian Principalities; the text is published in *Ibid.*, p. 53-54. The hypothesis that *ban* Ioannis was one of the noblemen who, according to the Vita of Philothei, had financially supported the monastery (*Ibid.*, p. 40; Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 84) remains unconfirmed.

54. If the author of the *apantachousa* is indeed the metropolitan of Athens, it is likely that it was Neophytos (1597 – Dec. 1601), who had sent the report to the Patriarchate to recognize Philothei as a saint (see above note 37, 38). Among other things, the text mentions that the Monastery of St Andrew “was built... by... Philothei the so-called kyra” (see its publication by Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οἶκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 55-56). Regarding this honorific of Philothei’s, cf. documents of 1589: “τοῦ μοναστηρίου τῆς Κυρᾶς” (of the monastery of Kyra); 1641: “στὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τῆς κυρᾶς” (in the basilica of St Andrew of kyra) (*Ibid.*, p. 52 no. 6, p. 59, no. 14); 1585: “λεγόμενω τῆς Κερᾶς” (so-called of Kyra) (D. I. Polemis, *Οι αφεντότοποι*, op. cit., p. 170), and in a text dating to around the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Idem, “Ἡ Οσία Φιλοθέη...”, op. cit., p. 195); see also note 4 above.

55. Paraskevas Konortas, “Ἡ οθωμανικὴ κρίση τοῦ τέλους τοῦ ἰστ’ αἰῶνα καὶ τὸ Οικουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο”, *Τα Ἱστορικά* 2 (1985), fasc. 3, 45-76, especially 64, 67-68, with a discussion of how the monetary readjustment affected the Patriarchate of Constantinople due to the loans it had received prior to 1585-1586.

their financial support, as the sisterhood can not meet the “unbearable debts and financial contributions”.<sup>56</sup>

Despite the adversities, however, the Monastery of St Andrew stands out from other nunneries of Athens during this period as it houses the relic of St Philothei, whose reputation is preserved unaltered. The British George Wheeler, traveling in Athens with the Frenchman Jacob Spon in 1676, relates the following regarding his visit to the monastery of Philothei:

“They have several Convents, some for Men, and some for Nuns, they call Calogrega’s. One of these is situated on the East-side of the Town, where I was admitted to see the Body of a Woman, they esteem a Saint, upon the ground of some Visions, and Apparitions, they confidently affirm, that they have had concerning her, since her Death.”<sup>57</sup>

The events of the years 1687-1690, the time during which Athens was conquered by the Venetians and subsequently abandoned by the Athenians, created abnormal conditions which, naturally, affected the Monastery of St Andrew. According to the abbess Elisavet, in 1701 a section of the monastery was in danger of collapse, its olive trees had been burned and its grapevines destroyed. For this reason, the nuns once more appealed to the mercy of the Christians in order to gather money for the renovation of the monastery.<sup>58</sup>

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56. Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 56-57 no. 10.

57. George Wheeler, *A Journey into Greece, by George Wheeler, Esq; In Company of Dr Spon Of Lyons. In six books...*, London 1682, p. 351-352. It should be noted that in 1674, Jacques-Paul Babin also makes a special mention of one of the many, as he notes, nunneries of Athens, but he does not specify its identity: “Ἐτέρα τις ἐκκλησία ἐν Ἀθήναις εἶνε ἀρκούντως ὠραία· αὕτη δ’ εἶνε ἢ ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τῶν καλογραιῶν τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου, ἔχουσα δύο πτέρυγας ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ νάρθηκος καὶ τοὺς κίονας καὶ τοίχους κεκοσμημένους διὰ διαφόρων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀγιογραφιῶν. Τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶνε κατάκοσμον ἐκ χρυσομάτων καὶ μικρῶν εἰκόνων. Ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν καλογραιῶν τούτων εἶνε τόσον ὠραία, ὀφείλομεν νὰ ὁμολογήσωμεν ὅτι δὲν ὑπάρχει νοσοκομεῖον χειρὸν ὠκοδομημένον τοῦ μοναστηρίου αὐτῶν, ὅπερ δύναται ν’ ἀποκληθῇ τὸ Μέγαρον τῆς δυστυχίας... Ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ἕτεραι πλεῖσται Μοναὶ γυναικῶν...” (Another church in Athens is very beautiful. It is the one in the Monastery of the nuns of the St. Basileios Order. It has two wings on each side of the narthex, and both columns and walls decorated with various icons and murals. The front part of the holy sanctuary is fully decorated with gilding and small icons. But even though the church of these nuns is that beautiful, one has to confess that there does not exist any hospital built in a worse manner than their Monastery, in such a way that it can be called the Hall of Misery... In Athens there are many more Monasteries with nuns...) (see Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, op. cit., V. 1, p. 199-200, transl. from J.-P. Babin, *Relation de l’état present*, op. cit., p. 21-23).

58. Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 57-59 no. 12 and 13. It

The nature of the relationship between the Monastery of St Andrew and the Christian community is also inferred from other sources of the 18<sup>th</sup> and first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: for example from documents with which the Christians dedicated landed property and animals to the monastery, from documents that report the contributions of the monastery during the years of the Greek War of Independence, etc. Furthermore, in a document of 1748 regarding the rental of an olive press of St Andrew, there appears for the first time a person with the capacity of *epitropos* (commissioner) of the monastery, “sior” Angelos Benizelos.<sup>59</sup>

A 1785 source accounts for the existence of a library in the Monastery of St Andrew. Specifically, during his visit to the monastery on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June 1785, the French Hellenist Jean Baptiste Gaspard d’Ansse de Vilvoison found a significant number of manuscripts and printed books inside a chest. In his travel diary, Vilvoison indeed entered a brief record of his finds,<sup>60</sup> providing the only evidence for the contents of the library, as from that time onward, the whereabouts of these books are unknown.

At approximately the same period (last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century), it appears that the monastery had enough property to ensure, to a certain extent, the economic self-sufficiency of the monastic community, as arises from the description by Panagis Skouzes:

“It was also of St Philothei, the monastery of St Andrew in the city, where so many virgin nuns resided and lived off their handiwork and part of the income from the subsidiaries (*hypostatika*) of St Philothei, as there were one thousand two hundred fifty olive

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should however be noted that a few years later in 1709, the nuns purchased an orchard with olives in Patissia which bordered on the land of the monastery, paying five *reals* (see Th. N. Philadelphus, *Ιστορία των Αθηνών*, op. cit., V. 2, p. 65-67).

59. Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 59-61 no. 15-18, p. 63-64 no. 20-22.

60. J.-B.-G. d’Ansse de Vilvoison, *De l’Hellade à la Grèce. Voyage en Grèce et au Levant (1784-1786)*, (ed.) É. Famerie, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York 2006, p. 93: “17 juin 1785. Revînmes, le vendredi matin 17 à Athènes, aller voir, le soir, les religieuses de Saint-André, où il y avait une δοκίμη, ou novice, fort jolie, examiné leur nombreuse bibliothèque dans un grand coffre où il y a plusieurs manuscrits grecs, deux bien écrits du Xe siècle, les Actes des apôtres et une chaîne sur Job, plusieurs homélies, un Théocrite, Euripide, quelques livres italiens, de bonnes éditions anciennes des auteurs profanes, l’Homère et le Suidas de Chalcondyle, le Démosthène de Feliciani, l’Aristote d’Alde, à moitié gâté et déchiré, l’*Anthologie*”. On Vilvoison see Giorgos Koutzakiotis, “Οι έρευνες του Vilvoison στον Αθω (1785). Απόηχοι, ερμηνείες και παραγάματα”, *Ο Εραμιστής* 26 (2007), 23-58, especially p. 24 note 5, with previous bibliography.

trees, Kalogreza, the *çiftlik*, up to five *zevgari* of land, and the orchard with running water, and at Patissia another orchard, and more sheep and the rest of the lands. Each year they celebrated St Philothei in her church of St Andrew, which she herself had built.”<sup>61</sup>

However, during the years of the Greek Revolution, and in particular in November of 1823, the Monastery of St Andrew again found itself destitute. The abbot Paisios Vlastos called the Christians of the ecclesiastical province of Athens to contribute, because the Turks had burned and looted the monastery, with the result that the nuns were deprived of the “necessities of life”. For this reason, Paisios assigned monks to tour the villages bringing relics of St Philothei and St Andrew with them, so that with the help of the Christians they could renovate the church and several cells. In Paisios’ *apantachousa*, indeed, we find for the first time the information that the monastery was by now a *stauropoleion*, in other words that it fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople and not the local metropolitan.<sup>62</sup>

It appears that Paisios’ appeal for financial support did not bear fruit, as the monastery was abandoned in the following years.<sup>63</sup> With the transfer of the capital of the Greek state to Athens in 1834, it was used for some time as a barrack.<sup>64</sup> A few years later in 1842 the land belonging to the disbanded monastery was conceded to the merchant Dimitrios Postolakas from Metsovo as partial payment for his library, purchased by the Greek state to enrich the National Library.<sup>65</sup> In particular, the estate located near Maroussi was that “of

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61. G. Valetas (ed.), *Χρονικό της σκλαβωμένης Αθήνας στα χρόνια της τυρανίας του Χατζαλή γραμμένο στα 1841 από τον αγωνιστή Παναγή Σκουζέ*, Athens 1948, p. 41. On Panagis Skouzes, see discussion in Spyros I. Asdrachas, “Από τον Μακρουγιάννη στον Παναγιώτη Σκουζέ”; “Ο Παναγιώτης Σκουζές”, *Βίωση και καταγραφή του οικονομικού. Η μαρτυρία της απομνημόνευσης*, Seminar Series, (ed.) Eftychia Liata – Anna Matthaiou – Popi Polemi, Athens 2007, p. 214-224, 225-238.

62. Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 61-63 no. 19.

63. The relic of St Philothei, which had initially been placed in the catholicon of the Monastery of St Andrew to the right of the sacred bema, and later, on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1827 in the cell of abbess Meletia, was transferred after the abandonment of the monastery to the church of Gorgoepikoos where it remained until 1863, at which time it was transferred to the metropolitan church of Athens. It is still housed in this church today, inside a silver chest (see above note 35; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 65 no. 24; Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 94).

64. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ευρετήριο των μνημείων της Ελλάδος, Α'. Ευρετήριο των μεσαιωνικών μνημείων. 1. Αθηνών*, fasc. II, (ed.) K. Kourouniotis – G. A. Sotiriou, Athens 1929, p. 108.

65. In the newspaper *Αιών*, no. 297, 1 October 1841, p. 3, it is reported that the Secretary

St Andrew and St Philothei called Kalogreza... comprised of 3118 and 834 %o Royal *stremma* in proximity and consisted of rocky ground...". Within this estate was a dependency of St Philothei clearly to be identified with the known dependency called Kalogreza.<sup>66</sup>

The monastery remained a ruin throughout the reign of King Otto and until 1891.<sup>67</sup> In 1892-1894, by decision of the metropolitan of Athens Germanos Kalligas (1889-1896),<sup>68</sup> the buildings of the monastery (refectory, church) were demolished and in their place the metropolitan (current archbishop) palace and the offices of the Holy Synod were constructed. At the same time, inside the courtyard of the metropolitan palace on Agias Philotheis street, a chapel to St Andrew was also constructed in memory of the demolished catholicon of the monastery.<sup>69</sup>

It should be noted that in 1892 a subterranean square room with a vent giving light and air had been discovered beneath the cells of the monastery; this was considered to be the hermitage (*asceterion*) of Philothei which was also used as a crypt. Although the crypt was covered over and the inscription "ancient crypt" was placed 6.5 meters from its actual location,<sup>70</sup> we know the

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of Ecclesiastical [Affairs] and public education "τῶ ἐπρόσφερε συν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ κτήματα τοῦ διαλυθέντος μοναστηρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου καὶ οσίας Φιλοθέης, ἅτινα καὶ ἐξελέξατο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων ἐξήρесе τὸ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Μοναστήριον" (offered him also the land belonging to the disbanded monastery of St Andrew and St Philothei, which he chose, but from which he excluded the monastery in the city of Athens). See respectively Vasileios Melissovas, *Δημήτριος Χ' Γ. Ποστολάκας*, Ioannina 2007, p. 173-176 and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis, "Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, Ιστορικό σχεδιάσμα», *Θησαυροί της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης*, Exhibition Catalogue, ed. committee Vasilis Kremmydas, Triantafyllos Sklavenitis, Kostas Staikos, Athens 1999, p. xxxiii, li; cf. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον*, op. cit., p. 104.

66. In 1845 this estate was confiscated to settle the debt of Dim. Postolakas to Kon. G. Douroutis, see Vasileios Melissovas, *Δημήτριος Χ' Γ. Ποστολάκας*, op. cit., p. 176-179, 410-412.

67. G. Lampakis, "Η μονή της οσίας Φιλοθέης", *ΔΧΑΕ* 2 (1892-1894), 129.

68. On Germanos Kalligas, see Ilias A. Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, op. cit., p. 204-216.

69. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον*, op. cit., p. 105-107; cf. Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 99-101; Photios Dimitrakopoulos – Maria Chroni, "Πρωτόκλητος Ανδρέας...", op. cit., p. 17-20.

70. G. Lampakis, "Αι εν τη Μονή Φιλοθέης καταστραφείσαι πολύτιμοι βυζαντιακαί χριστιανικαί αρχαιότητες και αγιογραφία", *ΔΧΑΕ* 2 (1892-1894), 145 note 1; Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον*, op. cit., p. 107; Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 100-101.

arrangement of the underground space thanks to the fact that the Christian Archaeological Society preserved the plan of the monastery and the church as they were shortly before their demolition.<sup>71</sup>

Two sections of wall paintings are preserved from the conch over the entrance to the catholicon, as well as two fragments of wall paintings from the refectory of the monastery, today housed in the Byzantine and Christian Museum. Two icons, one of Christ and one of the Virgin from the altarscreen of the church, are also exhibited in the same museum. They are the work of the Cretan painter Emmanouil Tzanes, and were most likely among the icons and holy vessels of the church that the *epitropos* of the monastery Spyridon Benizelos delivered to the metropolitan of Athens in 1836.<sup>72</sup>

Thanks to the drawings of the French traveler Paul Durand (1806-1882) who made four trips to Greece from 1839-40 to 1864, we know nearly the entire iconographic program of the catholicon of the monastery as it was in approximately the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup>

## 7. *The dependencies (metochia)*

### *a. The dependency (metochi) of Patissia*

As we saw above, the Vita of St Philothei mentions that she founded a dependency (a *monydrion* or small monastery) at Patissia. It was here that Philothei was attacked and beaten by the Ottomans on the night of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1588. Surviving of this dependency in Patissia today is the church dedicated to St Andrew on Lefkosias Street. It had the form of a three-aisled basilica with only one semi-hexagonal apse on the east and one entrance door in the middle

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71. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ευρετήριον...*, op. cit., p. 108, drawing no. 1847.

72. Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 128-129, with previous bibliography. It should be noted that one of the surviving heirlooms of the monastery is a Gospel Book printed in Venice in 1599 (*Μεταβυζαντινή Αθήνα, Ημερολόγιο 2005*, Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, 2004, figure no. 31, BCM 17850). For that publication, see Thomas I. Papadopoulos, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία (1466 ci. – 1800)*, V. 2 (*Παράρτημα*), *Προσθήκαι – συμπληρώσεις – διορθώσεις*, Athens 1986, p. 101-102, no. \*310 (from other exemplars).

73. Toula Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί ναοί της Αθήνας από σωζόμενα σχέδια του Paul Durand*, Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 2002; for the iconographic program of the catholicon and the refectory of the monastery, see Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 130-134.

of the west wall. It had a wooden roof except for that above the sanctuary apse which was covered by a brick semi-dome. After the dependency was abandoned, which might have occurred well before the Struggle for Independence of 1821, the church was used most likely as a cemetery church as deduced from the graves and vaulted ossuary found on its interior.<sup>74</sup>

In 1950 the church underwent restoration by archaeologist Anastasios Orlandos and was decorated by Photis Kontoglou.<sup>75</sup>

*b. The dependency (metochi) of Kalogreza*

In addition to the dependency of Patissia, the Vita of St Philothei mentions another dependency which, as the context indicates, was also a *monydrion* and it was not located in Athens but on the island of Kea.

However, in three sources from 1583 –the appeal of Philothei to the Senate of Venice, the application of Serapheim Pangalos and the decree of the Senate– it is stated that Philothei had built in Athens the Monastery of St Andrew and two dependencies, without naming the latter.<sup>76</sup> Which therefore was the second dependency she had built in Athens?

It is likely to be the dependency that scholars call “of Kalogreza” (or “of Persos”), from the –later (?)– place name of the area in which it was located. Indeed, since tradition holds that Philothei’s remains were brought from Kalogreza to Athens, it is thought that after her beating at the dependency of Patissia, Philothei was transferred to her dependency at Kalogreza where she died shortly thereafter.<sup>77</sup>

In the area of Kalogreza a small church is preserved dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin. It is an aisleless vaulted basilica with one semi-hexagonal external apse on the east. On the south wall of the nave, St Philothei and St Andrew are depicted flanking the representation of the Presentation of the Virgin. The wall paintings of the church date to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, but in

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74. A. K. Orlandos, “Δύο ανέκδοτοι ναοί των Αθηναίων Μπενιζέλων”, *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 8 (1931), 319-323; Idem, *Ευρετήριο των μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, Α'. *Ευρετήριο των μεσαιωνικών μνημείων*, fasc. III, (ed.) K. Kourouniotis – G. A. Sotiriou, Athens 1933, p. 133.

75. Maria Chroni–Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 141-145.

76. See above notes 19, 22, 25.

77. Dim. Gr. Kampouroglou, *Αθηναϊκόν αρχοντολόγιον*, op. cit., p. 80-81 note 2; Ioannis Gennadios, *Ο οίκος των Μπενιζέλων*, op. cit., p. 34. For the place name “Kalogreza”, which is considered to be a local idiomatic rendition of the term “kalogria” (nun), see Kostas I. Biris, *Αι τοπωνυμίας της πόλεως και των περιχώρων των Αθηνών*, Athens 2005, p. 45.

the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the heads of many figures were over-painted in a westernizing manner.<sup>78</sup>

This church obviously belonged to the dependency of Kalogreza, which was located in the homonymous estate that was conceded to Dimitrios Postolakas in 1842. According to the detailed description of the estate, at that time the dependency, in addition to the church, included an enclosure wall, low structures, a well, a vaulted basement that functioned as a cemetery reached by stone steps, etc.<sup>79</sup>

Based on the information made available by the historical sources, it becomes clear that Philothei Benizelou, later declared a saint, was for her time a bold nun who exercised her philanthropic and social work despite the fact that her noble lineage would indicate a different course. Her actions fall within the long continuum of the foundation and reconstruction of Christian monasteries in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, intensely manifest already by the 16<sup>th</sup> century and following, but with the difference that her work posed serious risks and threats to her life, eventually contributing to her death.

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78. For the church, see A. K. Orlandos, *Ευρετήριο των μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, fasc. III, op. cit., p. 135 and Maria Chroni-Vakalopoulou, Nafsika Panselinou, *Φιλοθέη*, op. cit., p. 134-138.

79. See above note 66 and the newspaper *Αιών*, no. 662, 6 October 1845.